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‘Into speyne to selle for slavys’: English, Spanish and Genoese merchant networks and their involvement with the ‘cost of gwynea’ trade prior to 1550.

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In the winter of 1540/1541, Roger Barlow, an English migrant to Wales reacted to the fall of his patron, Thomas Cromwell, by confining himself to his estate at Slebech in Pembrokeshire and putting the finishing touches to a cosmography he had translated from Castilian; the 1519 edition of *Suma de Geographia* by Martin Fernandez de Enciso. He combined his translation with a navigation manual he had put together, extracts from Varthema, personal notes, and a proposal developed with a colleague over a decade previously. His intention was to present these texts to Henry VIII, in the hope of gaining the king’s support to seek out and establish an English trade route via the Northwest Passage to Cathay and the Spice Islands.¹

Although Roger Barlow interposed comments and passages into the cosmography that reflected his knowledge and experience, he translated Enciso’s passage about Guinea and the slave trade without alteration - summing it up thus: ‘In this countrey one take another, as the brother the sister or brother and the father the sone, and sellis them to the shippis of Portugal that comes theder for pecis of clothe of colours and for rynges of latyn, and so thei bring them into speyne to selle for slavys.’² As John Hawkins is widely acknowledged as England’s first slave trader, it could be surmised that Barlow knew little of the trade and could not have added to Enciso’s perfunctory description.³ However, Barlow had lived in Seville for at least a decade and made at least one voyage across the Atlantic prior to 1530. Although there is no evidence to suggest that Barlow or the merchants in his trading circle pre-empted Hawkins in attempting large-scale shipments of humans in their own ships, they were involved in activities that utilized slave labour and there is evidence that they bought and sold African slaves. They were also in close contact with Genoese merchants involved in the forced trans-Atlantic transportation of large groups of people from the African coast

between the river Gambia and Sierra Leone, the region known in the Early Modern period as the Guinea of Cape Verde.⁴

Little work has been done on the experiences of English merchants in the Iberian Atlantic prior to the second half of the sixteenth century since Gordon Connell-Smith's 1954 publication, *Forerunners of Drake: A Study of English Trade with Spain in the Early Tudor Period*. Connell-Smith examined the tightly knit group of English merchants trading from Seville during the Tudor period, revealing the complexity of the merchants' trading networks. However, he did not address the issue of slavery nor the Iberian relationship to the west coast of Africa.⁵ Until 2008, when my study, "Negotiating Fortune: English merchants in Early Sixteenth Century Seville," and Gustav Ungerer's *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery* were published, Ruth Pike's studies of Genoese merchants, slaves and freedmen in sixteenth-century Seville and Alfonso Franco Silva's studies of slavery in Andalusia were the primary secondary sources for identifying English merchants who bought and sold African slaves.⁶

In this chapter, I combine research carried out in the archives of Seville, London and Bristol to build on the aforementioned studies. The chapter is divided into three parts. The first part introduces Roger Barlow and considers how parts of his cosmography, *A Brief Summe of Geographie*, reflect his personal experiences of Africa and the Atlantic trades which utilized slave labour from the Guinea of Cape Verde. The second part looks at the community of enslaved and free West Africans in Seville in the first half of the sixteenth century before exploring how Roger Barlow and his trading partners fitted into this society. Links to the Dukes of Medina Sidonia and Genoese merchants were key to the English merchants' involvement with slavery and the Guinea trade. The third part traces these links from the mid fifteenth century to the mid sixteenth, concluding with a description of how Barlow's trading circle operated in Seville and the nature of their personal involvement in the slave trade. My aim is not to provide a comprehensive overview of the impact of European traders on the Guinea of Cape Verde, but to explore the links Roger Barlow and his circle had to the region through living in Seville and trading with Spain's Atlantic settlements. These links are significant, for the English merchants not only played a part in linking the Guinea of Cape Verde to the wider Atlantic world and the Western hemisphere

through trade, but their experiences in this regard also entered into networks of information exchange. Indeed, it is my contention that their encounters with slavery and Africa had an impact on how ideas regarding trade and consumption, exploration and colonization, cartography and navigation, and race, developed in the British Isles.

Roger Barlow and his 'Brief Summe' of Atlantic Trade

Roger Barlow was born sometime between 1480 and 1496 near Colchester and he lived and traded from Seville from around 1516, as a member of the community of English merchants who flourished there. Like many merchants, he worked as an agent for others, managing their cargoes and trading in sugar, as well as running his own wine exporting businesses. When Sebastian Cabot sailed from Seville in April 1526 in search of a route to the Moluccas, Barlow went as the fleet's accountant. After Cabot decided not to pass through the Straits of Magellan, Barlow then accompanied him into the inland reaches of the Rio de la Plata river system. He returned to Spain in late 1528 and spent over a year attempting to organize relief for Cabot, whom he had left behind in South America. Barlow returned to England during the early 1530s and married the daughter of a Bristol merchant. Within a few years he was living in Pembrokeshire, where he built up a large estate. He died in 1553.⁷ As Barlow had inserted his personal account of the Rio de la Plata into his translation of Enciso's *Suma*, this would have been the first personal account of the Americas to appear in English had it been published during Barlow's lifetime. When E.G.R. Taylor edited the work for publication by the Hakluyt Society in 1932, she pointed out just how curious it was that 'the earliest account in English of the New World should have been unregarded for nearly four centuries'. It has continued to be largely 'unregarded'.⁸

In translating Enciso's text, Roger Barlow was following an established pattern, for using and adapting tried and true texts was an acceptable practice in the sixteenth century. He kept to Enciso's description of Africa: restricted to the coast, starting in the Mediterranean and working west, then south. After briefly describing Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands, Enciso moved to the mainland. Enciso acknowledged that his work came 'from the wisdom of the Bactrian History, the two Ptolemies, Eratosthenes, Pliny, Strabo, Josephus, Anselm, the Bible, the General History, and many other writings, and from our own daily experience, which is the mother of

everything'.⁹ However, Enciso did not borrow from classical sources nor rely on personal experiences for his entry on Guinea. Although he was involved in the slave trade, gaining a license to take five slaves to Hispaniola in 1513, it is a succinct combination of contemporaries' or near-contemporaries' experiences.¹⁰

Beginning in the Cape Verde Islands, Barlow translated Enciso's words to explain that some of the islands 'be not enhabited, ther is nothings in them but gootes, and ther be so many of them that ther be shippis that be laden with ther skynnes and as for the bodie thei caste awai'. He explained that the coast 'ffrom the river of gamba to the cape roxo is 30 leges and al the coste is shouldes so that it is daungerous to saile by the coste'. Like Enciso, Barlow thought that 'the river grande' - the Corubal river in Guinea-Bissau - was the mouth of the Western Nile and he declared it to be 'the biggest river of all this cost of affrica and it is navigable wher stondes the citie giaga'. He continued to translate Enciso's words thus:

'In this cost be good portes and rivers but not bygge. Within the lond in the parage of this cost thei gather a spice called graynes in so gret quantitie that shippis be lade with it. from cape palmas to cape of trespounta is 112 leges. In this cost be good ryvers and portes and the contre is good. The people be blacke. All this countrey from cape veride to cape of trespounta is called the cost of gwynea. In this countrey one take another, as the brother the sister or brother and the father the sone, and sellis them to the shippis of Portugal that comes theder for pecis of clothe of colours and for rynges of latyn, and so thei bring them into speyne to selle for slavys. In this coste thei have no corne, thei ete rise and rotes. Thei have plenty of flesshe and goates, ther drynke is wyne of palme trees''.¹¹

Barlow's translation of Enciso continued, alluding to the extreme weather conditions before briefly describing the machinations of the gold trade. He began: "In this contrey thei have often lightenynge and thondringes and from the element falleth many rays called thondreboltes which destroys people and catayll.' Barlow then described the 'castle of myne' (El Mina) as the centre of trade where 'the negros bring the golde that thei gather within the lande as thei gather it without trieng, and selleth it for trucke of clothe of colour and rynges of latyn (brass), shelles and other trifles to the factours that the king of Portugal hathe there, for in none other placis thei do not

bie it.’¹² By ‘thei gather it without trieng,’ Barlow may have meant that the gold had not been panned to remove the dross rather than it was easily mined.

Both Enciso and Barlow limited their descriptions of the people of Guinea’s appearance to their skin colour which they wrote ‘be blacke’. However, Barlow’s translation of Enciso’s references to diet and material possessions are more revealing. The fact that Enciso knew that the people of the Guinea-Bissau coast grew rice verifies Walter Hawthorne’s claims that Europeans were aware of this skill and that it was subsequently transported to the Americas where rice became a vital food source.¹³ Indeed, the description of the plentiful food supply confirms John Thornton’s statement that ‘one of the most interesting facts of the early Atlantic trade was that Europe offered nothing to Africa that Africa did not already produce’. Moreover, Barlow’s statement that ‘thei use pecis of coper markyd wt crosses for ther money. Thei extreme moche the copper and little the gold. Thei geve the golde in trucke of rynges of latyn and coper and for certein red shelles of fysshes and clothe of colours’ backs up Thornton’s conclusion that Africa’s trade with Europe at this stage was encouraged by a strong domestic market keen to consume a variety of new and varied items.¹⁴

In ‘*Some Minor Sources for Guinea, 1519-1559*’, P. E. H. Hair noted that Enciso had never been to Guinea. He surmised that Enciso’s account of the coasts of this region must therefore be based on the experience of others, and ‘presumably for this reason it is brief and slight, though reasonably accurate’. He judged Enciso’s account of Guinea to be ‘poor stuff compared with the earlier Portuguese accounts of the 1500s,’ acknowledging that it ‘had more immediate influence than they did, because it appeared in print and they did not’. Hair was aware that Enciso’s *Suma* had been translated into English by Barlow and that this ‘merchant and traveller’ had inserted his own notes concerning the Canaries and Morocco. However, as Barlow’s experiences had not extended to Guinea, Hair saw his words as being of linguistic rather than historical value.¹⁵ Hair is right, Barlow’s translation of Enciso’s description of Guinea does not tell us anything new about Guinea. However, by comparing Barlow’s text with Enciso’s, it is possible to ascertain certain things about Barlow. Barlow may not have been familiar with the landscape of the Guinea mainland, but his interpolations into other areas of Enciso’s text indicate that he was

familiar with two trades that relied on slave labour from Guinea: the sugar and pearl trades.

As a sugar trader, Barlow visited the Portuguese settlements at the fort of Santo Cruz do Cabo de Gué, now the port of Agadir in Morocco, and São Tomé in the Gulf of Guinea. English merchants had regularly visited Santa Cruz from around 1470, as it was key in the distribution of Moroccan-grown cane sugar. Barlow described how the Portuguese at the Moroccan port ‘thei do trat with the morys that dwelleth there about which be at peace with them of the castle’. He knew that the Moors would round up their livestock and take refuge in the Portuguese fort when they knew the ‘*alarves*’ or local tribesmen were about to attack.¹⁶ In one of his rare interpolations in the text, he revealed that ‘I have ben there when ther hathe ben above x thousand *alarves* without gonshot of the castle and durst come no nier for fear of ther gonnys’. He described how ‘thei wil skyrmishe with ther horsys toward the mores that be about the castle and often tymes their be overthrowen and the horse renneth awaie the leveth ther master behinde them’. The fact that Barlow sat through the night, watching the tribesmen ‘fet awaie the dead bodye’, before disappearing with the dawn, highlights the co-dependencies between the European and North African traders who maintained these trading centres and the tenuous nature of those posts.¹⁷ Roger Barlow also added to Enciso’s description of São Tomé in the Gulf of Guinea, noting that the ‘isle of santome’ was ‘well inhabited with portingales.’ The push west, which had seen sugar plantations established in Cyprus, Crete and Sicily, and then in southern Iberia, Madeira and the Canaries had led the Portuguese to established plantations on São Tomé in the Gulf of Guinea by the early sixteenth century. Barlow was sufficiently familiar with the quality of the sugar grown in Morocco and on La Palma in the Canary Islands to comment that on São Tomé ‘thei make moche sugar but it is not so good as it is in other placys’.¹⁸

Sugar plantations were labour intensive concerns and the first plantations established by the Venetians, Catalans and Genoese had depended on slave labour from the Mediterranean basin and Eastern Europe. The Portuguese could not have run sugar plantations on São Tomé without importing a labour force and from 1500 they began to use slaves from the African mainland. There was a ready supply, Africans from the Kongo, who had been ‘collected’ into fortified barracks along the coast by the

lançados and *tangomaos*, were brought to the island. Their branding with a cross distinguished them from those taken directly to Portugal. Later, all slaves were branded with a letter G for Guinea.¹⁹ *Lançados* and *tangomaos* were settlers from Portugal and the Cape Verde islands who had settled along the coast from present day Gambia to Sierra Leone. Although the Portuguese had claimed the offshore islands of the Cape Verde archipelago and São Tomé, individual foreigners had been initially welcomed as settlers and traders and allowed to participate in official voyages. Indeed, during the fifteenth century settlement and trade in the region had largely been financed by wealthy Florentine and Genoese merchants, and Antoni de Noli, the first governor of Cape Verde, was Genoese. However, despite their important role in the colony, *lançados* were viewed with suspicion by the Portuguese authorities for some were Jews fleeing persecution and they, and other traders, had often formed relationships and established families with local women. These contacts meant that they were well situated to mediate between Europeans and Africans and they were often prepared to trade with whoever gave them the best price. This irked the Portuguese government, for the slave trade had the potential to bring a large income to the state in the form of license fees and taxes. In 1486 the Portuguese crown had formalized the trade in slaves from Guinea by channeling it through a single institution – the Casa dos Escravos de Lisboa. The *almoxarife*, the head of the Casa, was known as ‘Receiver of the twentieth of Guinea and India’. He met the shipments of slaves and oversaw their pricing according to sex, age and fitness. Buyers bought slaves from the Casa, paying an excise duty on top of the price displayed on labels around the slaves’ necks. As this income grew, the government increased in its determination to retain the country’s monopoly over the region. Never-the-less, despite laws being passed at the beginning of the sixteenth century, making it a capital offence to trade in Guinea without a license and forbidding Cape Verdeans from trading with the mainland, several of the examples cited later in this chapter highlight the fact that non-Portuguese merchants continued to dabble in the trade.²⁰

Martin Fernandez de Enciso was personally linked to some of the Genoese merchants involved in slave trading along the coast of Guinea. In 1513, Alexander Cataño, a Genoese merchant based in Seville, bought several slaves from the master of a ship off Santiago in Cape Verde along with two other Genoese merchants - John Morel and John of Pina. The men sold the slaves on to another Genoese merchant, Juan

Francisco de Grimaldo, who subsequently shipped them to Santo Domingo. That same year Grimaldo and his colleague, Gaspar Centurion, loaned Enciso two hundred and twenty five ducats to equip his caravel *Santiago* and buy merchandise for his voyage to Panama. The two Genoese also outfitted the *Conception* which was partly owned by Enciso. In 1516, a year when Grimaldo shipped many slaves to Santo Domingo, he and Centurion granted power of attorney to Enciso to collect debts linked to these transactions owed to them in Panama.²¹

After São Tomé was brought under the direct administration of the Portuguese crown in 1522, it served as a stopover point for merchants plying the slave trade between the African mainland and the Americas for the next twenty-five years.²² As Roger Barlow was familiar with the pearl industry, he would have known that some of the slaves passing through São Tomé would end up on the small island of Cubagua between Trinidad and the Venezuelan coast. Several of Barlow's colleagues in Seville traded in the large and lustrous pearls unique to the region's pearl beds and the 1532 will of Barlow's close friend, Robert Thorne, refers to a large chest of pearls that he and a Genoese colleague, Leonardo Catanó, had hoarded. These pearls may have been exchanged for goods for Robert Thorne's brother, Nicholas Thorne, exported English cloth and dyes to Cubagua via Seville in early 1527.²³ Although Cabot did not sail near Cubagua on the 1526 voyage, many of the pearls that Barlow had been instructed by Charles V to purchase on the voyage would have been sourced there, for they were, as Barlow described them, 'orient and bygge'. In his insertion into Enciso's description of Trinidad, Barlow also noted that in the 'gulf of paria be found perles but not many' because, by the time he was putting the finishing touches to his cosmography, Cubagua's pearl beds were severely depleted. However, in 1526, when Barlow accompanied Cabot across the Atlantic, the island's pearl beds were still plentiful and the trade was at its height.²⁴

By the mid 1520s there were around one hundred individuals running pearling operations on Cubagua. These pearl traders, known as *rancherlas de perlas*, each owned at least one canoe, manned by a foreman, known as the *mayordomo*, sailors and divers. The increasing exploitation of the pearl beds meant that the demand for divers went up from four to six divers per canoe in the early 1520s to seven or eight by the late 1520s.²⁵ The labour required to establish the island's European settlement

and man the pearling boats was originally imported from surrounding islands, including the Bahamas, Trinidad, and the Venezuelan coast. Lucayan Indians were prized above the others because of their ability to dive over thirty metres or more - a skill developed diving for conch. Prices for individual Lucayan Indians reached as high as 150 gold ducats. This demand in conjunction with the even greater demand for labour in the gold mines of Hispaniola resulted in Las Casas reporting that the Bahamas had been completely depopulated of Lucayos by 1518.²⁶ In the same year, Charles V issued a decree allowing for African slaves to be taken directly from Africa to the Americas. In 1526 a royal decree was issued, banning the exportation of the indigenous population of San Juan to Cubagua.²⁷ The combined effect of these decrees meant that licenses began to be issued to import African slaves to Cubagua at the time Barlow was sailing across the Atlantic with Cabot. It is thought that the first slave voyage that went directly to the Americas took place in 1526. Two of the three voyages that took this route in 1526 went under the Spanish flag and purchased slaves from the Cape Verde islands. Slaves purchased for the other Portuguese voyage had been taken from the Kongo, Bight of Biafra and the Gulf of Guinea islands to São Tomé. It is thought that the Spanish vessels landed their slaves on Hispaniola and Cuba while the Portuguese unloaded in Cuba. Although the majority of slaves came from the Upper Guinea coast – the Guinea of Cape Verde - on the legal documents provided to their shippers and owners by the Spanish authorities, they are described simply as ‘negra’, ‘negro’ or ‘negros’.²⁸

Rules were introduced on Cubagua in the late 1520, stipulating the number of hours boat crews could work and how deep they could dive. These rules were rarely enforced and López de Gómara wrote in 1551 that Cubaguan pearls were obtained ‘at the cost of many Spaniards, many Negroes, and very many indians’.²⁹ The enslaved pearl divers often had to dive to depths of over sixty feet. At this depth, eardrums can burst and the lungs compress, causing the diver to sink rather than swim. Even divers who had learned to dive as children, thus developing optimum lung capacity, faced added hardship off Cubagua where the cold waters of the oceanic trench along the pearl coast could cause exposure.³⁰ In order to optimize profits in such conditions, it would have been to the pearl trader’s advantage to seek strong swimmers who had experience of diving. They were lucky in this regard for, as contemporary commentators attest, Portuguese slave traders were operating in a region where such

skills were commonplace. The sixteenth century traveler, Pieter de Marees wrote in his 1602 book, *Description and historical account of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea*, that Africans from the Gold Coast 'are very fast swimmers and can keep themselves underwater for a very long time. They can dive amazingly far, no less deep, and can see underwater. Because they are so good at swimming and diving, they are especially kept for that purpose'. He specifically mentioned that they were used on another island along the pearl coast: 'the island of St Margaret in the West Indies, where Pearls are found and brought up from the bottom by Divers'. He praised the swimming abilities of West African men in general, adding that 'many of the women here can swim very well too'. Later in the sixteenth century, Melchisédec Thevénot made the more general comment in his 1696 book, *The Art of Swimming*, that 'it is most certain that the Indians and the Negroes excel all others in the art of Swimming and Diving. It is to them that the Ladies are Obligated for their Ornaments of Pearl'.³¹

Before the discovery of silver in Peru in 1545, enslaved divers along the Pearl coast probably generated more wealth than anywhere else in the Americas.³² Africans from the Guinea of Cape Verde played an essential role in generating this wealth and the way the slave trade operated in relation to the island was Spain's experience of Atlantic trade during this period in microcosm. The European settlers on the island were as desperate for food supplies, clothing and labour as those on Hispaniola and San Juan.³³ Mindful of this, Diego Caballero, an accountant living on Hispaniola, obtained *real cédulas* (royal warrants) in June 1527 that allowed him to ship supplies from Seville as well as: twelve '*esclavos negros*' (black slaves) to employ in the pearl fisheries.³⁴ As a Spaniard, Caballero was officially required to buy the slaves from a Portuguese trader, although he may well have bypassed the authorities and dealt with one of the aforementioned *lançados*. The Spanish authorities were equally determined to control trade and immigration to their Atlantic possessions. Although Charles V had given his permission for slaves to be taken directly from Africa to the New World, it was a requirement that licenses had to be issued by the customs house in Seville, the Casa de la Contratación, and that traders should dock in Santo Domingo on Hispaniola to have their cargos, including their slaves, evaluated and taxed.³⁵ Bringing slaves to the island to work in households as well go out on the boats involved license fees and import duties. For example, in March 1527, Martin Alonso, a resident of Cubagua, was required to pay five ducats for each of the two '*esclavos*

negros’ he had brought to work in his household: two ducats for each license and three for the value-added duty known as the *almojarifazgo*.³⁶

By focusing on the activities of two Spanish slave traders in particular, Juan and Sancho de Urrutia, it is possible to see how traders attempted to avoid paying duties on the slaves they took to Cubagua, and how traders soon learned that shipping ever larger consignments of Africans to Spain’s Atlantic outposts could be very profitable in its own right. For example, in January 1526, Juan de Urrutia obtained a *cédula* for a license to bring thirty ‘*esclavos negros*’ to Cubagua in connection with a contract to supply pearls.³⁷ The fact that eight months later he received a royal pardon for taking thirty to the island without a license, suggests that he either landed sixty slaves or never paid the license fees for the original thirty. In December 1527, Sancho de Urrutia obtained a *cédula* to take thirty ‘*esclavos negros*’ to Cubagua, or any other place in the Indies except Hispaniola. He may have been specifically prevented from making the customary stop in Hispaniola because his brother had taken seventeen slaves there from Cape Verde previously without a license. Two months later, Sancho received another *cédula* to take thirty slaves to Cubagua or any other part of the Indies.³⁸ It can be confirmed that at least some of these Africans landed on Cubagua, for in March 1535 a Sancho de Monasterio paid the duties necessary to gain official approval of the fact that he had taken possession of two slaves from the vessels that the de Urrutia brothers had landed on the island in 1528.³⁹ As the pearl beds of Cubagua became depleted, some merchants who had purchased African slaves initially to sustain their pearling businesses now turned to slave trading as an end in itself. For example, in May 1536 Luis Sánchez Dalvo, a resident of Cubagua who had obtained a *cédula* to take one hundred ‘*esclavos negros*’ to Peru in partnership with Juan de Urrutia, promptly sold a quarter of his pearl fishing business to Juan de Barrera. By the 1540s Barrera was shipping merchantise and slaves to Mexico and during the 1550s he was concentrating solely on the Afro-American slave trade and was part owner of the Santa Catalina, a ship that regularly made trips between Seville, Africa and Santa Cruz.⁴⁰ By mid century, the expansion in Atlantic trade and the increase in merchants like Barrera, who shipped increasing numbers of slaves, were having an increasing impact on the region most of the slaves were from - the Guinea of Cape Verde.

The community of enslaved and free West Africans in Seville

Some of the West Africans brought to Cubagua to serve as domestic servants and artisans would have been born in Seville or lived most of their lives there. These ‘*ladinos*’ were Castilian-speaking Christians who were familiar with Hispanic customs. They had come from a port city where not all Africans were slaves and where not all slaves were Africans.⁴¹ Although slaves had been employed in Spanish households since the Middle Ages, the trade had never been large and it was not until around 1444 that the Portuguese began to sell slaves from West Africa over the border into Spain. From the late 1470s Portuguese traders began to bring slaves known as *negros de jalof* or *gelofes* directly into Seville’s port. Although the name *jalof* is clearly derived from the empire of Jolof near the Senegal River, it was generally applied to those taken from the entire area stretching from the Senegal to Sierra Leone.⁴² These slaves usually worked in homes or businesses in Seville, although they were sometimes transported to Burgos, Valladolid, Barcelona or Valencia. However, after 1510, when King Ferdinand licensed the Casa to send fifty ‘Christian blacks’ bought in Lisbon on to Hispaniola, African slaves began to be sent from Seville to Spain’s Atlantic settlements.⁴³ For example, in June 1513, Anton de Palma, a clothing manufacturer from the central Seville parish of Santa Maria, sold thirty year Juan, ‘*esclavo negro natural de Guinea*’, along with two donkeys to a merchant of Santo Domingo for 48 ducats. Had Juan been sold in Lisbon, he would have sold at the block, but, in Seville, his master walked him around the markets at the heart of the city’s business district and sold him for the highest price offered. The route taken meant that many slaves ended up being sold on the steps of the Cathedral.⁴⁴

Most of the *cédulas*, licensing the importation of African slaves to Hispaniola were for one to twenty slaves, primarily for the personal use of the Spaniards who were sufficiently wealthy to purchase them. Even if the slaves had been sourced in the Guinea of Cape Verde, they were brought to Seville, re-sold and then exported on to the Atlantic settlements. Sebastian Cabot, in his role as Pilot Major, was involved in authorizing the transport of slaves and in June 1518 he authorized Diego Rodriguez to ship twenty slaves to Hispaniola.⁴⁵ However, in August 1518, a *cédula* for the bulk importation of four thousand ‘slaves direct from Africa to Hispaniola was granted to “Governor Bressa,” the king’s ‘*mayordomo mayor*’ (senior steward), through his

Genoese agents Adán de Bivaldo, Tomás de Forne and Lorenzo de Gorrevod, who went on to resell many of the licenses. As the Crown had previously insisted that only Christians could go to the Indies, it is likely that the young Charles V had signed Gorrevod's *asiento* or contract in response to the petitions by Las Casas and other priors regarding the devastation of indigenous communities.⁴⁶

Even after African slaves began to be shipped to the Indies, the number of African slaves employed in local industries in Seville grew and almost a quarter of the four thousand '*negros*' licensed to work as slaves between 1518 and 1523 were registered by the Casa de Contratación as being within the jurisdiction of Seville. By the 1520s, contemporary observers often commented that the city appeared to have almost as many black and 'Moorish' slaves as free citizens. Although numbers were exaggerated, and many newcomers did not realize that many Africans were free citizens, it is probably safe to claim that Seville had the largest slave population of any city in Spain in the sixteenth century. According to a 1565 church census, there was a slave for every fourteen inhabitants in Seville.⁴⁷

Some of the Africans living as free citizens in Seville had always been so while others had been subsequently freed and, before the end of the fifteenth century, black freedmen had their own fraternity in Seville, as they did in Valencia and Barcelona. The passenger lists of ships leaving Seville reveal that free citizens of African descent as well as slaves traveled to Spain's Atlantic settlements. Some went as factors and others as sailors, soldiers, servants, farmers and tradesmen.⁴⁸ These lists provide a valuable insight into the mix of Seville's West African community, as the English merchants would have experienced it. As passenger lists were based on the observations of individual captains, the level of detail is inconsistent, particularly prior to 1530. After that date, captains had to check the royal licenses required to travel to the Spanish 'kingdoms' in the New World and therefore recorded the emigrant's name, age, occupation, and destination. However, it is generally accepted that only a fifth of European emigrants were listed on these lists and that, even after 1530, many reached the New World without licenses. Emigration to the New World was an escape for debtors, criminals, and beleaguered *conversos* and one can only surmise that free Africans in Seville may also have seen it as a way to find opportunity and escape prejudice.⁴⁹ The lists provide a limited but nevertheless

illuminating glimpse into one the West African Diaspora via Spain into the wider Atlantic world in the early 16th century.

Prior to 1530, African passengers were generally described according to their skin colour and their legal status, although sometimes their birthplace was recorded. All passengers of non-European heritage and some Eastern Europeans were described thus: white - '*blanco*', tawny - '*loro*' or black - '*negro*'. The vagaries of individual judgement meant while one captain would describe a North African or Canary as '*blanco*', another might label them '*loro*'. Passengers of Afro-European descent could be described as '*loro*' or '*mulata*'. The majority of slaves and free citizens labelled as '*negro*' or '*negra*' at this time were from the Guinea of Cape Verde. Of three African men who left Seville, bound for 'the Indies' in 1513, Andrés Chapinero was described as coloured black and enfranchised (*de color negro, horro*), Juan de Segura as a free black (*negro, libre*), and Juan de Sevilla was simply listed as being the colour black, '*de color negro*,' and a resident of Seville – which could indicate that neither he nor his parents had ever been enslaved.⁵⁰ A quarter of a century later, the passenger lists record that Domingo, an African traveling to Peru, presented a warrant from the Council of the Indies confirming that he was free and enfranchised. Although many free Africans embarked for the Americas alone or with companions, others left in family groups. Many of these were mothers and their children, like Catalina and her son, who left in March 1513, and then there were larger family groups like Juan de Bonilla, his wife Inés Pérez, and their children Lázaro and Ana, who sailed from Seville in August 1515, bound for San Salvador. The individuals in both family groups were described as black and enfranchised.⁵¹

When Francisco departed in June 1535, after licenses to emigrate were made mandatory, he was not only described as being the colour black, it was also noted that he was a native of Guinea and a Christian.⁵² By the next generation, a number of those departing Seville were listed as having one parent who was a native of Guinea. For example, in 1555 Llorente González, a resident and native of Seville, traveled to Peru as a servant. Llorente is described as the daughter of Alonso González and of Catalina González, a '*negra de Guinea*'. In November 1559, Na de Logroño, a native of Jerez de los Caballeros near the Portuguese border, who was going to Venezuela, was described as '*mulata*'. Her father was Francisco de Logroño and her mother,

Francisca de Logroño, was listed as a '*negra de Guinea*'. According to the passenger lists, Na was traveling alone. This was not unusual and during the last half of the sixteenth century many women who had been born in Guinea, or whose parents had, were recorded as sole passengers. The majority of them were bound for Peru and their status, in terms of whether were slaves or free, was not always recorded. In 1555, Conanzia Diaz left her birthplace of Seville to go to Venezuela and Peru. She traveled alone and was free, '*soltera y libre*', and listed as being the daughter of Juan Diaz, a native of Seville and of Isabel, a '*negra, natural de Guinea*'. As these women's mothers' skin colour was noted, yet their fathers' was not, suggests they were the daughters of European men.⁵³ In January 1569 three women traveled alone from Seville to Peru without any reference to their legal status. Magdalena Moniz was described simply as a native of Guinea, and Ana de Jesus and Beatriz were both described as black and as natives of Guinea. Beatriz's father's name, Cristóbal Jolofo, implies a direct link to the region he came from.⁵⁴ The term 'Jolof' was rarely used in passenger lists and so the 1565 record that the 'black' Hernando, going to Peru as the servant of Hernando de Santillán, was a native of 'Jolofo' suggests that Hernando may have made a point of mentioning it.⁵⁵

Although Africans from the Guinea of Cape Verde were very much part of Seville's streetscape and many were skilled artisans and traders in their own right, the fact that they lived on intimate terms with their European masters, employers and neighbours could cause unease. An example of this can be seen in a broadsheet, '*Coplas de como una dama ruega a un negro que cante*', published in Seville in 1520. In this tale of a mistress who attempts to seduce her African slave or servant, under the guise of persuading him to sing and dance for her, the unease manifests as humour.⁵⁶ It is a pertinent example for the ability to dance and sing was generally prized in Sevillian households and a valued attribute in a slave or servant. Indeed, the fact that one of the dances popular in the period was called the 'Guineo' suggests that those brought from the Guinea of Cape Verde introduced dancing styles from their homeland.⁵⁷ The humour inherent in the broadsheet's verse comes from the fact that while a European man's sexual relationship with their African servant or slave could be tolerated, it would have been unthinkable for a respectable Spanish woman to behave in the same way.

Coplas de como vna dama ruega a vn negro que cante en manera de requiebro: y como el negro se dexa rogar en fin la señora vencida de su gracia le offrece su persona. Con vnas coplas de anton va que rizo de morana.



Canta Jorge canta
no quiere canta,

Canta Jorge por tu fe
y veras que te dare
vna argolla para el pie
y otra para la garganta
no quiere canta.

Jorge.

Como cantare señora
pues que mi coraçon lloza
y en vos tal crueldad mora
que me aborrece y espanta
no quiere canta,

La señora.

Canta Jorge no respates
y sirue mejor que dantes
cá que ves q̄ traygo guantes
a quien dios quiere levanta
no quiere canta.

Jorge.

Cho puedo cantar castuo
que soy mas muerto q̄ bluo
de vuestro amor tã esquuo
si os hablo hazeys os santa
no quiere canta,

4

Woodcut illustrating the broadside *Coplas de como una dama ruega a un negro que cante* Seville, circa 1520.

In 1599 a German visitor to Ayamonte in Andalusia was amazed by the many ‘black and half-caste women from the Indies (sic) and the Island of São Tomé, so beautiful and amorous that the townsmen often marry them’.⁵⁸ Ayamonte is on the Spanish Portuguese border to the west of Huelva and it had a thriving community of English merchants from last decades of the fifteenth century. By the time the aforementioned broadsheet was published, Roger Barlow and the English merchants he was close to worked and owned cattle, houses, and land in this fertile area that ran west of Seville to the border. In his study of slavery in Seville, Alfonso Franco Silva stated that many of the English merchants in Seville in the first quarter of the sixteenth century lived in

an area where slaves were imported and that they were buyers.⁵⁹ As most mercantile households would have had at least one slave for domestic use, this is unsurprising. Barlow's closest colleagues, Thomas Bridges, Thomas Malliard and Robert Thorne, lived with Spanish women, yet spent much of their time away from their households. They, and other foreign merchants who lived apart from their families, were surely more likely to have sexual relationships with their servants and slaves than local merchants. Yet, the encounters these Englishmen had with Africans were not restricted to their households for Barlow, Bridges, Malliard and Thorne had properties in the area where slaves were traded and their business interests meant they utilized slave labour.⁶⁰

Thomas Malliard had traded with Santo Domingo as early as 1509 and was refining sugar in partnership with the influential Genoese merchant Francesco Spinola at Rio de Los Sauces on La Palma in the Canary Islands from around 1515. Along with Bridges and Thorne, he leased farmland in the vicinity of Jerez. Malliard also owned a quarter share in the Royal Soap Factory in Triana and a smaller factory in San Salvador in the centre of Seville. Robert Thorne, the Genoese Leonardo Cataño, and a Spanish banker, Alonso de Melgar owned the other shares. This was a large operation, making prized white soap to export to England, Flanders, and Spain's Atlantic settlements. In 1525, when the local government performed an audit of the soap factory in Triana it was noted that five of the six labourers who tended the cauldrons were slaves. Malliard also owned land just outside Seville, and two large landed estates: one of royal provenance at Puerto de Santa María, opposite Cadiz, which he had brought from the Dukes of Medina Sidonia; and the other in Almonte, a village belonging to the Dukes of Medina in the fertile region west of Seville, renowned for its olive groves and vineyards.⁶¹ The links the English merchants had to the Dukes of Medina and to Genoese merchants increased their exposure to slave trading in general and slaves from the Guinea of Cape Verde in particular.

English links to Guinea through the Dukes of Medina Sidonia and the Genoese.

From the fifteenth century, the politics and trade of Seville were dominated by two families: the Ponce de Leons and the Guzmanes - the Dukes of Medina Sidonia. The Dukes had their headquarters at San Lucar de Barrameda at the mouth of the Guadalquivir River. This was an 'exempt seigneurial port' from where cargoes were

taken upriver to Seville. The Dukes set custom duties lower here than those charged at other locations under the jurisdiction of the Spanish Crown, thereby encouraging foreign merchants to trade and settle. In 1517, the first year Barlow is recorded as trading from Seville, the English merchants persuaded their hosts to formalize their privileges and the Duke granted the English merchants corporate privileges.⁶² The Dukes of Medina Sidonia were politically powerful and wealthy and their relationship to Africa was complex. In 1463, a duke left one thousand *maravedís* to the Hospital of Our Lady of the Angels in the parish of San Bernardo, a charitable foundation run by a black religious confraternity for both free and enslaved Africans. The Dukes' estates reached from the border with Portugal to the mountains behind Gibraltar. They were sugar growers and traders and this seemingly charitable action was linked to their investments in trading voyages to the Canary Islands and Guinea and the trafficking of slaves over the Portuguese border. It was in their interest to ensure that the African community in Seville was well cared for and orderly. In 1497, five years after Castile had taken control of the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada, Juan Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, known as Guzmán el Bueno, the third Duke of Medina Sidonia, conquered Melilla in the Kingdom of Fez. To protect their investment, the dukes provided ships to protect Spanish trade and privateering from Moorish shipping along the coast of Granada and North Africa.⁶³

English merchants made their first trips to the Guinea of Cape Verde through their connections to the Dukes of Medina Sidonia. In *Principal Navigations*, Richard Hakluyt records that in 1481 the King of Portugal, John II, sent a 'solemn Embassy' to the King of England, Edward IV, telling the king that two Englishmen, 'John Tintam' and 'William Fabian,' were in the service of the Duke of Medina Sidonia and they were preparing ships to sail to the Coast of Guinea. The Portuguese had prohibited the Duke from dealing directly with Guinea and they were keen that the two English merchants should be stopped. An order from the *asistente de Sevilla*, dated 3 November 1480, referring to English arrivals in the kingdom seeking pilots for their voyage to '*la Mina de Oro de Guinea*', does not explicitly forbid pilots from signing up, but flags the difficulties inherent in the situation. Moreover, a letter from Edward IV to Pope Sixtus IV, dated 27 February 1481, not only suggests that the Englishmen did find pilots, it confirms that that the English king hoped to avoid further Portuguese censure. Edward wrote to Sixtus: 'As it is advantageous for the

Christian religion that wealth and other things, precious for their natural excellence, should be drawn into its power from the hands of the infidels, he willingly permits his subjects to pass over to any parts of Africa for traffic and the exchange of baser merchandise for nobler, provided this be sanctioned by the pope's authority'. Edward said that he prayed that the pope would not attach any suspicion to such a voyage and that he would give his approval. By asking Sixtus to backdate the letter granting approval from 'the 1st of November last', Edward hoped to negate the complaints of the 'solemn embassy' referred to by Hakluyt. Pope Sixtus may well have complied, for Hakluyt reports that Tintam and Fabian 'doubled Cape Verde on the 5th of March 1482, and made so profitable a Voyage, that tho' they divided their Gains with the Duke of Medina their Patron, yet they put one hundred thousand Pounds a piece in their pockets'. Hakluyt concluded by assuring his readers that by 1485 the two Englishmen had bought the right to trade from Portugal and made their Peace in England.⁶⁴

Hakluyt was right that the two men did continue to trade with Guinea, however, his narrative is essentially a compressed version of a series of events and the names of the two Englishmen are unlikely to be accurate. This is not surprising, as Hakluyt's account was a translation of a section of the *Chronicle of King John II*, which Garcia de Resende had copied from the Portuguese chronicler Rui de Pina.⁶⁵ Although it can be impossible to identify English merchants whose names have been Hispanicised, or visa versa, William Fabian is likely to have been the Bristol merchant, William de la Founte, and John Tintam, his Castilian business partner, Juan Tristán. There is also a possibility that Hakluyt's merchants are composites of de Founte, Tristán, and two London merchants whose Hispanicised names were Guillermo Papín and Juan de Solana. Papín and Solana complained to the Spanish authorities in March 1480 that a group of merchants from Huelva and Palos had 'plundered and robbed' their merchandise stored on the island of Terceira in the Azores and so we know they were trading in the area. The Spanish petition is the only record we have of these merchants and the only key to their identities is that Papín could have been a relative of John Papenham, a Bristol merchant, who was active in that port the first half of the fifteenth century.⁶⁶ Founte, on the other hand, had links to the Dukes of Medina Sidonia and was actively involved in exploration. In May 1475, he was granted a license by Edward IV to make return trips between Bristol and Spain or Portugal

without paying customs duties, and by 1480 he was trading from Huelva, the port under the suzerainty of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia. This connection to the dukes and the traffic in African slaves over Portuguese border may have encouraged Founte to arrange a voyage to Guinea, a move compounded by the fact that in England in 1480 he was granted a license to trade 'anywhere' while looking for the mythical island of 'Brasil'.⁶⁷

By the early 1490s, there is evidence that William de la Founte, also known as Guillelmo de la Fuenté or Guillelmo Lebrón de la Fuenté, was actively involved in slave trading in Seville. In March 1490 'Guillelmo Lebrón de la Fuenté' was taken to task for failing to return five 'sequestered Guinea slaves' to their owner, Gómez Arias, a merchant of Avilés in Asturias. Rather than buying the slaves, Founte had been entrusted with the slaves during a dispute over their ownership between Arias and the state and presumably held on to them for as long as he possibly could because he found them to be a valuable asset. The fact that Founte traded in partnership with Juan Tristán is attested to by the fact that after both men died in the mid 1490s, the separation of their assets was a long and protracted affair.⁶⁸

As well as being part of a trading community that was beholden to the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, Roger Barlow is likely to have heard about the Guinea trade and the experience of slave ownership through his mercantile connections to Founte's hometown of Bristol, for Founte was well known to many influential merchants in Bristol, including the father of Barlow's closest ally, Robert Thorne.⁶⁹ The other important factor in the English merchants' connection to the Guinea of Cape Verde and slavery was their close relationships to Genoese merchant families who were established in Seville. Families, such as the Sopranis and Riberols who initiated the production of white soap in Seville and had sugar mills on Tenerife and traded in slaves and sugar, the Spinolas, Cataños, and Pinellis, provided advice, loans and introductions to the people who mattered in Seville. Their presence in the city and their role in the growing slave trade meant that they made valuable business partners.

Franco Silva identified Thomas Bridges, Thomas Malliard and Robert Thorne as merchants who, having done exceptionally well in their Seville businesses, were involved in slave trading on a larger scale than their countrymen. He specified that

Thomas Bridges ‘a well-known person in slave trading circles’ in the years 1514 and 1516. Although evidence of direct slave trading is hard to track, occasional glimpses into individual transactions and activities involving slaves emerge in notarial and parish records. One notary record indicates that in 1515 Bridges bought a fifteen-year old, referred to as ‘Juan de quince’, from a mule driver, for 12,200 *maravedies*. At the time he purchased Juan, Bridges had been living in Seville for twenty-four years and he had been personally acquainted with William de la Founte in Seville during the period he held the ‘sequestered Guinea slaves’. Bridges’ relationship with Fount was complex for in 1492 his brother, John Bridges, had paid a debt that the English merchant Nicholas Arnold owed Fount’s partner, Juan Tristan.⁷⁰ This action links the Bridges brothers to the Genoese Pinelli brothers who played a significant role in introducing African slaves to Hispaniola in the first decade of the sixteenth century for Bridges paid the entire amount of 267 ducats on behalf of Tristan into the bank account of the Bernardo Pinelli.⁷¹

Robert Thorne came from a family of well-established Bristol merchants, which had traded with the Genoese in Rhodes, Cyprus, and Seville for at least three generations. His family had a particularly strong bond with the Genoese Cataño family. Although the Genoese were always willing to co-opt successful outsiders into their business arrangements, Robert Thorne’s relationship with the Cataños was unusually close - close enough for Thorne to leave his son, Vincent, in the care of Leonardo Cataño and his brother Carlo whenever he left Seville. When Thorne died, Vincent was left permanently under their guardianship. This was a valuable contact, for Rafael Cataño worked as a factor for Christopher Columbus on Hispaniola and the family were privy to the very latest information regarding discoveries in the New World and emerging trading opportunities. The Cataños had been involved in growing sugar on Crete, Cyprus and Sicily. These early plantations were often worked by slave labor supplied through the existing Mediterranean slave trade.⁷² Like other Genoese families, they had been quick to take advantage of Spain’s Atlantic discoveries and were instrumental in supplying labour to Spain’s colonies. Records in the notary archives indicate that they regularly bought and sold slaves, some of whom are listed as being from ‘Guinea’. For example, in 1503 Marco Cataño sold thirty year Diego from ‘Guinea’ for just over twenty-two gold ducats, and in 1510, Juan Cataño sold Juan, aged sixteen - another slave from Guinea.⁷³ In 1513, it was Alexander Cataño, a

colleague of Robert Thorne's father, who went one step further by buying slaves directly from the master of a ship off Santiago in Cape Verde and sold them on to Enciso's patron, Juan Francisco de Grimaldo.⁷⁴

According to Franco Silva, Malliard also specialized in 'trafficking in blacks'. With plantations on Spain's Atlantic settlements and grazing properties in Andalusia, Malliard needed an extensive workforce. In August 1522 Malliard died, eleven months after securing two '*asientos*', or licenses, from the Casa allowing him to ship two '*esclavos negros*', to work for his factor, Alonso del Algava.⁷⁵ Inventories made of his properties, and court papers relating to the tussle between his Spanish family and his English brother over his will, indicate that he was wealthy and owned many slaves. He bequeathed some houses in Almonte, four slaves, and a yearly income of ninety-one ducats for life to his 'wife', Beatriz, and left his daughter, Ana, a dowry of four thousand ducats which was to be increased by a further two thousand if she fulfilled his wishes and married Sancho de Herrera. As one of Malliard's executors, Barlow assumed responsibility for sorting out Malliard's property regarding his bequest to Beatriz. His inventory of the estate at Almonte reveals that Malliard had fifteen slaves who worked there. Barlow listed Malliard's slaves according to their colour. He described Jorge and his daughter María and another Maria and her son Juanico, Lançarote and Marroquí variously as '*de colour negro*', or '*negro*' or '*negra*'. Some of the other slaves Barlow described as '*blanco*' or '*loro*'. Had Barlow made inventories of Malliard's other six other properties and his share of the soap factories, they would have no doubt revealed that Malliard owned a lot more slaves.⁷⁶

After Roger Barlow had left Seville on Cabot's voyage, Robert Thorne and Leonardo Cataño continued to buy slaves. In November 1526, for example, Thorne bought the thirty year old Catalina from the Genoese Juan de Riberol for 25 and a half ducats. In March 1528, he and Cataño bought the eighteen year old Antón for just under 37 ducats and the thirty year old Antón Capitán, specifically listed as a native of Guinea, for 26 and a half ducats. When Barlow returned to Seville in November 1528, he and Thorne remained there for almost two years before returning to England. Records show that Thorne was still exporting English cloth to Santo Domingo in August 1530 but by early 1531, he and Cataño were taking steps to transfer their shares in the soap

factory to the Welsers. In May 1531 they sold thirteen slaves employed in the factory to Bartholomäus Welser and Heinrich Gessler of the Welsers. Seven were described as berbers and six as ‘*negros, naturales de Guinea*’.⁷⁷

Sometime in late 1531 Barlow and Thorne returned to England. They had lived in and traded from Seville at the opportune time, and their departure from Spain coincided with the onset of increasingly difficult conditions brought about by Henry VIII’s treatment of Katherine of Aragon.⁷⁸ Thomas Bridges stayed and presumably died in Spain. In August 1528 he had been granted the right of contract in the Indies by virtue of having lived in Spain for 37 years. This meant he could trade directly with Spain’s Atlantic settlements in his own right. His son, John, had been naturalized as a citizen of the kingdom of Castille on 30 June 1528, ‘in spite of his father being English.’ John took advantage of his citizenship in August 1532 to apply for licences to sell African slaves to the Indies before emigrating to Peru in March 1534. He continued to trade in slaves, for in December 1548 the Casa granted him another license to send African slaves to the Indies.⁷⁹ In April 1549, Jerónimo Cataño was granted a license by the Casa de la Contratación to send a ship, without the protection of a fleet, to Cape Verde to ‘load blacks’. Another license, granted five months later, suggests that Cataño then took this cargo on to New Spain.⁸⁰

Roger Barlow and Robert Thorne arrived back in Bristol, having built substantial wealth and accumulated significant knowledge regarding the New World and trading opportunities. With them came money made from trading in slaves from the Guinea of Cape Verde and investing in businesses that relied on slave labour, as well as information about the workings of Atlantic trade. Evidence as to whether they brought Africans to England is elusive, as Imtiaz Habib’s *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500-1677: Imprints of the Invisible* and Kate Lowe’s introduction and chapter in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe* attest.⁸¹ Had they brought any Africans to England, they would generally have been designated as servants rather than slaves. As the cases cited by Alwyn Ruddock in *Italian merchants and Shipping in Southampton 1270-1600* indicate, the English authorities did not look kindly upon foreign merchants having slaves in their households. In terms of influence, both men, like many of their compatriots, held high office in their communities and guilds and had ample opportunity to share their knowledge with the country’s elite. John Bridges not

only continued to trade with Spain, he rose to high office in the Worshipful Company of Drapers during the second decade of the sixteenth century and in 1520 he became Mayor of London.⁸² He died around 1530, an influential man who had ample opportunity to communicate what he knew of early voyages to Guinea and his brother's slave holdings to his fellow guildsmen and councilors.

Robert Thorne intended to extend his trading activities in the Atlantic for he had purchased a ship in Spain and sailed it to England where he registered it as the *Saviour of Bristol*. He and his brother, Nicholas Thorne, planned to build a fleet around the *Saviour*, 'to discover and sougyt new contrys'. These plans were cut short when Robert Thorne died on Whitsunday 1532 in London, leaving 'a house and slaves in Sevyle' worth ninety-four pounds. The epitaph on Thorne's monument in the church of St Christopher in the Stocks in the City placed above his tomb referred to him as an honest merchant from Bristol who had made his wealth through skill. Thorne's reputation for generosity meant that he was remembered in Adams' *Chronicles of Bristol* as having 'had all the rule of white soap. He gave five hundred pounds to the use of cloth making, and did also give the greatest alms that were ever given in Bristow'. These, and other remembrances, reflected Robert Thorne's civic generosity.⁸³ Thorne's generosity to Bristol encouraged similar bequests from wealthy merchants. Thorne's money is generally considered untainted by the slave trade, unlike the bequests of many later merchants, but as Madge Dresser, whose work focuses on Bristol's later slave trade, has suspected – the fortune that allowed Thorne to donate three hundred pounds to the forming of the Bristol grammar school was derived in part from slave trading.⁸⁴

Roger Barlow left a very different legacy. Having first settled in Bristol, Barlow moved to Wales and invested the money he made trading in the Atlantic in building up a large estate in Pembrokeshire which his eldest son, John, inherited in 1553. Although there is no evidence confirming that Barlow owned slaves in Seville, his inventory of Malliard's property indicates he accounted for them as property and he made money from managing businesses that used them. At least some of the fortune used to acquire the estate at Slebech is likely to have been related to sugar and slaves. Slebech's links to Atlantic trade, sugar and slavery were compounded in 1792 when the Barlow family sold the estate to Sir Nathaniel Phillips, a wealthy merchant with

extensive sugar plantations in Jamaica, who owned over seven hundred ‘Negro slaves’.⁸⁵

Conclusion

The description of the ‘cost of gwynea’ that Roger Barlow included in his *Brief Summe of Geographie* brings into focus the connections between the region and the wider Atlantic world prior to 1550. It mentions the gold to be had and the agricultural and metalworking skills of the people, and it mentions the slave trade, albeit casually, as something that occurs at the margins of the merchants’ world. Indeed, it is generally accepted that until well into the seventeenth century, English merchants were not familiar with the trade. Winthrop D. Jordan argued that, as the first permanent English settlement on the African coast was at Kormantin in 1631 and the Royal African Company was not chartered until 1671, ‘Englishmen met Negroes merely as another sort of men,’ rather than potential slaves. Indeed, he suggested that it was their skin tone that made the most impact, suggesting that ‘in England perhaps more than in Southern Europe, the concept of blackness was loaded with intense meaning’. He argued that Englishmen would have connected black skin with impurity and evil.⁸⁶

However, English merchants operating in the Iberian Atlantic were privy to the beginning of what was to be a long process of Europeans experimenting with different types of labour in different Atlantic locations.⁸⁷ By the 1530s, a hundred years before the settlement at Kormantin, an influential group of English merchants saw the Guinea of Cape Verde as an important source of slaves. Although they had encountered West Africans as free men and women in Seville, and were aware of the difficulties involved in shipping slaves from Africa to Atlantic settlements, they knew it was feasible and had the potential to be profitable.⁸⁸ Moreover, they had direct experience of the fact that the use of West African slaves could ensure the survival of a colony and had the potential to make factories and plantations increasingly profitable over the long term. Buying, owning and selling slaves first-hand would have surely shaped the English merchants’ views of racial difference - not only in terms of defining the African slave as the ‘other’, but in terms of self-definition.⁸⁹ Although there was some stereotyping of Africans by Europeans prior to the ‘discovery’ of the New World, the merchants may well have become more aware of

their whiteness as they encountered more black Africans. Indeed, their definition of what it meant to be white may have crystallized precisely because they increasingly defined black Africans from the Guinea of Cape Verde as potential slaves, rather than the ‘blacksmiths, farmers, fishers, priests, members of royal families, musicians, soldiers, and traders’ that they were.⁹⁰ The idea of enslaving West Africans did not originate in the British Isles with Hawkins; it was an idea that percolated over time, nourished by the practical knowledge of men like Thorne, Bridges, Malliard and Barlow.

¹ Martin Fernandez de Enciso, *Suma de Geographia Que Trata de Todas las Partidas en Prouincias del Mundo* (Seville: Jacob Cromburger, 1519); Roger Barlow, Manuscript known as ‘A Brief Summe of Geographie,’ 18 B xxviii, British Library (BL); ‘The Address to the King,’ SP/239, British National Archives (NA); Heather Dalton, ‘Roger Barlow: Fashioning New Worlds from Old Words’ in Lisa Bailey, Lindsay Diggelmann and Kim Phillips (eds.), *Old Worlds, New Worlds: European Cultural Encounters 1100-1750* (Brepols: Turnhout, 2009): 75-99.

² Barlow (translation of Enciso), *A Brief Summe of Geographie*, ed. E. G. R. Taylor (London: Hakluyt Society, 1932), 105. All references to Barlow’s cosmography are to this published version.

³ Hawkins made three slaving voyages in the 1560s. Harry Kelsey, *Sir John Hawkins: The Queen’s Slave Trader* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Ronald Pollitt, ‘John Hawkin’s Troublesome Voyages: Merchants, Bureaucrats, and the origin of the Slave Trade,’ *The Journal of British Studies* 12/2 (1973): 26-40; Basil Morgan, ‘Hawkins, Sir John (1532–1595) in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, eds. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27593> (accessed December 2, 2009).

⁴ Heather Dalton, ‘Negotiating Fortune: English Merchants in Early Sixteenth Century Seville’ in *Bridging Early Modern Atlantic Worlds: People, Products and Practices on the Move*, ed. Caroline Williams, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009): 57 -73.

⁵ Gordon Connell-Smith, ‘English Merchants Trading to the New World in the Early Sixteenth Century,’ *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 23 (1950): 53-67; idem., *Forerunners of Drake: A Study of English Trade with Spain in the Early Tudor Period* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1954).

⁶ Dalton, ‘Negotiating Fortune: English Merchants in Early Sixteenth Century Seville’; Gustav Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery* (Madrid: Editorial Verbum, 2008); Ruth Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure: The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966) and *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972); idem., ‘Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century: Slaves and Freedmen,’ *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 47/3 (Aug., 1967): 344-59; Alfonso Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla y su Tierra a Fines de la Edad Media* (Seville: EXMA, Diputacion Provincial de Sevilla, 1979), *Los Esclavos de Sevilla* (Seville: EXMA, Diputacion Provincial de Sevilla, 1980), *La Esclavitud en Andalucía al Término de la Edad Media* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 1985), and *Esclavitud en Andalucía, 1450 – 1550* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1992).

⁷ Heather Dalton, ‘Roger Barlow: Tudor Trade and the Atlantic World.’ (PhD Thesis, University of Melbourne, 2008).

⁸ Dalton, ‘Roger Barlow: Fashioning New Worlds from Old Words,’ 77; E. G. R. Taylor’s preface to *A Brief Summe of Geographie*, ed. (London, 1932), vii.

⁹ The last page of the 1519 edition of Enciso’s *Suma*: ‘Conuiene a saber dela historia batriana, los dos Tpolomeos, Erastotenes, Plinio, Strabon, Josepho, Enseldo, La biblia, La General historia, y otros muchos, y la experiéncia de de nustos tiempos q es madre de todas las colas’.

¹⁰ 8 May 1513 (Valladolid), Licencia de esclavos al bachiller Enciso, Indiferente General (Ind.), 419, L.4, fol. 119v, Archivo General de Indias (AGI).

¹¹ Barlow (translation of Enciso), *A Brief Summe of Geographie*, 105-6. The 'cape of trespounta' could refer to Cape Three Points in Ghana and 'rynges of latyn' refers to brass bracelets and necklaces.

¹² Barlow (translation of Enciso), 106. The Castle of Myne refers to El Mina, now Elmina in Ghana.

¹³ Walter Hawthorne, *Planting Rice and Harvesting Slaves: Transformations Along the Guinea-Bissau Coast, 1400-1900* (Portsmouth NH: Heinemann, 2003).

¹⁴ Barlow (translation of Enciso), 106; John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2nd ed. 1998), 44, 45. For European trade and technological development in Africa see Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Dar-Es-Salaam: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1973) and *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970); Ralph Austen, *African Economic History: Internal Development and External Dependency* (London: James Currey, 1987).

¹⁵ Hair, 'Some Minor Sources for Guinea, 1519-1559,' 21-22.

¹⁶ For further explanation of the term 'terra dos alarves' see P. E. H Hair, 'Portuguese Contacts with the Bantu Languages of the Transkei, Natal and Southern Mozambique 1497-1650,' *African Studies* 39/1(1980): 3-46.

¹⁷ Barlow, 100. For information regarding the European presence in Morocco see: Vincent J. Cornell, 'Socioeconomic Dimensions of Reconquista and Jihad in Morocco: Portuguese Dukkala and the Sadid Sus, 1450-1557,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 22/4 (1990), 393-394; P.E.H. Hair & Robin Law, 'The English in Africa to 1700,' in *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, eds. Nicholas Canny and Elaine M. Low (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 244; Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Expansion, 1400-1668* (London: Routledge, 2005); Hilmar C. Krueger, 'Genoese Trade with Northwest Africa in the Twelfth Century,' *Speculum* 8/3 (1933): 377-395. Note there are various spellings of this fortified port, including 'Santa-Cruz-du-Cap-de-Guir'.

¹⁸ Barlow, 107.

¹⁹ Philip D. Curtin, 'Epidemiology and the Slave Trade' in *The Slavery Reader*, eds. Gad Heuman and James Walvin (London: Routledge, 2003): 11- 29, 12; John Iliffe, *Africans: The History of a Continent*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 125-130. By 1526, when Barlow set out on Cabot's voyage, Kongo (also referred to as the Congo) was supplying between two and three thousand slaves a year to Iberian Atlantic traders.

²⁰ Bailey W. Diffie & George D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire 1415-1580* (University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 106; Trevor P. Hall, 'Portuguese Archival Documentation of Europe's First Colony in the Tropics: The Cape Verde Islands, 1460-1530,' *Primary Sources & Original Works*, 22/3 & 4 (1993): 375 - 398; Valentim Fernandes, *Description de la Cote Occidentale d'Afrique* (Sinigal au Cap de Monte, Archipels), ed. and trans. Theodore Monod et al. (Bissau: Centro de Estudos da Guine Portuguesa, 1951); John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World*, 60-63; E. G. R. Taylor, Review of *Europeans in West Africa, 1450-1560* by J. W. Blake in *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 15/1 (1945): 38-9; Walter Hawthorne, *Planting Rice and Harvesting Slaves*, 56-58; John L. Vogt, 'The Lisbon Slave House and African Trade, 1486-1521,' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 117/1 (1973), 1-16; William D. Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1985), 156-7. De Noli remained governor during the Portuguese-Castilian war of 1475-7. Although *Lançados* were no longer considered such a threat by the close of the sixteenth century, their tendency to trade with who ever gave them the best price continued to irk authorities in Lisbon.

²¹ Record of Bernal Gonzalez Vallesillo, 13 December 1513, file 15, book I; 21 Oct 1516, file 15, single book, Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla (APS); Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Andalucia*, 59; Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure*, 101, 194 n. 10 & 15.

²² Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524 - 1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 38; Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: a Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 20. São Tomé's importance as a mid transit point between Atlantic traders and the people of West Central Africa was over by the late sixteenth century.

²³ Real cédula dirigida á Sebastián Caboto por la cual se le concede que pueda traer para si cinquenta quintales de especieria, 4 March 1525, shelf 152, drawer 1, file I,t.I, fols. 5-7, AGI; Robert Thorne, will proved 1532 and transcribed in *The Great Red Book of Bristol*, 124-30; Nicholas Thorne, 'The whole inventory of the goods of my brother Robert Thorne,' 1532, *Letters & Papers Foreign & Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII* (LP), vol. 4, 2814; Juan Gil, 'Los armadores de Sebastián Caboto: Un ingles

entre italianos', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, vol. 14 (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano Americanos, 1988), 36-8.

²⁴ Barlow, 165. Europeans began gathering and trading pearls on Cubagua soon after Columbus discovered the island in 1498. See R. Willis, 'The Archeology of 16th Century Nueva Cadiz,' MA Thesis, Gainesville: University of Florida, 1976; D. Watts, *The West Indies: Patterns of Development, Culture and Environmental Change Since 1492* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 109; M. Helmer, 'Cubagua, l'Ile des Perles,' *Annales* 17 (1962): 751-60; S. Mosk, 'Spanish Pearl Fishing Operations on the Pearl Coast in the Sixteenth Century,' *The Hispanic American Historical Society Review* 18 (1938): 392-400; P. Muilenburg, 'Fate and Fortune on the Pearl Coast,' *Américas* 43 (1991): 32-9; A. Romero, S. Chilbert, & M.G. Eisenhart, 'Cubagua's Pearl-Oyster Beds: The First Depletion of a Natural Resource Caused by Europeans in the American Continent,' *Journal of Political Ecology* 6 (1999): 57-78; Nicholas J. Saunders, 'Biographies of Brilliance: Pearls, Transformations of Matter and being, c. AD 1492,' *World Archaeology* 31/2 (Oct., 1999): 243-57; R.A. Donkin, *Beyond Price: Pearls and Pearl Fishing - Origins to the Age of Discoveries* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1998).

²⁵ Donkin, *Beyond Price: Pearls and Pearl Fishing - Origins to the Age of Discoveries*, 320. By the early seventeenth century pearling canoes in the region often carried twelve divers

²⁶ Bartolomé de las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, 1552, trans. Nigel Griffin & intro. Anthony Pagden (London: Penguin Books, 1992).

²⁷ The fact that a Royal Warrant was issued in 25 January 1531, reminding the governor and officials of the island (now Puerto Rico) that they should make public and ensure compliance with the decree arose suggests that Indians had continued to be enslaved whenever the opportunity: 25 January 1531 (Ocaña), Real Cédula al gobernador y oficiales de la Isla de Cubagua, Ind. 422, L.15, fol. 9v, AGI.

²⁸ David Eltis, 'A Brief Overview of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade' and details of voyages 11297, 11298 and 46474 from *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* at <http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces> (accessed April 25, 2010).

²⁹ López de Gómara (1954), 1, 137 in Donkin, 321.

³⁰ Kevin Dawson, 'Enslaved Swimmers and Divers in the Atlantic World,' *The Journal of American History*, 92/4 (2006), 1347 - 9. The trench meant the waters off Cubagua hover around 60 to 70 degrees

³¹ Melchisédec Thévenot, *Art de nager*, vii-viii and Pieter de Marees, *Description and Historical Account of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea*, trans Van Dantzig and Jones, 186-7 in Kevin Dawson, 'Enslaved Swimmers and Divers in the Atlantic World'.

³² Kevin Dawson, 'Enslaved Swimmers and Divers in the Atlantic World'.

³³ San Domingo, on Hispaniola (Haiti and the Dominican Republic), was the first Spanish colony in the New World. Once Columbus had dropped off twelve hundred Spaniards there in 1493, the plan was that the colony would become sufficiently established to provide a launching pad for further commercial ventures. While some of these early settlers were content to grow crops for themselves, many were determined to make their fortunes without getting their hands dirty. The discovery of gold increased the reliance on imports.

³⁴ 1 June 1527 (Valladolid), 'Real Cédulas a Diego Caballero, contador de La Española,' Ind., 421, L.12, fols 103v-104v, AGI.

³⁵ Dalton, 'Negotiating Fortune: English Merchants in Early Sixteenth Century Seville,' 58-60, 64; Ruth Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders*, 122. Occasionally, permission was given for traders to go directly to the settlement, for example: Fernana Perez Jarada received royal permission to ship goods directly to Cubagua from Seville, without making the customary stop in Hispaniola. He did, however, stop along the coast of Venezuela to participate in the slave trade.

³⁶ 29 September 1526 (Granada), 'Real Cédula a los oficiales de la Casa de la Contratación de Sevilla, para que dejen a Hernando Gallego, vecino de la isla de Cubagua'; 27 March 1528 (Madrid), 'Real Cédula a Pedro Ortiz'; 27 March 1528 (Madrid), 'Real Cédula a Martin Alonso, vecino de Cubagua,' Panama (Pan.): 233, L.2, fol. 19r; 234, L.3, fols 89r-89v; 234, L.3, fols 89v-90r, AGI.

³⁷ 12 January 1526 (Toledo), 'Real Cédula dando licencia a Juan de Urrutia para pasar treinta esclavos negros a la isla de Cubagua, donde tiene trato en la contratación de las perlas,' Ind. 420, L.10, fols 220v-221r, AGI. This license is linked to an agreement to ship four thousand slaves, in all likelihood the license issued allowing 4000 black slaves, a third of whom were to be women, to be shipped to Hispaniola, San Juan (Puerto Rico) and Tierra Firme (Venezuela).

³⁸ 29 September 1526 (Granada), 'Real Cédula a Juan de Urrutia, perdonándole el pasaje de treinta negros que llevó a la Isla de Cubagua, sin licencia real; 13 December 1527 (Burgos), 'Real Cédula a Sancho de Urrutia dándole licencia para pasar a la isla de Cubagua, 30 esclavos negros, o cualquier otro lugar de Indias excepto La Española; 29 January 1528 (Burgos) 'Real Cédula a Juan de Urrutia

perdonándole la pena en que ha incurrido por pasar 17 esclavos negros a La Española desde Cavo Verde sin licencia, pues pagó los derechos de almojarifazgo'; 7 February 1528 (Burgos), 'Real Cédula a Sancho Ortiz de Urrutia dándole licencia para pasar a la isla de Cubagua o a otra parte de las Indias, 30 esclavos negros'; Ind. 421: L.11, fol. 217; L.12, fols 250r-250v; L.12, fols 277v-278v; L.12, fol. 289r, AGI.

³⁹ 1 March 1535 (Madrid), 'Cédula real dando el visto bueno al traslado de dos esclavos que Sancho de Monasterio llevó en 1528 a la isla de Cubagua en las carabelas de Sancho Ortiz de Urrutia y Juan de Urrutia, sin previa licencia ni registro, siempre que pague los derechos correspondientes,' The brothers smuggling of slaves was to cost them dearly for in March 1535 they were fined 200 ducats for landing goods without paying the necessary duties: 23 March 1535 (Madrid), Ind. 422, L.16, fols 182v-183r; 1961, L.3, fols 246-249, AGI.

⁴⁰ 15 May 1536 (Madrid), 'Real Cédula al gobernador y otras justicias de Tierra Firme, a pedimento de Luis Sánchez Dalvo y Juan de Urrutia,' Pan. 235, L.6, fols 29v-30v, AGI; This was done through a transaction with Barrera's factors, Francisco de la Reina and Diego Almonte on 30 May 1536 - see Ruth Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders*, 121. Barrera is referred to as *an indiano* in legal documents, indicating that he had spent time in the Indies before returning to Seville in the 1530s. The Gibraltions were associated of Barrera and also large investors in the Cuban pearl-fishing industry in the 1530s. They moved to Cabo de la Vela when new pearl oyster beds were discovered there.

⁴¹ Of those that were of African descent, many were of North African descent: prisoners of war generally referred to as 'Moors' and 'Moriscos' were from Granada North Africans and Turks whose families had settled in Granada.

⁴² Vicenta Cortés Alonso, 'Procedencia de los Esclavos Negros en Valencia (1482-1516),' *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 7/1 (1972), 123-51. Alonso clearly states that the majority of African slaves in Valencia in the 34 years between 1482 and 1516 were from the area of the Guinea of Cape Verde.

⁴³ Although generations of authors have followed an early mis-transcription, citing that the license was for 250 slaves, Toby Green has alerted me to the fact that the original document clearly states that it was for 50 slaves, see Contratación 5089, L1, fol. 38r, AGI.

⁴⁴ José Luis Cortés López, *Los Orígenes de la Esclavitud Negra en España* (Madrid, 1986), 110-112; Ruth Pike, 'Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century: Slaves and Freedmen,' *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 47/3 (1967), 344-359: 344, 347.

⁴⁵ 17 April 1518 (Aranda de Duero), Real Cédula a los oficiales de la Casa de la Contratación, Ind. 419, L.7, fol. 52r, AGI and Record of Bernal Gonzales Vallesillo, 1 June 1518, file 15, book 1, folio 550, APS. Licenses had been issued in the name of Tomás Lazcano, brother of the Bishop of Lua and ambassador to England

⁴⁶ 18 August 1518 (Zaragoza), 'Real Cédula a los oficiales de la Casa de la Contratación para que dejen pasar a Lorenzo de Gornod [Gorrevod], gobernador de Bresse,' Ind. 419, L.7, fols 78v-78v, AGI.

⁴⁷ Michael A. Gomez, *Black Crescent: The Experience and Legacy of African Muslims in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 8-9; John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World*, 97; Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla y su Tierra a Fines de la Edad Media*, 101-103, 222-23; Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders*, 31-37, 99-100, 170-175, 185-189; Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire*, 17, 82-5, 135-7. Slave transportation figures taken from John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the making of the Atlantic World*, 118. By 1512 *Manicongos* were arriving in Seville - these were also listed as *mandingas* or Mande-speakers from the same general area and *bantus* from around the Congo River. The exact number of African slaves registered by the *Casa* between 1518 and 1523 was 950. By 1565 there was a slave for every fourteen inhabitants in Seville according to a church census.

⁴⁸ Matthew Restall, 'Black Conquistadors: Armed Africans in Early Spanish America,' *The Americas*, 57/2, (2000): 171-205. Also see Debra Blumenthal, *Enemies and Familiars: Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth-Century Valencia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).

⁴⁹ Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492 - 1700* (Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 111; Bernhard Siegert, 'Fictitious Identities. On the Interrogatorios and Registros de Pasajeros a Indias in the Archivo General de Indias,' in *Archival Science* 7/1, 2007: 22; Mary E. Perry, *Crime and Society in Early Modern Seville*, 112. See Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru*, and Colin A. Palmer. *Slaves of the White God: Blacks in Mexico, 1570-1650* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976) for a discussion of the prejudices subsequently faced by free Africans and those of African descent in Peru and Mexico.

⁵⁰ 19 August 1513, 'Juan de Sevilla, de color negro, vecino de Sevilla'; 27 August 1513, 'Juan de Segura, negro, libre'; 26 September 1513, 'Andrés Chapinero, *de color negro, horro*,' Pasajeros (Pas.): L.1,E.1346; L.1,E.1388; L.1,E.1587, AGI.

⁵¹ 15 March 1539, 'Domingo, negro, al Perú con Lope de Aguirre. Presentó cédula que lo daba por libre y horro, despahcada por los señores del Consejo de indias, fechada en Valladolid a 2 días del mes de Marzo de 1537'; 16 March 1513, 'Catalina y su hijo Diego, negros horros': 16 August 1515, 'Juan de Bonilla, negro, horro; su mujer Inés Pérez, negra, horra, y sus hijos Lázaro y Ana, vecinos de Sevilla, en San Salvador,' Pas.: L.3,E.163; L.1,E.1033; L.1,E.1997, AGI.

⁵² 10 June 1535, 'Francisco, de color negro, horro, natural de Guinea, a Nombre de Dios,' Pas. L.2,E.1176, AGI.

⁵³ 1555, Llorente González in list of servants accompanying Luis Sedaño; 9 November 1559, 'Na de Logroño, mulata, natural de Jerez de los Caballeros, hija de Francisco de Logroño y de Francisca de Logroño, negra de Guinea, a Tierra Firme'; 1555, 'Conanzia Diaz, natural de Sevilla, hija de Juan Diaz, natural de Sevilla, y de Isabel, negra, natural de Guinea, soltera y libre,' Pas.: L.3,E. 2633; L.3,E. 4370; L.3, E 2432, AGI.

⁵⁴ 3 January 1569, 'Ana de Jesus, negra, natural de Guinea, soltera, hija de Antonia Pérez, al Perú'; 19 January 1569, 'Magdalena Moniz, natural de Guinea, hija de Juan Muñiz y de Inés de Palma, al Perú como soltera'; 22 January 1569, 'Beatriz negra, natural de Guinea, soltera, hija de Cristóbal Jolofo y de Catalina Bran, al Perú,' Pas. L.5,E. 1240, 1481 and 1546, AGI.

⁵⁵ 27 September 1565, 'Hernando, negro, natural de Jolofo (Guinea), al Perú, como criado de Hernando de Santillán,' Pas. L.4,E.4551, AGI.

⁵⁶ *Coplas de como una dama ruega a un negro que cante*, a broadside thought to have been published in Seville by Cromberga, circa 1520, discussed in Jeremy Lawrance, 'Black Africans in Renaissance Spanish Literature,' in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. T.F. Earle and K.J.P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 70 – 93, 74.

⁵⁷ Pike, 'Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century: Slaves and Freedmen,' 349.

⁵⁸ Jeremy Lawrance, 'Black Africans in Renaissance Spanish literature,' 70.

⁵⁹ Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla y su Tierra a Fines de la Edad Media*, 80. Almonte was also known as Ayamonte or Amonte.

⁶⁰ Dalton, 'Negotiating Fortune'; Roger Barlow: Tudor Trade and the Atlantic World, ' chapters 2 and 3. Some English merchants lived with local women who considered themselves to be wives, although we would define them today as 'common law wives'.

⁶¹ Dalton, 'Negotiating Fortune,' 63-65.

⁶² Ibid, 58.

⁶³ Richard Konetzke, 'Entrepreneurial Activities of Spanish and Portuguese Noblemen in Medieval Times,' *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History* 6 (1953-1954), 116, 117 in Ruth Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century*, 13, 171-4; Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery*, 29. Melilla was treated as a domain of the Duke of Medina Sidonia until 1556 when Spain formally annexed the city. It still belongs to Spain.

⁶⁴ Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, vol. 12 (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, MCMV), vi, 123; 3 November 1480, Prendimiento de pilotos contratados por ingleses para ir a la Mina de Oro, RGS 148011/81, Archivo General de Simancas (AGS). See also RGS 148010/86 and 148010/152, AGS (This would have been the peninsula where Dakar is now situated, rather than the Cape Verde archipelago); A letter from Edward IV to Pope Sixtus IV, London, 27 February 1481 in John William Blake, *Europeans in West Africa, 1450 – 1560*, Vol. 2 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1942), doc. 107, 266, 295, 297 (The request suggests that the pope had already approved voyages to this region to another power. Africa beyond Cape Bojador was Portuguese by a Papal grant); Heather Dalton has an article in preparation regarding Bristol and London merchants' connections with West Africa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

⁶⁵ Gracias de Resende, 'Chronicle of King John II,' chapter 33; Pina, *Chronica del Rey Dom João*, chapter 7.

⁶⁶ 8 March 1480, Saqueo y robo de mercancías a mercaderes ingleses en la isla Tercera (a petición contra Pedro Quintero y consortes), RGS,148003,431, AGS; 1432, Release and quitclaim 40365/D/2/25; 1437, Petition SC 8/27/1308, NA; C. Varela, *Engleses en España*, 43-44. Varela suggests that Fabian could have been the English merchant William Pappenham.

⁶⁷ Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century*, 174; Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery*, 42, note 74; Wendy R. Childs, *Anglo Castillian Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester : Manchester University Press, 1978), 206-8; E.M. Carus-Wilson, *Medieval Merchant Venturers* 3rd ed. (London: Methuen & Co, 1967), 90; David B. Quinn,

England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620 (New York: Knopf, 1974), 12.

⁶⁸ 31 March, 1490, 'Entrega de unos esclavos en poder de Guillermo Lebrón de la Fuente, ingles'; 22 March 1491, 'Devolución de unos esclavos a Gómez Arias, vecino de Avilés; April 1492, 'Carta de justicia a don Juan de Silva, conde de Cifuentes y asistente de Sevilla, y a las justicias de este arzobispado y del obispado de Cádiz, para que Juan Tristán, vecino y jurado de aquella ciudad, cobre de Guillermo Lebrón,'; 11 December 1492, 'Al presidente y a los del Consejo que determinen un pleito que es entre Juan Tristán, vecino de Sevilla, de una parte, y Guillermo Lebrón y Cristóbal Rigent, ingleses, y consortes,'; 26 October 1496, RGS: 149103,121; 149003,466; 149204/298; 149412/128; 149610,16, AGS. Although Ungerer discusses the March 1490 document, he does not make a link between Founte and Fabian. Heather Dalton has an article in preparation, mapping the links between London and Bristol merchants active in the Iberian Atlantic 1470 - 1520.

⁶⁹ Founte died Bristol in 1495. Will of William de la Fountier or Founte of Bristol, proved 15 May 1495, prob/11/10, NA; Carus-Wilson, 90.

⁷⁰ Confirmation that Thomas was John's brother: 15 April Lee wrote to Thomas Wolsey, reporting that the emperor had spoken to two merchants held 'here of great credence' – one called Briges, the alderman's brother and the other 'a right toward young man as any lightly belongeth to England, called Thorne'.

⁷¹ Jose Bono and Carmen Ungueti Bono, *Los Protocolos Sevillanos de la Época del Descubrimiento* (Seville: Colegio Notarial de Sevilla, 1986), item 11, p. 265 and item 13, p. 270 in Ungerer 54-55 and Ungerer, 64-65; Helen Nader, 'Desperate Men, Questionable Acts: The Moral Dilemma of Italian Merchants in the Spanish Slave Trade,' *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 33/2 (2002), 401-422. Without Bridges help, Arnold would have been prosecuted for debt and may not have gone on to become the first Englishman to settle in Santo Domingo in 1508. In 1494 Francesco Pinelli and another Genoese, Giannotto Berardi, were presented with twenty-seven indigenous American slaves by Christopher Columbus in lieu of a debt.

⁷² R.C. Baldwin, 'Thorne, Robert, the elder (c. 1460-1519),' *ODNB*, accessed 21 Jan 2006; Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure: The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World*, 73; Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy* (London: Pan Macmillan, 1991), 212; Philip D. Curtin, 'Epidemiology and the Slave Trade,' *Political Science Quarterly* 83/2 (1968): 190-216, 192. Also see António de Almeida Mendes, *La Traite Portugaise en Méditerranée et dans l'Atlantique, XVe-XVIIe siècles* (Paris: Éditions Chandeigne, 2010). Sale bases the relationship between Columbus and the Cataños on Columbus' wills of 1498 and 1506.

⁷³ Records from from the Archivo de Protocolos Notariales de Sevilla transcribed in Alfonso Franco Silva, *Registro Documental Sobre La Esclavitud Sevillana (1453-1513)*, (Sevilla: Publicaciones de Universidad de Sevilla, 1979).

⁷⁴ Record of Bernal Gonzalez Vallesillo, 13 December 1513, file 15, book I and 21 Oct 1516, file 15, single book, APS; Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Andalucía*, 59; Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure*, 101, 194 n. 10 & 15.

⁷⁵ Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Sevilla y su Tierra a Fines de la Edad Media*, 80; *Esclavitud en Andalucía*, 60, 98, n. 122 f.

⁷⁶ Pleito entre Tomás Brujas, Roberto Torne, residentes en Sevilla, y Rogel Barlo, comerciantes ingleses y testamentarios de Tomás Mallart. Inventory drawn up 29 August 1522, Consejo Real 12/6/32v, AGS. Malliard left this property to Anna, providing she married 'Sancho de Herrera y Saavedra, mayor of Sanlúcar de Barrameda and governor of its fortress (son of Pedro Fernandez de Saavedra, the brother of the 'lord of the Canary Islands' and dona Canstanza de Sarmiento). The family owned Lanzarote Fuerteventura, Ferro and Gomera until the end of the 17th century. Moreno Ollero, Sanlúcar de Barrameda, 54-55. See also Dalton, 'Negotiating Fortune,'; Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery*, 31; 32, note 51, 112.

⁷⁷ Dalton, 'Negotiating Fortune,' 65, 70; Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery*, 113-4. They also arranged for the manumission of the berber, Juan Fernández, their master soap maker, providing he served the Welser company for five years.

⁷⁸ Cotton Galba B., 9, fols. 71-73 cited in Douglas R. Bisson, *The Merchant Adventurers of England: the Company and the Crown, 1474-1564* (London: Associated University Presses, 1993), 85. Since Katherine of Aragon had been called before a legatine court in May 1529 English merchants had begun complaining of 'imprecable and intolerable scandylles and domagg' by Spanish ships in the 'Narrow Seas'.

⁷⁹ 30 June 1528, Real Cédula a Juan de Brujas, hijo de Tomás de Brujas; 21 August 1528, Real Cédula a Tomás de Brujas; 20 August 1532, Real Cédula de la reina, dando licencia para pasar a Indias a Juan Brujas, en sustitución de Antonio Sánchez, que estaba nombrado con anterioridad, dos esclavos negros

pagados los 4 ducados al cambio de la corte; 3 December 1548, Real Cédula dando licencia a Diego de Atienza y Juan de Brujas, para que pueda pasar a las Indias cien esclavos negros; 2 March 1534, Pasajeros, Ind. 421, book 13, fols 247r-247v., 319v-320r; 422, book 16, fol. 68; 424, book 21, fols 268-269; Pas. L.1,E.4048 and L.1,E.4211, AGI.

⁸⁰ 14 April 1549, Licencia a los oficiales de la Casa de la Contratación a Jerónimo Cataño; 22 September 1549, Licencia a los oficiales de la Casa de la Contratación a Jerónimo Cataño; Real Cédula a los oficiales de la Casa de la Contratación para que den licencia Gerónimo Catano para que pueda despachar una nao, Ind. 1964, book 11, fols 203v-204, 299v, AGI.

⁸¹ Imtiaz Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500-1677: Imprints of the Invisible* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Kate Lowe, 'Introduction: The Black African presence in Renaissance Europe' and 'The Stereotyping of Black Africans in Renaissance Europe' in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, eds T.F. Earle and K.J.P. Lowe: 1-16, 17-48.

⁸² Alwyn Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton 1270-1600* (Southampton: University College, 1951); L&P, vol. 1: 1509-1514 (1920), 1163-79; Caroline M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People 1200-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Appendix 1: 'The Mayors and Sheriffs of London 1190-1558' (compiled by Anne Lancashire). In February 1514, 22 years after he paid Nicholas Arnold's debt to Juan Tristan, the English Crown granted John Bridges a license to export 300 sacks of wool beyond the Straits of Marrok. Sir John Bridges was sheriff of London in 1513-14, mayor in 1520-21; Vespasian C. III, fol 232 (Cotton MSS) in L&P, vol. 4, pt 1, 2096.

⁸³ Dalton, 'Roger Barlow: Tudor Trade and the Atlantic World,' 138 -43, 251-2; Nicholas Thorne to Thomas Cromwell, 1533, vol. 238, f. 14, NA in Taylor, xlv; High Court of Admiralty Records, 14 (1), NA. *Adam's 1628 Chronicle of Bristol* (Bristol: J.W. Arrowsmith, Printer of Quay Street, 1910). Bristol Municipal Charities, 33041/BMC/3, Bristol Record Office.

⁸⁴ Madge Dresser, *Slavery Obscured: The Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port* (New York: Continuum, 2001), 9.

⁸⁵ Dalton, 'Roger Barlow: Tudor Trade and the Atlantic World,' chapter 4, specifically 162-164, 257 and 'Enhancing Union, Building Business: The Barlow Brothers' Role in the Crown's Vision for Wales,' ANZAMEMS Conference. University of Adelaide, Australia, February 2007; Kenneth Morgan, Jamaican material in the Slebech papers : an introduction, <http://www.britishonlinearchives.co.uk/9781851171811.php>; accessed 30 June 2009; Records of the Slebech Estate, GB 0213 D/RTP/SLE, Pembrokeshire Record Office.

⁸⁶ Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Williamsburg, Virg.: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 4, 7, 21, 32-33. For discussion of relevance of Winthrop Jordan's ideas today see, for example: Karl E. Westhauser, 'Revisiting the Jordan Thesis: 'White over Black' in Seventeenth-Century England and America,' *The Journal of Negro History*, 85/3 (2000): 112-122; Lawrence Shore, 'The Enduring Power of Racism: A Reconsideration of Winthrop Jordan's White over Black,' *History and Theory* 44/2 (2005): 195 – 226.

⁸⁷ Philip D. Curtin, 'Epidemiology and the Slave Trade' and Patrick Manning, 'Why Africans? The Rise of the Slave Trade to 1700' in *The Slavery Reader*, eds. Gad Heuman and James Walvin (London: Routledge, 2003): 11- 29, 13 and: 30 – 41, 32. This process resulted in Africans and those of African descent becoming the majority of the World's slave population by 1700.

⁸⁸ Michael A. Gomez, *Black Crescent*, 8-9; John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World*, 97; Lynne Guitar, 'No More Negotiation: Slavery and The Destabilization of Colonial Hispaniola's *Encomienda* System,' *Revista Interamericana*, vol. 29 (special issue), 2001. Approximately twenty slaves owned by Diego Colón planned and carried out a rebellion on Christmas Day 1521 on his property near Azua, northwest of Santo Domingo. This challenged the previously-held belief that African-born 'negros de jalof' were more docile than those who had lived previously in Portugal or Spain

⁸⁹ Dalton, 'Roger Barlow: Tudor Trade and the Atlantic World,' 89.

⁹⁰ Dr. Molefi Kete Asante, 'The Ideology of Racial Hierarchy and the Construction of the European Slave Trade,' paper delivered at an International Conference Sponsored by UNESCO, Lisbon, December, 1998. For the construction of 'whiteness' see, for example: Theodore W. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race: Volume One; Racial Oppression and Social Control* (New York and London: Verso. 1994); P. Kolchin, 'Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America,' *Journal of American History* 89 (2002), 154-73; Steve Garner, *Whiteness: An Introduction*, (London: Routledge, 2007).