

# Black Families in New Netherland

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New Netherland became home to a sizeable number of black people during its brief history. Persons of African heritage were present in the Dutch West India Company's colony as early as 1626 and their numbers increased substantially over the years. Whether transported from a Spanish, Portuguese, or Dutch possession or native born in the colony, the blacks of New Netherland invariably attracted the attention of their European co-residents. References to black individuals or to groups of blacks are scattered throughout the Dutch records of government and church. Yet surprisingly little is known about the lives of these Africans and Afro-Americans: their ethnic origins, languages, religion, rituals, music, family and kinship structures, work experiences, and communal life remain largely unexplored.

This assertion may strike some of you as not only bold, but unfounded. Those of you who are familiar with the major studies of the slave trade and slavery in New Netherland produced in the 1960s and 1970s—and I am referring here to the work of Edgar McManus, Ernst van den Boogaart and Pieter Emmer, Gerald De Jong, A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., as well as my own work—may feel justified in challenging this stance.<sup>1</sup> You would point correctly to the undeniable advances in our knowledge of the economics of the Dutch slave trade, the legal status of slaves in New Netherland, the attitudes of the Dutch Reformed church toward slavery, and the contours of the emerging slave society at New Amsterdam attributable to these studies. And I would agree with you, not only that this scholarship is impressive, but that it is indispensable for comprehending the political, economic, and legal framework of black life in New Netherland. But I would hold to my original position. Notwithstanding the valuable contributions of these historians to improving our understanding of the Dutch system of slavery in New Netherland, we still lack any interpretive model for discussing the lives of persons of African descent in this Dutch colony. The reason for this, simply put, is that research to date has centered on the institution of slavery rather than on the people who were enslaved. In this respect, the scholarship on blacks in New Netherland lags behind that on blacks in other American colonies.<sup>2</sup>

In the past decade, the conceptual basis for the study of blacks in colonial America has altered dramatically. Instead of focusing on the institution of slavery and its evolution over time, historians such as Michael Mullin, Peter Wood, Ira Berlin, Allan Kulikoff, T.H. Breen and Stephen Innes, and Philip Morgan have turned their attention to exploring the actions of black people themselves.<sup>3</sup> As Gary Nash succinctly put it in a recent review essay, "Afro-American studies in the colonial period [were reoriented] from a white-centered to a black-centered area of inquiry . . . [Scholars] stressed the creative role of blacks in shaping their lives and in developing a truly Afro-American culture."<sup>4</sup> Unless this revised perspective is introduced into investigations of blacks in New Netherland, we will be unable to offer any fresh insights into the lives of the peoples of African descent who resided in this colony.

Developing an agenda for research on the blacks of New Netherland is complicated by the fact that virtually all of the recent innovative work on black life in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century America deals with the plantation colonies of Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. We must proceed cautiously until we can determine whether generalizations formulated with reference to the conditions of life in the rural South apply to the diverse communities of New Netherland. Ultimately, we will have to generate hypotheses rooted in our understanding of the distinctive aspects of New Netherland society.

Researchers of black life in the southern colonies agree that one of the most fruitful areas of investigation concerns the process of family formation among persons of African descent transplanted to the North American colonies. Although a number of other topics merit detailed examination, the subject of family life is of fundamental importance. Not only was the articulation of family ties crucial to the maintenance of generational continuity among blacks in the new American society, but a complex web of kinship connections undergirded the Afro-American community. I have therefore decided to address myself to this topic using the experiences of New Amsterdam's blacks as my primary source of

evidence. It is my hope that complementary studies of black families in other New Netherland settlements will soon enable us to have a full-scale picture of black family life in this colony.

Scholars who have investigated family and kinship among blacks in the Chesapeake colonies have theorized that, prior to the eighteenth century, demographic and economic conditions in this region made it extremely difficult for blacks to create and sustain family ties. Specifically, it was the uneven sex ratio among newly-imported blacks and the dispersed pattern of settlement associated with the beginnings of plantation agriculture that retarded family formation among blacks in seventeenth-century Maryland and Virginia.<sup>5</sup>

Although precise figures on the sexual composition of New Amsterdam's black population are unavailable, it is clear from a variety of sources that black women were present in the town in sufficient numbers to enable scores of black couples to establish intimate relationships. Moreover, blacks in New Amsterdam had frequent opportunities for contact with each other within the circumscribed area of Manhattan Island. This concentrated pattern of settlement was far more conducive to the maintenance of family ties by blacks than was the dispersal of the black population on isolated plantation quarters that was characteristic of seventeenth-century Maryland and Virginia. In short, it is no wonder that New Amsterdam's blacks had a great deal more success in building a stable family life than their counterparts in the Chesapeake. Yet the portrait of the black family in New Amsterdam is more complex than this surface comparison would indicate. An in-depth look at the components of the New Amsterdam black population discloses that there were significant differences in the ability of blacks to form families.

The free blacks of New Amsterdam have perennially occupied center stage in accounts of the local black community. However ambivalent their status, the black men who, along with their wives, were manumitted by the Dutch West India Company in 1644 and granted land on which to support their families, enjoyed rights that all other blacks aspired to, foremost of which was the right to live in independent self-supporting households. Yet the attention accorded this remarkable group of black families, and the handful of manumitted slaves who joined them over the years of Dutch rule, has tended to induce students of black history to equate these free blacks with all blacks in New Amsterdam. Although we

do not know exactly what proportion of Manhattan's black population the free blacks constituted, there is no doubt that there were many enslaved black inhabitants of New Amsterdam. An objective assessment of the record of New Amsterdam blacks in sustaining family ties must evaluate the experiences of the noted group of free blacks in the context of the entire black population.

The example of the free black families who farmed their own land on the outskirts of town naturally served as a beacon to New Amsterdam's slaves. Slaves who were owned by the Dutch West India Company, however envious of the success of their former co-workers in obtaining freedom, drew comfort from the fact that the Company permitted its slaves to marry and begin families. In light of the pattern of slave importations and the primary employment of slaves in all-male labor gangs, it is likely that there was always a surplus of single males among the Company's slaves.<sup>6</sup> Yet the knowledge that the Company kept female slaves ensured that there were opportunities for relationships to develop under Company control. Company-owned slaves could, of course, be leased or sold at any time. But it appears that privately-owned slaves, of whom there were a substantial number in New Amsterdam by the close of Dutch rule, were in an even more vulnerable position.<sup>7</sup>

The majority of individually-owned slaves in New Amsterdam belonged to small slavemasters, most of whom held only one or two slaves. Fragmentary evidence suggests that these slaves were allowed a considerable amount of latitude in their personal lives, as long as they performed the work assigned them by their owners. Nonetheless, their situation was characterized by a good deal of instability, since they frequently were shifted from owner to owner. Petrus Stuyvesant, the Dutch West India Company's director general in New Netherland, reported in 1656 on the fate of a group of slaves who had been landed in New Amsterdam in 1652.

Some of these negroes are already dead; some have run away; some are still on hand here, with divers inhabitants, as bond slaves, purchased and paid for, but most of these have been two, three or more times re-sold, and have changed masters.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, even though some masters may have sanctioned marriages between their slaves and the slaves of another owner, the black men and women who were owned by individual burghers were compelled to be continually vigilant if they wished to maintain their family ties. The overall fluidity of their situation mitigated against the formation of permanent family bonds.

The large group of slaves owned by Petrus Stuyvesant—estimated to number 40 in 1660—forms the one major exception to these generalizations about New Amsterdam's privately-owned slaves. Yet even here, the evidence is contradictory. Stuyvesant's slaves, who were used as farm laborers and household servants at his *Bouwery* on the edge of town, were apparently encouraged to live in family units. Both Petrus Stuyvesant and his wife Judith were devout Calvinists and they made certain that their slaves were exposed to the teachings of the Dutch Reformed church. Mrs. Stuyvesant took pains to have some of the slave children baptized. Yet even the slaves who lived in the protective family-oriented environment of Stuyvesant's *Bouwery* were not immune to the pressures of the marketplace. The inherent conflict between the Stuyvesants' religious scruples and their economic interests was exposed in sharp relief when a grievous error came to light in 1664. As Vice Director Beck wrote Director Stuyvesant from Curaçao:

I have remarked . . . in your Honor's . . . Letter, the serious mistake that has been committed here in the sale of your Slaves: especially of the little children, since with great forethought on the part of Madam Stuyvesant, your Honor's spouse, they were presented at the baptismal Font. If we had had the least knowledge of the fact, the mistake would not have occurred.

Thus, persons of African descent were found in a variety of settings in New Amsterdam, some of which inhibited the formation of families and others of which made it relatively simple to sustain family life. Undoubtedly, all of New Amsterdam's blacks, slave and free, cherished family ties and given the opportunity would have chosen to live as members of families.

What was the nature of the family life created by blacks in New Amsterdam? How did black men and women adapt the institution of the family to meet their needs in this alien environment? In order to illuminate the defining features of black family life in New Amsterdam, it is best to focus on two key aspects of the family—marriage and child-rearing.

New Amsterdam blacks were eager to forge marital ties. By the 1640s, an impressive number of black couples were located in the town, including the 1644 petitioners for manumission and their wives. Black couples were married in the New Amsterdam Dutch Reformed church as early as 1641. Interestingly, the first five black couples who were wed in the church included five widows and two widowers, thus indicating that these individuals had been married previously. The notable

incidence of remarriage among blacks in New Amsterdam suggests not only that blacks placed a premium on conjugal ties but that it was essential to remarry as quickly as possible in order to hold black families together.

Little is known about the process of marriage formation among New Amsterdam blacks. Presumably, black men and women selected their own mates and, in the case of slaves, obtained permission to wed from their master. When both prospective partners belonged to the same owner, be it the Dutch West India Company or an individual burgher, there appears to have been little difficulty in carrying out the marriage. For example, Franciscus Neger and Catharina Negrinne who were wed in the Dutch Reformed church on October 4, 1659, were listed as being "Slaven van Corn. de Potter" (slaves of Cornelis de Potter). However, when slaves of different owners or a slave and a free black wished to marry, then the success of the endeavor depended on the ability of the black couple to convince white people to cooperate. Two slaves belonging to the Dutch West India Company apparently convinced Petrus Stuyvesant to act in their behalf when the male slave was sold to Jeremias van Rensselaer in 1664. Van Rensselaer reported the episode in the following way:

I bought a Negro for the colony from the honorable General Petrus Stuyvesant, but the said Negro had to remain a few weeks more in the Company's service, so that I received him only a fortnight ago, together with the Negress whom the said general urged me to buy also, although he had given her to him<sup>10</sup> later, after I had bought the Negro. She is a [good] sound wench.

Van Rensselaer then explained to his correspondent how the Negro and his new wife would be employed in Rensselaerswijck colony. Stuyvesant's role in this transaction was not that of matchmaker, as Van Rensselaer implied; it was to ensure that this obviously devoted couple would not be separated as a result of Van Rensselaer's purchase of the male slave.

A more ambiguous, but nevertheless intriguing case revolved around Christina Emanuels and Swan van Loange, who were married in the Dutch Reformed church of New Amsterdam on February 9, 1664. Christina, who had been a slave of the Dutch West India Company, was the subject of a petition from Domingo Angola, a free black, praying for her manumission. This petition, dated December 6, 1663, noted that she was a baptized orphan daughter of Manuel Trumpeter and Anthonya, his wife, both deceased negroes. The Dutch authorities ordered the girl, who was 18 years old at this



Fig. 29. Copper Engraving, Scene of New Amsterdam.  
I.N. Phelps Stokes Collection. New York Public Library.

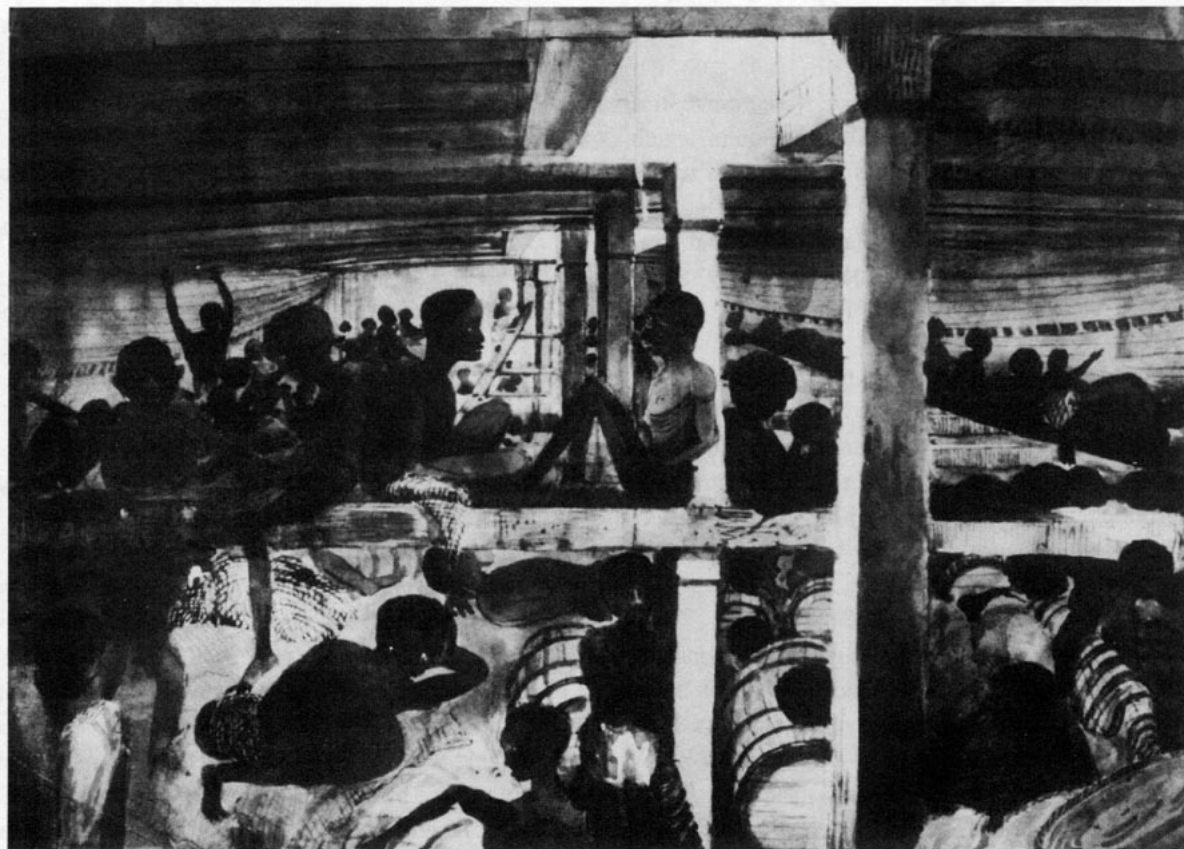


Fig. 30. Painting of a Slave Ship Interior, 18th century.  
Courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, London.

time, to be emancipated on condition that the Company be furnished with another Negro in her place or be paid the sum of 300 guilders. On September 16, 1664, eight months after the marriage of Christina and Swan, it was recorded that Govert Loockermans, a wealthy merchant of New Amsterdam, had given a note for 300 guilders to obtain Christina's freedom. Why Loockermans acted in Christina's behalf becomes clear when we learn that he was the owner of a slave named Swan in 1662. Undoubtedly, Swan, Govert Loockerman's slave, was the Swan van Loange who married Christina Emanuels in 1664. Loockermans had facilitated Christina's manumission so that Swan van Loange, his slave, could marry her.<sup>11</sup>

The figure of 26 black couples married in the Dutch Reformed church in New Amsterdam between 1639 and 1664 clearly represents an underestimate of the number of black marriages contracted in New Amsterdam. The marriage records of the church commence in 1639. Therefore any blacks who were married in the church before that date are untraceable. Perhaps more significantly, there is reason to believe that a number of black couples could not or would not be married in the church. Thus, they pledged themselves to each other in another, and probably more traditional manner.

Whether their marriages were celebrated in the Dutch Reformed church or in a customary ritual, the black couples of New Amsterdam soon became parents. At least 61 children of persons of African descent were baptized in the New Amsterdam Dutch Reformed church between 1639, when the baptismal records of the church begin, and 1664. Actual births of black infants, however, far exceeded the number of recorded baptisms. For one thing, black children baptized prior to 1639 are not accounted for in the total of baptized black infants. More importantly, this figure does not include black children born in New Amsterdam who were not baptized. And we know for certain that the majority of black babies born in New Amsterdam after 1655 were not baptized in the Dutch Reformed church. The virtual absence of black infants from the baptismal register after this date is explained by a decision of the clergy of New Netherland's Dutch Reformed churches to adopt a more restrictive policy regarding the admission of blacks to baptism.<sup>12</sup> Thus, it is reasonable to assume that well over 100 babies were born to black couples in New Amsterdam during the period of Dutch rule. Since very few young slaves were imported into New Netherland, it is clear that most of New Amsterdam's black children were native-born. How this first generation of Afro-

Americans fared in New Amsterdam is a subject of vital importance for the history of the black family.

Black parents were deeply concerned about the welfare of their children. The Company slaves who petitioned for their freedom in 1644 gave the necessity of supporting their many children as one of the main reasons for requesting manumission. The black children of New Amsterdam were cared for not only by their natural parents but by a wide circle of relatives and friends who willingly assumed responsibility for providing for the youngsters when circumstances warranted it. In other words, black surrogate parents quickly filled the void when natural parents died or were sold. The overriding concern of the black adults of New Amsterdam was to smooth the path for the younger generation. This they accomplished in a number of ways.

Black parents protected their children as best they could given the conditions of life in a slave society. In March 1664, Manuel Sandersen, a free black, was fined by the authorities because his son had been found shooting pigeons in the woods on Manhattan Island on Sunday, contrary to law.<sup>13</sup> Whether Manuel condoned his son's actions is not known, but this seemingly indulgent father had to bear the costs for his son's infraction of the Dutch Sabbath law. Another more serious case of a black parent acting to protect a youngster in difficulty with the law involved Lysbet Anthony, a ten-year-old black girl who, in 1661, was accused of stealing from her mistress, the wife of Dominie Drisius, and admitted it.

"The acknowledgement of her daughter having been read to Mary, the Mother of Lysbet, she was ordered to chastise her, or in case of refusal to let the same be done; Mary, undertaking it, has with the assistance of Long Anna, severely punished and whipped her daughter with rods in [the] presence of the W[orshipful] Magistrates."<sup>14</sup>

Although Mary's options were limited, she apparently deemed it preferable to discipline her own daughter, with the aid of another black woman, than to allow the punishment to be inflicted directly by the Dutch authorities. In a sense, Mary's decision to stand between her daughter and the town officials was a means of shielding the girl from the force of the law.

New Amsterdam's black parents did far more than rescue their youngsters when they were in trouble with the law. Parents struggled to secure property and status for their offspring. Although it was natural parents who, most commonly, made arrangements for the transmission of property to their children, the only evidence we

have concerning provisions for inheritance of property in a New Amsterdam black family comes from the case of an orphan boy who had been adopted by a free black woman. In 1661, Emmanuel Pietersen, the woman's husband, petitioned the Director General and Council of New Netherland to declare the boy free in order to make him legally able to inherit property.

Most humbly showeth Emmanuel Pietersen a free Negro, as husband and guardian of Reytory, otherwise Dorothe Angola, a free Negress, that his wife did in the year 1643 on the 30th of August, stand godmother or witness at the Christian baptism of a little son of Kleyn Anthony of Angola, begotten by his wife named Louize, which aforesaid Anthony and Louwize, being both free Negroes, died a short time afterwards, leaving the above-named little boy, named Anthony, which child your petitioner's wife, out of Christian affection, immediately on the death of his parents, hath adopted and reared as her own child, without asking assistance from anyone in the world, but maintained him at her own expense from that time unto this day, whereunto your petitioner in like manner is well disposed and willing to promote the interest of the said boy as far as is in his power. Wherefore your petitioner . . . [requests that] said boy . . . be declared by Your Honors a free person in order thus to be qualified to inherit his or your petitioner's temporal goods by last will or testament, if he should happen to die without lawful child or children.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to conveying property to their children, free black parents sought to prepare their youngsters for the future by providing them with on-the-job training in skills that were important for economic success. In 1660, Maria Portogys, also referred to as Maria the Negress, hired out her young daughter to work for Maria Becker, presumably as a household servant. Although the child was given clothes and other items by Mrs. Becker, she apparently did not like her situation and left, leaving Maria Portogys to make good on the contract.<sup>16</sup> Notwithstanding the outcome, the fact remains that Maria Portogys had negotiated an agreement in behalf of her daughter in order to prepare the girl for the adult work world. In 1661, a free black woman attempted to guarantee a place for her younger brother in New Amsterdam's economy by equipping him with a precious skill. The apprenticeship agreement in which "Susanna Anthony Robberts, free Negress, as guardian of her minor brother, Jochim Anthony Robberts, . . . hired her said brother unto Wolphert Webber" specified the following conditions:

For the space of three consecutive years commencing on the first of May next and ending the first of March of the year 1664, following, and he shall receive as wages therefor during that time, board and clothes, with express condition that the said Webber shall teach him, or cause him to be taught, reading and writing, and shall at the expiration of the apprenticeship aforesaid, being decently clothed, be fitted out without anything more, and in case it please him to serve longer after that date, the aforesaid Webber, if they agree, shall have the preference without cost or charge.<sup>17</sup>

Susanna Anthony Robberts, who signed this agreement with a mark, had arranged to have her brother learn the all-important skills of reading and writing.

Enslaved blacks were, of course, restricted in their ability to transmit property to their offspring, but they were not prevented from passing down skills that might give their youngsters an advantage when it came to work assignments. But the one dream which black slaves treasured for their children was the hope of freedom and they tried all conceivable ways to garner this prize for their sons and daughters. New Amsterdam blacks realized that Christianization was a pre-condition for emancipation in Dutch society. Accordingly, they sought baptism for their children. Dominie Henricus Selyns saw fit to criticize the efforts of the black parents on Stuyvesant's *Bouwery* to obtain baptism for their children. In 1664, he wrote:

As for the Holy Baptism, we were sometimes asked by the negroes to baptize their children, but we refused, partly because of their lack of knowledge and faith, and partly because of the material and wrong aim on the part of the aforementioned negroes who sought nothing else by it than the freeing of their children from material slavery, without pursuing piety and Christian virtues.<sup>18</sup>

Dominie Selyns's disparaging comments notwithstanding, it is incumbent on us not to impugn the motives of these black parents who aspired to freedom for their children in this way. Although baptism was only the first step on the road to freedom, it was a critical step. Free blacks, such as Emmanuel Pietersen or Domingo Angola, who petitioned for the manumission of black youngsters who were still enslaved, made it a point to underline the fact that the young slave in question had been baptized as a Christian.

Free blacks acted to capitalize on any opportunity to obtain freedom for a black child. In 1655, Anthony Matysen, a free black, tried unsuccessfully to liberate a black infant belonging to Egbert van Borsum. Matysen claimed that "he has not been paid by [Van Borsum] for rearing his negro's child, which his wife is nursing; [he] requests, therefore, that the child be declared free, when he promises to rear the same at his own expense." However, the court decided that the black child should be returned to Van Borsum, who was required to pay Matysen what was due him according to the contract.<sup>19</sup>

Children represented not only a link to the future for black families but a way of memorializing the past. Scholars have suggested that the naming practices of blacks in colonial and nineteenth century America

reflected this twofold desire.<sup>20</sup> A preliminary analysis of the evidence on the naming practices of New Amsterdam's black families strongly supports the contention of these scholars that people of African heritage in America used names as a means of preserving family identity. The names given to black children by their parents were carefully chosen to solidify bonds between the generations as well as across the wider kinship circle.

An exploration of naming practices in three generations of one New Amsterdam black family for which there is ample documentation, the family of Nicolaes (Claes) Emanuel, shows clearly how names were used to ensure family continuity.<sup>21</sup> Claes Emanuel was the son of Emanuel van Angola and Phizithiaen D'Angool, who were married in the Dutch Reformed church of New Amsterdam on February 16, 1642. Claes was baptized in this church on August 22, 1649. One of the sponsors at his baptism was a woman named Christyn van Angola, whose exact relationship to Claes' family is unknown, but who presumably was a close relative or friend. At the age of 30, shortly after becoming a member of the Dutch Reformed church (December 4, 1679), Claes Emanuel married Lucretia Lovyse in the church on March 31, 1680. Lucretia, who had been baptized on July 12, 1665, was one of triplets, the others being Elizabeth Lovyse and Anthony Lovyse. The parents of the triplets were Lovys Angola and Hilary Criolyo, who had been married in the church on May 29, 1660. Lucretia was barely half Claes's age and it is likely that the couple married because she was already pregnant with their first child, Christyntie (Christina) who was baptized on June 16, 1680. Claes and Lucretia had four more children born between 1681 and 1688—Lysbeth (Elizabeth), Emanuel (Manuel), Lowys (Lewis), and another Christina, the first Christina having died. What concerns us here are the names given to these children by their parents. Christina, Claes Emanuel's godmother, was obviously an important person in his family, since he named his first daughter (and later his third daughter) after her. One can speculate that she was a close relative, perhaps his grandmother or aunt. However, the family relationships of the three other children's namesakes are much clearer. The couple's second daughter, Elizabeth, was named after her mother's sister, Elizabeth Lovyse, one of the triplets. Emanuel, the eldest son of Claes and Lucretia, was given the name of his paternal grandfather, Emanuel van Angola, and Lowys, their second son, bore the name of his maternal grandfather, Lowys Angola. Thus, the children of Claes and Lucretia Emanuel were carefully named after kinfolk on both sides of the family in order

to remind them of their origins as well as to give them a secure identity in the alien society of seventeenth-century New York City.<sup>22</sup>

The frequency with which certain names appeared across the generations in other New Amsterdam black families confirms the depth of family feeling among the town's blacks and also points to the central role of kinship ties in the development of the Afro-American community in New Amsterdam. Even though genealogical evidence on many of New Amsterdam's black families is sparse, it is possible to analyze the distribution of names among the town's black population, using the names of blacks contained in the marriage and baptismal registers of the Dutch Reformed church. Certain names were repeated in the black community so consistently that their usage was undeniably deliberate. The 71 black males who can be identified from church records bore 23 different names, but 49 of these men (70%) shared only six names—Anthony, Emanuel, Francisco, Jan, Domingo, and Pieter. Moreover, 21 (58%) of the 36 male black babies who were baptized in New Amsterdam between 1639 and 1665 bore the same names as older black men in the community. The data on intergenerational naming patterns among New Amsterdam's black females is even more conclusive. Of the 24 female black babies baptized in the church between 1639 and 1665, 19 (79%) were given names already carried by black women in New Amsterdam. Moreover, these names were among the most popular female names in the black community. To put it another way, nine names—Anna, Catharina, Cecilia, Christina, Elizabeth, Lucretia, Magdaleen, Marie, and Susanna—accounted for 19 babies and 51 women in the black community of New Amsterdam. That 70 black females shared only nine names suggests strongly that girls were being named after their mothers or aunts or grandmothers or perhaps even more distant female kin.

Future research on the naming practices of New Amsterdam blacks will undoubtedly enhance our knowledge of the kinship networks formed by black New Netherlanders and may also shed light on the African and Portuguese backgrounds of these individuals. It is already certain, however, that these carefully elaborated kinship ties formed the underpinning of a vital Afro-American community in New Amsterdam, a community composed of slaves and free blacks, old settlers and newcomers, Portuguese speakers and Dutch speakers, and Christians and non-Christians. The dynamics of this unusual community are yet to be explored.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Edgar J. McManus, *A History of Negro Slavery in New York* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1966); Ernst van den Boogaart and Pieter C. Emmer, "The Dutch Participation in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1596–1650," in Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn, eds., *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 353–75; Gerald Francis De Jong, "The Dutch Reformed Church and Negro Slavery in Colonial America," *Church History*, 40 (1971), 423–36; A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., *In the Matter of Color. Race and the American Legal Process: The Colonial Period* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 100–14; Joyce D. Goodfriend, "Burghers and Blacks: The Evolution of a Slave Society at New Amsterdam," *New York History*, 59 (1978), 125–44. See also Pieter C. Emmer, "The History of the Dutch Slave Trade, A Bibliographical Survey," *Journal of Economic History*, 32 (1972), 728–47 and Johannes Postma, "The Dimension of the Dutch Slave Trade from Western Africa," *Journal of African History*, 13 (1972), 237–48. Morton Wagman, "Corporate Slavery in New Netherland," *Journal of Negro History*, 65 (1980), 34–42 is a derivative study.

<sup>2</sup>In this connection, see Douglas Greenberg, "The Middle Colonies in Recent American Historiography," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 36 (1979), 414.

<sup>3</sup>Gerald W. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Knopf, 1974); Ira Berlin, "Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society on British Mainland America," *American Historical Review*, 85 (1980), 44–78; Allan Kulikoff, "The Origins of Afro-American Society in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia, 1700 to 1790," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 35 (1978), 226–59; T.H. Breen and Stephen Innes, "Myne Owne Ground": *Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640–1676* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Philip D. Morgan, "Work and Culture: The Task System and the World of Lowcountry Blacks, 1700 to 1880," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 39 (1982), 563–99.

<sup>4</sup>Gary B. Nash, "From Freedom to Bondage in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *Reviews in American History*, 10 (1982), 33–37.

<sup>5</sup>Allan Kulikoff, "The Beginnings of the Afro-American Family in Maryland," in Michael Gordon, ed., *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective* 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), 444–66;

Kulikoff, "The Origins of Afro-American Society in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia, 1700 to 1790;" Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976), 327–60; Gloria L. Main, *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650–1720* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 123–39. Breen and Innes, "Myne Owne Ground", 83–104, present a different interpretation based on a study of a community of free blacks on Virginia's Eastern shore. See also Russell R. Menard, "The Maryland Slave Population, 1658 to 1730: A Demographic Profile of Blacks in Four Counties," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 32 (1975), 29–54.

<sup>6</sup>Goodfriend, "Burghers and Blacks," 138–39; 129–31.

<sup>7</sup>Goodfriend, "Burghers and Blacks," 132–33; 142–43.

<sup>8</sup>"Extract from the Register of the Resolutions of the Honble. Director-General and Council, adopted in their session on Wednesday, 6th September, . . . 1656," E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* 14 vols. (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1856–1887), II: 28.

<sup>9</sup>"Vice Director Beck to Peter Stuyvesant. Curaçao, in Fort Amsterdam the 15 November . . . 1664," in *Voyages of the Slavers St. John and Arms of Amsterdam, 1659, 1663; together with Additional Papers illustrative of the Slave Trade under the Dutch* translated by E.B. O'Callaghan (Albany, NY: J. Munsell, 1867), 226–27.

<sup>10</sup>"Jeremias Van Rensselaer to Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer, colony of Rensselaerswyck October 21/11 1664," *Correspondence of Jeremias van Rensselaer, 1651–1674* translated & edited by A.J.F. van Laer (Albany, NY: University of the State of New York, 1932), 364–65. On marriages between blacks in other northern colonies, see Lorenzo Johnston Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968; originally published 1942), 191–98; and Merle G. Brouwer, "Marriage and Family Life Among Blacks in Colonial Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 99 (1975), 368–72.

<sup>11</sup>E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Dutch Manuscripts* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1865–66), 256; Berthold Fernow, ed., *The Records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1674*, 7 vols. (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1897), IV: 41–42.

<sup>12</sup>"Two letters written by Domine Henricus Selijns during his ministry in Breuckelen, 1660–1664," Second letter, dated June 9, 1664, *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch. Old First Dutch Reformed Church*



of Brooklyn, New York. *First Book of Records, 1660–1752*. Trans. and Ed. by A.P.G. Jos van der Linde (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1983), 231.

<sup>13</sup>*Calendar of Historical Manuscripts . . . Dutch*, 261.

<sup>14</sup>*The Records of New Amsterdam*, III: 315. See *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts . . . Dutch*, 258–59 for Lysbet's prosecution for the crime of arson in 1664.

<sup>15</sup>Kenneth Scott & Kenn Stryker-Rodda, eds., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch. The Register of Salomon Lachaire, Notary Public of New Amsterdam, 1661–1662*. Translated by E.B. O'Callaghan (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1978), 22–23.

<sup>16</sup>*The Records of New Amsterdam*, III: 232, 242.

<sup>17</sup>*The Register of Salomon Lachaire*, 9.

<sup>18</sup>"Two letters written by Domine Henricus Selijns during his ministry in Breuckelen, 1660–1664," Second letter, dated June 9, 1664, . . . 231.

<sup>19</sup>*The Records of New Amsterdam*, I: 298.

<sup>20</sup>Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom*, 185–256; Cheryll Ann Cody, "Naming, Kinship, and Estate Dispersal: Notes on Slave Family Life on a South Carolina Plantation, 1786 to 1833," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 39 (1982): 192–211; Mary Beth Norton, Herbert G. Gutman, Ira Berlin, "The Afro-American Family in the Age of Revolution," in Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, eds., *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 183; Wood, *Black Majority*, 181–85; Gary B. Nash, "Forging Freedom: The Emancipation Experience in the Northern Seaport Cities, 1775–1820," in Berlin and Hoffman, eds., *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution*, 20–27. See also Joseph Boskin, *Into Slavery: Racial*

*Decisions in the Virginia Colony* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1976), 26–37; Newbell Niles Puckett, "Names of American Negro Slaves," in George P. Murdock, ed., *Studies in the Science of Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), 471–94; J.L. Dillard, *Black Names* (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), 7–35; and J.L. Dillard, *Black English. Its History and Usage in the United States* (New York: Random House, 1972), 123–35.

<sup>21</sup>The family history of Claes Emanuel has been reconstructed from *Baptisms from 1639 to 1730 in the Reformed Dutch Church in New Amsterdam and New York* (New York: New York Genealogical & Biographical Society, 1901); *Marriages from 1639 to 1801 in the Reformed Dutch Church, New York* (New York: New York Genealogical & Biographical Society, 1940); and David Steven Cohen, *The Ramapo Mountain People* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1974), 29–31.

<sup>22</sup>The naming practices of New Amsterdam blacks appear to have been influenced by the Dutch colonial naming system which is distinctive in its use of patronymics and its bilineal orientation. Whether officials of the Dutch Reformed Church pressured black parents to conform to Dutch naming practices when baptizing their infants is unknown. For insight into the Dutch colonial naming system, see Rosalie Fellows Bailey, *Dutch Systems in Family Naming: New York - New Jersey* (Washington, D.C.: Genealogical Publications of the National Genealogical Society, No. 12, May 1954) and Edward H. Tebbenhoff, "Tacit Rules and Hidden Family Structures: Naming Practices and Godparentage in Schenectady, New York 1680–1800," *Journal of Social History*, 18 (1985), 567–85. I am grateful to Nancy Zeller for calling this point to my attention.