CONTENTS

List of Figures vii
Series Introduction: "The New Urban Atlantic" ix
Preface xi
Elizabeth A. Fay
Acknowledgments xv

Introduction 1
Leonard von Morzé

Part I  Spatial Projections of Power

1 Atlantic Urban Transfers in Early Modernity: Mazagão from Africa to the Americas
   Jorge Correia 25

2 From Colonial Subjectivity to "Enlightened" Selfhood: The Spatial Rhetoric of the Plaza de Armas of Havana, Cuba, 1771–1828
   Paul B. Niell 41

3 Urban Driftwood: Mobile Catholic Markers and the Extension of the Seventeenth-Century Atlantic Public Sphere
   Karin Vélez 61

Part II  The Site of Reform

4 "The Plymouth Rock of Old England"? James Cropper, Atlantic Antislavery, and Liverpool’s Civic Identity
   Keith Mason 79

5 Romancing Post-Napoleonic Britain: The Metrical Tale and the Fabulation of Simón Bolívar
   Joselyn M. Almeida 101
Contents

6 Imperial Cosmopolitanism and the Making of an Indigenous Intelligentsia: African Lawyers in Colonial Urban Lagos
   Bonny Ibhawoh
   123

Part III Identity and Imaginative History

7 Leonora Sansay’s Anatopic Imagination
   Michael J. Drexler
   143

8 Transatlantic Loops and Urban Alienation in Mary Shelley’s Lodore
   Cynthia Schoolar Williams
   159

9 The Spanish Archive and the Remapping of US History in Washington Irving’s Columbus
   Lindsay DiCuirci
   175

Part IV Cultures of Performance

    Coll Thrush
    195

11 Theater in the Combat Zone: Military Theatricals at Philadelphia, 1778
    David Worrall
    219

Bibliography

List of Contributors

Index of City Names

General Index
INTRODUCTION

Leonard von Morzé

Scaling Back

Since Paul Gilroy’s foundational work in *The Black Atlantic* (1993), scholars of the Atlantic world have questioned the assumption that historical processes and cultural formations are best understood on the scale of the nation-state. Gilroy argued that the nation had served as a framework for ideological reasons, and demonstrated that national culture was no less reified an explanatory rubric than race—indeed that these two concepts are fatally intertwined. By offering the Atlantic as an alternative locus of modernity, Gilroy’s book marked a key moment among scholars of the humanities, who in place of traditions and identities were increasingly giving ontological priority to systems and networks. What might have once seemed the continuity of tradition, argued Gilroy and his followers, is better regarded as the record of how diaspora came to be erased and ritual performances of substitution forgotten.1

In our view, the story of Atlantic cities risks falling into the same historical oubliette, even at a time when “Atlantic Studies” has gained institutional recognition. Much comparative scholarship calling itself “transatlantic” might perhaps be better called “internationalist” in the sense that it brings together national traditions generally treated in isolation from one another, such as British and American literatures. Though these studies dereify national culture, they nonetheless reinscribe the nation as an analytical category. The chapters in this volume generally scale back, so to speak, from explicitly international or interimperial comparisons, and follow the transnational (rather than international) history of cities and settlements around the Atlantic rim. A necessary corollary to scaling back is a scaling up: our contributors read large-scale Atlantic processes (the slave trade, the creation of price-setting markets, Creole nationalism) at work in local situations. More abstractly described, the contributors examine the interaction
or “nesting” of the urban with other scales, including the national.²
It is not the meeting and mixing of nations so much as the interstitial connections, the links between local, urban, regional, and indeed national kinds of belonging, that draws these scholars together.

Belonging is an important term here, for urban spaces are not just constructed in practice, but also in imagination by historical actors. Several of our contributors who work in cultural or literary studies conceptualize urbanism as an object of identification, and relate it to a style of cosmopolitanism. Hsuan L. Hsu poses the question well when he asks, in a brilliant recent book on what he calls “scales of identification”: “What does it mean to identify not with a fixed national space but with a panoply of changing and contested spaces?”³

Other contributors revise Jürgen Habermas’s classic account (considered at length below) of the public sphere in order to trace a sort of transurban imaginary. For instance, a small change at one scale (the transport of a madonna from Europe to an outlying colonial settlement in Mexico) produces important shifts in meaning at a smaller scale (when the statue is moved again, this time to the capital of the province).

The historians who have generously contributed to a volume edited by nonhistorians will know that the aims of this collection are hardly new to some fields, particularly in scholarship on Spanish America, as the cursory survey I offer in the following pages will acknowledge. But historians might also add that the definition of “Atlantic history” remains open, in part because different narrative models continue to be attractive. In the next section of this introduction, perhaps overweeningly entitled “The History of Atlantic Urbanism,” I tell one story of Atlantic cities as a narrative of integration (a story that once again exercises a hold on us today in debates over globalization), but I hope that narrative models of circulation and differentiation will remain equally important.⁴ An imaginative history (what one of our contributors calls a “fabulation”) of the Atlantic world offers perhaps a third narrative model. If Gilroy argues the Atlantic constitutes “a culture of modernity,” Ian Baucom has suggested that Atlantic studies should look less to describe hybrid national cultures than to represent an “array . . . of intensities . . . of experiences, forms, histories, and knowledges more intensely present at some moments than at others.”⁵

The “new topography of loyalty and identity” for which Gilroy’s The Black Atlantic remains a fine map calls for surveyors capable of measuring not only the boundary lines of historical processes, but also the varied heights at which particular affiliations intersect, overlap, and conflict in pleats and folds of identity.⁶
I would be remiss not to mention our own history here, and that of the University of Massachusetts Boston where versions of 5 of our 11 chapters were first presented at a conference in October 2010. At our peninsular campus, we are bounded by the city of Boston on one side, but the Atlantic is still more inescapable, bounding us as it does on every other side. In our small way, we are a nodal point in the Atlantic system, our students in large part a population of immigrants (as opposed to exchange students) who tend to work service and other low-paying jobs in the city. In a city and state where public higher education is often invisible, we are more closely allied to universities around the Atlantic rim than to others in Boston or Massachusetts. A prominent sign of that affiliation is that our classes take place in Phillis Wheatley Hall, named after a poet who was brought on a slave ship from present-day Gambia to Massachusetts. Such a background probably influenced us in more ways than we can fully account for when Donna Kuizenga, then dean of the College of Liberal Arts, convened us in fall 2008 to discuss the prospect of forming a research unit devoted to Atlantic Studies. We found a home in the existing Research Center for Urban Cultural History, a center with a longer history and a larger mission at our institution. At energizing workshops in October 2010 and May 2011, we considered a range of speakers (not just scholars from the humanities but also ocean scientists, tribal leaders, and museum curators) to discuss the usefulness of “Atlantic Cities” as an analytical category. This volume, and particularly this introduction, is the fruit of those discussions.

The History of Atlantic Urbanism

It would be foolhardy to attempt to offer a survey of existing scholarship of Atlantic urban spaces, but a few highlights from varied disciplines can helpfully frame the chapters that follow. Braudelian historians have made the most influential contributions, which will be discussed in the next section of this introduction. Specialists in built space have examined the translation and adaptation of architectural forms across the Atlantic. Scholars in cultural studies have suggested that, even after their fall from commercial dominance and their replacement by modern states, cities may be read “as metonyms of nations and their discontents.” In urban cultures particularly, local semiotic contexts often prove critical; the importance of unscripted, nontextual events, of ritual and ceremony, shows that there is more to the history of cities than written discourse.
As our erstwhile colleague Woodruff Smith reminded us in planning this volume, one of the fruits of Atlantic history has been to distance the “formal designs” of empires from “the informal reality, which has patterns of its own.” Though European thinkers had, after the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), rejected the traditional notion of a zone of liberty between cities, and elevated the division of the globe into sovereign territories into an axiom of international law, the actual result of this international system was never homogeneity in the political let alone the economic sphere. Urban identity appears to provide a site of intensity, a focal point for analyzing ambiguities in formal and informal patterns, within the nested systems and networks that have composed these Atlantic realities.

Central to this deviation of design from reality was the emergence of colonial trading cities, which functioned as “nodes of concentration” in the making of an Atlantic world. In the commercial aspect of this process, colonial cities would become the pathways through which a region’s commercial traffic passed, and in that sense concentrated the empire’s economic activities through a central point whose very existence might loosen the exclusive hold of the imperial capital toward which the traffic was destined. This is one way of understanding just what an “Atlantic city” is: not just a particular density of peoples but also a node of commercial traffic. Jacob Price has suggested that the economic function of a town, rather than its size, defines a port as an Atlantic city.

Inevitably, of course, those economic functions began with the formal designs of empires, and are reflected in initial patterns of colonization. A history of Atlantic urbanism would probably need to begin with the imposition of a Spanish model on the Caribbean. But the conquest of Mesoamerica and Peru, which followed almost immediately upon the Caribbean colonization, involved a process of Hispanization rather than of a simple imposition of power: it was no accident that the twin capitals of the Spanish Empire were built on the remains of Tenochtitlan, which became Mexico City in 1535, and Cuzco, which became Lima in 1542, both indigenous capitals that had been centers of world-systems in their own right. Spain devoted much (though certainly not all) of its colonial energies from the outset to settlement in the Western Hemisphere, unlike Portugal, whose ambitions for Africa and Asia prevented it from seeing the Atlantic as a distinct system. Moreover, the typical Spanish procedure of steady conquest and consolidation led toward a strong tendency toward centering power in urban spaces. The Spanish, in other words, saw the city not as a mere trading post but as a symbolic power center made for spectacular display.
The Spanish model, however, remained an expression of a single national tradition for only a very brief period, not because of resistance from indigenous urban centers such as Cuzco, but because economic exigencies made the Portuguese port/entrepôt model more attractive. The early development of Buenos Aires, which though under Spanish control served mostly Portuguese merchants, is instructive. Having developed as an entrepôt for slaves and European goods being carried to the mines of Potosí, Buenos Aires was dominated by Portuguese merchants to such a degree that it nearly, in the seventeenth century, became politically incorporated into Brazil. This should hardly be surprising: Atlantic cities began as commercial port towns, places where (despite imperial laws to the contrary) people of different nationalities might meet to exchange goods.

With the addition of the British colonies, an Atlantic world-system began to emerge in the eighteenth century as a periphery of the Western European economy. In the early eighteenth century, cities along the Atlantic rim or riverways connected to the Atlantic, unlike those around the globe’s other commercial zones, became partners in a common market. In work-in-progress that he shared with us, our former colleague Woodruff Smith articulated a compelling narrative of economic integration over the eighteenth century that may be summarized in a few sentences: In contrast to the ports of the Indian Ocean, which remained subject to the arbitrary and at least technically monopolistic control of companies chartered in England and the Netherlands, Atlantic cities accomplished a type of economic integration in which market factors, rather than imperial policy, played the decisive role. The result was an Atlantic urban system such that a trader could expect to find the same institutions in every port: bankers, lawyers, markets, and mercantile and newspaper agents. This urban network gave the Atlantic market an unprecedented degree of autonomy with respect to imperial monopolies, which could not but rapidly crumble in the Atlantic under this new trading system. This development provided a striking contrast to the situation in the Indian Ocean and South China Sea, where despite some challenges, the legal claim of the trading monopolies actually grew stronger over the course of the eighteenth century.

Atlantic cities were meanwhile becoming a world economy in their own right: that is, not an economy of the whole world, but an economy that had become a world unto itself, operating according to its own rules rather than those imposed by imperial capitals. Calling these economies “world-systems,” historians and theorists have traced the rise—arguably as early as the thirteenth century—and fall around
1750 of the great city-empires that, from Venice to Amsterdam, successively dominated the Mediterranean and the Atlantic worlds.\textsuperscript{18} The economic ascendancy of London and then New York suggests a key to that process: the massive expansion of the slave trade in the late eighteenth century facilitated the domination of Anglo-American networks over Hispanic-American ones.

Market integration influenced the shape and character of the new urban experience.\textsuperscript{19} Economic power came to be independent of political sovereignty. We turn to the concept of the public sphere (detailed at length in a later section of this introduction) precisely because it helps us to understand the kind of influence—cultural, intellectual, even religious—that could be exercised outside of traditional political sources. Public sphere theory is attractive for a second reason, and that is of seeing how this influence was not purely economic. The commercial city theorized by the new political economy overcame the traditional distinction of \textit{polis} from \textit{oikos}, or household. This of course follows from the eclipse of the city-republic; generally seen as the final result of the Napoleonic Wars, this eclipse might be traced even earlier, linked not only to the rise of the nation-state but also to the redefinition of modern urban liberty as freedom of trade rather than freedom of civic participation.\textsuperscript{20} It was not simply the making of a nation-state system in the early nineteenth century but the ascendency of unregulated cities in the Atlantic that explains the passage of cities from centers of state sovereignty to outposts of commercial power.\textsuperscript{21}

The development of trade and labor patterns across four continents decisively influenced how labor moved through urban spaces and how marketplaces were formed. As tension arose between the marketplace and concepts of urbanity, the association of urbanity with identity quickly became inevitable, providing a story of class formation. In the section below on the public sphere, I consider the term “bourgeois,” which originally simply referred to a resident of a town or \textit{burg} but quickly came to designate a status group tied to the development of print capitalism.

That, at least, is the story of integration, from commercial development to the formation of the class-based public sphere. But there were so many exceptions that one begins to wonder how well integration works as a grand narrative. Some places developed very little in the way of a Habermasian public sphere. In the Caribbean, for example, the ever-looming shadow of natural disaster and still more ruthless principles of primitive accumulation inhibited the creation of a public sphere.\textsuperscript{22} In some colonies, the experience of isolation intensified
feelings of national belonging; such national partialities gave rise to a transatlantic but hardly a transnational identity. Take Brazil, for instance, which had no printing press, let alone a university until the nineteenth century, core institutions of the public sphere.\textsuperscript{23} A more important consideration, perhaps, is that it was in the very nature of a developing world-system to disrupt the integration of social classes at the largest scales. At the scale of the Atlantic—to borrow an insight of Immanuel Wallerstein’s—a laborer in a Havana tobacco factory could not be understood as having the same interests as a laborer in Seville.\textsuperscript{24} Finally, the nonidentity of a city’s definition across the four continents means that we can use the term only with a recognition of its highly problematic character.

**An Ocean Connecting Four Continents**

Much scholarship, particularly in literary and cultural studies, follows a Euro-American axis, disastrously excluding Africa despite the facts that by 1650 Africans constituted the largest population of settlers in the Americas and that Africa’s involvement in the Atlantic began even earlier, when European sailors finally managed to make routine the rounding of Cape Bojador in the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{25} Although our expertise lies in the Anglo-Atlantic world, we have deliberately sought contributions that draw not only on European and North American sources, but also turn to the southern hemisphere in order to be faithful to economic realities requiring the standardization of a transnational urban experience as a precondition for the emergence of a world-system and its culture.

The relative importance of each of these regions remains, however, a contested issue, since world-systems models identify a core and its peripheries. In addition to a pervasive neglect of African contributions, many Anglo-American literary studies have falsely implied that, at least in the period studied here, the North American continent was of equal importance in the Atlantic world to the European. Historians have been right to correct this configuration, arguing that the Caribbean was certainly much more important than mainland North America, that Africa was central to the growing importance of Atlantic networks, and that British-American dominance over the Atlantic world did not occur until the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{26} As Stephen Shapiro has argued, it is important “to acknowledge that Britain and America have different ratios of importance throughout modern history, and that Euroamerican productions are contingent on the matrix formed by Africa, the Caribbean, and the other Americas.”\textsuperscript{27}
However, an urban focus may, perhaps surprisingly, set aside these somewhat loaded questions of centrality, and provide a reason for examining urban spaces that might otherwise be neglected as peripheral. For all the disparities in their absolute importance, cities along the Atlantic rim and riverine ports shared similar demographic profiles. Coastal Africa, dominated by political units rarely larger than the size of a city, most likely had a population density higher than that of Europe. Similar findings might be made about North American cities, for which a great deal more documentation exists. While London in 1790, for example, was one of the most tightly packed cities in the world, the population density of New York was not far off: in 1790 it was comparable to that of present-day Brooklyn, and at its height in 1839, comparable to that of present-day Manhattan. The sense of a common urban identity in opposition to the backcountry is a leitmotif of early American literature. When Sarah Kemble Knight made her famous 1704–5 journey from Boston to New York, she articulated an undeniable sense of urbanity against the many backcountry boors she encountered. Her cultural orientation remained toward London, materially explicable by the fact that she could have traveled from Boston by ship to London in the time it actually took her to travel by carriage to New York. Things had changed little by 1776: the news of the Declaration of Independence took the same time (29 days) to travel from Philadelphia to Paris as it had from Philadelphia to Charleston.

To take a later period, even such a riverine town as Pittsburgh had Atlantic origins. On first glance, early Pittsburgh would surely seem neither urban nor Atlantic, particularly if we know that its urban center consisted in 1786 of 36 log houses and 5 small stores. Yet, Pittsburgh might stand as an extreme example of the importance of conceptualizing an Atlantic world distinct from the nation-state. What the town shared with Philadelphia was not a common political identity but a dependence on Atlantic commerce. Placed at the strategic location of the origins of the Ohio River, it was an outpost of military and commercial domination, and ties of interest connected the region to Spanish and French colonies. Shipping experts, for instance, noted that the presence of the Ohio River would make Pittsburgh a far better origin point, for reasons of both speed and economy, than Philadelphia for trade with the large port in Pensacola, not to mention trade with New Orleans. Of course, Pittsburgh quickly became severed from those Atlantic origins when the Haitian Revolution forced France to abandon its hemispheric hopes and turn New Orleans itself over to the United States. The town’s brief period of connectedness to the Atlantic world was forgotten.
The mention of Pittsburgh’s Atlantic origins is intended to provoke questions about just what we regard as an Atlantic city. Clearly such designations fluctuate over time. Over the course of the eighteenth century, Boston’s declining population and decreasing importance in Atlantic commerce as it was overtaken by other cities such as Newport would seem to make it a provincial town rather than an Atlantic city, but its postbellum self-invention (perhaps exceptional among US port cities) make it indispensable for a study of North American Atlanticism. Indeed, as Woodruff Smith reminded us, the most prominent journal in Boston after the Civil War was *The Atlantic*. If Pittsburgh’s brief period of potential importance to an Atlantic world-system requires us to include riverine systems in its economic world, then the cultural prominence of our “city on a hill” requires us to consider, in addition to commercial power and geographical location, an additional dimension of Atlantic urbanism: the self-consciousness of Atlantic urban identity, essential to what we mean by a “public sphere.”

### The Public Sphere: One Model of Urban Identity

In 1962, Jürgen Habermas formulated the concept of a “public sphere” to describe those “institutions” made “for critical public debate of political matters,” which he identified as urban institutions flourishing in eighteenth-century Britain. While coffeehouses are the most famous institution in Habermas’s history, the foundations of his analysis in a Marxist conception of economic history should not be obscured, foundations that tie his book most clearly to the Atlantic world. He is interested in a group of urban professionals for whom the term “bourgeois” remains indispensable, because the “objectivity” of their intellect appeared to spring from the same natural order as that giving rise to the laws of the market. Writing from the perspective of a less strictly dialectical history, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg argues that instead of seeing Enlightenment publicists as an intellectual “elite”—“men of wealth, gentility, and political ambition”—the term “bourgeoisie” is preferable, capturing as it does “their deep-seated connections to commerce and urban life.” While she is describing the early US republic, her account rings true for many a location in the urban Atlantic world:

Creatures of commerce, the bourgeoisie were also creatures of cities. Cities embodied the European American, polyglot communities drawn from the four corners of the world. Cities made them habitués of the
newly emerging public sphere of coffeehouses, bookstores, libraries, and theaters. They became participants in the Republic’s proliferating print culture. It was within this world that they studied and performed their roles as hard-working merchants, polished gentlemen, liberal philanthropists, and new republican citizens…Cities were home, as well, to a mélange of newly arrived political refugees, many well educated by American standards but desperately short of capital and connections (their numbers sharply increasing first with the French and Haitian Revolutions): small-scale artisans, journeyman printers, young farm boys would manage to learn the fine hand of some country school and now sought jobs as clerks in hopes of upward mobility. These last men, especially, were far more likely to read newspapers and magazines within coffee houses and taverns, where they might also rub shoulders with their betters and pick up bits of knowledge and gossip.34

Drawn to the city, both capitalists and laborers experienced a widening of perceptual scale. For a new arrival to a great city, Balzac wrote that “the scale of everything is the first thing that strikes one,” particularly the distance between “luxury” and “extreme poverty.”35

The urban public sphere represented a broadening of scale that was historically tied to the creation of an Atlantic commercial world.

Habermas’s description of the historical public sphere (the class-specific character of which has often been ignored) usefully captures the links between the development of Atlantic commerce and the emergence of spaces where the use of critical reason became professional and institutional. Precisely to the extent that cities became sites of long-distance trade, they increasingly depended on relays of news from other cities. While, as Habermas notes, merchants may have held news from abroad close to the vest, the publishers of newspapers soon found such information publicly profitable. Or, as Habermas puts it, “The traffic in news developed not only in connection with the needs of commerce; the news itself became a commodity.”36

We might extend Habermas’s point about the commercial origins of the public sphere to the development of Atlantic cities. The reproduction of society no longer depended quite as much on dominating a countryside to provide the city’s food supply.37 In the Atlantic city, the oikos looked oceanward, becoming entangled with the life of the sea, and to that precise extent facilitated patterns of consumption that permitted an international “public sphere” to develop. Habermas is again helpful here in describing the mutual emergence of private subjectivity and the transformation of that private life into a public concern:

Because, on the one hand, the society now confronting the state clearly separated a private domain from the public authority and because, on
Index of City Names

Bolded page numbers refer to illustrations.

Agadir (Morocco), 85
Angra (Azores), 34
Antwerp, (Netherlands), 62
Arras (France), 71
Asilah (Morocco), 32, 33
Azemmour (Morocco), 32, 33
Belém (Brazil), 36
Boston (Massachusetts), 3, 8, 9, 96n2

Cap François (Haiti), 145, 146, 149, 151, 153–54
Caracas (Venezuela), 102, 114
Cayenne (French Guyana), 29
Cuzco (Inca), 4, 62–63, 73n11
Cuzco (Peru), 62–63, 73–74n12
Czestochowa (Poland), 70

Daman (India), 26
Edinburgh (Scotland), 15, 103

Florence (Italy), 79
Funchal (Madeira Islands), 31, 32

Genoa (Italy), 63, 64, 72
Gondrecourt (France), 75

Havana (Cuba), 41–57, 228

La Guayra (Venezuela), 111
Lagos (Nigeria), 124–36, 137n4, 138n31, 138n40

Lima (Peru), 4, 70
Lisbon (Portugal), 13, 28, 31, 34–35, 37, 39, 40n16
Liverpool (England), 79–96
London (England), 195–213, 219: abolitionism in, 83–84, 89, 92; economic power of, 6, 82; gender performance in, 223; legal cases in, 129–30; publishing industry in, 101–2; theater in, 12, 195–213, 223; urban phenomenology of, 165–71

Loreto (Italy), 64
Loreto (Mexico), 69–70, and Loreto Conchó, 72
Los Angeles (California), 72

Macapá (Brazil), 29–30, 36
Madrid (Spain), 175–76
Manila (Philippines), 71
Mapethé (Mexico), 67
Mazagão (Brazil), 27, 30
Mazagão (Morocco), 25–29, 27, 28
Mexico City (Mexico), 63–65, 67
Milan (Italy), 63

New York City (New York), 8, 89, 91–92, 160–61

Philadelphia (Pennsylvania), 219–33
Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania), 8–9
Ponta Delgada (Acores), 31
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City Name</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Québec City (Québec)</td>
<td>67–69, 75n28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>São Luis (Brazil)</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenochtitlan (Aztec)</td>
<td>4; see also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico City</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
General Index

Bolded page numbers refer to illustrations.

Abenaki (Amerindians), 205
abolitionism, 79–96
“adventurer,” 201
African Communities League (ACL), 126
African Improvement Convention, 92, 93
African Institution (of London), 83–85, 93, 98n20
African Observer, 91
Agamben, Giorgio, 145
Agency Committee, 92, 99n42
Alakija, Adeyemo, 130, 133–34
Algonquian (Amerindians), 197–98
Allen, William, 83
al-mahdouma, 28
American Abolition Convention, 85, 92
American Civil War, 96
American Colonization Society, 85–86, 92
Amerindians: and the American Revolution, 172–73n18; and the Haitian Revolution, 102; and Irving’s self-identification with, 182–88; Jacksonian America’s attitudes toward, 183; and the Jesuits, 61–72; Las Casas, 178; in London, 195–213; in the paintings of Vermay, 53; see also names of specific tribal nations
anatopic, 15, 143–44, 156n1
André, John, 227
Annual Convention of American Abolition Societies, The, 84
Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Rights Protection Society, 129
Anti-Slavery Society (London), 84, 92
Antislavery Society (New York City), 92
Arango y Parreño, Francisco, 47
Arrate, José Martín Félix de, 47
arruar, 36
Arruda, Diogo and Francisco de, 26
Arruda, Miguel, 26
The Atlantic (Boston periodical), 9
Atlantic cities: and civic identity, 45, 79–96, 206–10; definition of, 4, 8–9; as economic nodes, 4–5; as entrepôts, 5; as a religious network, 61–72; as sites of collective identity, 42; as theatrical spaces, 195–213; and the transfer of urban planning, 25–39
Atlantic studies: integration versus circulation in, 2, 5–7; transnational versus international approaches, 1; in world-systems theory, 5–7
Bairro Alto, 31, 40n16
Bancroft, George, 188–89
Barbauld, Anna Letitia, 103, 109:
Eighteen Hundred and Eleven, 103
bastides, 31, 32
Baucom, Ian, 2, 118n33
Bickerstaff, Isaac, The Padlock, 224–25

General Index

Bildungsroman, 180
Birkbeck, Morris, 159–60, 163, 173n20: Letters from Illinois, 162; Notes on a Journey in America from the Coast of Virginia to the Territory of Illinois, 162
Black Legend, 107, 177–78
blackface, 224–25
Blanco White, Joseph (José), 101–2, 115n2, 121n79
Bolívar, Simon, 101–15
Bonaparte, Pauline, 151–52
Boreja, 25–26
Bradford, William (American Revolutionary), 224, 226
Bradford, William (pilgrim), 151, 157n12: Of Plymouth Plantation, 151
Braudel, Fernand, 18n18, 19–20n37
Bravo, Jaime, 70
Brazil, 5, 7, 28, 30, 35–37, 38, 89, 97n10, 106, 125, 133
Brídja see Boreja
British identity, 12, 159, 162
Brown, William Wells, 80
Bryant, William Cullen, 187
Buckminster, Joseph, 79
Buffum, Arnold, 91
Burgoyne, John, 223–24, 229
Burr, Aaron, 155–56
Byron, Lord (George Gordon), 103
cabildo, 47, 49
Cameron, Donald, 134
Campbell, Alexander, 231–32
Campbell, Thomas: Gertrude of Wyoming, 160, 163, 172–73n18; The Pleasures of Hope, 117n20
capitalism: and antislavery, 82–83; and class identity, 6; and conceptions of freedom, 10–11, 105–6, 118n33; and the theater, 12–13; see also free market
Carr, Henry, 134–35
Casa Capitular, 57n6
Casa de Gobernador, 57n6
Casa de Gobierno, 43, 45, 52, 57n6
Casa do Risco, 36
Catholicism, 62: and the Black Legend, 107; and demography, 54; and festivals in Haiti, 153; iconography of, 62, 76n36; networks of, 61–72; see also Jesuit missions; Madonna of Loreto
Cato (Addison), 224–26, 228, 233
Charles III, 43
Chaumonot, Pierre-Joseph-Marie, 67–68
Chirino, José Bonifacio, 114–15
chronotope, concept of, 110
Cité Portugaise, 28–29
Clarkson, Thomas, 80, 85–86
Clay, Ann, 91
Cobbett, William, 159–60, 162–63, 169–70: Cobbett’s Weekly Register, 169; A Year’s Residence in the United States of America, 162, 170, 173n20
Cochimí (Amerindians), 70
Collins, Isaac, Jr., 91
Colman, George, The Deuce Is in Him, 228–29
Columbus, Christopher, 104, 109, 175–89
Columbus, Ferdinand, 177
Cooper, James Fenimore, 161, 176, 182
Cope, Thomas Pym, 91
cosmopolitanism, 123–36
Cropper, James, 80–96
damero, 35
Decades (Martyr), 177
Declaration of Independence (United States), 8
Delacroix, Eugene, The Return of Columbus, 104
DeLanda, Manuel, 221
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deleuze, Gilles,</td>
<td>103, 221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demography:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cities, 7; and assemblage theory,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221–22; of early North American</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cities, 7; of Haiti, 145; of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos, 125; of London, 198–99;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Loreto (Mexico), 76n32; of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miranda’s nationalist societies,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102; and population transfer,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28–30, 37; and the problem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of population control, 54–55,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76n32, 86–87, 115, 128, 199–201;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of slavery, 86–87, 150; of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish Cuba, 42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dennison, Charles Wheeler,</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodd, James Solas, *The Funeral</td>
<td>223–24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pile*, 223–24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglass, Frederick,</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du Bois, W. E. B.,</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Duke and No Duke, A (Tate)</em>,</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egiluz, Diego de,</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eiakintomino,</td>
<td>211–12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>El Español</em>, 101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>El Temple</em>, 47–56, 48, 50, 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleko, Eshugbayi,</td>
<td>129–30, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellicott, Thomas,</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>encomienda</em> system, 178</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epenow, 205, 207–9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Epicœne</em> (Jonson), 202</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Espada y Landa, Juan José Díaz,</td>
<td>47, 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evans, Thomas,</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewing, George, diary of, 226–28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farquhar, George: *The Constant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple*; or, *A Trip to the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jubilee*, 224, 231; <em>The Inconstant</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or, <em>The Way to Win Him</em>, 229–30,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30, 232; <em>The Recruiting Officer</em>,224</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favret, Mary, 105, 113, 118n33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferdinand VII, 106–7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Festa de Santiago</em>, 37, 38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fields, Barbara,</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figis, Mary, 232–33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipeia de Nossa Senhora das</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neves,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foucault, Michel, 44, 143</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin, Benjamin, 181</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>free market, 81, 88, 92, 94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Freedom’s Journal, The</em>, 91, 93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Revolution, 114, 147, 166</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fueros</em>, Basque concept of, 51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garrick, David, <em>Lethe</em>, 229</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garrison, William Lloyd, 80, 85,</td>
<td>91–96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garvey, Marcus, 126</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geary, Patrick, 68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Genius of Universal Emancipation</em> (Baltimore), 81–82, 91, 94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geography, 144–45, 148–49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilroy, Paul, 1–2, 121n64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladstone, John, 88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grimké, Sarah, 91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habermas, Jürgen <em>see</em> public sphere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haitian Revolution, 15, 46, 54,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102, 114–15, 144–49: effect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on U.S. urban trading system,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8–9; in Sansay’s <em>Secret History</em>, 144–56; as viewed by Venezuelan revolutionaries, 102; in Walker’s <em>The South American, a Metrical Tale</em>, 114–15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hallet, Stephen, 47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hariot, Thomas, 204</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry the navigator, 31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heredia, José María, 52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hicks, Elias, 92, 93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispaniola, 101, 145, 178, 183:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanists, 177, 189n4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hodgson, Adam, 86–87, 94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humboldt, Alexander von, 60n27,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101: <em>Political Essay on the</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kingdom of New Spain</em>, 101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huron (Amerindians), 67–68, 75n29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Ocean, 5, 36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Penal Code, 132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Indians, 134, 53, 61, 63, 65–67, 69, 75n31, 102, 111, 145, 172n18, 179, 191n25: as symbolic construct, 196, 201–2, 204, 213n2; see also Amerindians; names of specific tribal nations
interiority, 143
Irving, Washington, 175–89, 190n20: Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus, 175–89; The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, 175
Jackson, John, The British Heroine, 223, 233n9
Jamaica, 87, 154
Joaquín Olmedo, José, 103–4
Jonson, Ben: Epicoene: Or, the Silent Woman, 202; The Staple of Newes, 202; The Vision of Delight, 202–3, 207
Junta de Población Blanca, 54
Knight, Sarah Kemble, 8
laissez-faire see free market
Las Casas, Bartolomé, 104, 177–78, 185–86, 190n11: Brevisima relación de la destrucción de las Indias, 177, 178, 189n10; Historia de Las Indias, 177–78
Las Casas, Luis, Captain General, 47
Lefebvre, Henri, 42
Lenni–Lenape (Amerindians), 228
Lewis, Enoch, 91
Lewis, Evan, 85
libertos (free people of color), 55
Liverpool Courier, 88–89
Liverpool Mercury, 87, 88–89
London Society for Mitigating and Gradually Abolishing the State of Slavery throughout the British Dominions, 89
Lugard, Frederick, 131–32
Lundy, Benjamin, 81–82, 91, 94, 97n13
luxury, concept of, 11, 20n42
Macaulay, Zachary, 90
Madonna of Loreto, statues of, 61–72
Mao Zedong, 155
Marian imagery, 62–63, 73n5, 73n10
Martyr, Peter, 177
Medina, Pablo, 44
mellah, 28–29
Messia, Alonso, 65–66
Miranda, Francisco de, 101, 102
mobility, 10, 53, 61, 65, 70, 100n57, 121n75, 143–44, 168
Monquí (Amerindians), 61–67, 69–71
Monroe Doctrine, 179
Montressor, John, 219–20
Moxos (Amerindians), 65–67
Moxos missions, 65
Murphy, Arthur, No One’s Enemy but His Own, 228
Napoleon, 6, 101–3, 106, 108, 109, 113, 114, 115n1, 116n9, 147–48, 151
Navarrete, Don Martín Fernández de, 175, 177–78, 180, 185, 186, 187–88: Colección de documentos in éditos, 177; Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles desde el fin del siglo XV, 177
New England Antislavery Society, 91
New Spain, 63, 70, 73n10, 74n15
New York City Antislavery Society, 92
New York Manumission Society, 89
Newspaper Ordinance of 1903 (Nigeria), 131, 132
newspapers (also reviews, monthlies) see titles of specific periodicals
Nigeria, 137n19, 137n23, 138n24, 138n28, 138n30, 138n32, 138n33, 138n43
North American Review, 184, 187
Nycolas, Gaspar, 34

oppidum, 200
Ortiz, Fernando, 51
Osho-Davies, James, 126
Oviedo y Valdes, Gonzalo Fernandez de, 177: Historia general y natural de las Indias, 177

Panic of 1825, 175
Parker, Joseph, 91
parocchia mayor, 43
Parsons, Samuel, 91
Patterson, James, 91
Peebles, John, diary of, 222, 229–30, 231–32
Peninsular War, 103, 106, 108–9, 119n40
Philadelphia Monthly Magazine, 187
Philip II, 36, 44
Pitt, William, 101
Planta da Praça de Mazagan, 26, 27
Plymouth Rock, 80
Pocahontas, 203–4, 207–8
population see demography
póvoas, 31
Powhatan Confederacy, 197, 203, 204
Prescott, William Hickling, 177, 183, 189n4: History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, 177
public sphere, concept of:
and abolitionism, 79–96;
class-specific character of, 9–10;
among Creoles, 6–7, 47, 58n13, 102–3; expanding the notion of,
71–72; and the idea of theater,
12; and integrative histories of
urban identity, 9–12; and poor
relief, 167; the possibility of a
nontextual, 3, 71
Quakerism, 82, 90, 91, 92
Quarterly Review, The, 101, 106, 109
race: blackface performance,
224–25; and the figure of the
morena (black woman), 55–56,
56; in late eighteenth-century
Cuba, 44; and sexuality in
St. Domingue, 152; and Spanish
Creoles after the Haitian
Revolution, 54–56
Rathbone, William, 83
Ravenna, Benedetto da, 26, 32
Reform Bill of 1832 (England),
169–70
reformism: in the Atlantic world,
14, 20–21n49; under Charles
III of Spain, 41–57; in the
nineteenth-century United States,
143–44
regimento, 34
requerimiento, 63
Rich, Obadiah, 176
Roach, Joseph, 13, 198, 220–21
Roanoke (Virginia), 200, 204
 Rolfe, Rebecca see Pocahontas
Roscoe, William, 79
Rowe, Nicholas, The Fair Penitent,
20n44, 224
ruação, 36
ruas novas, 31
Russwurm, John Brown, 91, 99n44
Saadi Charif, 26
Sala de Juntas, 51
Salvatierra, Juan Maria (also known as Gianmaria Salvaterra), 63–65, 69–72
Sansay, Leonora, 144–56: Secret History; or the Horrors of St. Domingo, 144–56
Santa Ana do Rio Mutuacão, 29, 30
Santa Cruz do Cabo de Guer
Mazgan (Agadir), 26
Santiago Path (Portugal), 31
São Sebastião, 26
Saro, 125–26, 137n5
scale, concept of, 1–2
Scott, Walter, 102, 106: interest in Spanish Empire, 106; opinion of Napoleon, 116n9; works: *The Bridal of Triermain*, 108, 109; *Vision of Don Roderick*, 103, 104, 109–11
Seditious Offences Ordinance of 1909 (Nigeria), 131, 132–33
Segre, Roberto, 41, 51
Semple, Robert, 101, 115–16n4: *Sketch of the Present State of Caracas*, 101, 115–16n4
sensationalism, 20n42
Seven Years’ War, 41
Shakespeare, William: *All’s Well That Ends Well*, 202; *Henry VIII*, 201–2; *The Tempest*, 196–97, 201
Shelley, Mary, 159–71: *Lodore*, 159–71
Shields of American Slavery, 85
Shyngle, Egerton, 126, 129
Sierra Leone, 125, 127, 137n8
slavery, 8–9, 46–47, 54–55, 125; see also abolitionism
Smith, Adam, 46, 82
Smith, James McCune, 92
Smythe, Thomas, 205
Sociedad Patriótica, 102
Society of Jesus see Jesuit missions
Southern Literary Messenger, 178, 187–88
Southeby, Robert, 106, 115n2, 119n39: *El Cid*, 106; *History of Brazil*, 106; *Madoc*, 103
Stadial history, 200
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 80
Sturge, Joseph, 90

Tahanedo, 205, 209
taste, theory of, 52–53
theater, 11–13
Thomas, Philip Evan, 92
Torralva, Diogo da, 26

Torre, Marqués de la, 43
Toussaint L’Ouverture, 114, 115, 144, 147–56; see also Haitian Revolution
translation: by Amerindians, 208, 209; of Spanish sources on Columbus, 175–78
Trevejos, Fernando, 44
Tsenacomoco, 205, 207, 211, 212
Tupac Amaru, 115
Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), 126
Vermay, Jean-Baptiste, 49–50, 52, 55–56
*vilas novas*, 31, 32
Virgin Mary see Marion imagery
Virginia Company, 196–202, 211–12

Wald, Samuel Ringgold, 80
Walker, James Scott, 103–9, 117n20: *The South American, a Metrical Tale* (1816), 103–7, 111–15; and reviews of, 120n55
Wallis, Severn Teackle, 187–88
Walton, William, 101, 108
Wampanoag (Amerindians), 208–9
Washington, George, 219
West Africa, 125, 127, 129, 135, 137n8, 137n11, 137n15, 138n34, 138n44, 138n45, 139n54
Wheatley, Phillis, 3
Wilberforce, William, 87
Williams, Peter, Jr., 91
Williams, Sapara, 127–28
Womack, Craig, 198
Wordsworth, William, 102, 115

Yoruba, 125

Zappa, Juan Bautista, 64