Introduction

Lissette Acosta Corniel

This book attempts to highlight Santo Domingo[1] and Puerto Rico in the history of Atlantic slavery. New World slavery as it is conventionally understood—as a field of study—has not had to negotiate for space in scholarship, being that it has been widely addressed. In fact, it is considered one of the most important events in the world, not only because of its level of inhumane actions and consequences, but because more and more research about slavery has been produced through the years. Still, archival documents and gaps in scholarship show us that there is more to know about the first free and enslaved Blacks brought to the Americas. This study refers to Blacks who arrived by force, and, by contrast, free Blacks who requested licenses from the Spanish Crown to travel to the newly conquered colonies or obtained their freedom after arrival.[2] In this context, this book examines Africans and their descendants from various perspectives, starting with their history in Spain and foregrounding Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico. It aims to, first, suggest new areas of study in relation to the presence of free and enslaved black Africans—largely sub-Saharan Africans—in the Americas and their relation to Spain as the purveyor of Black slavery in the Western Hemisphere; second, it presents the islands of the Spanish Caribbean as a key component of the formation of Black identities and Black societies in the Americas, as well as ongoing, though shrinking, representations of the Black presence in Spain itself. And third, it contributes to the existing knowledge that emphasizes the Spanish Caribbean as a pivotal area of sociocultural, sociopolitical, and socioeconomic study in relation to Atlantic studies. Thus, to study Black people in the Spanish Caribbean, we look at their earlier presence in the history of Spain. The chapters in this collection consider first their life experiences as Afro-Iberians and second the extent to which there were transfers of these experiences to the Americas. To that end, while a growing number of scholars have published extensively on the topic in the last few decades, the interest in Blacks and slavery in Spain emerged in the early to the mid-twentieth century.[3] Scholars began the great and complex task of archival investigation, in order to unearth the history of Blacks in Spain, thereby situating the country as one of the receivers of the largest diasporic experience in the Western Hemisphere.

Blacks in Spain

To begin our understanding of "Afro-Spain," the works of Vicenta Cortés and Antonio Domínguez Ortiz rank among the first to be consulted.[4] One of the main problems for most scholars in Iberian Studies—writing about slavery in Spain—was to explain the difference between captive, servant, and slave in the Middle Ages. While these categories of servitude limited the civil liberties of certain individuals and groups, each formation occurred for different reasons, and each required a distinct process in the pursuit of freedom.[5] There were also people from various backgrounds who experienced enslavement in Spain. Though reasons for enslavement varied—for example, some were captured in war or presented as payment of debt, others were enslaved because of religious belief—these reasons gradually disappeared. In their place came "race-based" bondage. José Cortés López argues that it is generally said that "the colonization of the Americas was the cause of African slavery and its commerce."[6] López's assertion is only partly true. Prior to Spain's colonization of the Americas, Blacks were preferred in Spain over other slaves such as those from the Middle East and the Canary Islands. For instance, the gradual descent of Black people from human to slave status based on race can be seen soon after the colonization of the Canary Islands, when the Spanish Crown prohibited the enslavement of Indigenous Canarians, also called Guanches, who were considered captives as a result of Spain's takeover of their archipelago. Soon after, compulsory Black labor began to replace Guanche labor.[7] However, the presence of Black slaves in Spain precedes the colonization of the Canary Islands. For example, there is mention of

Blacks as early as the seventh and eighth centuries, when Black slaves were brought into Spain when it was under Muslim rule.[8] Further, two Black slaves—ethnic group not specified—were found in Valencia in 1350 and in 1419. Also, in Valencia, four Black slaves were identified as Mandinka, a large, far-flung West African ethnic group.[9]

Blacks in Spanish Renaissance Literature

While history has noted the physical presence of Blacks in Spain in the Renaissance period, perhaps it would be fitting to mention that Blacks also had a presence in literature, as in the case of the novel, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, published anonymously in Spain in 1554. The anonymity of the author has been blamed on the novel's content of strong racial affirmation related to what was going on in Spain at the time. The novel has been both praised and criticized for exposing Blacks and for the way race was made a central theme in the novel. The author presents Blacks in Spain beyond the idea of subalternism by creating a Black stepfather as one of the main characters, as if this ought to have been the norm in society at the time. On the other hand, Lazarillo, the main character and stepson, shares his shocking experience with readers as he tries to define and relate what he knows as good and bad, namely, Black and white, and how he struggles with this binary.[10]

Also in literature, several years later, we find Blacks in Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's *Ingenious Gentleman, Don Quixote Quixote de la Mancha*, first published in 1605, and also in Cervantes Saavedra's short story, "El Celoso extremeño" or "The Jealous Extremaduran," published in 1613. In *Don Quixote*, we find a suddenly motivated Sancho Panza who shares his entrepreneurship plan of selling Black slaves so that he may live well-off from its profits, as he intends to turn the Black slaves white and yellow, meaning into silver and gold earnings.[11] A few years after publishing *Don Quixote*, Cervantes published a volume of short stories in 1613, including the story of "El Celoso extremeño," about the misfortune of a young girl who marries an older man. In this story, we find three Black characters—two female slaves, one whose name is Guiomar—and a male slave named Luis. While Luis is not the main character, it is his role that leads the story to its climax. Guiomar keeps readers abreast of social racial issues of the time through one of her lines, "Me black stays, whites go," when her mistress orders her to stay behind as the watchperson while the other white slaves are asked to go with the mistress.[12] Finally, and discussed mainly in contemporary works, we find Juan Latino, a former slave who became a professor of Latin at the University of Granada when it was almost impossible for slaves to learn how to read and write.[13]

Treatment of Enslaved Blacks in Spain

Raúl González Arévalo explains that "for the most part, slaves were considered a legal object and rarely a legal subject."[14] A case in which a slave would be deemed a legal subject as opposed to an object would be when the slave was purchasing his or her freedom. The condition of slaves as objects was emphasized in wills and dowries. Victor José Romero Martín studied the legal condition of the enslaved after the death of their enslavers by looking at wills in Córdoba in the second half of the sixteenth century. He found that for the most part the enslaved experienced one of the following: "continued to be enslaved under a new person, freedom, or freedom under temporary or financial conditions (or, in some cases, both simultaneously)."[15] The author describes the difficult process of obtaining information on the enslaved being that for the most part, the wills did not include a lot of details about them. The reason was simple. Details about the enslaved were relevant at the time of sale and not at the time of manumission.[16] The details on the bill of sale were important because the enslaved constituted financial gain for their owners. González Arévalo also explains that once it had been established that slaves were no more than a product, the question to be raised was what type of product they were. And, according to the author, "the physical descriptions in the proof of purchase as well as the possible defects, have served to compare the process of slave trading to that of cattle trading, producing the animalization of a person, until the latter became part of the human cattle constituted by the slave population.[17] This dehumanizing experience lived by Blacks in Spain transferred to the Americas. A similar skin-branding trend can be seen with the enslaved Black taken to the Indies.[18]

Described as more primitive and organic than other slaves, Blacks lacked the knowledge of the new land, the people, and the customs. A few Middle Easterners, but far more so North Africans, Moroccans above all, for example, are described as being more industrious and knowledgeable of the territory to which they were being introduced in Spain.[19] For this reason, it is important to make the distinction between Moors and Blacks. While the term *Moor* was later applied to black Africans, it was first used to refer to descendants of Arabs in the Iberian Peninsula. A similar distinction is made by the Spanish Crown in 1501, in an ordinance that prohibits the entrance of Moors—Moor also meant any Moroccan or practicing Muslim—converts, and non-Christianized blacks.[20] There is, however, one case where a Moor is described specifically as "a black Moor" in 1459, in the small city of Rodrigo in the province of Salamanca.[21] Subsequently, in sixteenth-century Spain, Black was used interchangeably to mean slave, and as the Black enslaved population increased so did the term.[22]

Whereas the number of Black slaves in Spain was nowhere near that of those in the Americas, over 6,000 Black slaves lived in sixteenth-century Seville among a population of approximately 87,538 residents. Most middle-class families owned at least one slave.[23] Though not such a high number as in Seville, Black slaves in Málaga amounted to approximately 400 between 1487 and 1538.[24] There were also enslaved Blacks in Valencia, Granada, and Cádiz, and their origin varied.[25] To that end, most of the Blacks brought to Spain came mainly from Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Congo, Cape Verde, São Tomé, Sierra Leone, and Senegal, and some of their ethnicities included Wolofs or Jelofes, Mandinka, Bantu, and Carabalí (the name given to all slaves from southeast Nigeria).[26]

Hispaniola (Santo Domingo) and Puerto Rico

Enslaved Blacks from all of the groups above, in addition to others, were also taken to the Indies. For example, David Wheat explains that various ethnonyms and toponyms such as "Caçanga," "Banon," "Folupo," "Biafara," "Nalu," "Bioho," "Bran," and "Zape" can be found in state and church records for the Spanish Caribbean.[27] In 1605 in Santo Domingo, in an inventory of the properties belonging to Captain Agüero Bardecí, we find two females and one male slave belonging to the ethnic group Bran, and another female slave from the Arada group. The Bran are said to have come from what is today Guinea-Bissau.[28] The Arada, which could also be a spelling variation of the ethnic group Arará, are said to be from today's Republic of Benin. While Ararás's tradition can be found in several of the early colonies such as Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Haiti, it is in Haiti where the Ararás left their greatest cultural mark. Slavery escapees from Saint-Domingue settled near the capital city of Santo Domingo, calling their maroon community San Lorenzo de los Minas. The place still exists today and its population is still predominantly Black.

Gwendolyn Midlo Hall wrote about the possible origin of the maroons who founded and settled in San Lorenzo de los Minas and explains that Mina came to be used as short for Elmina to refer to the trading port built by the Portuguese in fifteenth-century present-day Ghana.[29] Building on Midlo Hall's work, Robin Law posits that "On the Gold Coast itself, when "Mina" was used in an ethnic sense, its basic meaning was people from Elmina specifically, as opposed to other communities in the region. But outside the Gold Coast, the name came to have a more inclusive meaning, referring to persons from the Gold Coast in general."[30] Law explains that the meaning of the term *Mina* is not in question, given that its name was given by the Portuguese to refer to gold mining.[31] Robin Law does argue, however, that "Minas" was not an African ethnic group but rather a toponym and product of European slave trading, first initiated by the Portuguese and expanded by Spain in the Americas.

In this setting, Spain set out to introduce human trafficking as a capitalist industry in its colonies, taking Blacks first to Hispaniola through the port of Santo Domingo, then Puerto Rico, followed by Cuba and the rest of the Caribbean islands—as well as Mexico, Peru, and what became the lower southwestern U.S. In Hispaniola, the first enslaved Blacks were taken in 1503, to work the gold mines alongside the enslaved Taino Indigenous population. The population of the island's Tainos soon began to decline as a result of the harsh labor imposed and new diseases brought by the Europeans. The need for enslaved Blacks, en masse, increased across the Caribbean as Spain's colonizing agenda expanded. Once established also in Puerto Rico and Cuba, the Spanish Crown moved to legalize the trafficking of Black Africans to the Americas through what they called *Asiento*. The *Asiento* is a type of business trading license that first took effect in 1518, making Santo Domingo the most important city, serving as the main conduit to transport goods, and most importantly, enslaved Blacks who would replace the dying Indigenous population.

The first two founded colonies of the Americas, Hispaniola (specifically the Dominican Republic, which shares the island with Haiti) and Puerto Rico, are often portrayed as distant cousins of the wealthy and lavish viceroyalty centers—and the often equally rich subterritoria-cum-juridicial divisions, the Audiencias of Mexico and Peru. Thus, historically, Hispaniola and Puerto Rico, which along with Cuba form the Spanish Caribbean, have been either grouped within Latin American history or separated only to highlight specific events that continue to dominate Spanish Caribbean scholarship. For instance, in the Dominican Republic, the European invasion and treatment of the Taino Arawaks, nationalism, the era of dictator Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, as well as the civil war shortly after the assassination of Trujillo, race, identity, and anti-Haitianism seem to preoccupy research much more than the topic of slavery. In Puerto Rico, while much has been written about slavery, the themes of the Spanish American War, nationalism, and Puerto Rico's political status and relations with the United States seem to take the lead in research interest.

For these reasons, this book's underlying themes of freedom and law contribute to the conversation about the lived experiences of free and enslaved Africans who sought to be part of a classist, dehumanizing society that later also added racial discrimination. The first two chapters in this anthology examine slavery and law in Spain from the medieval period to the eighteenth century. Intentionally, four of the chapters focus on slavery in Hispaniola and the part of the island that later became Santo Domingo and whose history regarding slavery waits to be freed from the archives. Equally important, the remaining two chapters are an indication of the wealth of research opportunities about slavery in Puerto Rico, and contribute to the already existing and growing scholarship in the island produced in Spanish.[32]

In the words of Dixa Ramírez, Hispaniola, for instance, is the navel of the hemisphere given its geographic location.[33] However, scholars have not been preoccupied with properly situating early slavery on the island, specifically, by simply calling the location Hispaniola, followed by a brief comment about the African presence in the island.[34] In the interim, readers lose centuries of the history of the enslavement of Black Africans in the first European settlement of the Americas (1492–1697).[35]

Additionally, the lack of consistency in properly situating the history of Hispaniola, referring to it with various names, has contributed—in a way—to what Dixa Ramírez calls "ghosting." The author explains that "persistent misnaming of either or both sides of the island in various fields of scholarship and over the two centuries has compounded archival erasure or miscategorization.[36] An example is Frank Tannenbaum's citation of Henry Brougham's work, *An Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers*. Citing Brougham, Tannenbaum says that the French brought over 29,000 slaves to Santo Domingo in 1788, whereas Brougham refers to the place as St. Domingo.[37] Both are referring to the French colony of Saint Domingue, today Haiti. Another example is George W. Brown's "The Origins of Abolition in Santo Domingo," published in the *Journal of Negro History*, in 1992. Noting the title of this article, the reader is inclined to think that they will read about one of the two slavery abolitions in Santo Domingo, the one by Toussaint Louverture (1801) or the one by Jean Pierre Boyer (1822), but in fact, the article is about Saint Domingue and not Santo Domingo. It is fair to say that residents in Spain, Santo Domingo or the island might have contributed to the misnaming errors. Many times colonists would request travel licenses to Santo Domingo, as if this was the name of the island. However, historians have had the tools to correct that. An example of this case is the annexation of the Dominican Republic to Spain in 1861 after the former had obtained its independence in 1844. Anne Eller explains how the newly arrived Spanish soldiers questioned what they should call their new post: Santo Domingo, La Española, or Haiti.[38] While the political events that led to the island being divided and given the same name in different languages may lead to confusion, it is no sound excuse to continue to misname them and also "ghost" Santo Domingo in the scholarship.

This is the main reason why the book centers on Hispaniola under Spanish control and Puerto Rico, because more attention has been given to other areas tied to transatlantic slavery, such as Saint Domingue, Cuba, Brazil, and the U.S. This work is also a small act of rebellion against the scholarship. Laurent Dubois and Richard Lee Turits refer to the Caribbean as a centerpiece, land that was "contested in struggles for autonomy or wealth."[39] Nonetheless, parts of that Caribbean centerpiece have not been properly included in its interconnectedness in the scholarship of Caribbean slavery.

We do not know enough about the process or about the individual experiences of the free and enslaved population of Hispaniola before and after the French began to slowly invade the western side of the island, until they formed their own colony and made Saint Domingue their most prominent colony. As a result, the success of the French—in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—as a world economy locus because of their high sugar production by means of enslaving Black people, has yielded more attention to the scholarship of Atlantic Slavery. Contrary to the focus of many scholarly works, sugar cane and black African slaves were first introduced to Santo Domingo—what became the Spanish side of the island of Hispaniola—and not to Saint-Domingue, present day Haiti, initially also a Spanish colony.[40] Giusti Cordero contends that "in all, perhaps the major expression of the plantation/provision division of labor in the Caribbean is Hispaniola, an island whose overall position in Caribbean history is rarely discussed."[41] It seems as if Blacks became an imaginary people on the Spanish side of the island and in history—a neglect that David Wheat addresses by stating that "Africans' roles as de facto colonists in the early Spanish Caribbean challenge two long-standing assumptions: first, that a large-scale, export-oriented sugar industry was the intrinsic destiny of all Caribbean colonies and, second, that slavery was primarily important for colonies oriented toward extraction or exploitation, rather than settlement."[42] The topic of Blacks during the first 300 years of social development in Santo Domingo is disregarded over new modern discourses—that is, identity, nationalism, and a compartmentalized history of economy in the country that does not focus on Blacks, whether free or enslaved. Very few Dominican scholars—and other scholars who have settled in the country, preoccupied with the topic—began to address African history in Santo Domingo. But because their publications are in Spanish and very few have been translated into other languages, their contribution to the historical literature is limited.[43] Other international scholars have written about slavery in Santo Domingo or included/mentioned Santo Domingo in their research.[44]

Puerto Rico is not the exception. While the topic of slavery in Puerto Rico has been carefully studied, Jorge L. Chinea points out that when compared to the other islands that partook in the Transatlantic slave trade, Puerto Rico does not rank among the top in scholarship about slavery. Chinea posits that the reason could be because Puerto Rico did not join the sugar boom until the late eighteenth century.[45] Luis A. Figueroa contends that "although [sugar production] never matched Cuba's dominant share of the world sugar market, Puerto Rico developed into the second-largest producer of sugar in the Western Hemisphere."[46] After conducting field work in 1948 Puerto Rico, Sidney Mintz explains how "[he] felt as if we were on an island, floating in a sea of cane."[47] While one cannot say the same about Puerto Rico today, given the decline in its sugar production, the different skin shades of the island's people are directly connected to the sweet sugar cane and the bitter life lived by the enslaved African who, as in Puerto, were also taken to the rest of the Americas. Presumably believed to have first arrived in Puerto Rico in 1509, Blacks were taken there to work the gold mines, but when Spaniards did not obtain the amount of gold desired, they switched to sugar production. Thus, by 1523, the first sugar mill was built in the city of Añasco, known then as the plains of San German, and Blacks constituted the manpower for this new venture.[48] Studies show that in the 1530s there was a large presence of enslaved Africans in Puerto Rico.[49] The ethnicities of the Blacks taken to Puerto Rico include "Jelofes, berbesí, bíafara, bañol, biocho, zape, lucumí, manicongo, angola, terranova, mandinga, and brama.[50] And in this fashion, similar to Hispaniola, cane sugar became the driver of the labor force in Puerto Rico, with women included among its newly arrived inhabitants. In 1540, Juana Villasante was registered as a sugar mill owner in San German. She received a license to bring fifteen enslaved Blacks after twenty of her slaves died from illness.[51] And so, as in Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico received a share of the human profit being brought into the Americas in the sixteenth century.

Though slavery had lost its momentum in Puerto Rico by the seventeenth century as a result of a decline in sugar production, revenues from slave trade licenses amounted to 9.6 percent of the island's total commercial profit between 1606 and 1629. This number is relatively high considering that intercolonial commerce revenues reached only 5 percent. In this sense, on many occasions, slave commerce was the main source of financial support for the smallest of the Spanish Caribbean colonies.[52] Nonetheless, whether undergoing a thriving or declining economy, the fact is that enslaved Blacks were present in Puerto Rico. In the eighteenth century, for instance, the island saw an increase in cattle-ranching and coffee farms, both operated by Black slaves. In 1790, there were 380 slaves and 865 free Blacks and mulattos, compared to 523 whites in the city of Río Piedras.[53] Also, slaves in Puerto Rico worked in the domestic sector as house slaves, in addition to working the sugar mills, cattle ranches, and coffee farms. Slave owners also reported owning slaves who worked as shoemakers, cooks, bakers, and launderers.[54] Furthermore, in the nineteenth century, the various professions reported in the 1846 census of San Juan exemplify the role of Blacks in Puerto Rico and the Americas, in general, beyond the plantation economy.

Unfortunately, their presence has been unequivocally linked to what many call a stale century in Puerto Rico in relation to the production of sugar. This takes us to another important objective in this book: to focus on the enslaved and free Africans and not only on sugar or the production of sugar. One can imagine that the reason for the lack of work—outside of the Dominican Republic—about slavery in Santo Domingo must be for the same reason referenced by Jorge L. Chinea earlier about the sugar boom taking off in Puerto Rico in the late eighteenth century. Sugar production in Hispaniola did not take off as it did in other colonies. Nonetheless, sugar production, like the human trafficking of enslaved Africans, started in Santo Domingo. Sugar should not have been the main focus of slavery from the beginning—it should have been the enslavement and trafficking of African people. A case in point is Verene A. Shepherd's book *Slavery without Sugar: Diversity in Caribbean Economy and Society since the 17th Century*. While the edited volume does not include a chapter about Santo Domingo—it does include one on Puerto Rico—it discusses slavery in other contexts beyond the production of sugar.[55]

For instance, many of the enslaved in Puerto Rico had a different vision other than to spend the rest of their lives in the plantations. They looked to Haiti and Santo Domingo as their north—places where, according to an enslaved man quoted by Benjamin Nistal Moret in 1826, "black men wore epaulets."[56] Haiti and Santo Domingo were places beyond the ocean but close to their vision of freedom. Moret also explains how in 1831, Andrés Melinton escaped the Carcel Real in Manatí, west of San Juan, Puerto Rico, despite missing one leg.[57] Although we are citing only one case, it is important to point out that Andres Melinton was not intimidated by his physical limitations or by the laws established in 1826 by the governor of Puerto Rico to further control the lives of the enslaved. Unlike the Real Cédula of 1789 by Charles IV, which applied to all of Spain's colonies, the rules of 1826 Puerto Rico only applied to Puerto Rico.[58] In Santo Domingo, despite the many laws created to control their behavior, the enslaved began to resist at the moment of their arrival. And when the enslaved escaped to the mountains, they roamed around *como chivos sin ley*, a common phrase in the Dominican Republic that translates as "goats without law" or "goats without rules." The phrase is also used to refer to people who break the law or simply circumvent the system under the pretext that others who are supposed to follow the law break it as well. Andrés Meliton *was a chivo sin ley*.

The diversity of the research, in topic and period, in this edited work gives life to the experience of free and enslaved Blacks in Spain and the colonies of Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico. Chapter 1 provides an overview of slavery and laws in Spain by tracing slavery to Roman Hispania, the Greek-Roman period, Visigothic Hispania, Muslim, and, finally, Catholic Spain. Chapter 1 also addresses the issue of lack of memory or knowledge about the topic of slavery among people in present-day Spain. Chapter 2 examines the local laws of Extremadura—which are managed by the municipalities—and zeros in on the life of free and enslaved Blacks on a microlevel, discussing how these laws sought to control black bodies and the spaces in which they moved. Some of these laws in Extremadura also applied to whites who may want to help Blacks. Chapter 3 highlights

Santo Domingo as the first slave society. Richard Lee Turits contends that "those held in chains on the island reached into the tens of thousands by the mid-1500s, and Santo Domingo became a pivotal crossroads in the early modern Atlantic. . . . Santo Domingo thus initiated a trajectory of racial and plantation slavery whose contours would shape the course of history in the Americas overall" (2).

Through the meticulous study of Rodrigo López's freedom suit in 1522, Chapter 3 also becomes a window into López's life as a free Black man who was sold into slavery six times after having been granted his freedom. Suitably, and in an attempt to follow a sequential order of events, Chapter 4 offers a detailed analysis of the slave laws of Santo Domingo from 1522 to 1545, created after the slave rebellion of 1521. Similar to the local laws of Extremadura discussed in Chapter 2, the slave laws of Santo Domingo not only controlled the lives of the enslaved, but also the lives of those with any intentions of providing any assistance to enslaved people, thus also controlling the enslaved population by creating laws that controlled the free Black and white population. Chapter 5 explores the lives of free Black women who ventured into traveling to Hispaniola from the early years of the Spanish Conquest, as well as free Black women who established themselves as entrepreneurs in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Free women of color entrepreneurship existed freely throughout the region. Not only were free women of color asking for travel licenses from Seville to the Indies, but those who were already settled seemed to be thriving.[59] The topic of free Black women is expanded in chapter 6 by examining the trial documents that serve as evidence to the experiences of four women who defied social norms in early-eighteenth-century Santo Domingo.[60] Both Chapters 5 and 6 explore an area of much-needed expansion in the scholarship about Black women in the first place of settlement for Blacks in the Americas.

In the last two chapters we move to the colony of Puerto Rico. In Chapter 7, where we read about community building, race, and class, and the religious practice of baptizing in late-seventeenth-century Puerto Rico, where both enslaved adults and infants are baptized, a testament to slave population growth through reproduction. Chapter 7 also serves as reference for cultural rituals practiced today in many of the former colonies. Chapter 8 highlights contraband slave trade in mid-nineteenth-century Puerto Rico, through a revision of the *Majesty*, the slave ship that arrived in Puerto Rico in 1859, believed to have been operated by U.S. and Cuban merchants.

The organization of *Transatlantic Bondage* invites readers to learn about the experiences of free and enslaved Africans in Spain, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico during a span of almost 400 years. The essays presented cover a myriad of interconnected topics that can be further developed to continue to contribute to the historical legacy of slavery in Spain, but especially in Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico.

Notes

1. The island was called Ayiti by its natives the Taino Arawaks, and La Española after the European invasion. Subsequently, its name or how it was known continued to change in the next 300-plus years. The book title intentionally refers to slavery in Santo Domingo and not Hispaniola, to draw attention to Santo Domingo as a slave-holding society and not just French Saint Domingue, which was and still is part of Hispaniola. The book highlights slavery in Santo Domingo during the periods that it was under Spanish control—first called Hispaniola (in its English translation) and Santo Domingo after the island was split with France. The chapter will refer to Saint-Domingue as the French colony and Haiti, as an independent country. A chronology of the name changes is discussed in note 36.

2. AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 1, F. 225 (4). In this document, Catalina, a free Black (*horra*) woman from Seville, requests a license for her and her son Diego to travel to the Indies in 1513. This and most of the colonial manuscripts cited in this introduction are part of the CUNY Dominican Studies Institute collection of documents pertaining to the First Blacks of the Americas, www.firstblacks.org, manuscript no. 013.

3. See Aurelia Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granda del siglo XVI: género, raza y religión* (Granada, Spain: Universidad de Granada, 2000); Raúl González Arévalo, *La esclavitud en Málaga a fines de la Edad Media* (Jaén, Spain: Universidad de Jaén, 2006); Rocío Periañez Gómez, *Negros, mulatos y blancos: los esclavos en Extremadura durante la edad moderna* (Badajoz, Spain: Diputación de Badajoz, 2010); Reyes Fernández Durán. *La corona española y el tráfico de negros: del monopolio al libre comercio* (Madrid, Spain: Editorial del Economista, 2011); Arturo Morgado García, *Una metrópoli esclavista: el Cádiz de la modernidad* (Granada, Spain: Universidad de Granada, 2013).

4. See Vicenta Cortés, *La esclavitud en Valencia durante el reinado de los Reyes Católicos (1479–1516)* (Valencia, Spain: Excmo Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1964) and Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La esclavitud en Castilla durante la edad moderna* (Madrid, Spain: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1952).

5. Domínguez Ortiz, *Esclavitud en Castilla durante*, 25–31.

6. See José Cortés López, *Los orígenes de la esclavitud negra en España* (Madrid, Spain: Mundo Negro, 1982), 27.

7. Cortés López, *Orígenes de la esclavitud negra*, 23.

8. See Lee Anne Durham, *The History of the Blacks, the Jews, and the Moors in Spain* (Madrid. Spain: Plaza Mayor, 1975), 15.

9. Durham, *History of the Blacks*, 24–26.

10. See Mauricio Carrera, "El negro Zaide: la crítica del racismo en "El Lazarillo de Tormes," *Revista de la Universidad de México* 600–1 (2001): 13–19.

11. For this information, I used the following version of *Don Quijote, Miguel de Cervantes, Don Quijote de la Mancha* (Madrid, Spain: Alfaguara, 2004), 295–96.

12. See Miguel de Cervantes de Saavedra, *El zeloso extremeño* (Madrid, Spain: Imprenta del Colegio de Sordo-Mudos, 1843).

13. See Aurelia Martín Casares, *Juan Latino: talento y destino* (Granada, Spain: Universidad de Granada, 2016).

14. See Raúl González Arévalo, *La esclavitud en Málaga a fines de la Edad Media* (Jaén, Spain: Universidad de Jaén, 2006), 45.

15. Víctor José Romero Martín, "La situación jurídica del esclavo tras la muerte del dueño. Los testamentos tras la muerte de Felipe II (1556–1598)," in *Tratas, esclavitudes y mestizajes. Una historia conectada, siglos XV–XVIII*, eds. Rafael M. Pérez García, Manuel F. Fernández Chaves, and Eduardo França Paiva (Seville, Spain: Universidad de Sevilla, 2020), 256.

16. Romero Martín, "Situación jurídica del esclavo," 255.

17. Romero Martín, "Situación jurídica del esclavo," 45.

18. AGI Justicia 103-A, arrivada de nao con cargamento de esclavos a Santo Domingo/Ship arrival with merchandise to Santo Domingo. A similar skin-branding trend can be seen with the enslaved Black taken to the Indies.

In a Portuguese ship that anchored in Santo Domingo in 1555, the auction reads, "first of all, ninety-seven black slaves adult men and women and children and one female slave who was so skinny that she had nothing but bones, and who we could not keep," AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 1-A, F. 577R. In another Portuguese ship that arrived with slaves to Santo Domingo in 1572, we find the description of a "male slave from Angola branded with the letters FR on his right arm and with a large opened wound in his leg."

19. Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud en Valencia*, 58.

20. AGI, Indiferente, 418, L.1, F. 39R–42R.

21. Cortés López, *Orígenes de la esclavitud negra*, 24. The author explains that this was perhaps the case of a fugitive slave; Cortés Alonso, 63, poses that in cases where slaves were identified as Black Moors, it could be as a result of Blacks who had been bought by Moors and converted into their faith. Therefore, a racial and religious distinction was made.

22. In *La esclavitud en la Granada del siglo XVI*, 145, Martín Casares explains that the major problem in this case was not the fact that slave and Black were used synonymously in quotidian life, but also in legal documents where Black automatically implied slave.

23. See Reyes Fernández Durán, *La corona española y el tráfico de negros: del monopolio al libre comercio* (Madrid, Spain: El Economista, 2011), 20. According to the author there was no middle-class family that did not own one or many slaves.

24. González Arévalo, *Esclavitud en Málaga*, 101.

25. Cortés Alonso, 60; Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granda del siglo XVI*, 144; Morgado García, *Metrópoli esclavista: el Cádiz*, 21–22.

26. Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granda del siglo XVI*, 151; Morgado García, *Metrópoli esclavista: el Cádiz*, 101.

27. David Wheat, *Atlantic Africa and the Spanish Caribbean, 1570–1640* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 26.

28. AGI, Escribanía 3-A. F. 308V; see also Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 88–89.

29. Midlo Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities*, 117.

30. Robin Law, "Ethnicities of Enslaved Africans in the Diaspora: On the Meanings of 'Mina' (Again)," *History in Africa* 32 (2005): 251.

31. Law, "Ethnicities of Enslaved Africans," 248.

32. For instance, Javier Alemán Iglesias offers new information about the labor contracts imposed on the newly freed Blacks in Puerto Rico, after the abolition of slavery from 1873 to 1876. Alemán Iglesias describes the inconsistency in style and information included in the contracts around the island and expands on the three mains patterns he found, which are explained in his work "De esclavo a liberto: los contratos de jornales en Puerto Rico, 1873–1876," in *Visiones transversales de Puerto Rico y el Caribe*, ed. Félix Huertas and Beatriz Cruz (San Juan, PR: Universidad Ana G. Méndez, 2020), 71–89.

33. Dixa Ramírez, Introduction, *Colonial Phantoms: Belonging and Refusal in the Dominican Americas, from the 19th Century to the Present* (New York: New York University Press, 2018), 9.

34. The aim is to highlight that the scholarship on slavery in the Americas is too brief when discussing the initial years of slavery and too often dismisses the importance of Santo Domingo in the history of slavery.

35. The first enslaved Blacks arrived to Santo Domingo in 1503, to work the gold mines as per request of Governor Nicholas de Ovando who arrived in 1502.

36. Dixa Ramírez, Introduction, 9. See also, George W. Brown, "The Origins of Abolition in Santo Domingo," *Journal of Negro History* 7, no. 4 (October 1992): 365–76. According to Elissa L. Lister, Dominicans refer to the Hispanic side of the island as Quisqueya and claim that this is the name that was given by the Tainos to the eastern side of the island. However, there is no sound evidence leading to the veracity of this history. Elissa L. Lister, "Lo indígena "dominicano": ideología y representación," in *Narrar el Caribe: Visiones históricas de la región*, ed. Laura Muñoz (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora, 2019), ebook. On the other hand, some historians cite colonial chronicler Peter Martyr,

who was said to have heard the Tainos call the island Quisqueya. For a reference on Martyr, see Carl Ortwin Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 45. The name Quisqueya also appears in a 1583 map in Laurence Bergreen's book, *Columbus: The Four Voyages* (204); however, the author does not provide a source for the map. Based on his research, Pedro Luis San Miguel explains that the name Quisqueya was another geographical mistake by Chritopher Columbus, who was looking to get to "Guisay, Quinsay o Quisay." See his excellent chapter "La importancia de llamarse República Dominicana O por qué nombrarse de otra forma que no sea Haití," in *Crear la nación: Los nombres de los países de América Latina*, ed. José Carlos Chiariamonte, Carlos Marichal, and Aimer Granados (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Editorial Sudamericana, 2008), 268. Here is a summary of the island's naming in chronological order: Prior to 1492, Ayiti and Quisqueya. From 1492 to 1498, La Española. 1498 to 1697, it was called La Española and Santo Domingo, interchangeably. From 1697 to 1801, the western side of the island then becomes a colony of France, and they call it French Saint Domingue. The Spaniards continued to call the eastern side Spanish Santo Domingo. The Haitian Revolution also takes place in 1791, and the newly free Blacks prepared to command their land. 1795 to 1804, the entire island is technically French Saint Domingue, because of the Treaty of Basel between France and Spain, where Spain ceded Spanish Santo Domingo to the French. There could be some ambivalence as to the name in 1801, because Haitian Revolution leader Toussaint Louverture crossed over to Spanish Santo Domingo, free the enslaved, and instituted a new constitution. 1802, Spanish Santo Domingo was invaded by the French who reestablished slavery and wanted to take back Saint Domingue. In 1804, Haitian Revolution leader Jean Jacques Dessalines gave Saint Domingue its native name back, Ayiti (Haiti), and in 1805, Haitian leaders Henri Christophe and Jean Jacques Dessalines united in a failed attempt to defeat and expel the French from Spanish Santo Domingo, in what is known as the Beheading of Moca or Degüello de Moca, where hundreds of French supporters were massacred. In 1808, the Spaniards took back Spanish Santo Domingo from the French, in the Battle of Palo Hincado. According to sociologist, Franklin Franco, the Spaniards were able to expel the French army from Spanish Santo Domingo because of military aid received from the English and Haitian leaders Alexander Petion and Henri Christophe (75–76). In 1821, citizens of Spanish Santo Domingo invited Haitian President Jean Pierre Boyer to go to Santo Domingo and abolish slavery, although many from the upper class rejected this idea and preferred being part of Simon Bolivar's plan to establish Gran Colombia composed of several Latin American and Caribbean countries. This invitation is known in Dominican history as the Haitian Invasion of 1822. Thus, the entire island was then Haiti but known as the Republic of Haiti on the west side and the Republic of Spanish Haiti on the east side, until 1844 when a group of citizens agreed that they wanted sovereignty and to achieve what Haiti had done earlier. It is also worth noting that after the Dominican independence Haiti attempted several failed invasions to stop Dominicans from giving their country back to enslaving powers such as France, Britain, Spain, and the United States, including the big Battle of the Number, where both armies destroyed cities on both sides in 1849. After obtaining their independence and becoming the Dominican Republic—named after the Dominican order—the newly established republic became Spanish Santo Domingo again in 1861, when its president Pedro Santana gave the newly established republic back to Spain. But in 1863, those who still wanted an independent republic sought out and received help from Haiti to assist in the restoration of the republic, which became again the Dominican Republic in 1965, after a two-year war with the Spanish soldiers. A suggestion could be to refer to the island as Ayiti when referring to it in pre-Columbian times; Hispaniola when referring to the entire island until 1697; Santo Domingo, when referring to the main city and to the Spanish colony between, 1697–1801 and 1809–1822; Haiti from 1822 to 1844; República Dominicana in 1844–1861; Spanish Santo Domingo, 1861–1865; and Dominican Republic from 1865 to the present.

37. Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1946), 33. See also, Henry Brougham, *An Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers*, vol. I (Edinburgh, UK; London: E. Balfour, Manners, and Miller, 1803), 530–31. Also, in *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, C. L. R. James correctly refers to the island as Haiti (with its modern name), as he explains that Columbus landed in the island of Ayiti, what the Tainos called the island, but wrongfully refers to Saint-Domingue as San Domingo.

38. Anne Eller, *We Dream Together: Dominican Independence, Haiti and the Fight for Caribbean Freedom* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2016), 88.

39. See Laurent Dubois and Richard Lee Turits, Introduction to *Freedom Roots: Histories of the Caribbean*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 1.

40. Charles Verlinden explains that Columbus first brought sugar cane to Ayiti called Española in 1493. See Charles Verlinden, *The Beginnings of Modern Colonization*, translated by Yvonne Freccero (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1970), 22. The main idea here is to highlight the fact that more focus has been given to Saint-Domingue as a slave-owning society, while Santo Domingo remains understudied in terms of its slave-owning history.

41. See, Juan Giustti Cordero, "Beyond Sugar Revolutions: Rethinking the Spanish Caribbean in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Empirical Futures: Anthropologists and Historians Engage the Work of Sidney W. Mintz*, ed. George Baca et al. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 59–83.

42. See, David Wheat, *Atlantic Africa and the Spanish Caribbean, 1570–1640* (Chapel Hill: Omohundro Institute and University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 8.

43. See, Fray Cipriano de Utrera. "La condición social de los negros en época colonial." *Eme Eme: Estudios Dominicanos* 3, no. 17 (1975): 43–59. This piece by

Fray Cipriano de Utrera was published in 1975; however, the transcript is from a presentation given by Utrera in Puerto Plata in 1920. For the history of Blacks in Santo Domingo, Carlos Larrazabal Blanco published *Los negros y la esclavitud en Santo Domingo*, Dominican Republic: J. D. Postigo, 1967. Building on Blanco's work, Franklin J. Franco writes, *Los negros, los mulatos y la nación dominicana* (Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: Editora Nacional, 1969), plugging the idea of Blackness in the country's nation building. This title is now available in English as part of the CUNY Dominican Studies Institute's Classic Knowledge in Dominican Studies as *Blacks, Mulattos, and the Dominican Nation*, translated by Patricia Mason (New York: Routledge, 2015). Subsequently, other major works ensued. See, for example, Carlos Esteban Deive, *Vodú y magia en Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: Museo del Hombre Dominicano, 1979). Also by Deive, *La Esclavitud del negro en Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: Museo del Hombre Dominicano, 1980), along with *Los Guerrilleros negros: esclavos fugitivos y cimarrones en Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: Fundación Cultural Dominicana, 1989) and F. Moya Pons, *Después de Colón: trabajo, sociedad y política en la economía del oro* (Madrid, Spain: Alianza Editorial, 1987). See also, Pedro Encarnación Jiménez, *Los negros esclavos en la historia Bayona, Manoguayabo y otros poblados* (Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: Editora Alfa y Omega, 1993). Carlos Andújar published *La Presencia negra en Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: Ediciones UAPA, 1997). A translated version of Andújar's work was published in 2012 by Michigan State University Press under the title *The African Presence in Santo Domingo*, translated by Rosa María Andújar. Another great contribution has been a volume supported by UNESCO, *La ruta del esclavo* (Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: Editora Buho, 2006). The book by Quisqueya Lora Hugui is a must, *Transición de la esclavitud al trabajo libre en Santo Domingo: el caso de Higüey* (Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: Academia Dominicana de la Historia, 2012). Perhaps one of the most important books on slavery in Santo Domingo and the everyday life of both free and enslaved Blacks in eighteenth-century Santo Domingo is Raymundo González's seminal work, *De esclavos a campesinos: Vida rural en Santo Domingo colonial* (Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: Archivo General de la Nación, 2011). Last, one of Carlos Esteban Deive's latest work is *¿Y tu abuela dónde está?: el negro en la historia y la cultura dominicanas* (Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: Editora Nacional, 2013), the translation of the title is *And Where Is Your Grandmother?* A question directed primarily to the white and mulatto Dominican elite who do not recognize their African ancestry. Other works published by Dominican scholars in the diaspora and which address blackness include, Ginetta E. B. Candelario, *Black behind the Ears: Dominican Racial Identity from Museum to Beauty Shops* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2007); also, April J. Mayes, *The Mulatto Nation: Class, Race, and Dominican National Identity* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014);

Lorgia García-Peña, *The Borders of Dominicanidad: Race, Nation, and Archives of Contradictions* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2016) and Edward Paulino's, *Dividing Hispaniola: The Dominican Republic's Border Campaign against Haiti (1930–1961)* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016).

44. Such is the case of Richard Lee Turits, "Freedom in el Monte: From Slaves to Independent Peasants in Colonial Santo Domingo," which is the first chapter in Turits's seminal work, *Foundations of Despotism: Peasants, the Trujillo Regime, and Modernity in Dominican History* (Standford, CA: Standford University Press, 2004); Michael A. Gómez, *Black Crescent: The Experience and Legacy of African Muslims in the Americas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 3; Jane Landers and Barry Robinson, *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006); and Jane Landers, "Cimarrón Ethnicity and Cultural Adaptation in the Spanish Domains of the Circum-Caribbean, 1503–1763," in *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy (London; New York: Continuum, 2000), 30–54; Lynn Guitar, "Boiling It Down: Slavery on the First Commercial Sugarcane Ingenios in the Americas (Hispaniola, 1530–45)," in *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America*, eds. Jane Landers and Barry M. Robinson (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 39–82. Jose Luis Belmonte Postigo has written several chapters and articles about slavery in Santo Domingo. Selected works include "Sobre esclavitud y otras formas de dominio: Gradaciones de libertad y estatus social en Santo Domingo a fines del periodo colonial," in *Gente de color entre esclavos: Calidades raciales, esclavitud y ciudadanía en el Gran Caribe*, eds., José Antonio Piqueras Arenas and Imilcy Balboa Navarro (Granada, Comares, 2019), 159–78; "Esclavitud y Status Social en Santo Domingo y Puerto Rico Durante la Diáspora de la Revolución Haitiana," in *Formas de Liberdade. Gratidâo, Condicionalidade e Incertezas no Mundo Escravista Nas Americas*, eds., Jonis Freire and María Verónica Secreto (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: MAUAD, 2018), 71–102. The last three contributions by Postigo included in this reference list are particularly important for the argument being made in this volume, because they highlight slavery in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Santo Domingo, and show that slavery was important there, as it was in other colonies; they are must-reads for the multilingual scholars who write about Atlantic slavery and slavery in the Spanish Caribbean. See "De cómo generar la costumbre articula derechos: Esclavos en Santo Domingo a fines del tiempo colonial," in *Afroamérica: Espacios e identidades*, eds., Javier Laviña Gómez and Ricardo Piqueras Céspedes (Barcelona, Spain: Icaria, 2013), 65–92; "No obedecen a nadie, sino cada uno gobierna a su familia," Etnicidad y política en la reducción del maniel de Bahoruco, 1785–1795," *Almanack* (2015): 813–40; and "Bajo el negro velo de la ilegalidad: Un análisis del mercado de esclavos dominicano 1746–1821," *Nuevo Mundo, Mundos Nuevos* (2016). Other important contributions include Ida Altman, "Key to the Indies: Port Towns in the Spanish Caribbean: 1493–1550," *The Americas* 74, no. 1

(January 2017): 5–26, and "Marriage, Family, and Ethnicity in the Early Spanish Caribbean," *William and Mary Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (2013): 225–50. David Wheat's *Atlantic Africa and the Spanish Caribbean, 1570–1640* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), addresses slavery in early Santo Domingo, and it also discusses free Black women in early-seventeenth-century Santo Domingo in chapter 4, "Nharas and Morenas Horras," 142–80. Ana Ozuna, "Rebellion and Anti-colonial Struggle in Hispaniola," *Journal of Pan African Studies*. 11, no. 7 (May 2018): 77–95, contributes to the history of antislavery resistance in Santo Domingo. Juan José Ponce-Vazquéz and his book *Islanders and Empire: Smuggling and Political Defiance in Hispaniola, 1580–1690* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2020), is a major contribution to the scholarship about colonial Hispaniola. Also, see his article, "Unequal Partners in Crime," *Slavery and Abolition* 37, no. 4 (2016): 704–23. Some of the latest international scholarship also includes Consuelo Naranjo Orovio's "Entre la historia y la ficción: terror y orden en Santo Domingo, siglo XIX," in *Esclavitud y legado afrodescendiente en el trópico*, eds., J. A. Piqueras and I. Balboa (Valencia, Spain: Biblioteca Historia Social, 2020), 65–87; *Los márgenes de la esclavitud: resistencia, control y abolición en el Caribe y América Latina*, Consuelo Naranjo Orovio (ed.) (Madrid, Spain: Dykinson, 2021), especially the chapters, "Discriminación racial contra negros y mulatos en Santo Domingo en la época colonial" by Amadeo Julián, "Esclavitud, reformas constitucionales y transformación de los procesos jurídicos de Puerto Rico (1800–1873)," by Gerardo Carlo-Altieri, and, Archipiélago de esclavos: trabajo forzado y seguridad pública en Puerto Rico, 1800–1850," by Consuelo Narango Orovio; and, Consuelo Naranjo Orovio y Miguel Ángel Puig-Samper (eds.), *Color, raza y racialización en América y el Caribe* (Madrid, Spain: Editorial Los Libros de la Catarata, 2022), especially the chapters "Ciudadanía y trabajo: Debtes en torno a la supresión de la libreta de jornaleros en Puerto rico," by María del Carmen Baerga and "La armonía racial puertorriqueña: De Adolfina Villanueva a Alma Yariela Crus," by Bárbara I. Abadía-Rexach.

45. See Jorge L. Chinea, "Slavery and Child Trafficking in Puerto Rico at the Closing of the African Slave Trade: The Young Captives of the Slaver Majesty, 1859–1865," *Revista Brasileira do Caribe*17, no. 32, Janeiro-Junho (2016): 59–98; about slavery in sixteenth-century Puerto Rico, Elsa Gelpi Batiz titles her book *Siglo en Blanco: Estudio de la economía azucarera en el Puerto Rico del siglo XVI (1540–1612).* A possible translation for Gelpi Batiz's work could be the forgotten century. An adequate title given Puerto Rico's isolation in the historiography of slavery in the Americas.

46. Luis A. Figueroa, *Sugar, Slavery, and Freedom in Nineteenth-Century Puerto Rico* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 49.

47. See Sidney Mintz. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), Introduction, xvii–xviii.

48. See, Luis, M. Soler, *Historia de la esclavitud negra en Puerto Rico* (Río Piedras, PR: Editorial Universitaria Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1970), 28, 45.