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A Sea of Caribbean Islands: Maritime Maroons in the Greater Caribbean

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ABSTRACT
This article considers how maritime maroons used Atlantic networks of communication to determine which overseas locations to escape to, relying on African maritime techniques and skills as well as understanding of tropical wind patterns to escape using African-style dugout canoes, paddleboards/surfboards, and their swimming bodies to redefine their lives. Elaborating on the intellectual frameworks of Julius Scott and Epeli Hau'ofa, this article also examines how captives' layered African cultural, spiritual, and political meanings onto the 'Greater Caribbean' to transform it into a 'sea of islands', providing belonging and hope to captives' exploited lives. Cultural understandings of the Caribbean and surrounding continents and African maritime expertise enabled maritime maroons to use seas to connect them to distant opportunities.

The Atlantic slave trade served as a cultural watershed for the African diaspora uprooting and transplanting Africans and their traditions in the Americas, where enslavers clustered captives into ethnic enclaves. Many large slaveholdings were constructed along navigable waterways to facilitate the shipment of slave-produced cash crops to market, while the sea of humanity that broke upon *new world* shores drew many proficient swimmers, underwater divers, canoe-makers, and canoe-women and –men to waterside plantations.[1] Waterways from the Chesapeake Bay to Brazil resemble those of Atlantic Africa, enabling unwilling colonists to construct cultural beachheads, where they recreated and reimagined aquatic traditions, affording their lives with meaning and value while maintaining cultural bonds to home-waters.[2]

African-style dugout canoes allowed the enslaved to do what enslaved feet, stolen horses, and Western framed ships never permitted: to flee in mass, sending waves of self-liberated humanity rippling out from islands of enslavement.[3] A handful of skilled canoewomen and -men could paddle ten or fifteen family and community members, young and old, across imperial and nation boundaries. While scholars have noted this ability, none has considered how

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captives used African maritime expertise to complete freedom voyages that could be in excess of 120 miles.

This article stresses the need to reconsider how enslaved Africans understood the ocean by conjoining the intellectual frameworks of Julius Scott and Epeli Hauʻofa to examine how captives conveyed information and their fugitive bodies across waters intended to confine them to dry spaces. Scott's 'Greater Caribbean' illustrates how free and enslaved Black mariners and seaport labourers generated a 'common wind' of communication allowing them to converse across oceans, conveying revolutionary ideals from New England to Brazil. Yet Scott and other scholars do not consider how African-descended people culturally, spiritually, and intellectually understood seas and how water spoke to captives, informing them of opportunities beyond terrestrial confines. To this point, Tongan anthropologist Hauʻofa's conceptualization of the Pacific can help us understand how Africans experienced the Greater Caribbean.[4]

Hauʻofa charted the 'sea of islands' that constitute Oceania, borrowing concepts of cultural geography from scholar-activists writing in the wake of African independence, like Walter Rodney and Boubacar Barry, who forged broad integrative frameworks to correct the historiographic fragmentation that splintered Africa into 'a historical jigsaw puzzle'. Stressing that previous studies similarly misconstrued the Pacific by treating Oceanians as sea-locked peoples stranded on islands, Hauʻofa rejected the 'belittling' tendency of 'continental' scholars who shrank the Pacific by focusing on human relationships with dry areas, shrinking Oceania's expanse into Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia. Water was not a confining barrier or a liquid void. Seas and islands formed a seamless culturescape—a 'sea of islands'.[5]

Self-liberation has long been a topic of intellectual deliberation with scholars recognizing that maritime maroons were not just fleeing one place but deliberately arriving at particular places where, as Fernanda Bretones Lanes explains in this forum, they sought 'multiple conceptions of freedom' in communities of 'belonging'.[6] Maritime maroons fled as *passengers* aboard Western framed vessels – finding freedom throughout the Americas, Europe, Africa, and even the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi – or as *mariners*.[7] Taking control of their destiny, *mariners* tapped Atlantic murmurings to identify destinations, using African maritime techniques, including dugout canoes, paddleboards/surfboards, and swimming, to reach them. In 1840 Scottish abolitionist David Turnbull reported how enslaved Africans who were inspired by revolutionary rhetoric unmoored dugouts to seek freedom and belonging, penning:

> Several thousands of the slaves of Martinique had previously been driven by the severity of their treatment, or incited by their innate love of liberty, to embark in canoes, or on rafts formed for the purpose, in the hope of reaching St. Lucia or Dominica, where they had been informed that their natural rights as men would be respected.[8]

This article focuses on *mariners*, arguing that examining maritime marronage through an African lens permits us to consider how the enslaved understood and experienced the *Greater Caribbean* as a *sea of islands*, deploying African maritime wisdom, technology, technical skills, and maritime relationships necessary to facilitate escape. The number of captives in liquid motion was impressive. Elena Schneider has 'evidence of several hundred men, women, and children who fled slavery in Jamaica, the Bahamas, Saint Domingue, and British North America by escaping to Cuba' between '1680 and the end of the eighteenth century', while many others 'clandestinely' arrived in Cuba, leaving no records.[9] Methods of navigating throughout the Caribbean remain understudied and the number of maritime maroons crisscrossing the region has seemingly caused scholars to conclude that voyages were easy, discouraging reflections on the wisdom necessary to complete them.[10]

Aquatic departures required escapees to organize themselves into crews of probably two to six canoeists who transported two to four times the number of passengers who were friends and loved ones. African maritime techniques and expertise as well as understandings of tropical hydrography – marine geography and how it is informed by tides, currents, and winds – enabled many to cross open seas as oceanic forces pulled them off course. Accounts suggest that saltwater, or African-born, escapees used African aquatic traditions to quickly learn the subtleties and nuances of Caribbean hydrography. Africans conceptualized waterscapes – seamless intersections of land and water – to create social, cultural, and spiritual understandings of the *Greater Caribbean*, transforming it into a *sea of islands*. Spiritual beliefs extended the Greater Caribbean across the Kalunga – the watery threshold between the here-and-now and afterlife – to include African waterscapes and the ancestral worlds at the bottom of or across large bodies of water. Paths to freedom and belonging were not limited to aquatic crossings but included metaphysical passages across the Kalunga where voyagers reunited with departed loved ones awaiting to be reborn in ancestral lands.[11]

As Europeans colonized the land, they treated waterscapes as roads, but not places of belonging, enabling captives to physically and intellectually appropriate rivers, lakes, and seas. Layering African cultural, spiritual, and political meanings onto waters that retained Amerindian valuations, captives recreated and reimagined African traditions. During work and recreation, captives parted the waters of bondage with their bodies; stirring the depths with their limbs; traversing their surfaces in dugouts as they fished; carrying goods to urban markets; and visited family members and friends separated by sale (Figure 1).[12]

Slaveholders' desires for profits facilitated cultural retention and captives' ability to cast far-reaching networks of communication connecting enslaved communities separated by land and water. Enslavers targeted Africans with aquatic fluencies, employing them as pearl, salvage, conch, and sponge divers. Enslavers compelled the enslaved to construct and crew dugout

Figure 1. 'Mompox [Columbia] Marketplace'. Enslaved women and men regularly sold goods from their beached dugouts, which were used to quickly transport perishables, including fresh fish, meat, poultry, fruit, and vegetables. One captive is selling live turtles, which were a delicacy. A husband and wife apparently crewed the canoe in the foreground, allowing them to extend the precious little time they had together while they made money selling goods produced during their free time. Alcide Dessalines d'Orbigny, *Voyage Pittoresque dans les deux Amériques* (Paris: 1836); image is opposite 59; text describing image is on 80–81. University of Virginia Library, Special Collections.

canoes used for fishing, sea-turtling, and shipping slave-produced cash crops to markets, which were often on different islands and possessed by different European powers. Maritime slaves travelled widely, learning the hydrography as they sought shellfish, finned fish, and shipwrecks or crewed inter-island and coastal merchant ships (Figure 2).[13]

African Mariners in the Americas

Mariners the world over are reluctant to trust their lives and fortunes to unfamiliar types of watercraft. Africans were no exception and dugouts were engrained with social, cultural, spiritual, and political meaning. Canoes were existential extensions of fishermen's and merchants' bodies and part of the community. Dugouts embodied and expressed generational wisdom: they were 'companions' and 'collaborators', transporting canoeists safely across liquid expanses, returning them home with fish and incomes.[14]

Carved from sacred trees – typically silk cottonwoods – dugouts had a name, soul, and gender, which determined how they rode. Spiritual motifs, carved in high and low relief, helped canoes form important relationships with water and

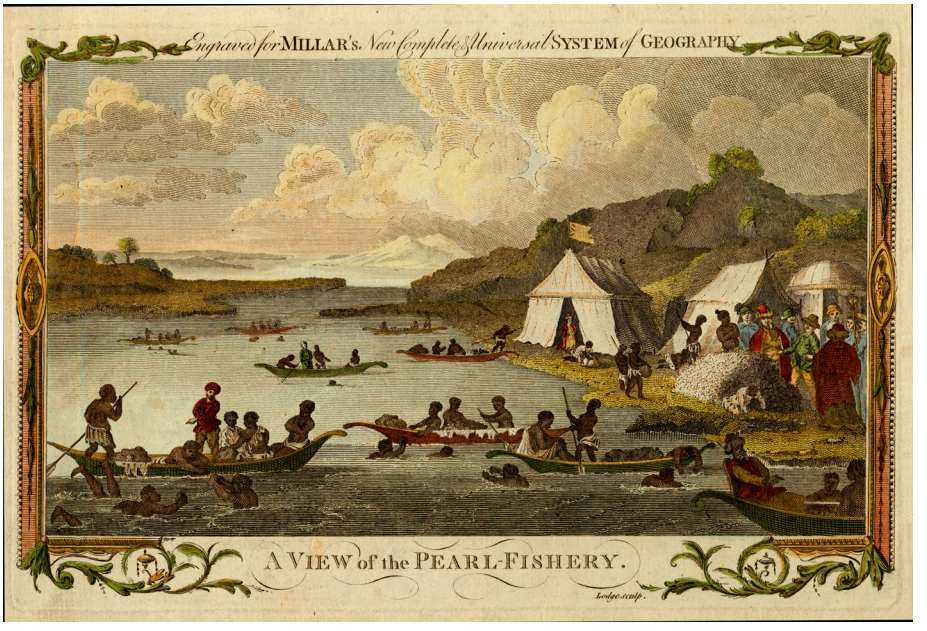

Figure 2. 'A View of the Pearl Fishery'. This stylized image illustrates how African swimming, underwater diving, and canoeing expertise was concentrated in waterscapes to generate wealth for enslavers and capital for colonial powers. 'A View of the Pearl Fishery', in George Henry Millar, *The New and Universal System of Geography Being a Complete History and Description of the Whole World*. … (London, 1782). Author's Collection.

the spirits residing therein, connecting the earthly and spirit worlds, affording spiritual guidance to mariners in quest of fish, markets, and safe passages. Communicating with ancestors and other spirits was a part of daily life for many Atlantic Africans, with water being a catalyst for doing so. Water was a cultural and spiritual space populated by deities and spirits, with members of many societies believing the realm of the dead lay at the bottom of or across the ocean or large waterway. Water channelled one's soul across the Kalunga to the supernatural world, where it was reunited with ancestors waiting to be reborn. Charles Ball, who was enslaved in early nineteenth-century South Carolina, helped an African-born father and American-born mother bury their infant son with a small canoe that carried him across Kalunga. The father carved 'a miniature canoe, about a foot long, and a little paddle, (with which he said it would cross the ocean to his own country) a small stick, with an iron nail, sharpened, and fastened into one end of it; and a piece of white muslin, with several curious and strange figures painted on it in blue and red, by which, he said, his relations and countrymen would know the infant to be his son, and would receive it accordingly, on its arrival amongst them'.[15]

Many types of spirits resided in waterways, with Ras Michael Brown explaining that water simbi were prominent West-Central African spirits who arrived in the Americas with their enslaved believers. As primordial nature deities,

simbi resided in objects linking the living to transcendent worlds and were central to aquatic spiritual understandings. Waters possessing distinguishing characteristics, like surf-zones (the region between shore and where waves form) and waterfalls, are the favourite abode of many water spirits, with the sound of moving water echoing spirits' voices, while the 'roar of water crashing over cataracts sounded like simbi crying out'.[16]

People from Senegal to South Africa and as far inland as Mali believed in deities resembling mermaids, with Mami Wata meaning 'Mother Water' or 'Mother of all Waters', being the most celebrated of these finned divinities. Shape-shifting between a woman and half-woman-half-fish, Mami Wata – like maritime maroons – slipped between discrete elements and circumstances: water and earth; the real and surreal; the present and future. She safeguarded followers from drowning, rewarding them with enhanced spiritual understandings and success. Mami Wata is most closely associated with the Yoruba of Nigeria and Benin, though members of distant ethnicities adopted her, while captives carried her to the Americas by the mid-eighteenth century, with Scotsman John Stedman noting that 'Watra Mama, which signifies the mother of the waters' resided in the Surinam River. In Africa, deities and ancestral spirits guided fishermen to schools of fish and canoe-born merchants through safe passageways. In the Americas, deities guided refugees to freedoms.[17]

African dugouts were ideal for escape, transforming islands from grains of sand and chunks of coral thrust up from the depths by tectonic forces into a *sea of islands* as captives stitched islands and continents into constellations of hope. For those willing to take the voyage, their 'universe comprised not only land surfaces but the surrounding ocean as far as they could traverse and exploit it', extending the Greater Caribbean to African waterscapes and spirit worlds.[18] There were hundreds of variations and, while designs were similar, many were distinct enough to warrant their own name. Fast, agile, and responsive to paddle strokes, dugouts' shallow-draft enabled them to pass through waters a few inches deep while carrying several times their own weight. African sailing traditions predated European arrival. Most dugouts did not have a keel, which precludes shallow-water navigation, so they could not sail directly into the wind. Still, they sailed well with the wind and many could sail close to the wind. Unlike Western framed boats, dugouts will not sink even if filled with water and can be bailed out at sea, quickly launch from beaches through high surf, and surf waves ashore. These qualities enabled the enslaved to slip through liminal surf-zones between terrestrial bondage and bottomless seas (Figure 3).[19]

Until recently, scholars routinely dismissed non-Western navigational abilities as primitive, based on *superstition* and *luck,* disregarding evidence that non-Europeans could navigate broad expanses, inhibiting understandings of maritime history in Africa and the diaspora.[20] Scholars must consider how African traditions permitted maritime maroons to function as crews – often

Figure 3. 'Pirogues des Nègres' 'Canoes of the Negroes'. This image documents African sailing traditions, which captives carried to the Americas. These Senegalese-style pirogue in the foreground, with its distinctive bowsprit and wave-break designed to slice through waves when launching from surf-ports, illustrates African maritime technology, including the pre-European use of sails. The pirogue in the middle ground is preparing to beach. René Claude Geoffroy de Villeneuve, *L'Afrique, ou Histoire, Moeurs, Usages et Coutumes des Africains: Le Sénégal*, 4 vols. (Paris: 1814), 3; image facing 60. University of Virginia Library, Special Collections.

shortly after arriving in the Americas – harnessing daily and seasonal wind patterns and tides to facilitate escape. Maritime marronage *required* collaboration to navigate the twelve- to thirty-foot-long dugouts that carried eight to around twenty escapees, as Elena Schneider's article in this Forum describes. To this end, Thornton's assessment of 'African Soldiers in the Haitian Revolution', who similarly required a critical mass of collaborators, is insightful. Previous scholars claimed rebels' abilities to defeat the most powerful European armies resulted from divine inspiration and unfaltering determination. Thornton convincingly argued that the large numbers of prisoners-of-war French enslavers purchased from the Bight of Benin and West-Central Africa employed types of fast-moving warfare that permitted them to achieve tactical victories that did not hinge on *luck* or *superstition*.[21]

Like Haitian freedom fighters, maritime maroons were not groups of disparate unskilled individuals. They formed crews capable of transporting passengers. Dugouts' limited lateral stability, which makes them prone to capsize, was the downside of their manoeuverability, requiring about one fourth of those in them to be proficient canoeists. Since canoeing was a widely held African skill, this ratio was probably easy to attain.[22] Also, many Africans arrived in the Americas with understandings of how aquatics could deliver

them from slavery. People swam and canoed away from African enslavers: some created stilt-villages in the middle of lakes to protect against slave-raiding neighbours. Ganvié, which means 'safe place', was erected on Lake Nokoué with its diverse population creating the Tofinu ethnicity, meaning 'men on water'. It is probable that some maritime maroons were members of refugee communities or the societies that preyed upon them. Other maritime maroons may have first attempted to swim to freedom by leaping from slave ships.[23] Captives lacking aquatic traditions of resistance could effortlessly imagine the possibilities.

The traditions uniting maroons were forged in Africa and crystalized in the Americas. Within dugouts, canoewomen and -men of diverse backgrounds and often unable to speak the same language, understood their maritime positions, permitting them to anticipate crewmembers' actions to function as a single organism. Enslaved canoemen of different ethnicities found accord in collaboratively crafted dugouts and shared African and *new world* experiences. Captives from the Bight of Biafra, Senegambia, and Angola routinely worked together to construct dugouts that provided diverse collectives with echoes of home. Canoes necessitated cooperation from construction to use. Together, captives selected trees and agreed upon canoes' dimensions: they shaped the hull, creating synthesized social, cultural, and spiritual understandings that embraced shared cultural beliefs. Diverse crewmembers shared dugouts' limited cultural space, paddling in unison, believing it was a vortex for communicating across the Atlantic, across the Kalunga with deities and ancestral spirits.[24] Escapees surely invoked the assistance of benevolent water deities and ancestral spirits.[25]

Sources illustrate how captives used shared perceptions to extend the Greater Caribbean from the Chesapeake in the north, Brazil in the South, Africa in the east, and ancestral realms in the depths. The 1738 departure of an 'Angola Negro, named Levi' and an 'Ebo [Ibo] Negro named Kent' from Elliot's Bridge, South Carolina speaks to how captives re-imagined themselves. Their enslaver recognized their maritime skills, setting them to work on a 'Pettiauger' – a modified dugout. In the South Carolina Lowcountry, the duo found themselves in a canoe and waterscape that reminded them of home. They would not have recognized each other in past lives where they went by different names, spoke different languages, and worshiped different deities. In South Carolina they found commonality in their canoe, waterscape, and expertise. Levi and Kent shared the same cultural space, labours, and sorrows. After hours of paddling under a hot sun, they surely plunged overboard to cool off and relax taxed muscles. They shared stories of past lives, ruminated about the parents, wives, and children they were torn from, and perhaps reflected on the African naval battles that precipitated their enslavement. Both probably believed their canoe and waters they plied connected them to ancestral spirits, while the

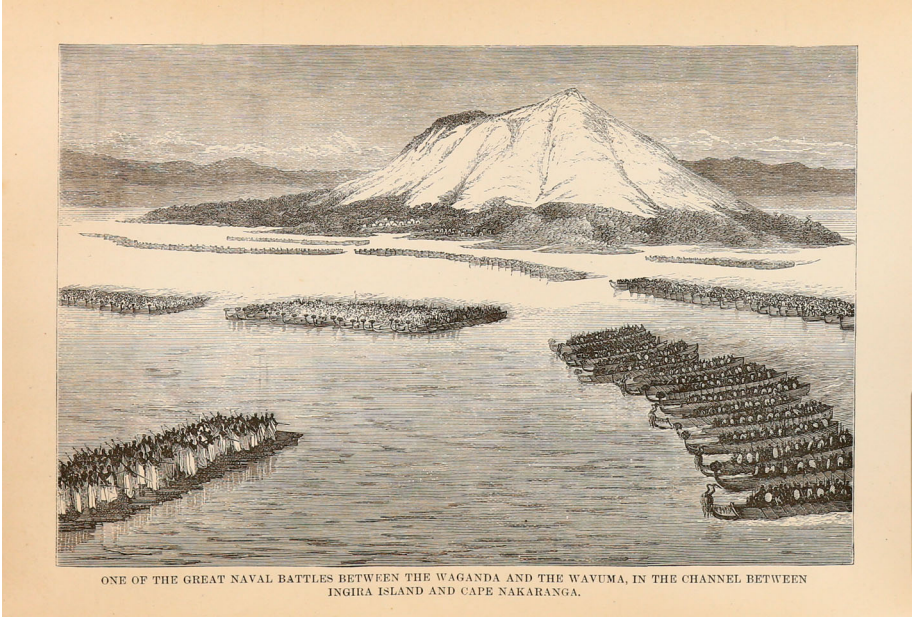

Figure 4. 'One of the Great Naval Battles Between the Waganda and the Wavuma'. This Central African battle on Lake Nyanza, now Lake Victoria, is similar in scale and tactical complexity to those waged on Atlantic African waters, illustrating Africans' maritime abilities. Large naval battles produced many captives with maritime expertise who were shipped off to the Americas. Henry M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent, or The Source of the Nile Around the Great Lakes of Equatorial Africa and Down the Livingston River to the Atlantic*, 2 vols. (New York: 1878), I: opposite 260. Author's collection.

communal nature of their work fostered a friendship in which they trusted each other enough to runaway together (Figure 4).[26]

Documents suggest that captives of diverse ethnicities combined skills to create a *sea of islands* and encompassing continents that provided possibilities far beyond the dry places of subjugation. Africans realized that a few skilled mariners could deliver families, even communities, to distant colonies while inspiring transatlantic passages in which men and women of diverse ethnicities struck out for home-waters. In 1727, Virginia planter-merchant Robert 'King' Carter reported that '7 of my new Negros' stole a canoe to regain home-waters.[27] Likewise, on January 19, 1775 'FOUR NEW NEGRO MEN and A WOMAN' fled Governor James Wrights' 'plantations at Ogeechee', Georgia 'in a small paddling canoe' intending to 'go look for their own country'. In February 1734, '3 Negroe Men named Hector, Peter and Dublin, all of Angola' stole a neighbour's 'Canoe' while fleeing his Wando River, South Carolina estate. Hector and Peter were brothers and Peter had 'Country-marks cut in shape of a Diamond on each of his Temples'. The trio, who 'speak but very little English', were recent imports seeking 'Angola'.[28]

Regaining home-waters *in this life*, may not have been many people's objective. Having just crossed the Atlantic in a slaver's hull, most surely knew crossings would be exceedingly difficult. Even as voyagers sought their 'own country', many were probably content with finding freedom in the spirit world, knowing watery deaths facilitated transmigration.[29]

Even while 'chained to the rock', beach cultures informed captives' relationship to surrounding seas, enabling them to recognize islands as concentric links of opportunity.[30] African beach cultures provided collective experiences and outward perspectives, permitting would-be maritime maroons to recognize possibilities for escape. While much scholarship has been devoted to seaports as hubs of communication and overseas connectivity, little attention has been given to how African-descended people used beaches to meet these functions. Devoid of natural harbours, Atlantic Africans developed surf-ports on beaches and surf-canoes to connect themselves to opportunities within and beyond their horizons. At surf-ports and riverports beached dugouts were meeting places and marketplaces where goods were sold and maritime techniques discussed while children played in the canoes, sand, and surf, with all understanding how canoes were central in creating a community stitched together by commercial and cultural exchange. In the Americas, dugouts equally linked Black communities, enticing captives to flee as nuclear and extended families and entire communities.[31]

While in Jamaica in 1823, Englishman Cynric Williams observed African beach traditions. At a southern 'sea-beach', he encountered 'ten or twelve negroes, male and female, were preparing to haul the seine:' a rectangular fishing net with floats attached to one of their long sides and weights along the other causing them to hang vertically in the water. Taking one end straight out from shore, canoemen brought it back ashore in an arching motion, capturing everything in its embrace. Seining required skill and cooperation as dugouts launched through surf. These enslaved fishers were members of different unnamed ethnicities; yet their skills meant that they made large catches. One was a Muslim member of the 'Houssa' ethnic group and friends with Williams's enslaved guide, Abdallah. These Hausa men were enslaved together in what is now northern Nigeria or southern Niger where they apparently canoed and fished together. They crossed the Atlantic together and this unnamed fisherman synthesized his abilities with those of other ethnicities and spiritual persuasions.[32] Whether working for enslavers or themselves, fisherwomen and -men realized that collaboration was essential for fishing and escaping.

Williams also observed how riverine beach culture taught captives that waterscapes could be sanctuaries from abuse. Enslaved women knew rape could be their cruel rite-of-passage into womanhood. On land, women's ability to escape sexual exploitation was limited. During an age when few white people were proficient swimmers, water permitted women to effortlessly slip away from male aggressors. As Williams and a group of non-swimming

male companions toured Jamaica, they paused to covetously watch at least twenty nude African-born women recreate African aquatic traditions, with 'some washing clothes, some washing themselves, flouncing about like nereids'. When the voyeurs were discovered, the women 'on shore dashed into the water' and, when 'far enough from our masculine gaze, they emerged one by one, popping their black heads and shewing their ivory mouths as they laughed and made fun of me'. Emboldened by the men's swimming inabilities, the women flaunted their sexuality. Seductively gliding through waters that silhouetted their nude bodies and distorted the intimate details, they provocatively sang about a white preacher who 'cross da sea' to 'make lub [love]' to slave women. They allured the men to swim out and fulfil their sexual cravings. Indeed, Williams thinly veiled his desires, dubbing the song's composer 'Proserpine', a Greek goddess raped by Hades. For the *femme fatales*, Jamaican waters were an empowering refuge encompassed by the cruelties of plantation slavery. Here they retained control of their nude bodies even as men a few feet away sought to sexually dominate them.[33]

Hydrographies of Freedom

The ability to reach destinations with a degree of certainty was crucial, with records of starving escapees being intercepted in empty seas speaking to the dangers of miscalculation and bad luck. Caribbean currents pulled Jamaican escapees west, threatening to deposit them in the Gulf of Mexico. For instance, a storm swept the canoe crewed by 'Francis, Quaw [Kwaw] & Quash [Kwesi]' about 'Ten Leagues [35 miles]' off Cuba's west end, where they were found, on June 27, 1736, by the British merchantman *Pool* in poor health, eating 'Beef that stunk very much' and 'bread'. Kwaw and Kwesi are Akan day names, indicating they were respectively born on Thursday and Sunday in what is now Ghana. 'One of the said Negroes', presumably Francis, 'spoke English', saying 'they were run away from the Isle of Pines', now Isla de la Juventud off Cuba's southern coast, suggesting they struck south for the Cayman Islands but were pulled northwestward. More likely, they fled Jamaica for Cuba and did not want to reveal their origins to British rescuers for fear they would be repatriated. Regardless, the trio were sold into South Carolina bondage.[34]

African maritime skills were crucial for successfully completing inter-island voyages, with sources suggesting that would-be maritime maroons recognized how daily Caribbean wind patterns mirrored those of Atlantic Africa. During the morning, the air over the ocean and wide African rivers warms faster than over land, causing air over the water to rise and cooler overland air to rush seaward, creating offshore breezes. As the day progresses, overland air becomes hotter than overwater air, causing it to rise, pulling cooler ocean air inland, creating onshore winds. Along the African coast, fishing fleets of up to 300 canoes, rode offshore winds, or a 'land-breeze' to fisheries, returning

home in the afternoon with onshore winds, or a 'sea-breeze', while merchants rode these winds to coastal shipping lanes. As the day progressed, onshore winds grew more intense, making it difficult, sometimes impossible, to launch vessels from shore. African canoemen also harnessed seasonal wind patterns when navigating to near and distant markets.[35]

Rather than departing at night, as overland escapees typically did, many maritime maroons conceivably rode morning breezes away from bondage, possibly timing departures after morning roll calls and so afternoon onshore winds inhibited pursuing enslavers. Navigational guides document how onshore winds could impede or prevent the launching of watercraft. Additionally, as Jamaican wharfinger James Kelly illustrated, afternoon 'sea-breezes' could preclude coastwise navigation, penning that, '[b]y aid of this land-wind, small vessels can readily sail along the coast to windward ports, which they could hardly do against the daily sea-breeze'.[36]

Scholars should consult historical almanacs and ship pilot guides to consider how captives exploited tides. When leaving from coastlines the effects of shifting tides would have been negligible. Significant advantage could be gained when escapees slipped out of seaports (especially those with small mouths) and tidal rivers with falling-tides, which propelled escapees seaward, while rising tides inhibited, even prevented, enslavers from following until tides went slack.[37]

Scholars have noted that rebellions and overland flight more often occurred during planting and harvesting, when captives endured harsher work regimes. Maritime marronage patterns from particular locations probably coincided with favourable local wind patterns and not just terrestrial abuse. We might assume the Caribbean is placid, with textbook images suggesting that trade winds and currents gently slipped between islands as they flowed northward. Currents move northward through Caribbean waterscapes like wind through cityscapes, deflecting east and west off islands, circling back, converging, creating perplexities of currents. Seasonal currents favoured escape during portions of the year, while inhibiting it at other times. For example, it would have been easier to cross from Jamaica to Cuba from roughly April to September, while winter currents pushed escapees towards the Gulf of Mexico. Hence, we should expect to see departure patterns coincide with favourable conditions, which overlap with planting and harvesting seasons.[38]

In some important ways, Caribbean crossings could be like crossing African rivers as currents pull one downstream, making Caribbean navigation familiar to captives stolen from inland communities. For instance, when crossing westerly-flowing rivers from a southern riverbank, Africans paddled northward, aiming for a target east of their true destination, letting currents pull them west toward their mark. Crossing from Jamaica to Cuba required similar calculations and compensations.[39]

During an age with few energy sources, many Atlantic Africans uniquely used skills acquired through surfing to harness wave energy, using it to

slingshot surf-canoes through surf-zones to land cargo, seafood, and people safely ashore. Atlantic Africa has few natural harbours, compelling many coastal peoples to develop surf-canoes capable of launching through breaking surf to reach fisheries, shipping lanes, and, later, Western ships. Fast, agile, and responsive, surf-canoes caught and surfed waves ashore, while heavily loaded. Sources suggest that many coastal children learned to surf with surfing being the intergenerational transmission of wisdom that transformed surf-zones into playgrounds where youth holistically *experienced* the ocean. Suspending their bodies in the sea, youth learned about surf-zones by *seeing* and *feeling* how the ocean pushed and pulled their bodies. They learned about wavelengths (the distance between waves), physics of breakers, and that to catch waves one needed to match their speed, something Westerners did not comprehend until the late nineteenth century.[40] Escapees undoubtedly used surf-canoeing skills when departing from and landing on surf-bound beaches, even though no known accounts document this (Figure 5).

The sea speaks to those who know its language. It is a sensory language, comprised of sights, sounds, smells, sensations, even taste. Maritime maroons did not cross featureless blue expanses. Many Africans arrived in the Americas able to read water's subtleties, while many country-born captives acquired this knowledge. Fugitives' ability to navigate to specific locations suggests many employed forms of dead reckoning and wayfinding, using water's colour, temperature, and salinity as well as changes in the direction of currents and winds to determine location. Deep waters are dark blue and colder, while shallows are greenish, warmer, and could be saltier, as warm water evaporates more quickly. The colour and movement of ocean, river, and lake water as well as the taste of ocean water helped African-descended fishermen on both sides of the Atlantic locate fisheries, as fish typically congregate where shallows sharply dropped into the deep. Particular smells, like flowers, marshes, or rotting beached whales, could alert escapees to approaching locations.[41] Africans employed celestial navigation – sun, moon, and stars – to determine compass directions while landmarks distinguished landing places. White and Black mariners certainly described hydrographic and geographic features that have helped would-be refugees navigate to specific destinations.[42]

Scholars have documented how networks of communication informed captives of global possibilities, causing escapees to shift destinations as opportunities arose and previous ones ebbed. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many struck east into the rising sun, seeking home-waters and homelands. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century escapees focused on remote places, locations with a strong Amerindian presence or colonies held by different European powers. After Haitian independence in 1804, many sought to reach this Black republic and, after British abolition in 1834, those in other empires fled to British islands. Justin Dunnavant's article in this Forum considers escape patterns from the Danish West Indies, with the archipelago's eighteenth-

Figure 5. 'Canoes Battling the Surf'. This image captures the difficulty of launching and landing surf-canoes at surf-ports, as well as surf-canoemen's unparalleled skill. Wilhelm Sievers, *Afrika; eine allgemeine landeskunde* (Leipzig: 1891), 116. Author's Collection.

century African-born population fleeing to Puerto Rico and Vieques. After 1834, the now largely island-born population chose the British Virgin Islands, departing in such numbers, that they precipitated some planters' financial ruin while threatening the archipelago's economic stability. One St. Croix planter reported 'the heirs of Bondwyn lost everything, when all their slaves ran away to that island [Puerto Rico] in the course of a single night; the plantation had to be sold because of it'. The French Caribbean experienced similar escape patterns. Vessels passing Guadeloupe 'were obliged to keep at least a league's distance from the land' to discourage captives from swimming or canoeing to them and officials stationed 'small vessels, called *guarda costas*', offshore to intercept those heading 'for Dominica, Montserrat, or Antigua' twenty-five, thirty-five, and forty miles away respectively, in 'canoes'. Many Jamaican bondpeople absconded to Cuba, often in sizeable groups, as Schneider and Bretone Lanes document in this Forum. In 1789, planters from 'the North Coast of Jamaica' informed King George III that 'many of the Slaves inhabiting that district' paddled 100 miles to the 'Cuba', beseeching him to dissuade Cuban officials from encouraging captives to flee there and return 'fugitives whom they have found'. Hundreds of seventeenth-century Barbadians fled to St. Vincent and French-held islands. Bahamian captives

escaped to Spanish Florida and Cuba and, as Jane Landers has documented, many enslaved South Carolinians and Georgians plied intracoastal waterways to reach Spanish Florida, since overland journeys required passing through marshy regions, which would have been difficult, especially with children and older people.[43]

Information regarding overseas opportunities was not enough to secure freedom; the enslaved needed an escape method, as Frederick Douglass illustrates. After learning to read, Douglass became suicidal, penning that his education provided 'a view of my wretched condition, without the remedy. It opened my eyes to the horrible pit, but to no ladder upon which to get out'.[44] Recognizing that canoes permitted enslaved Africans to transform seas they hoped would relegate them to dry spaces, white authorities from Virginia to Barbados desperately sought to keep captives out of freedom vessels. Beginning in the seventeenth-century laws throughout the English, Dutch, French, and Danish West Indies were passed requiring paddles, masts, and sails to be locked up ashore away from dugouts. Escapees who were recaptured faced sadistic punishments, including whipping and branding; the severing of ears, feet, hands, and noses; and threats of 'Death, without Benefit of the Clergy'. On October 2, 1706, Danish officials on the island of St. Thomas went so far as to order the destruction of all the trees in its primordial forest large enough to craft a dugout.[45] Despite the tyrannies of violence, human tides continued to flow.

Swimming to Freedoms

When dugouts could not be had, captives swam or used paddleboards. African parents taught children to swim after they learned to walk at about ten to fourteen months old or after they were weaned at approximately two to three years of age, with inland and ocean beaches serving as playgrounds. Atlantic Africans also invented surfing, with coastal peoples using surfboards and paddleboards to paddle several miles, sometimes between ship-and-shore. Interior peoples also employed paddleboards. For instance, Asante living around Lake Bosumtwi, located about one hundred miles inland in what is now Ghana, swam and used paddleboards, called *padua* or *mpadua* (plural), to traverse this five-mile wide crater lake, as spiritual beliefs precluded the use of canoes. Importantly, sources indicate that many country-born captives were adept swimmers, with many learning while toddlers.[46]

Escapees from the Danish West Indies swam and used paddleboards to reach Puerto Rico (roughly thirty-seven miles away) and Vieques (some twenty miles away) and the British Virgin Islands, as close as one mile away. Captives in the Dutch, English, and French Lesser Antilles probably swam between islands and the northern coast of South America, which range from a couple miles to roughly thirty miles apart. During numerous instances, escapees probably

swam alongside fully loaded dugouts because when overloaded, watercraft capsized. Those in the American South swam across swamps, rivers, and coastal waterways as they fled to Spanish Florida, French Louisiana, and Northern states or to elude recapture while living as *petit maroons*.[47] Others swam when dugouts were intercepted by pursuers. In 1840, five St. John captives embarked for Tortola in a canoe triggering an incident that strained Danish and British relations. They were fired upon in British waters by a pursuing Danish patrol boat. A woman was killed and mother and child captured, while two others swam to freedom.[48]

The distances escapees swam is remarkable, even by the standards of today's elite marathon swimmers. While serving as British consul to Cuba in 1840, David Turnbull documented some of these distances. 'From several points of St. John's [Danish West Indies] to the English Island of Tortola, the distance is scarcely a mile. Many negroes could swim across; and, with the aid of a few bamboos, could carry their families along with them'. From French 'Martinique and Guadeloupe to the nearest points of [British] St. Lucia, Dominica, and Antigua, the distance is from fifteen to twenty miles, and yet the slaves on the French islands have encountered the risk by the thousands'. Alice Dearing, a marathon swimmer on the Loughborough University Swim Team, was impressed by captives' ability to complete these open-water crossings. Today, most marathons are 2.5–10 km (1.5–6.2 miles) with some being 25 km (15.5 miles). The enslaved could not train for their marathons, and Dearing estimated that captives swam, at most, one mile per day during their free time, making the jump to five to twenty miles difficult. Departing with favourable currents, tides, and winds, they probably relied on the crawl – commonly called the freestyle – alternating to the breast-, back-, and sidestroke to rest muscle groups. Discussing the challenges aquatic escapees endured, Dearing said they had 'nothing [precise] to sight', at best just silhouetted islands on horizons, making it impossible to hold a straight line, as they 'fought currents, waves, and wind chop', causing them to veer off course, adding miles to their crossings. Constantly looking up to find terrestrial or celestial markers to maintain the semblance of a course strained hip flexors and lower backs, causing extreme fatigue. '*Will* would have been huge', as was 'extreme mental toughness'. Escapees swam upwards of ten hours, pacing themselves so they exerted minimal effort, switching their minds off-and-on as they fought through exhaustion, pain, hunger, and thirst. There was 'no tapping out; no going home;' only going forward or going down.[49]

Conclusion

Stephanie Smallwood and Sowande' Mustakeem document how, for centuries, slave ships desecrated the Atlantic with violence, terror, and sadism.[50] Maritime maroons were humanity in fluid motion, daring to paddle and swim across

slave ships' wake to rechart their destinies and redefine the ocean according to African valuations.[51] Using African wisdom and expertise to 'test the chains', maritime maroons in some important ways transformed what enslavers imagined to be 'scenes of subjection' into an archipelago of opportunity, where liquid infinities connected present circumstances to past lives, the here-and-now to the transcendent, and present miseries to future possibilities. Like Oceanians, enslaved Africans were never sea-locked people stranded on islands in a desert sea. Nor were maritime maroons accidental voyages: they were purposeful seafaring *explorers*.[52]

It is regularly assumed that Westerners were the only early modern people capable of exploration and that people of colour lacked the ambition, imagination, and autonomy to explore. Historian Josh Reid is unsettling such assumptions, illustrating how American Indians explored the globe, exploiting Western resources to do so.[53] Discontented captives standing on beaches had 'the grace to look up and out' to horizons of possibility, slipping their bonds to explore the variegated possibilities of freedom as maritime maroons.[54] Just as trepidatious fifteenth-century Portuguese explorers completed a series of voyages taking them ever further down the African coast, waves of African explorers began radiating out from islands of enslavement during the seventeenth century. Steadily charting unknown regions, captives created increasingly detailed mental maps drawn from the whisperings of maritime maroons who, as Dunnavant documents in this Forum, returned home after overseas rambles and from the tales of rootless and restless white and free Black sailors who spoke of distant freedoms.[55]

When considering aquatic flights from slavery beneath the arch of Atlantic history, it becomes apparent that many more captives engaged in maritime marronage than previously assumed and that many, perhaps most, relied on African wisdom rather than trusting their fate to others as stowaways or passengers aboard Western vessels. Indeed, the scholarship of Dunnavant, Bretones Lane, Schneider, and Rupert documents maroons' surprisingly *rootless* mobility, while Dunnavant illustrates how family *roots* drew some back to places of enslavement and belonging. Dugouts permitted escapees to use familiar watercraft to traverse significant distances, taking older people, children, and meager possessions. When canoes were unavailable, desperate people swam or used paddleboards. Would-be maritime maroons knew crossings were inherently dangerous as the ocean could drown or starve them and their loved ones. Hence, maritime flights were undoubtedly not spontaneous, but carefully contemplated, requiring captives to reimagine discrete African traditions to deliver them from their circumstances.

Yet, most captives never ventured out across green coastal waters onto unfathomable blue waters. Still, maroons help us understand how captives transformed the Greater Caribbean into an African cultural expanse. Captives infused their sea of islands with African cultural and spiritual valuations,

providing meaning and belonging to all exploited lives. The Greater Caribbean was the Kalunga rising from the deep. Those who never went marooning in this lifetime unmoored their fettered limbs to do so in the next, taking spiritual voyages to new freedoms.

Notes

1. This article uses '*new world*' to deliberately draw attention to the Western Hemisphere's original inhabitants.
2. Kevin Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power: Aquatic Culture in the African Diaspora* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2018).
3. Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power*, 99–163.
4. Julius S. Scott, *The Common Wind: Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution* (London: Verso Books, 2018); Julius S. Scott, 'Afro-American Sailors and the International Communication Network: The Case of Newport Bowers', in *Jack Tar in History: Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour*, ed. Colin Howell and Richard Twomey (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1991), 37–52.
5. Epeli Hauʻofa, 'Our Sea of Islands', in *We Are the Ocean: Selected Works*, ed. Epeli Hauʻoa (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2008; 1993), 31–32; 39; Walter Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545–1800* (New York: New York University Press, 1970); Boubacar Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 'Historical jigsaw puzzle' Barry, *Senegambia*, xvi.
6. For examples of scholarship see: Linda Rupert, 'Marronage, Manumission, and Maritime Trade in the Early Modern Caribbean', *Slavery & Abolition* 30, no. 3 (2009): 361–82; Jorge Chinea, 'A Quest for Freedom: The Immigration of Maritime Maroons into Puerto Rico, 1656–1800', *Journal of Caribbean History* 31, no. 1 & 2 (1997): 51–87; Jerome S. Handler, 'Escaping Slavery in a Caribbean Plantation Society: Marronage in Barbadoe, 1650s-1830s', *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 71, no. 3 (1997): 183–225; Hilary Beckles, 'From Land to Sea: Runaway Barbados Slaves and Servants, 1630–1700', *Slavery and Abolition* 6, no. 3 (December 1985): 79–94; Gad Heuman, ed., Out of the House of Bondage: Runaways, Resistance and Marronage in Africa and the New World (London: Taylor and Francis, 1986).
7. Kenneth W. Porter, 'Notes on Negroes in Early Hawaii,' *The Journal of Negro History* 19, no. 2 (April 1934): 193–97; Timothy D. Walker, ed., *Sailing to Freedom: Maritime Dimensions of the Underground Railroad* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2021).
8. David Turnbull, *Travels in the West Indies. Cuba; with Notices of Porto Rico, and the Slave Trade* (London: Longman, 1840), 562–63.
9. Elena Schneider's article in this forum.
10. Matthew J. Smith, *Liberty, Fraternity, Exile: Haiti and Jamaica after Emancipation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 8–9; Linda M. Rupert, *Creolization and Contraband: Curaçao and the Earl Modern Atlantic World* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012).
11. Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power*, 33, 200–12. 'Kalunga' is a Kikongo term, but since the concept of a body of water serving as a threshold between the physical and spiritual worlds was widely held throughout Atlantic Africa, it can be used to understand how members of many communities understood human connections with spirit

worlds. T.J. Desche Obi, 'Combat and Crossing the Kalunga', in *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*, ed. Linda M. Heywood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 354. W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 63–65.

12. Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power*.
13. Ibid.; Kevin Dawson, 'History Below the Waterline: Enslaved Salvage Divers Harvesting Seaports' Hinter-Seas', *International Review of Social History*, Special Edition, 'Free and Unfree Labor in Atlantic and Indian Ocean Port Cities, c. 1700–1850' (Winter, 2018), 43–70; Kevin Dawson, 'Enslaved Ship Pilots in the Age of Revolutions: Challenging Perceptions of Race and Slavery Between the Boundaries of Maritime and Terrestrial Bondage', *The Journal of Social History* 47, no. 1 (Fall 2013): 71–100.
14. Jojada Verrips, 'Ghanaian Canoe Decorations', *MAST* I, no. 1 (2002): 62; Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power*, 99–118; 191–203.
15. Charles Ball, *Fifty Years In Chains; or, The Life of an American Slave* (New York: Dayton and Asher, 1859), 198; Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power*, 195–203.
16. Ras Michael Brown, *African-Atlantic Cultures and the South Carolina Lowcountry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1–2, 99, 115–23, esp. 117.
17. J.G. Stedman, *Narrative, of a Five Years' Expedition, Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America; from the Year 1772, to 1777*, Two Volumes (London: J. Johnson, 1796), II, 182–83; Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power*, 33, 194–97, 203–12; Kevin Dawson, 'A Brief History of Surfing in Africa and the Diaspora', in *Afro Surf* (Cape Town: Mami Wata Surf, 2020); Kevin Dawson 'Moros e Christianos Ritualized Naval Battles: Baptizing New World Waters with African Spiritual Meaning', in *Central African Christianity and its Festivals in the Making of African-American Culture*, ed. Cécile Fromont (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018), 42–58.
18. Hau'ofa, 'Sea of Islands', 31.
19. Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power*, 99–118.
20. Ibid., 152, 308, n31.
21. John K. Thornton, 'African Soldiers in the Haitian Revolution', *The Journal of Caribbean History* 25, no. 1 (1991): 58–80.
22. Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power*, 152.
23. Ibid., 27–28.
24. Ibid., *Undercurrents of Power*, 205; Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 45–47.
25. Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power*, passim.
26. *South Carolina Gazette*, January 12–19, 1738.
27. Edmond Buerkely, Jr., ed., *The Diary, Correspondence, and Papers of Robert 'King' Carter of Virginia, 1701–1732*, July 17; 14, 1727, Virginia Historical Society.
28. *South-Carolina and American General Gazette*, January 20 to January 27, 1775; *South Carolina Gazette*, February 16, 1734; *The South Carolina Gazette; And Country Journal*, December 5, 1769; November 21, 1769; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), September 12, 1771.
29. Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power*, 201–203.
30. Cyril Outerbidge Packwood, *Chained to the Rock: Slavery in Bermuda* (New York: 1975).
31. Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power*. Beach culture is also based on author's West African and Caribbean observations.

32. Cynric R. Williams, *A Tour Through the Island of Jamaica: From the Western to the Eastern End* (London: Hunt and Clarke, 1827), 79–81.
33. Williams, *Tour*, 296; Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power*, 19–21.
34. Dom. Rex v. 3 Negro Men Slaves, 28 July 1737, South Carolina Vice Admiralty Court Minute Books, C-D vols., 148–164, LOC (Special thanks to Lee Wilson for sharing this source); Lee B. Wilson, *Bonds of Empire: The English Origins of Slave Law in South Carolina and British Plantation America, 1660–1783* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 174–77. Also see: *South-Carolina Gazette*, December 8, 1758; F. Dabadie, *A Travers L'Am rique du Sud* (Paris: 1858), 49–50.
35. P.E.H. Hair, Adam Jones, and Robin Law, eds., *Barbot on Guinea: The Writings of Jean Barbot on West Africa, 1678–1712*, Two Volumes (London: Hakluyt Society, 1992), II, 519–21, 526; Pieter Van den Broecke, *Pieter Van den Broecke's Journal of Voyages to Cape Verde, Guinea and Angola, 1605–1612* (London: Ashgate Publishers, 2000), 37, 100; Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power*, 125–27.
36. James Kelly, *Jamaica in 1831: Being a Narrative of Seventeen Years Residence in that Island, with Extracts from Sturge and Harvey's 'West Indies in 1837'* (Belfast: J. Wilson, 1838), 22; Edmund M. Blunt, *The American Coast Pilot: Containing the Courses and Distances Between the Principal Harbours, Capes, and Headlands, on the Coast of North and South America* (New York: Edmund M. Blunt, 1833) 15, 443, 447; Hans Sloane, *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica* (London: B.M., 1707) I, esp. lix.
37. For difficulties of coastal navigation Dawson, 'Enslaved Ship Pilots;' Matthew Lewis, *Journal of a Residence Among the Negroes of the West Indies* (London: John Murray, 1834), 22–25.
38. 'Surface Currents in the Caribbean Sea', https://oceancurrents.rsmas.miami.edu/caribbean/caribbean_4.php (accessed September 2, 2021).
39. Author's observations.
40. Author's observations while surfing and interviewing surf-canoemen throughout West Africa. For Westerners inability to understand how to catch waves see John Dean Caton, 'Surf Bathing at Hilo, on the Island of Hawaii', in *Miscellanies* (Boston: Dumfries, 1880), 245.
41. Colors and smell based on author's observations. The author has talked with surfers in Hawai'i and California who paddled surfboards between Hawaiian Islands or across California's Monterey Bay using the temperature, color, and salinity of water to determine their positions. Likewise, Caribbean and Ghanaian fishermen described how they used these techniques to locate coastal fisheries.
42. See pilot guides and navigational charts and maps for use of landmarks as navigational aids and: Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power*, 195; Dawson, 'Enslaved Ship Pilots'.
43. For example: Chinea, 'Quest for Freedom'; Handler, 'Escaping Slavery'; Beckles, 'From Land to Sea'; Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana: 1999); Jane G. Lander, *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Rupert, 'Marronage', Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power*, 212–16.
44. Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845), 40.
45. Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power*, 215; Dunnavant's article in this forum.
46. Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power*, 23–40.
47. Hall, *Danish West Indies*, 124–38; esp. 135; Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power*, 20–22; Rupert, *Creolization*, 95–97, 147, 179–80, 196–201.

48. Christian Oldendorp, *A Caribbean Mission: History of the Mission of the evangelical Brethren on the Caribbean Islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John* (Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, 1987, 1777), 234.
49. Alice Dearing Interview, January 14, 2021. Dearing is a British Marathon Swimmer on the Loughborough University Swim Team. Matthew Webb, the first person to swim the English Chanel (August 24, 1875), exemplifies open-water challenges. Departing with a falling tide, he zigzagged roughly twice the twenty-five mile stretch between Dover and Calais in 21 h and forty minutes. Thomas Seccombe, 'Matthew Web', in *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Sidney Lee (London: Oxford University Press, 1899), Vol. 60, 105.
50. Stephanie E. Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Sowande' M. Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea: Terror, Sex, and Sickness in the Middle Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016).
51. Christina Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).
52. Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982); Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-making in Nineteenth-century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
53. Joshua L. Reid, 'Keynote Address: Indigenous Explorers & the Making of Pacific Worlds, 1786–1890', The Hakluyt Society Symposium 2019, *Rethinking Power in Maritime Encounters 1400-1900* (The Netherlands: Leiden University, September 5, 2019); Josh Reid, 'Professor Igloo Jimmie and Dr. Boombang Meet the Heathens: Indigenous Representations and Geography of Empire at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition', *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (Summer/Fall, 2010), 122.
54. Maya Angelou, 'On the Pulse of Morning' in *The Inaugural Poem: On the Pulse of the Morning* (New York: Random House Press, 1993).
55. Bretones Lanes' article in this forum; Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 154; Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

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