

# The Urban Background of Enslaved Muslims in the Americas<sup>1</sup>

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The focus of this study is on the urban background of enslaved Muslims in the Americas, as revealed through biographical accounts. The attempt is to correlate individual life histories with the patterns that can be derived from the voyage database of David Eltis, David Richardson and their associates.<sup>2</sup> Life stories crossed the Atlantic, as revealed in the experiences of enslaved Muslims who came from urban backgrounds in West Africa, where there was a significant enslaved population, and where the trade in slaves was common. In examining this experience, this article addresses questions of how enslaved Muslims responded to slavery in the Americas. The responses of these individuals to their captivity and exploitation provide a critique of the socialization and cultural process that is sometimes called “creolization.” Admittedly, the history of Muslims does not conform to normal patterns of “creolization,” if there was such a thing as “normal” in relation to slavery, nor should their profiles be considered representative of anything except themselves. Methodologically, one of the aims of this approach is to identify cohorts of people who can be subjected to sociological analysis, to test the claims of Orlando Patterson that the enslaved experienced “social death” or otherwise adopted mechanisms of survival that drew on past experiences.<sup>3</sup>

The analysis builds on my earlier work, including that which highlights the relative involvement of Muslim areas in the Atlantic slave trade, and the important influence of Muslim merchants in the slave trade. In this regard, I would reiterate, in summary, that Muslim regions were relatively under-represented in the slave ledgers of the Americas, and that this under representation was in part, at least, the result of conscious Muslim policy against selling slaves to anyone other than Muslims, and certainly not to Christians.<sup>4</sup> The evolution of Muslim attitudes towards slavery and who could be enslaved and who should not be, and who it was legitimate to sell slaves to, and who it was not, was the subject of a long debate in West Africa, and articulated most fully in the writings of Aḥmad Bābā of Timbuktu (1556-1627).<sup>5</sup> Another component of my argument rests on the demographic profile of the enslaved population leaving the interior of West Africa, which has been demonstrated previously as being primarily comprised of young adult males, a profile that reflects a disproportionately large number of males when compared with the trade as a whole; this anomaly draws attention to the gender construction of the interior trade and its relationship with the trans-Atlantic, and indeed the trans-Saharan, trades.<sup>6</sup> This article addresses another feature of trade, viz., that enslaved Muslims, while probably fewer in number than might otherwise have prevailed, were nonetheless over-represented in terms of those coming from urban backgrounds in Africa. Indeed, it is argued here that virtually all Muslims came from urban settings in Africa. Such a conclusion affects the analysis of the expectations of the enslaved, as influenced the perceptions of both the trans-Atlantic and trans-Saharan links, and the degree of “feedback” via travelers and former slaves, returning from the Americas or North Africa, or filtered through those who traveled to Europe and the Americas or made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

The commercial dimension of this study is two fold involving, first, the degradation of turning human beings into commodities through slavery, in this case

mostly young males who were Muslims, and, second, the institutional structures of the coastal and interior African trade, largely dominated by Muslim merchants, that moved these enslaved individuals to the coast. Virtually all slaves leaving from Senegambia passed through Muslim hands. Similarly, Muslims were responsible for exporting many enslaved people from Sierra Leone and the upper Guinea coast, especially those who came from Futa Jallon or elsewhere in the interior. Muslim merchants were also active in Asante, specifically to the north, and also in the hinterland of the Bight of Benin, even though the major exporting states from these regions were not Muslim. Muslim commercial networks therefore covered much of West Africa and catered to several of the major exporting regions of the trans-Atlantic slave trade as customarily defined. Muslim involvement was only one dimension of this trade, as my work with David Richardson in particular has highlighted in identifying alternate forms of credit relationships and structures than Islamic that were adopted along the Atlantic coast of Africa, from pawnship at Old Calabar and other places, to the intervention of royal authority at Bonny and Ouidah, for example.<sup>7</sup>

The conceptualization of my approach perhaps calls for a brief discussion. The thrust of my research draws heavily on comparative discussion and international collaboration, and is self-consciously centered in Africa and therefore can be considered to be “Afro-centric” in its perspective. The attempt is to understand trans-Atlantic slavery and the development of what are sometimes called the “creole” societies of the Americas, although my examination of the process of adaptation, resistance, and struggle against the bonds of slavery arises from a perspective that is centered in Africa, and hence is “afro-centric,” as I choose to define the term.<sup>8</sup> This perspective emphasizes continuities and disjuncture in the experiences of the enslaved and the societies from which they came. The focus here is specifically on enslaved Muslims and on people enslaved in areas dominated by Muslims, and hence is restricted to a discretely defined segment of the enslaved population that crossed the Atlantic. Indeed the study examines areas where the overwhelming proportion of a very large slave population was retained within West Africa, and while some enslaved captives were sent to the Americas, probably far greater numbers were sent into the Sahara or across it to the Muslim territories of North Africa and the Middle East, and not to the Americas.

A study of the urban history of slavery exposes a close relationship between cities, and not just ports, and the movement of people. Recent attention has been paid to the urban history of the Caribbean, in which ports such as Havana, Kingston, Bridgetown, Cartagena, Vera Cruz, Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, Recife, and many other ports played a prominent role in the movement of slaves and indeed were themselves the final destinations of some.<sup>9</sup> The focus is often on enslaved Africans and their descendants (creoles, mulattoes, etc.), often free, in these urban settings. My argument focuses on the urban background of enslaved Muslims, not that there was a direct transfer of individuals from urban Africa to urban America. It is recognized that port towns were important on the African coast, and indeed that most of the enslaved population passed through a relatively few port towns, but there is an image that African ports were relatively small, except for Luanda.<sup>10</sup> These ports included St. Louis and Gorée in Senegal, Elmina, Cape Coast, Anomabu and Accra on the Gold Coast, Ouidah, Porto Novo and Lagos in the Bight of Benin, Bonny and Old Calabar in the Bight of Biafra, and Loango, Cabinda, and Benguela, besides Luanda, in west-central Africa. These fifteen ports handled the great majority of enslaved Africans who were sent to the

Americas. When the experiences of enslaved Africans passing through these ports is taken into account, it can be seen that towns and cities were vital conduits for the enslaved well before they arrived in the Americas and reached their destinations on plantations, in mines or elsewhere. This study looks into the interior of West Africa, identifying an urban dimension that has previously been neglected, although also addressing the relative importance of these ports.

As David Trotman and I have argued elsewhere, the aim is to look outward from Africa and to distinguish among the enslaved in terms of their experiences of Africa and their personal reactions to their forced migration.<sup>11</sup> Experience affected expectations and shaped interpretations of events and relationships under slavery in the Americas. How and why people were enslaved sometimes mattered, and affected their responses. Similarly, where and when individuals were enslaved often made a difference in the forms and methods of adjustment and resistance. An examination of the urban background of individuals whose personal histories can be traced, at least in part, raises questions about the possible influence of living in towns or passing through them that may inform our understanding of the strategies of survival under slavery in the Americas.

It might be argued that the experience of trade slaves in the towns through which they were transported and the ports from which they embarked had little impact on their lives, since they were confined and not able to indulge in normal urban activities. Despite the restrictions on movement, however, it can also be argued that the interaction among the enslaved population in these urban settings constituted a crucial phase in altering the ways in which individuals identified and were identified, which was often in terms of ethnicity and religion. It is suggested that this was a phase in a process analogous to that of “creolization,” a term which is usually reserved for those born into slavery in the Americas, or otherwise simply born in the Americas, whether of European, African or mixed descent. However, the social conditioning of enslavement often began in urban settings in West Africa, at least in the case of enslaved Muslims and those who came from areas of Islamic influence. Hence the process of “creolization,” if reserved for the Americas and birth there, overlooks a process of adaptation that began with the generation that was enslaved in Africa. The danger is telescoping change into a process associated with the degradation of enslavement in the Americas, whereas the adjustments the enslaved had to endure were in fact more prolonged.

The importance of urban life had to have affected the expectations and experiences of enslaved Africans who were brought to the Americas from Muslim areas, at least, and while not specifically argued in this study, the same can be said for many other parts of Africa from where enslaved Africans came. While not usually recognized, actually many Africans lived in towns in Africa, and most of those who were enslaved spent at least some time in towns during their captivity and their transfer to the coast before deportation. Indeed, as has been demonstrated elsewhere, most enslaved Africans were shipped from relatively few ports on the African coast, the degree of concentration in the shipment of enslaved Africans being pronounced on all parts of the Atlantic coast, especially from areas from where enslaved Muslims came, including Senegambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and the Bight of Benin, but elsewhere too, the ports of Bonny, Old Calabar, Luanda, and Benguela being prominent.<sup>12</sup> What was the size of these ports?

## Urbanization in West Africa in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

And what is a town? In West Africa, towns were usually distinguishable because they were walled, and could have populations of several thousand people, with some having populations of 10,000-20,000, or more.<sup>13</sup> In 1772, Abomey, the capital of Dahomey, had a population of 24,000, while Cana, the seasonal residence of the king, had a population of 15,000.<sup>14</sup> The Asante capital, Kumasi, had an estimated 10,000-15,000 residents in the early nineteenth century.<sup>15</sup> The most important Asante market in the north, at Salaga, swelled in population to 50,000 in the middle of the nineteenth century, during the height of the trading season. While much of this population was transitory, the city still had to accommodate this many people.<sup>16</sup> There were at least 18 Yoruba cities with 15,000 inhabitants or more in the mid nineteenth century, the number of towns and their size increasing after the destruction of Oyo in the 1830s, when many people fled to towns further south; the largest being Ibadan and Abeokuta, both with an estimated 55,000 people at mid-century.<sup>17</sup> Some of the port towns of the coast were also substantial in size. St. Louis, at the mouth of the Senegal River, had a population of 12,000-13,000 in the 1840s, which apparently was largely unchanged in size from the eighteenth century.<sup>18</sup> The Gold Coast port at Elmina in the last quarter of the eighteenth century had an estimated 12,000-15,000 people.<sup>19</sup> Ouidah, the most important port in the Bight of Benin, was relatively small, with an estimated population of 8,000 in 1772, 6,000-7,000 in 1793, rising to 18,000-20,000 in the 1850s.<sup>20</sup> Little Popo, to the west of Ouidah, had a population of 4,000 in the 1810s; Porto Novo to the east, had 7,000-10,000 inhabitants in the 1790s.<sup>21</sup> Lagos had a population of 5,000 in the 1790s, rising to 20,000 by 1850s, and 25,000 in 1866.<sup>22</sup> The population of Bonny was estimated at 25,000 in the 1790s and again in 1826, including dependent villages within a few miles radius of the principal settlement.<sup>23</sup> Luanda, which might be thought to have been the largest African port, had a population tabulated in the census of 1781 at 9,755, and declining thereafter, amounting to 5,605 in 1844.<sup>24</sup> In short, most of the ports in West Africa were as large as or larger than Luanda. The idea that Luanda might be an exception in terms of its size, therefore, is wrong; there were several African ports that were larger.

After the successful *jihad* of ‘Uthman dan Fodio in 1804-08 and the founding of the Sokoto Caliphate, urbanization appears to have accelerated in the Central Sudan. The two largest cities were Kano, with an estimated population of 30,000 to 80,000 people, and Sokoto with a population in the range of 50,000 by mid-century.<sup>25</sup> In Hausa terminology any settlement with a wall (*birni*) was considered a town, including frontier fortresses (*ribat*) and the capitals of the various emirates. All 30 emirates in the Sokoto Caliphate had a capital town, and in addition Sokoto and Gwandu – the twin capitals of the Caliphate after 1817 – were cities, Sokoto being particularly large. According to the earliest colonial census, there were 13 towns in Zamfara and Gobir that had populations over 6,000.<sup>26</sup> While a town was identified as being walled, such a *birni* was distinguished from villages (*kauye*), hamlets (*unguwa*), and plantations (*rinji, tungazi, gandu*). In Kano emirate alone, there were 40-60 towns, and perhaps as many as one hundred – each settlement walled and having populations of a 1,000 or more, and many having populations of several thousand people.

Within 50 km of Kano, there were a number of towns, at least twenty, with populations of 5,000 or more.<sup>27</sup> The indigo dyeing industry was concentrated in these towns, with some of the largest establishments at Kura, Rano, Tarai, Burum, Bunkure, Gwarzo, Dawakin Kudu, Garko, Dal, Zarewa, Rogo, and Belli. This heavily urban region

continued into northern Zaria Emirate, where such towns as Dan Guzuri, Makarfi, Kudan, and Hunkuyi were also textile centers. Other large towns in Kano emirate included Bichi, Utai, Sumaila, Madobi, Bebeji, Fanisau, and Kunya. The densely populated region also stretched northward and westward into Katsina emirate. The city of Katsina had a population of 10,000-12,000 people in 1824, declining to 7,000-8,000 in 1850, but there were another 20-30 towns that had several thousand inhabitants each.<sup>28</sup> Moreover there were at least a dozen towns east and north-east of Kano, including Katagum, Azare, Jema'are, Hadejia, Daura, and Kazaure.

Besides the 30 emirates and two capital districts, there were many sub-emirates, *ribat* (walled, frontier towns), and commercial centers that contained a large population overall. Fombina, with an area of 40,000 sq miles, had 42 sub-emirates.<sup>29</sup> Zaria had eight fairly large sub-emirates, including Kajuru, Kadara, Kauru, Kagarko, and Doma, as well as Jema'a, Keffi, and Kwatto.<sup>30</sup> Bauchi had nine sub-emirates in addition to numerous less autonomous districts, including Kirfi, Fali, Ganjuwa, Zungur, Jama'a, Toro, Lere, Lafia, Wase, and Darazo.<sup>31</sup> The capital districts, Sokoto and Gwandu, incorporated the formerly independent territories of Kebbi, Zamfara, and Gobir, and had numerous sub-emirates within their domains. Finally, the Tuareg federation centered on the town of Agades, in the southern Air Massif, had a unique relationship with Sokoto, whether or not it is counted as an integral part of the state. Other towns in the sahel might also be considered to be part of the Caliphate, although not the independent walled towns of Maradi, Tassawa, and Argungu.

It is usually assumed that most Africans were farmers, but as the prevalence of walled towns in the Sokoto Caliphate demonstrates, there were hundreds of towns. Hence the association of enslaved Africans with rural life has to be reconsidered in light of the fact that many farmers lived in towns and went to their farms in the country as need be. Although it is frequently assumed that precolonial Africa was much less urbanized than elsewhere, there were many towns in West Africa, as the brief review of the urbanization in the Sokoto Caliphate makes clear. It is perhaps important to ask for an explanation of this perception of low urbanization, when an examination of the political map of West Africa for the seventeenth – nineteenth centuries establishes that there were actually many, many towns. Through the use of biographical information, it is possible to tell whether or not individuals came from towns or from rural areas.

Towns were to be found along the trade routes dominated by Muslims, and they were associated not only with long-distance trade and craft production, but also with education. Muslims who pursued Islamic studies traveled widely, often living for periods of time in different places. Hence many people from the interior of West Africa had participated as free people, and sometimes as well acculturated slaves, in urban life, whatever additional urban exposure they received as slaves being transferred to the coast for sale after their enslavement. Indeed it can be said that there was an urban culture in West Africa that was characterized by interaction among the merchants and craftsmen who lived in dispersed towns that constituted what has been called a “commercial diaspora” that in fact helped condition the expectations and reactions of the enslaved to the diaspora of the Americas created by trans-Atlantic slavery.<sup>32</sup> Hence in considering the adjustments facing enslaved Muslims, we are concerned with the interrelationship between ethnicity, religion and diaspora, and the methods of preserving and re-interpreting traditions. It is suggested that the creation of diasporas is very old, and that the extension of these diasporas reached to the Americas, and that this diaspora tradition

was an instrumental factor in adjusting to slavery. This diaspora tradition was associated with towns and therefore can be thought to have been an urban phenomenon.

The Muslim urban culture of West Africa predated the trans-Atlantic slave trade and hence was indigenous, with strong links to the urban societies of the Islamic heartlands from Morocco to the Hijaz. Not only did individuals travel to different places, but visiting merchants and Muslim scholars from various parts of West Africa and indeed from the Maghreb and the domains of the Ottoman Porte they were also to be found throughout the commercial networks of West Africa, strangers often residing for some time in any one place. Individuals identified with towns; among the Hausa, people referred to themselves according to which city-state they were from – Katsinawa for those from Katsina, Kanawa for those from Kano, and Gobirawa for those from Gobir, for example. The urban history of the central Sudan extends back into the traditional past, the “seven” Hausa cities dating back at least to 999A.D.<sup>33</sup>

In the western Sudan, many Juula (Dyula) merchants were Jahanke, whose name associated them with the historic town of Ja, and by tradition with Soninke ethnicity and ultimately with the medieval empire of Ghana, which had many towns. The Jahanke and other Juula merchants lived in scores of towns that were found along the trade routes of the western Sudan, and speaking a common language usually referred to as Juula, a dialect of Manding. Among the more important of these towns were Timbuktu, Jenne, and the various Maraka towns. The historical depth of this urban tradition among such families as the Saghanughu, Ture, Cisse, and others is well documented.<sup>34</sup> These merchants were sometimes called Wangara, an ancient name associated with the gold trade, and also another term for Juula merchants from the region known as Worodugu in the interior of Côte d’Ivoire and southern Mali.<sup>35</sup> Whether in the western Sudan, where Juula was used as the *lingua franca*, or in the central Sudan, where Hausa performed the same function, ease of communication was a principal feature of urban life in West Africa, with Arabic used as the language of literacy, diplomacy, and religion, and local languages also spoken besides Juula and Hausa.

This lived experience of the enslaved population should inform our analysis, but the urban background has usually been overlooked or ignored in the study of the response of the enslaved to the conditions of bondage in the Americas. If there is any assumption at all, it is usually assumed that Africans came from rural settings, relatively isolated from the events and influences of a wider world that is characterized by urbanity and internationalism. Put most crudely, the stereotype sees the movement of slaves from tribe to plantation. This stereotype is especially inaccurate with respect to Muslims who were enslaved and shipped across the Atlantic. They came from urban environments that were characterized by highly stratified societies, including aristocracies, commercial and craft specialization along caste lines, and extensive reliance on slavery. According to surviving testimonies, freeborn Muslims who were enslaved invariably came from families that actually owned slaves, sometimes in considerable numbers. It is no wonder, then, that enslaved Muslims in the Americas often claimed aristocratic or commercial backgrounds, and demonstrated various levels of education in Arabic and familiarity with different towns that they had visited. Far from coming from a rural, primitive setting, these people were urbane, despite their ill fortune in being enslaved and the failure of relatives and friends to have ransomed them and thereby prevent their sale to the Americas.

The urban background of enslaved Muslims had an influence on how slavery and emancipation were perceived in the Americas, and this was reflected in why Muslims

sometimes pursued various methods to achieve freedom for themselves and their co-religionists. In this regard, West African experience allowed for the possibility of ransom, and as in West Africa, the usual response to freedom tended to propel individuals towards urban centers, if they were not already living in towns. This does not mean that enslaved Muslims always achieved their emancipation. The contrast between West Africa and the British Caribbean is striking. In West Africa, there were means by which slaves could earn their freedom, while in British colonies, individuals were not normally allowed to do so until slavery was abolished in 1834, although in Trinidad, at least, many Muslims were able to buy their freedom and it was alleged in the 1830s that there were no Muslims who were still in slavery there.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, in Brazil if a slave had the money to purchase his or her freedom it was expected that the master would allow him or her to do so. It frequently happened, and most of the Mina slaves in Rio de Janeiro were able to acquire their freedom in this way.<sup>37</sup> The differences bear some comparison, further emphasizing the neglected relationship between the experiences of the enslaved and formerly enslaved and the context of urban life and opportunity. While the importance of slavery in urban areas in the Americas has been recognized, the similar prevalence of slaves in the towns of West Africa has been overlooked, and hence the possible influence of the urban background of people in West Africa on the lived experience of people in the Americas has yet to be considered. Hence besides exploring the place of towns in the lives of enslaved Africans being marched to the coast and the extent to which enslaved Africans and their descendants lived in urban settings in the Americas, it is necessary to consider the extent to which many enslaved came from towns and often had lived in more than one place before their shipment to the Americas.

### **Selected Life Histories of Enslaved Muslims**

There is a considerable number of life histories of Muslims who found themselves enslaved in the Caribbean and other parts of the Americas, specifically in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, both during the period of slavery and in the era of apprenticeship and freedom, and for various lengths of time under servitude, but all associated with an urban background in West Africa.<sup>38</sup> The biographies highlight three dimensions of the urban experience: first, some enslaved individuals came from towns in Africa; secondly, most enslaved Africans passed through commercial centers and ports in Africa before crossing the Atlantic; and thirdly, some enslaved Africans lived in urban settings or otherwise were engaged in activities that tied rural areas to towns in the Caribbean, and indeed in other parts of the Americas. Hence the servant of British diplomat Hugh Clapperton, Pasko, whose real name was Abubakar, was originally from Gobir, and after being taken in war during the *jihad* sometime before 1815 had been "sold to a Gonja trader," who re-sold him to "a native of Ashantee" who in turn sold him to a trader going to Ouidah, where he was bought by a Portuguese ship.<sup>39</sup> In 1819, Menèzes de Drumond interviewed six male slaves in Bahia who had come from Nupe or the Hausa region. All had passed to the coast at Lagos ("Ico") and were taken prisoner during the *jihad*. François was from Kano; Guillaume Pasco, alias Abubakar, was from Katsina; Mathieu was from Daura; Joseph was from Tabarau in Nupe; Bernard was from Gobir; Benoit from Gaya [Ghuiah]; and Boniface from Kebbi.<sup>40</sup> Abali, who was born in Kanem, was seized during a Borno raid on Kano, and from there was sold south to Lagos in 1844.<sup>41</sup> Another slave, born in Kano, was captured in a raid on Gobir, "where he was bought by slave-dealers, and at once carried to the sea by way of Kadzina [Katsina], Zalia [Zaria], Nupe, Ilori [Ilorin],

Dsebu [Ijebu], and Eko [Ikko, i.e. Lagos]," also in 1844.<sup>42</sup> Castelnau interviewed a number of Hausa slaves in Bahia in 1849, including Boué, who had come from Zaria, apparently in the 1830s or 1840s, taken to Asante, where he was sold to European, probably Portuguese, slavers. Castelnau reports that most Hausa slaves had reached the coast at Lagos, not the Gold Coast.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, one of Koelle's informants, Habu, or Sam Jackson, was born in Kano, but seized in raid by Gobir when he was 20, sometime in the late 1840s, and sold south to Lagos. Or consider Mohamadu from Katsina; seized by Fulani while working on his farm, and then sold to Gobir, taken to Damagaram, and then sold south to Rabba and Ilorin before reaching the coast, probably at Lagos, in the 1840s.<sup>44</sup> Dan Kano, "born at Brinee Yawoori [Birnin Yauri] and was there about sixteen or seventeen years ago [before April 8, 1821]," when he was seized by Fulani while on a trading expedition "and carried to the Gold Coast," where he was sold to a Portuguese ship.<sup>45</sup>

The overlap in urban experiences of the enslaved raises questions about the process of adaptation and adjustment that is sometimes called "seasoning" and sometimes referred to as a process of "creolization." In both cases, these terms refer to a process of acculturation arising from experiences that were partly urban in their setting and correspondingly affected the attitudes, expectations, and responses of the enslaved. The process of acculturation suggested in the concepts of "seasoning" and "creolization" was in fact a long one, and there were places where the enforced socialization of slavery was instituted in Africa before shipment, at places like Assin-Manso, on the route to the coast inland from Cape Coast, Elmina, Anomabo, and Koromatse, or at the lagoon towns of the Bight of Benin, where the enslaved were fattened, polished, nursed, and otherwise made more saleable. It is suggested that this enforced subordination was part of the process of turning human beings into commodities for purposes of trade. The necessity of using a common language and the exposure to individuals of widely diverse backgrounds were part of this transformation.

The slave markets of West Africa supplied internal demands for labor as well as trans-Atlantic export. Hence the urban centers were not necessarily focused on supplying the demand in the Americas but were more general nodes in a mechanism of distribution. Consequently, the process of cultural adaptation that is here being compared with creolization was not specifically related to the Americas. Sometimes, the enslaved were retained by buyers in different urban centers in the interior and only later sold to the coast for export. Ali Eisami was seized during the *jihad* in Borno in the early nineteenth century, was taken through the Hausa country, eventually sold to a master in Katunga, the capital of Oyo, but was then sold to the coast in 1817 because his master feared that his Muslim slaves might join a slave uprising following the mutiny of enslaved Muslims in the military of the provincial town of Ilorin in the same year, and Eisami was clearly a Muslim.<sup>46</sup> Other individuals variously identified in the Americas as Yoruba, Hausa or Borno may have had similar, multiple experiences with slavery, thereby compounding the various influences on identification and allegiance.

## **Two Experiences of Enslavement**

The urban experiences of enslaved Muslims can be explored further through a comparison of the different trajectories of two Muslims, Muhammad Kabā Saghanughu and Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua, both of whom left information on their urban backgrounds, including where they were born and the towns with which they were familiar in the interior of West Africa.<sup>47</sup> Muhammad Kabā (c. 1757-1845) was brought

up in the Juula towns in the interior of Sierra Leone, while Mahommah Baquaqua came from the Hausa and Dendi towns along the trade route between the central Sudan and Asante. Hence the two men can be considered representative of the two principal Muslim commercial networks in West Africa, the first Mande Juula and the second Hausa. The nature of these towns was distinctly West African, consisting of an urban concentration of compounds in a commercial ward attached to or not distant from a political and religious center of local provenance, which encouraged the settlement of a cosmopolitan community that in West Africa was largely Muslim. The local society was otherwise divided along ethnic and linguistic lines, which reveal pluralistic societies. The political elite was often immigrant, and identified with the local population on the basis of a class relationship, rather than ethnic. Caravan trade and learning were featured at these centers, and local craft production, especially in textiles, leather, and metalwork, were usually a monopoly of the enclave communities that were Muslim.

Whether the experience of slavery lasted a long time, as with Kabā, who was a slave in Jamaica in 1777 until emancipation in 1834, or in the case of Baquaqua, whose enslavement lasted about two years, from 1845-47, we are provided with relatively detailed information on the span of time from enslavement in Africa through slavery and emancipation in the Americas. Although the two men were of different generations, their lives overlapped, and a consideration of the similarities and differences in their experiences highlights the thesis of this study, that the urban experience of enslaved Africans was not simply a phenomenon for a relatively few people in the Americas, but that some enslaved Africans came from urban backgrounds, and most enslaved Africans sent to the Americas passed through urban settings, including the African ports from which they were embarked.

The urban background of each man can be established with reference to texts that reflect this influence on their lives. Kabā's name indicates an urban context; the Saghanughu clerics were associated with towns and urban settlement since at least the fourteenth century, although there is difficulty in identifying precisely where Kabā came from in West Africa. Kabā came from a place called "Bouka," which was one of the Saghanughu clerical towns that dotted the region between savanna and forest of West Africa in the area that is now northern Côte d'Ivoire, to the east of Futa Jallon.<sup>48</sup> His uncle, with whom he studied, may well have been the famous Saghanughu cleric Muhammad al-Mustafa b. 'Abbas Saghanughu, studied by Ivor Wilks, whose tomb at Boron, is still a site of pilgrimage in West Africa.<sup>49</sup> According to Benjamin Angell,<sup>50</sup> Kabā "was born in a place called Bouka, in the Mandingo country, nine days' journey from the sea-side, and near the country of the Fouhlahs, the capital of which is Timbo."<sup>51</sup> According to J.H. Buchner, Kabā was "by birth a Mandingo."<sup>52</sup> It appears that Bouka is to be identified with one of the Saghanughu towns in the region of Worodugu, south of Kong, Jenne and Timbuktu and east of Futa Jallon, where kola nuts were obtained for the markets of the savanna.<sup>53</sup> The author's name, Muḥammad Kabā Saghanughu, reveals much about his background and his relationship to his homeland in West Africa. Muḥammad, the name usually given to the first-born son by Muslims, is easily recognizable as Muslim. Indeed, this is stated in the account of Muḥammad Kabā's life as recorded by R.R. Madden: "The first son, he says, is always called Mohammed."<sup>54</sup> Kabā is a common patronymic of the Mandingo and other Muslim Manding in the western Sudan, in fact constituting a clan of the Jakhanke, the merchant and clerical diaspora in the greater Senegambia region.<sup>55</sup> The Jakhanke were active in Futa Jallon and the

neighbouring gold fields of Bambuhu and along the routes into the interior. The Saghanughu were an important clerical family noted for teaching the Islamic sciences and associated with the tradition of scholarship founded by *shaykh* Sālim al-Sūwarī in the late fifteenth century.<sup>56</sup> Kabā was captured near an unnamed town where his uncle lived, but there were many towns in the western Sudan in which there were Saghanughu clerical families, and hence it is not possible to identify the place.<sup>57</sup>

Muḥammad Kabā's father was "Abon loo de Kadri," apparently a representation of 'Abd al-Qādir. The Kabā and specifically the Saghanughu belonged to the Qādiriyya brotherhood in the western Sudan, and while the Qādiriyya was closely associated with the *jihād* movement, the Kabā were known to oppose jihad and instead propagated a quietest and tolerant tradition that was partially related to the fact that their commercial communities tended to be in areas where non-Muslims were in the majority.<sup>58</sup> According to what Madden was told, Kabā's father "was a substantial yeoman, possessing 140 slaves, several cows and horses, and grounds producing quantities of cotton, rice, and provisions, which he exchanged for European and other commodities brought from the coast by Higglers [merchants]."<sup>59</sup>

Muḥammad Kabā was well educated, according to his own testimony, "partly by his father, but principally by his uncle, Mohammed Batoul, who was a great lawyer, and had designed him for the same profession." According to Buchner, Kabā

was taught to read and write, and early initiated into the Mahometan faith, being designed for an expounder of their law. When about twenty years of age, he went on a visit to his uncle, previous to his entering "the great school of Timbuctoo" to finish his studies. While there [i.e., at his uncle's] he was waylaid, and carried down the coast to be sold. His relations endeavoured to ransom him, but in vain: he was brought to Jamaica: this was about the year 1777.<sup>60</sup>

Who was Mohammed Batoul? As suggested above, it is possible that his uncle is to be identified with Muhammad al-Mustapha Saghanughu, who died in 1777, the same year that Kabā was enslaved while on his way to Timbuktu, but instead of reaching his destination, he was taken across the Atlantic and, ironically, came to live near another "Tombuctoo," one of the estates owned by Angell, whose testimony has been noted above as the person who introduced Kabā to Special Magistrate Madden in 1834.

Baquaqua came from a setting that suggests diverse origins, all urban. He was born in the early 1820s at Djougou, a town in western Borgu along the trade route between Asante in the Volta basin and the Hausa towns and Borno in the central Sudan.<sup>61</sup> His father, whose name he does not provide, unfortunately, hailed from Nikki, the capital of the Borgu confederacy, to which Djougou paid homage. His father was allegedly sharifian in origin (*shurfa*), suggesting a Morocco connection, which is not unreasonable, given the number of Moroccan merchants in the region of Borgu and the Niger-Benue confluence in the early nineteenth century, exactly when Baquaqua's father is to be identified with Nikki. His mother's family came from Katsina, and his maternal uncle is identified as a learned scholar, with whom both he and his brother studied. The family not only had property in Djougou and probably also Nikki, but in Katsina and also in Salaga, the commercial entrepot of Asante, where kola nuts were exchanged for the products of the savanna. His brother was seized and later ransomed in Borgu, apparently in 1835, when the Muslims in Borgu attempted to stage an uprising that was loyal to the Sokoto *jihād*. These connections establish Baquaqua's family as part of the Dendi or Wangara commercial class of Borgu, Dendi being a dialect of Songhay and spoken

throughout Borgu as a commercial language, alongside Hausa. The term “Wangara” or in Hausa, Wangarawa, was an equivalent term that associated this community with the Juula network to the west, including the area where Muhammad Kabā came from. At the time, according to contemporary observation, the Wangarawa were the principal merchants of his mother’s city, Katsina, although of course everyone spoke Hausa, whatever other languages they also knew.

Baquaqua’s urban background is thus firmly established. Baquaqua was not a particularly good student, according to his own confession, but he worked for his uncle in craft production, making needles and otherwise working in the smithy that his uncle operated in Djougou. As a teenager, he has also accompanied his older brother during a military campaign from Djougou into Dagomba, the northern province of Asante, during a civil war over succession to the position of YaNa at Yendi. The Asante army seized Baquaqua during this campaign, but his brother was able to secure his ransom. Baquaqua was less fortunate when he was later seized at a small town near his hometown of Djougou, according to his own testimony, a result of his own indiscretions. Nonetheless, the links between the cities of the Sokoto Caliphate, Borgu and northern Asante are as clear as in the case of Kabā.

Despite the urban background of many enslaved Muslims, the range of experiences in the Americas could be as different as their African backgrounds were similar. For example, Muhammad Kabā Saghanughu, lived his life under slavery in a rural setting, the coffee estate of Spice Grove, high in the hills of Manchester, with a panoramic view of the flat lands of St. Elizabeth Parish, far below and stretching 80 kms to the mountains of Westmoreland, in the far distance. This stunning rural setting is to be contrasted with the urban odyssey of Baquaqua, who was snatched from a suburb of Djougou and taken to the notorious slave port of Ouidah, through whose commercial houses passed approximately one million enslaved Africans, and like most of these poor victims of slavery went to a port – an urban setting – in the Americas. Kabā almost certainly entered Jamaica through Kingston, while Baquaqua arrived in Pernambuco and first lived in a nearby town, probably Olinda, before being sold to a ship captain and merchant in Rio de Janeiro. Baquaqua’s urban experience continued to his escape from slavery in New York City, his transfer to Boston and then to Port-au-Prince. His only rural experience was in upstate New York when he was a student at New York Central College in McGrawville.

Kabā was able to get himself into a position whereby he traveled to Kingston and other towns on trade. As a Helper in the Moravian Church, he was apparently allowed privileges of movement that were unusual. He had the use of a mule, as well, which probably facilitated his commercial ventures. To what purpose these ventures were put is not known, although his community at Spice Grove was responsible for purchasing the liberty of George Lewis, who often preached his brand of Baptism there. Admittedly, religious affiliation was complex, since Kabā and his relatives were firmly committed to the Moravian connection, as reflected in the tombstones in the cemetery at Fairfield. And since the Fairfield Moravians were in close contact with Mandeville, Spanish Town, and Kingston, they were far from disconnected from urban life, and Kabā at least resumed a life as an itinerant merchant that was reminiscent of commercial diaspora culture of West Africa, despite the greatly changed circumstances.

In this regard, Baquaqua also availed himself of connections with Christians, especially in Haiti, where he lived with Free Will Baptists who had a mission in Port-au-

Prince. His conversion in 1848, whether genuine or not, was related to his own survival, but unlike Kabā, he apparently did not come in contact with any Muslim compatriots to share his experience. Instead, he returned to the United States in late 1849, to escape military draft in Haiti, and enrolled in the non-sectarian Central College, in McGrawville, N.Y., south of Syracuse, continuing his association with the Free Will Baptists, and in the course of his studies, lecturing on the abolitionist circuit in upstate New York and eastern Pennsylvania. His autobiography, an abolitionist tract, was written in Canada West, at Chatham, and was published in Detroit in 1854. Baquaqua's aim was to return to Africa, and he is last heard of in 1858 in England, but whether or not he made it back to Africa is not known. Prominent in his movements, he moved from one town to another, Olinda, Recife, Rio de Janeiro, New York, Boston, Port-au-Prince, Syracuse, Chatham (Canada West), Detroit, and Liverpool. Even McGrawville where he went to college was a town of 4,000, perhaps the same size as his native Djougou, and certainly Syracuse, where he visited, was comparable in size to Katsina, the home of his mother and with which Baquaqua identified.

### **Urbanity and the African Background**

The experiences of enslaved Muslims suggest an interconnection between diaspora and ethnicity, in which association with dispersed commercial towns and the prominence of religion were central to questions of identity. Muslim culture connected a diaspora based on trade, including the slave trade, and was fully concentrated within West Africa, but with links to the wider Islamic world. The enslaved Muslims whose life stories can be traced were people from urban settings who had suffered a reversal of fortune; with an ideology that incorporated perceptions of slavery and how to behave as a slave, and what to expect and hope for in terms of ransoming and self-emancipation. Far from an image of slavery propelling individuals from tribes to plantations, through a world without towns, we see individuals coming from slave-owning societies that were stratified, in which class relationships involved interaction between an enslaved population and a freeborn Muslim population, and often in urban settings, and always in relation to towns. Rather than neglect the urban background of many enslaved Africans in the Americas, this study attempts to raise issues that address the nature of the enforced migration of Africans. To what extent is it helpful to understand the migration as from rural areas of Africa to frontier rural areas in the Americas, and to what extent was there in fact a movement from towns in West Africa to towns in the Americas? Certainly people moved from rural areas to towns, as well as from towns in West Africa to rural areas wherever, but the point here is that assumptions about the origins of individuals have to be treated carefully, and the urban backgrounds of some people should be considered in greater detail.

What does urban experience mean for West African Muslims? It is clear that there were many towns, and the pattern of their location related to trade and production. Virtually all towns in the northern savanna and sahel were in agricultural areas, with walls for defensive purposes, political centers as well as commercial centers. Towns were found in the areas bordering forest regions where kola nuts were harvested for export to the savanna; also near areas of iron smelting and smithing, salt production, river crossings, and elsewhere. There are no estimates of the number of towns in the West African interior during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but there were well over a thousand. In the Hausa area alone, there were hundreds of towns, many founded or re-established with defensive walls in the early nineteenth century after the *jihad* of

‘Uthman dan Fodio (1804-08). Similarly the many Juula towns in the western Sudan, including the sahel and extending southward to the forest and west to the Atlantic Ocean, numbered in the hundreds. They included the towns of Futa Jallon, Futa Toro and the routes from the gold fields and kola forests in the region of the headwaters of the Senegal, Gambia and Niger Rivers across the region of Worodugu in what is now northern Côte d’Ivoire and southern Mali. Muslims also resided in towns in Asante, Oyo and other Yoruba states and along the trade routes connecting these coastal areas with the interior.

One feature of this urban background was the multilingual and multicultural settings in which there was a common language for purposes of trade but where there were numerous languages spoken. In the interior, either Mande or Hausa tended to be the language of communication. The urban setting was multicultural in its origins and often continuing through contact with distant places, and such backgrounds were reflected in specialization in craft training and trade, in which education often involved travel; market activity, both local and long-distance, included exposure to slavery, both as commodities of trade and units of production. These connections with distant places revolved around kinship and marital relationships over distance and among different ethnic groups, as long as individuals were Muslims. Walled towns came complete with gatekeepers, police, armies, systems of taxation, caravanserais (Hausa: *zongo*), mosques, central markets, and palaces. These urban settings included identifiable classes – aristocracy, royal slaves, free commoners, domestic and field slaves, immigrants, and “natives” of the soil. This urbanity inevitably affected the attitudes and expectations of people who found themselves enslaved and thrust into the trans-Atlantic diaspora.

The rhythm of life tended to follow the Muslim calendar, with public entertainment centered in the market, along with street vending and the sale of services. The urban context required large-scale provisioning – fodder for livestock, water, consumables, condiments, waste removal, thatching, construction – while the market in textiles, hardware, leather goods, pottery, mats, containers, farm implements, weapons, horse gear and other commodities meant the regular use of currency and the development of credit mechanisms that could usefully be adapted in the Americas. Keeping accounts was certainly common among the Muslim merchants of the interior, and caravans usually employed scribes to account for taxes and common expenses during journeys. Muslim restrictions on the collection of interest and the multiplicity of taxes and payments for services suggest commercial sophistication that is associated with urban economies. The many biographical accounts that attest to a connection with trade and/or political office among the surviving documents of enslaved Muslims reveal that many individuals came from urban backgrounds, and inevitably this experience has to be taken into account in assessing reactions to enslavement in the Americas, both in terms of what individuals might have expected and their responses to opportunities arising from proximity to urban areas in the Americas.

The urban background of enslaved Africans and their movement from interior towns to coastal ports has been largely ignored as a factor in considering the patterns of socialization and adjustment under slavery. This neglect raises serious issues about previous analysis of the process of “creolization” and ethnic formation under slavery in the Americas. As some studies of slavery have demonstrated, ethnic formation and creole identification were particularly pronounced in urban settings in the Americas, whether in Bahia, Havana, Cartagena, New York or Charleston. There is no question that towns and proximity to towns

were influential in the lives of many enslaved Africans and their descendants, and it is also clear that marketing networks and religious connections tied the rural plantation section to towns. While this study has focused on Muslims, similar observations could be made of those who came from the interior of the Bight of Biafra and from the Bantulands of Kongo, Angola, and Mozambique. The dynamics of African inputs into the development of the creole societies of the Americas includes an African urban culture that was associated with Islamic society, and that was diaspora-focused in its structure and orientation. The study helps to understand the relationship between urbanity and diaspora, the role of ethnicity for purposes of identification, and the prominence of religion, in this case Islam, in the formulation of identity, which is seen as a continuous process occurring both in West Africa and in the Americas.

### **Atlantic and African Ports and Towns Compared**

African Atlantic ports and the towns of the West African interior might seem to be weak candidates as urban centers, except one might assume for Luanda, but as demonstrated above, a closer examination demonstrates that the African ports, including Luanda, had populations ranging between 8,000-12,000, and that there was some towns in the interior with populations as high as 50,000, at least by the middle of the nineteenth century. The African coastal towns, including St. Louis, Luanda, Ouidah, Cabinda, Elmina, Cape Coast, Anomabu, Bonny, and Old Calabar were smaller in size and perhaps less diverse in urban complexion than some of the American ports, but they were not that much smaller, and in the eighteenth century, many were relatively the same size as most ports around the Atlantic.

In the the eighteenth century, the ports and cities of the Americas, by comparison, ranged in size from 5,000-16,000, with a few important exceptions and some ports growing rapidly in the last two decades of the century to populations. The size of various towns, all ports, was as follows: Bridgetown (10,641 in 1712, 14,000 in 1773), Kingston (5,000 in 1700, 11,200 in 1774, 26,000 in the 1790s), Cap-Français, St. Domingue (15,000 in the 1780s), Cartagena (11,500 in 1772, 13,387 in 1780, 15,000 in 1800), Vera Cruz (20,000 in 1807); Boston (9,500 in 1710, 10,248 in 1742, 16,000 in 1775, 18,000 in the 1790s), Charlestown (16,500 in 1800); Philadelphia (6,500 in 1710, 13,000 in 1742, 42,500 in 1800), and New York (11,000 in 1742, 25,000 in 1775, 33,000 in the 1790s).<sup>62</sup> Although several ports grew rapidly at the end of the eighteenth century, it can be seen that most ports in the Americas were about the same size as ports in Africa. There were certainly some ports in the Americas that were bigger than the African ports, about the same size as the largest African cities of the period, such as eighteenth-century Havana (40,737 in 1778), Salvador, Bahia (37,543 in 1755, 39,209 in 1780, 45,600 in 1805), and Rio de Janeiro (51,000 in c.1780; 43,376 in 1799), and all three were certainly larger if their suburbs are taken into account.<sup>63</sup> By comparison, some 40,000 blacks lived in London in 1780s, making it one of the largest “African” cities in the world at the time. London also stands out as the largest city in the Atlantic world, with a population approaching one million in 1800.<sup>64</sup>

The distinctions among ports of the Atlantic world diverged considerably in the nineteenth century. The rate of urbanization increased dramatically. Kingston doubled in size by the early nineteenth century, reaching 33,000 in 1812, and 35,000 in 1828.<sup>65</sup> Salvador’s population increased to 51,112 in 1807 and 65,500 in 1835, Rio de Janeiro had a population of 79,321 in 1821.<sup>66</sup> In both cases, the suburbs almost the doubled the

population estimates. Havana had a population of about 200,000 in 1861, including its suburbs.<sup>67</sup> Nowhere in Africa did a city approach the size of the big cities of the Atlantic world at that time, although Ibadan may have approached a population of 100,000 in the middle of the nineteenth century. Whether towns were large or small, however, an important component of all urban centers were populations that included enslaved Africans and their descendants, whether slave or free. For this reason alone a further examination of slavery in urban areas, whether in Africa or in the wider Atlantic world, is warranted. While the African ports did not reach these population levels until much later, the rate of urbanization in West Africa, at least, was also accelerating, as demonstrated above in the number of towns that were part of the Sokoto Caliphate and the trade routes that crisscrossed the savanna and sahel. With relatively few exceptions, towns and cities of western Europe and the Atlantic were relatively small in the eighteenth century and did not expand until the nineteenth. And this observation applies almost everywhere. Africa does not stand out as unique, but rather as relatively urbanized by the standards of the eighteenth century and experiencing an expansion in the number of urban dwellers in the nineteenth century, although not as dramatically as in western Europe and in parts of the Americas.

In considering the urban experience of slavery in Africa and the Americas, many people had lived in or passed through towns and relatively small cities in the eighteenth century; there were few large cities. The size of cities increased noticeably in the nineteenth century, and some cities were quite large. Hence discussions of the influence of urban contact on the development of creole society and the resurgence of ethnic identification should consider more carefully the size of towns and cities, and the extent of their cosmopolitan environments. Truly large cities was confined to a relatively few places, and more likely in the nineteenth century than the eighteenth, and hence it must be asked, what was the impact of living in or near a town or small city of 5,000-12,000, whether in Africa or in the Americas in the period before c. 1800, and how did the situation change in the nineteenth century, if it did? Can we say that the urban experience of the enslaved was only important in Rio de Janeiro, Kano, Ibadan, and Havana, or is it necessary to deconstruct the meaning of urbanity as it changed during the centuries of slavery in the Black Atlantic and Atlantic Africa? The impact of living in a town or city certainly affected ethnic identification, cultural practices, and personal identity, but what were the differences between the slave societies of Muslim western Africa and the slave societies of the Americas, or for that matter in the ports along the Guinea coast?

A macro approach demonstrates that the urban component of the African diaspora was extensive, although a distinction has to be made between the few truly large cities and the many port towns and capitals in different parts of the Atlantic world, including western Africa. The urban context of slavery in the Americas has now received considerable attention. In this context, this study provides the appropriate backdrop to argue that Muslim slaves were over represented in this urban component. While many enslaved Africans came from rural areas and only passed through the major ports in transit, it is still clear that the urban component of West Africa has been largely overlooked. To estimate the scale of population in towns and cities, it would be too high to use a figure of 10,000 as a mean population for 1,000 towns for the mid-nineteenth century, while 5,000 as a mean population for 1,000 towns would suggest a total urban population of 5 million for the mid-nineteenth century and certainly less for the

eighteenth century. If the number of towns and cities was more on the order of 800, and a mean population of 4,000 is used, it still suggests an urban population of over 3 million in the mid-nineteenth century. There were fewer towns and cities in the eighteenth century, at least in the central Sudan, but given the lack of data it is perhaps unwise to venture a guess as to relative numbers of urban dwellers then. It is enough for my purposes here to establish that there was a significant population in towns in West Africa, and in all of these centers, slavery was a functioning institution, with a considerable proportion of the population enslaved.

The relationship between urban life and ethnic identification, therefore, were close, indicating multi-ethnic, cosmopolitan environments, with extensive international connections through trade, pilgrimage, and education. This background is essential in understanding the reconfiguring of ethnicity and the process of identity formation in the Americas, whether in towns or the countryside. The Islamic experience was unique in that religion provided a mechanism for allegiance that was similar to brotherhoods and *cabildos*, although there is little trace of Islamic influence. Muslims have often been overlooked because they ended up largely in rural areas, except in Brazil and notably in Bahia. There are indications of the Muslim presence, such as in Jamaica, where locally one of the hills in Manchester Parish is known as Moorish Mountain, and similarly in folklore. It is not that people from urban backgrounds are particularly visible in the towns and cities of the Americas, or that there is direct correlation between an urban background in Africa and living conditions in the Americas. Almost certainly there was no direct correlation, except perhaps coincidentally in Salvador, Bahia, where people from the urbanized areas of northern Yoruba country and the central Sudan were concentrated. However, what is being suggested is that the urban background of those enslaved Africans who had come from towns may have had an influence on conceptualizations of ethnicity and identity, whether they were settled in urban areas, on plantations, or small farms.

It could be argued that traveling through a slave pen was not an urban experience, but I am suggesting quite the contrary – that it was a unique urban experience, involving exposure to other people, and the chance meeting of kin or acquaintances, as Baquaqua did in Ouidah, on meeting someone from Djougou, also a slave, because of the style of his hair. It was more likely that someone would meet kin, an acquaintance or individuals from the same place in an urban setting, even if in a pen. This movement of enslaved people through urban environments, whether in Africa or in the Americas, was part of urbanity, at least until the onset of the abolition movement. Residence in towns, even if briefly, was important in re-enforcing ethnicity and otherwise addressing difficult issues of identity, and this ongoing challenge was then extended from interaction in the cosmopolitan towns and cities of West Africa into diaspora.

Transport via the slave trade did not erase ethnic identification, but rather brought ethnicity into focus in ways that were new and expansive. An individual could well retain a sense of identity in the Americas, even if not living in a community where people spoke a common language, had the same religion or shared similar customs, based on ethnicity. In the case of Baquaqua, for example, his isolation from other Muslims and people of his ethnic background did not minimize his identification with the Hausa ethnicity of his mother and his desire to return to Katsina, her ancestral home. Similarly, Kabā complained about losing his memory, but he still identified himself with the Kabā clan

and specifically with the Saghanughu. An individual may not have been able to practice any of the customs of his or her tradition, or if the person did try to retrain his heritage, it had to be done clandestinely, but that did not erase a sense of identity as an ethnic being. Ethnic allegiance may seem to have required compliance with particular customs and religious observances, but even non-compliance did not necessarily erase the memory of ethnic affiliation. This stands out particularly clearly with enslaved Muslims, whose frequent isolation from other Muslims and hence the inability to share the Friday prayer and various religious festivals did not mean that Islam was forgotten, only that it could not be practiced openly. Residing in a slave pen in or near a port city was an urban experience, bringing individuals into enforced contact with other people of widely different backgrounds and experiences. The adjustments required during the slave trade were certainly different than those experienced by freed blacks and mulattoes in the many cities of the Americas, and indeed in parts of Africa, but how different and in what ways needs to be explored further. In doing so, the process of “creolization” and the transformation of the cultures of the Americas and Atlantic Africa should become clearer.

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<sup>2</sup> David Eltis, Stephen Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-Rom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

<sup>3</sup> Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death. A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of the under representation of Muslim areas in the slave trade to Americas, see my “Islam, Slavery, and Political Transformation in West Africa: Constraints on the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade,” *Outre-Mers: Revue d’histoire*, 89 (2002), 247-82; “Slavery, the Bilād al-Sudan and the Frontiers of the African Diaspora,” in Paul E. Lovejoy (ed.), *Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, Publisher, 2004), 1-30; and “The Sahara-Atlantic Divide, Or How Women Fitted into the Slave Trade,” in Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers, Joseph C. Miller (eds.), *Women and Slavery* (London: Frank Cass, forthcoming).

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of Aḥmad Bābā, and the debate within Muslim circles about who could be enslaved and who should not be, see my “The Context of Enslavement in West Africa: Aḥmad Bābā and the Ethics of Slavery,” in Jane Landers, ed., *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005); Mahmoud A. Zouber, *Ahmad Baba de Tombouctou (1556-1627)*, Paris: G.-P. Masonneuve et Larose, 1977; and John Hunwick and Fatima Harrak, *Mi’raj al-su’ud: Aḥmad Bābā’s Replies on Slavery* (Rabat: Institut des Etudes Africaines, Université Mohamed V, 2000). Excerpts are also to be found in John Hunwick and Eve Troutt Powell (eds.), *The African Diaspora in the Mediterranean Lands of Islam* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publisher, 2002).

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<sup>6</sup> See David Eltis and Stanley Engerman, "Was the Slave Trade Dominated by Men?" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23:2 (1992): 237-57; and David Geggus, "Sex Ratio, Age and Ethnicity in the Atlantic Slave Trade: Data from French Shipping and Plantation Records," *Journal of African History* 30:1 (1989): 23-44. Also see Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, "Competing Markets for Male and Female Slaves: Slave Prices in the Interior of West Africa, 1780-1850," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, XXVIII:2; and "Jihad e Escravidao: As Origens dos Escravos Muçulmanos da Bahia," *Topoi* (Rio de Janeiro), 1 (2000), 11-44.

<sup>7</sup> See Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, "The Business of Slaving: Pawnship in Western Africa, c. 1600-1810," *Journal of African History*, 42:1 (2001). Also see Lovejoy and Richardson, "'This Horrid Hole': Royal Authority, Commerce and Credit at Bonny, 1690-1840," *Journal of African History*, 45:3 (2004); and Robin Law, *Ouidah: The Social History of a West African Slaving 'Port' 1727-1892* (Oxford: James Currey & Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004).

<sup>8</sup> See my "The African Diaspora: Revisionist Interpretations of Ethnicity, Culture and Religion under Slavery," *Studies in the World History of Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation*, II:1 (1997) (<http://www2.h-t.msu.edu/~slavery/essays/esy9701love.html>); Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Changing Dimensions of African History: Reappropriating the Diaspora," in Simon McGrath, Charles Jedrej, Kenneth King, and Jack Thompson (eds.), *Rethinking African History* (Edinburgh, Centre of African Studies), 181-200; and Lovejoy, "Identifying Enslaved Africans in the African Diaspora," in Lovejoy (ed.), *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery* (London: Cassell Academic, 2000).

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of the place of slavery in urban settings in the Americas, see, for example, the various studies in Franklin W. Knight and Peggy K. Liss, eds., *Atlantic Port Cities* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991); Louisa S. Hoberman and Susan M. Socolow, eds., *Cities and Society in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986); Stanley L. Engerman and Barry W. Higman, "The Demographic Structure of the Caribbean Slave Societies in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in Franklin W. Knight, ed., *The Slave Societies of the Caribbean, General History of the Caribbean*, vol. III (London: UNESCO, 1997), 70-71; Pedro L.V. Welch, *Slave Society in the City: Bridgetown, Barbados, 1680-1834* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2003); Claudia Goldin, *Urban Slavery in the American South, 1820-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 52; Joseph A. Ernst and H. Roy Merrens, "Camdens Turrets Pierce the Skies: The Urban Process in the Southern Colonies during the Eighteenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 30:4 (1973), 549-74. Also see the papers presented at the conference on "City Life in Caribbean History," Cave Hill, Barbados, 11-13 December 2003.

<sup>10</sup> Robin Law and Silke Strickrodt (eds.), *Ports of the Slave Trade (Bights of Benin and Biafra)* (Stirling: Centre of Commonwealth Studies, University of Stirling, 1999).

<sup>11</sup> Paul E. Lovejoy and David Trotman, "Experiencias de vida y expectativas: Nociones Africanas sobre la esclavitud y la realidad en América," in Rina Cáceres (ed.), *Rutas de la Esclavitud en África y América Latina* (San José, Costa Rica, 2001), 379-404; and "Enslaved Africans and their Expectations of Slave Life in the Americas: Towards a Reconsideration of Models of 'Creolisation'," in Verene A. Shepherd and Glen L.

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Richards (eds.), *Questioning Creole: Creolisation Discourses in Caribbean Culture* (Kingston: Ian Randle, Publishers, 2002), 67-91.

<sup>12</sup> David Eltis, Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, "Slave-Trading Ports: Toward an Atlantic-Wide Perspective," in Law and Strickrodt, *Ports of the Slave Trade*, 12-34.

<sup>13</sup> There is an extensive literature on towns in West Africa; see Richard W. Hull, *African Cities and Towns before the European Conquest* (New York: Norton, 1976); David M. Anderson and Richard Rathbone (eds.), *Africa's Urban Past* (London: James Currey, 2000); Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *Histoire des villes d'Afrique noire: Des origines à la colonisation* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1993), 107-40, 151-208, 219-20, 248-70; and Toyin Falola and Steven Salm, eds., *Cities in Africa* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2004), especially Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, "African Urban Spaces: History and Culture." Also see the special issue on "Cité-Etat et statut politique de la ville en Afrique et ailleurs," *Journal des Africanistes*, 74:1/2 (2004).

<sup>14</sup> Law, *Ouidah*, 73.

<sup>15</sup> David M. Anderson and Richard Rathbone, "Urban Africa: Histories in the Making," in Anderson and Rathbone, *Africa's Urban Past*, 5.

<sup>16</sup> Paul E. Lovejoy, "Polanyi's 'Ports of Trade': Salaga and Kano in the Nineteenth Century," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 16 (1982), 245-78.

<sup>17</sup> Tiyaambe Zeleza, *A Modern Economic History of Africa* (Dakar: CODESRIA, 1993), 77.

<sup>18</sup> Martin Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule in French West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 21.

<sup>19</sup> Harvey M. Feinberg, *Africans and Europeans in West Africa: Elminans and Dutchmen on the Gold Coast during the Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1989), 83-85. Also see Christopher R. DeCorse, *An Archaeology of Elmina: Africans and Europeans on the Gold Coast, 1400-1900* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 31-32.

<sup>20</sup> Robin Law, *Ouidah: The Social History of a West African Slaving 'Port' 1727-1892* (Oxford: James Currey, 2004), 7374.

<sup>21</sup> Adam Jones, "Little Popo and Agoué at the End of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Glimpses from the Lawson Correspondence and other Sources," in Law and Strickrodt, *Ports of the Slave Trade*, 122; and Michel Videgla, "Le royaume de Porto-Novo face à la politique abolitionniste des nations européennes de 1848 à 1882," in Law and Strickrodt, *ibid.*, 135.

<sup>22</sup> Robin Law, "Towards a History of Urbanization in Pre-Colonial Yorubaland," in Christopher Fyfe, ed., *African Historical Demography* (Edinburgh, 1977), 266; and Kristin Mann, *Marrying Well: Marriage, Status and Social Change among the Educated Elite of Colonial Lagos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 17.

<sup>23</sup> For a description of Bonny town, see John Adams, *Remarks on the Country Extending from Cape Palmas to the River Congo, with an Appendix Containing an Account of the European Trade with the West Coast of Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1966 [1823]), 136-37; and R.M. Jackson, *Journal of a Residence in Bonny River on board the ship Kingston during the Months of January, February and March 1826* (Letchworth, 1934), 144.

<sup>24</sup> José C. Curto and Raymond R. Gervais, "The Population History of Luanda During the Late Atlantic Slave Trade, 1781- 1844," *African Economic History*, 29 (2001), 1-59.

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<sup>25</sup> Alan Frishman, "The Population Growth of Kano, Nigeria," in Fyfe, *African Historical Demography*, 212-50. Also see Saleh Abubakar, "Aspects of an Urban Phenomenon: Sokoto and its Hinterland to c. 1850," in Y.B. Usman, ed., *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate* (Zaria: Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, 1979), 125-39.

<sup>26</sup> In the British census of 1911, Sokoto Province had 13 towns with populations over 6,000, the largest being Sokoto with 21,624, Isa with 18,919, Kaura-Namoda with 13,067, Bongodu, Gwandu, Moriki, Wurno, Gusau, Jega, Talata Mafara, Gummi, Argungu, and Birnin Kebbi with populations from 6,000-10,000. See Garba Na-dama, "Urbanization in the Sokoto Caliphate: A Case Study of Gusau and Kaura-Namoda," in Usman, *Sokoto Caliphate*, 140-62.

<sup>27</sup> Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd ed., 2000), 204.

<sup>28</sup> Paul E. Lovejoy, *Caravans of Kola: The Hausa Kola Trade 1700-1900* (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1980), 65.

<sup>29</sup> These included Cheboa, Tibati, Ngaundere, Banyo, Malabu, Rai-Buba, Song, Zummo, Gola, Holma, Pakorgel, Marwa, Bogo, Kobotshi, Laro, Belel, Daware, Mayo-Farang, Sorau, Madagali, Gider, Michika, Moda, Mubi, Uba, Mindif, Binder, Ridadu, Bibemi, Kalfu, Be, Demsa (Cisiga), Vokna, Tola, Agorma, Pette, Wuro Mayo-Najarendi, Mbere, Garwa, and Balala, besides the capital, Yola. For a discussion, see Paul E. Lovejoy, *Slavery, Commerce and Production: Essays in the Social and Economic History of the Central Sudan* (New Brunswick NJ: Africa World Press), Chapter I.

<sup>30</sup> Modibbo Tukur, "The Imposition of British Colonial Domination on the Sokoto Caliphate, Borno and Neighbouring States, 1897-1914" (Ph.D. thesis, unpublished, Ahmadu Bello University, 1979), 204.

<sup>31</sup> Tukur, "Imposition of British Domination," 204; and Y.A. Aliyu, "Establishment and Development of Emirate Government in Bauchi, 1805-1903" (Ph.D. thesis, unpublished, Ahmadu Bello University, 1974), 479-80.

<sup>32</sup> For a discussion of the dispersed commercial centers that have various been referred to as constituting a "commercial diaspora" centered in the towns along the trade routes of the interior of West Africa, see Philip D. Curtin, *Cross Cultural Trade in World History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984); Claude Meillassoux (ed.), *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa* (London: 1971); and Lovejoy, *Caravans of Kola*.

<sup>33</sup> For Hausa terminology, see Lovejoy, *Caravans of Kola*; Mahdi Adamu, *The Hausa Factor in West Africa* (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1968).

<sup>34</sup> Lamine Sanneh, *The Jakanke* (London: 1979); and Philip D. Curtin, "Pre-colonial Trading Networks and Traders: the Diakhanke," in Meillassoux, *Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa*, 228-39. Also see Ivor Wilks, "The Transmission of Islamic Learning in the Western Sudan," in Jack Goody, ed., *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 162-97; Wilks, "The Saghanughu and the Spread of Maliki Law: A Provisional Note," *Research Review* (Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana), 2, 3 (1966).

<sup>35</sup> For the Wangara/Juula, Jean-Loup Amselle, *Les negociants de la savane* (Paris, Anthropos: 1977); Edmond Bernus, "Kong et sa Région," *Études Eburnéennes*, 8(1960),

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243-323 Jean-Louis Boutillier, "La Ville de Bouna," *Cahiers ORSTROM*, 1(2), 1969, 3-20; Yves Person, 1968-75. *Samori: Une révolution Dyula* (Dakar 1968-75), 3 vol.; Person, "The Atlantic Coast and the Southern Savannahs, 1800-1880," in J.F. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder (eds.), *History of West Africa* (London: 1974), II, 262-307; Andreas W. Massing, "Wangara, an Old Soninke Diaspora in West Africa? A Study of the Historical Relationship between Trade, Religion and Family."

<sup>36</sup> See Paul E. Lovejoy and David V. Trotman, "Community of Believers: Trinidad Muslims and the Return to Africa, c. 1810-1850," in Lovejoy, *Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam*, 221-34.

<sup>37</sup> Mariza de Carvalho Soares, *Devotos da cor. Identidade étnica, religiosidade e escravidão no Rio de Janeiro, século XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2000).

<sup>38</sup> The literature on Muslims in the Americas during the era of slavery is now extensive, but see Brent Singleton, "The *Ummah* Slowly Bled: A Select Bibliography of Enslaved African Muslims in the Americas and the Caribbean," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 22:2 (2002), 401-12; Allan D. Austin, *African Muslims in Antebellum America: Transatlantic Stories and Spiritual Struggles* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Austin, "Islamic Identities in Africans in North America in the Days of Slavery (1731-1865)," *Islam et sociétés au sud du Sahara*, 7 (1993): 205-19; Sylviane A. Diouf, *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas* (New York: New York University Press, 1998); Diouf, "Devils or Sorcerers, Muslims or Studs: Manding in the Americas," in Paul E. Lovejoy and David V. Trotman, eds. *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora* (London: Continuum, 2003); Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging our Country Marks* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Lovejoy, "Slavery, the Bilād al-Sudan and the Frontiers of the African Diaspora," in Lovejoy, *Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam*, 1-30; Maureen Warner-Lewis, "Religious Constancy and Compromise among Nineteenth Century Caribbean-Based African Muslims," Paper presented at the Conference on "Slavery, Islam and Diaspora," York University, Toronto, 24-26 October 2003; and Michael Gomez, *Black Crescent: The Experience and Legacy of African Muslims in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>39</sup> Richard Lander, *Records of Captain Clapperton's Last Expedition to Africa* (2 vols.) (London, 1830), I, 204, 206.

<sup>40</sup> Menèzes de Drumond, "Lettres sur l'Afrique ancienne et moderne," *Journal des Voyages*, xxxii (1826), 206-16.

<sup>41</sup> Sigismund Wilhelm Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana* (London, 1854), 10.

<sup>42</sup> Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, 17.

<sup>43</sup> Frances de Castelnau, *Renseignements sur l'Afrique centrale* (Paris, 1851), 40.

<sup>44</sup> Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, 17.

<sup>45</sup> "Narrative of a Journey from Egypt to the Western Coast of Africa, by Mahomed Misrah. Communicated by an Officer Serving in Sierra Leone, April 8, 1821," *The Quarterly Journal*, October 1822, 6.

<sup>46</sup> H.F.C. [Abdullahi] Smith, Murray Last, and Gambo Gubio, eds., "Ali Eisami Gazirmabe of Bornu," in Philip D. Curtin, ed., *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), 202, 211-12.

<sup>47</sup> See Allan D. Austin, *African Muslims in Antebellum America: A Sourcebook* (New York: Garland, 1984); Ivor Wilks, "Abū Bakr al-al-Ṣiddīq of Timbuktu," in Curtin,

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*Africa Remembered*, 152-69; Yacine Daddi Addoun and Paul E. Lovejoy, "Muhammad Kābā Saghanughu and the Muslim Community of Jamaica," in Lovejoy, *Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam*, 201-20; Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy (eds.), *The Biography of Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua: His Passage from Slavery to Freedom in Africa and America* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publisher); and Carl Campbell, "Mohammedu Sisei of Gambia and Trinidad, c. 1788-1838," *African Studies of the West Indies Bulletin* 7 (1974): 29-38.

<sup>48</sup> Ivor Wilks, "The Transmission of Islamic Learning in the Western Sudan," in Jack Goody, ed., *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 162-97; Wilks, *Forests of Gold: Essays on the Akan and the Kingdom of Asante* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1993), 21-22, and Wilks, "The Saghanughu and the Spread of Maliki Law: A Provisional Note," *Research Review* (Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana), 2, 3 (1966), 67-73.

<sup>49</sup> Wilks, "Saghanughu and Maliki Law," 69.

<sup>50</sup> Benjamin Angell was "one of the most respectable inhabitants" of Manchester Parish and owner of Adam's Valley coffee estate and like Kabā was a member of the Moravian Mission at nearby Fairfield; see R.R. Madden, *A Twelvemonth's Residence in the West Indies, during the Transition from Slavery to Apprenticeship* (Westport, Conn.: Negro University Press, 1970 [1835]), II, 133.

<sup>51</sup> B. Angell to Madden, Manchester, Jamaica, October 7, 1834, in Madden, *Twelve Months in the West Indies*, II, 134.

<sup>52</sup> J.H. Buchner, *The Moravians of Jamaica: History of the Mission of the United Brethren's Church to the Negroes in the Island of Jamaica, from the Year 1754 to 1854* (London: Longman, Brown, 1854), 50-51.

<sup>53</sup> I wish to thank Ivor Wilks for discussing the possible location of Bouka and Pierre Kipré for information on the foundation of the two towns of Bouké in the interior of Côte d'Ivoire, one of which is located near Boron, the Saghanughu settlement, but in both cases the modern town of Bouké north of Abidjan and the one near Boron are of recent foundation. Sylviane Diouf identifies Bouka with Bouna, which is south of Jenne but not near Futa Jallon; see *Servants of Allah*, 55. Afroz claims that Bouka was near Timbuktu, apparently mistaking Timbo, capital of the "Foullah country" with Timbuktu; see "Jihad of 1831-1832," 232. In an earlier paper, we identified Bouka with Boké, located on the Rio Nunez, at the coast; see "The Arabic Manuscript of Muḥammad Kabā Saghanughu of Jamaica, c. 1823," The Second Conference on Caribbean Culture, University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica, January 9-12, 2002.

<sup>54</sup> Madden, *Twelve Months in the West Indies*, II, 135.

<sup>55</sup> On the Kabā clan of Jakhanke, see Sanneh, *Jakhanke*, 38-43. Kabā is also a family name that is found in Upper Guinea among the Maninka Mori, or Muslim Maninka. The Kabā family founded the Maninka Mori capital city of Kankan (I wish to thank Walter Hawthorne for this information). Also see the account of Lamine Kabā, who was born in Futa Jallon in about 1780 and was taken to the southern United States in about 1807, obtaining his freedom in 1834; see Allan D. Austin *African Muslims Sourcebook*, 415, and the account of Ibrahima Kabwee [Kabā] from Kankan, in *Ibid.*, 434-36. Also see Wilks, "Abū Bakr al-al-Ṣiddīq," 152-69.

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<sup>56</sup> Wilks, “Transmission of Islamic Learning,” 162-97; Wilks, *Forests of Gold*, 21-22; Wilks, “Saghanughu and Spread of Maliki Law.” On the dating of Suwari, also see Sanneh, *Jahankhe*, 18.

<sup>57</sup> For the Saghanughu network, see Wilks, “Transmission of Islamic Learning.”

<sup>58</sup> Sanneh, *Jahankhe*, 38-43.

<sup>59</sup> Madden, *Twelve Years in the West Indies*, II, 135.

<sup>60</sup> Buchner, *Moravians of Jamaica*, 50-51.

<sup>61</sup> Lovejoy, “Salaga and Kano in the Nineteenth Century,” 245-78.

<sup>62</sup> Welch, *Slave Society in Bridgetown*, 53; David Geggus, “The Major Port Towns of Saint Domingue in the Later Eighteenth Century,” in Knight and Liss, *Atlantic Port Cities*, 91; B.W. Higman, “Jamaican Port Towns in the Early Nineteenth Century,” in *ibid.*, 119; Guadalupe Jiménez Codinach, “An Atlantic Silver Entrepôt: Vera Cruz and the House of Gordon and Murphy,” in *ibid.*, 151; Lance R. Grahn, “Cartagena and its Hinterland in the Eighteenth Century,” in *ibid.*, 179; Jorge Conde Calderón, *Espacio, Sociedad y Conflictos en la Provincia de Cartagena 1740-1815* (Branquilla: Publicaciones de la Universidad del Atlántico, 1999), 137.

<sup>63</sup> For Havana, see Engerman and Higman, “Demographic Structure of the Caribbean Slave Societies,” 69; and Allan J. Kuethe, “Havana in the Eighteenth Century,” in Knight and Liss, *Atlantic Port Cities*, 13. The suburbs of Havana had another 40,000 people. For Salvador, see João José Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil. The Muslim Uprising in Bahia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, Arthur Brakel, trans., 1993), 5; A.J.R. Russell-Wood, “Ports of Colonial Brazil,” in Knight and Liss, *Atlantic Port Cities*, 222; Jacob M. Price, “Summation: The American Panorama of Atlantic Port Cities,” 263; and Dauril Alden, *Royal Government in Colonial Brazil* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968). For Rio de Janeiro, see Mary Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro 1808-1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 62.

<sup>64</sup> Roy Porter, *London: A Social History* (London: Penguin, 2000), 229.

<sup>65</sup> Engerman and Higman, “Demographic Structure of the Caribbean Slave Societies,” 71.

<sup>66</sup> Engerman and Higman, “Demographic Structure of the Caribbean Slave Societies,” 69; João José Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil. The Muslim Uprising in Bahia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, Arthur Brakel, trans., 1993), 5; Dauril Alden, *Royal Government in Colonial Brazil* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); and Mary Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro 1808-1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 62.

<sup>67</sup> Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil*, 5-6; Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro*, 182; and Engerman and Higman, “Demographic Structure of the Caribbean Slave Societies,” 69.