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Tracing the African–Asian Diaspora Through Newspaper Ads: Race, Slavery, and Unfreedom in Copenhagen (1759–1854)

ABSTRACT

This article utilises an original collection of newspaper ads that describe the African-Asian Diaspora (AAD) from one newspaper in Copenhagen, Denmark (*Kiøbenhavn's Kongelig alene privilegerede Adresse-Contoirs Efterretninger*, shortened KACE, 1759-1854). It is guided by three research questions: (1) What opportunities and constraints did the AAD face in the bound labour market? (2) How was racial slavery practised? (3) Which factors enabled or constrained the AAD in racial trespassing? My argument is two-fold: First, while some were subjected to colonial commodification and naming practices characteristic of racial slavery, others were able to participate in the bound labour market in Copenhagen between 1759 and 1854 in diverse ways. Secondly, the opportunities and constraints faced by the AAD were shaped by intersecting identity markers including race, gender, and age although it seems that maternal heritage was the main factor determining the possibility of racial trespassing in early modern Copenhagen. This project thus contributes to the limited (English) scholarship on Danish colonial history, the growing literature on global labour history, the lived experiences of the AAD in early modern Europe and adds to the debate on racial slavery in European colonial metropolises.

BY

Maria Munch

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Maria Munch recently earned a bachelor's degree in history and politics from the University of Glasgow and is currently pursuing a master's degree in Global Development at the University of Copenhagen. Her research interests include labour and migration, with her bachelor's thesis exploring the transnational dimensions and diverse experiences of (un)freedom among the African-Asian Diaspora in Copenhagen during the colonial period.

Introduction

In the 1700s, the Kingdom of Denmark-Norway was a multilingual imperial power with overseas colonies worldwide: India, West Africa, the Danish West Indies (the US Virgin Islands), and Greenland.¹ It took part in the transatlantic slave trade, trading around 100,000 enslaved people, and its capital, Copenhagen, became a central trading metropole in Northern Europe. Sugar, cotton, and tobacco factories became an integral part of the city landscape with sugar being the most important for Danish exports at the end of the 1700s.² Thus, the Kingdom of Denmark-Norway participated in shaping - and was shaped by - an imperial world system which facilitated global flows of people, goods, and ideas. With the rise of global history, such flows have received increasing scholarly attention. This perspective has been applied to labour history too, encouraging historians to examine the different forms of unfreedom created by the imperial world system and colonial labour regimes. In several of these works, fugitive ads have taken a central role, being increasingly recognised as constituting a global phenomenon of labour resistance.³ Still, only few scholars focus on fugitive ads describing the African-Asian Diaspora (AAD) in the colonial metropole.

Indeed, a detailed study of fugitive ads in Copenhagen is missing and there is limited scholarship on non-European individuals and servants in early modern Denmark-Norway. To my knowledge, only two works have used some of the available fugitive ads, both written in Danish.⁴ Gunvor Simonsen argued that people of African descent could participate in the bound labour market in Copenhagen, but that their work was infused with a commercial logic, characteristic of racial slavery.⁵ She also argued that the n-word was directly substitutable with “slave” in Copenhagen.⁶ In his quantitative study of all fugitive ads (which mostly describe Danish-born white servants) published in the newspaper *Kjøbenhavns Kongelig alene privilegerede Adresse-Contoirs*

1 Known as The Kingdom of Denmark after 1814.

2 Michael V. Pedersen, ed. “Danmark og Kolonierne: Danmark – En Kolonimagt.” *Gads Forlag* Vol. 1., (2017), 110.

3 Runaway Slaves in Britain, “Runaway Slaves in Britain: Bondage, Freedom, and Race in the Eighteenth Century.” Last modified 2018. Accessed November 29, 2023. <https://runaways.gla.ac.uk/>; Marcus Rediker, Titas Chakraborty, and Matthias van Rossum. *A Global History of Runaways: Workers, Mobility, and Capitalism*. (University of California Press, 2019).

4 Hanne Østhus, “Slaver og ikke-europæiske tjenestefolk i Danmark-Norge på 1700- og begyndelsen av 1800-tallet (Slaves and Non-European Servants in Denmark-Norway during the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries).” *Arbeiderhistorie* 22, no. 1 (2018): 35–36.

5 “Bound” here encompasses various practices of unfree labour in Denmark, such as “stavnsbåndet” and servitude.

6 Gunvor Simonsen, “Racisme, slaveri og marked: Afrikanere i 1700-tallets København.” *In Globale og postkoloniale perspektiver på dansk kolonihistorie*, (Aarhus University Press, 2021): 296-97, 277.

Efterretninger (1759-1854) (KACE), Anders Birkemose rejects Simonsen's claims, arguing that black servants were not treated differently than white servants.⁷

A similar debate exists among British historians. Kathleen Chater, for example, argues that there were no significant differences between black and white servants in England and Wales and that racial slavery as an institution did not exist.⁸ In contrast, the *UK Runaway Slave Project* argued that "for sale" ads are evidence of racial slavery in the UK.⁹ Therefore, the discussion of whether racial slavery was practised in colonial metropolises, and more generally, how race and class intersected to shape opportunities and constraints for the AAD within early modern bound labour markets, are common themes and sites of disagreement among Danish and British historians.

Following cultural theorist Stuart Hall and recent scholarship, I attempted to take a more nuanced approach to this debate. First, I add nuance by studying fugitive and work-related ads in depth which brings the, "non-homogenous character of the class subject" and "differentiated forms of exploitation" to the fore. This illustrates how individual experiences are not shaped simply by class or race, but by the intersection of several identity markers.¹⁰ I included work-related ads because focusing solely on fugitive ads risks excluding "those who lived quiet, unremarkable lives" (those who did not run away).¹¹ Some scholars even argue that it was the "atypical" person who ran away, further limiting the ability of fugitive ads to make any broader conclusions on the AAD.¹² Second, I add nuance by viewing racial slavery not simply as "a cultural and economic system ... unique in the Atlantic World," but as one that was gradually built and had different local expressions.¹³ Indeed, racial slavery did not appear in full force as soon as Africans entered the American hemisphere as suggested by Ira Berlin's differentiation between the "Charter" and "Plantation Generations" in America.¹⁴ This

7 Andreas D. Birkemose, "En Slaven Stær: En kvantitativ analyse af bortrømningsannoncer i Københavns Adresseavis 1749 til 1854." Masters' thesis, (Aalborg University, 2022), 10-12.

8 Kathleen Chater, *Untold Histories: Black People in England and Wales during the Period of the British Slave Trade, c. 1660-1807*. (Manchester University Press, 2009), 95.

9 *Runaway Slaves in Britain*.

10 Stuart Hall, *Essential Essays, Volume 2: Foundations of Cultural Studies*, (Duke University Press, 2019), 49-50.

11 Chater, *Untold Histories*, 4-5.

12 Ian Read and Katherine Zimmerman. "Freedom for Too Few: Slave Runaways in the Brazilian Empire." *Journal of Social History* 48, no. 2 (2014): 404-426.

13 Linda M. Heywood, and John K. Thornton. *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585-1660*. (Cambridge University Press, 2007). 294.

14 Ira Berlin. "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American

perspective enables us to ask how racial slavery was practised across different temporalities and localities rather than debating its existence as a static and uniform institution.

This article thus examines an original collection of fugitive and work-related ads that describe the AAD from the newspaper *KACE* between 1759-1854.¹⁵ Three research questions guided my research: First, what opportunities and constraints did the AAD face in the bound labour market in Copenhagen? Second, how was racial slavery practised? Third, which factors enabled or constrained the AAD in racial trespassing? I first examine the fugitive and work-related ads respectively to assess questions (1) and (2). Based on these findings, I discuss question (3) in the last section. My argument is two-fold: First, the opportunities available to the AAD within the bound labour market in early modern Copenhagen varied but some were subjected to racial slavery practices. Second, the opportunities and constraints faced by the AAD were shaped by intersecting identity markers including race, gender, and age, but maternal heritage seems to have been the main factor determining the possibility of racial trespassing in early modern Copenhagen.

Some terms need clarification. First, I define racial slavery as the practice of enslavement based on skin colour, distinct from the practice of servitude in the Danish bound labour market based on class, where servants had 6 or 12-month contracts and mostly worked while they were young, then settled down and got married.¹⁶ By contrast, people who were subjected to racial slavery would only have this opportunity if they obtained a freedom letter. Second, I use racial trespassing to denote the transcending of racial slavery or servitude in the sense that people “legally defined as black” inhabited “spaces marked out for white people.”¹⁷ Third, I use the term African-Asian Diaspora (AAD) because the project is concerned with racial slavery and therefore the people in question are those who migrated, forcefully or voluntarily, from the Danish West Indies (US Virgin Islands), the Gold Coast in West Africa (Ghana), and the settlements in India. Furthermore, while most fugitive and work-related ads do not specify their origin, the few ads that do, still use the same racial markers such as the n-word and “mulatto” to describe people from both Africa and Asia. Occasionally, there are clues like hair type or name, but mostly their origin remains guesswork.

Society in Mainland North America.” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (1996): 251–288.

15 I collected these ads using Mediestream, a searchable database. My search terms included racial markers like the gendered versions of the n-word and ‘mulatto’.

16 Ole Feldbæk, “Tjenestefolk og Fattige i Danmarkshistorien.” *Danmarkshistorien.dk*. Accessed June 30, 2024. https://danmarkshistorien.lex.dk/Tjenestefolk_og_fattige.

17 Steve Pile, “Skin, Race and Space: The Clash of Bodily Schemas in Frantz Fanon’s *Black Skins, White Masks* and Nella Larsen’s *Passing*.” *Cultural Geographies* 18, no. 1 (2010): 25.

Fugitive Ads

I found 47 fugitive ads in KACE between 1765 and 1817, describing 35 different fugitives. This section argues that the fugitive ads evidence that opportunities for the AAD in Copenhagen varied and were shaped by different and intersecting identity markers, including gender, age, and race. Still, some were perceived as enslaved.

Two observations are worth noting concerning the gender composition of the fugitive ads. Firstly, most ads describe male fugitives. This is common in other studies of fugitive ads. Scholars often explain that men had outdoor work or itinerant jobs, enabling access to - or knowledge of - escape routes, while women were less mobile due to domestic work or motherhood.¹⁸ These explanations do not fit Copenhagen, however. As will be seen, several young men and children that ran away were domestic servants, and thus similarly confined to women in plantation societies. Further, as none of the AAD in the public censuses were married or had children, it was not motherhood which kept them from running.¹⁹ Lastly, most white servants that ran away in the 1780s-90s in Copenhagen were women.²⁰ This is expected as women constituted most of the servant population, but it confirms that explanations regarding fugitive gender composition often proposed in studies of plantation societies do not apply here.²¹

Secondly, the gender composition is unusually skewed and does not reflect other sources' more equal composition. There was one woman in 35 fugitive ads, but most work-related ads describe women and at least 40% of the AAD were women in the 1801 census.²² Why it was so rare for the female AAD in Copenhagen to run away is unclear. It is possible that these fugitive ads exist but have been lost or did not appear via my search on Mediestream. If the records are true, however, a plausible explanation is that the female AAD was not subjected to the same modes of exploitation as others were, limiting acts of resistance like flight. Indeed, other sources indicate that white female servants and the female AAD often sought similar work (see section 2). Perhaps then, the female AAD experienced the type of work in Copenhagen as comparatively *less exploitative* than the alternatives and were thus less inclined to run away and risk being returned to worse conditions in the

18 Marvin L. M. Kay, and Lorin L. Cary, *Slavery in North Carolina 1748-75*. (University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 125-6.

19 Simonsen, "Racisme, slaveri og marked," 277-78.

20 Birkemose, "En Slaven Stær," 84.

21 Østhus, "Slaver og ikke-europæiske tjenestefolk," 36.

22 ID_01, ID_03, ID_04; 'Dansk Demografisk Database (DDD),' Folketællinger - Søg efter Person, Sempel Søgning. *The Danish National Archives*.

colonies. This could partially explain why the gender composition in fugitive ads in the Danish West Indies is more equal.²³ Still, one woman's household position in the 1801 census was noted as "slave," suggesting that some of the female AAD were perceived as enslaved.²⁴ Notably then, age and gender did not alone determine whether people from the AAD were subjected to racial slavery.

By contrast, the fugitive ads suggest that the young male AAD were particularly vulnerable to racial slavery practices in Copenhagen. Indeed, using young boys as "servants" by elites was common in early modern Europe and my collection of fugitive ads confirms that this practice existed in Copenhagen too.²⁵ A whole genre of paintings portrays young boys of the AAD, dressed in vividly coloured "luxury" clothing next to or behind their masters.²⁶ They were used as decorative and exotic displays of wealth, both in art and in real life in European colonial metropolises. The practice was well-established for people from Southern Asia before the onset of the Atlantic slave trade, serving the "hegemonic version of the colonial encounter: conquering the exotic" and illustrating the, "maximum expression of mercantilism: a luxury consumer product imported to satisfy upper class desires."²⁷

As Simonsen notes, some fugitive ads indicate that this "performative aspect" of trafficking continued in late 18th century Copenhagen.²⁸ They can be identified by descriptions of their colourful "luxury" clothing: Isaak, for example, 10 or 11 years old, wore a red turban with a white cover when he ran away in 1765.²⁹ Accra ran away in 1782, wearing silver shoe buckles and a round hat with a golden ribbon; in 1796, 13- or 14-year-old "Mattæus or This" ran away, wearing a fine white shirt, a black silk scarf, and new shoes with buckles.³⁰ Several attempted to run away, but because their clothing stood out, they were easily recognised and captured. An ad from 1789, published by the police chief in Copenhagen, for example, stated that the police found and arrested a "n*" the night between the 4th and 5th of January who claimed not

23 Peter Wolff-Tæstensen, "Bortløbne Slaver i Dansk Vestindien: Et Studie af Bortrøbningsannoncer fra The Royal Danish American Gazette (1770–1801)." Masters' thesis, (Aalborg University, 2022). 70.

24 DDD, 1801. Appendix, table 4, 3.

25 Hanne Østhus, "The Case of Adam Jacobsen: Enslavement in 18th-Century Norway." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 48, no. 5 (2023): 640; Simonsen, "Racisme, slaveri og marked," 292; Chater, *Untold Histories*, 222-4.

26 Østhus, "The Case of Adam Jacobsen," 640.

27 José S. I. Díaz, "The Trade in Domestic Servants (Morianer) from Tranquebar for Upper Class Danish Homes in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century." *Itinerario* 43, no. 2 (2019): 205.

28 Østhus, "The Case of Adam Jacobsen," 640.

29 ID_31.

30 ID_10 & ID_11; ID_20.

to be serving a master but that “the clothes he is wearing suggest otherwise.”³¹ Changing clothes could thus be a strategy to avoid recapture, which is also suggested in a fugitive ad from 1771, describing an “adult n* boy” who ran away in a “blue Norwegian shirt, black trousers and a turban,” adding that he would likely change his clothing.³²

The few “For Sale” or “To Buy” ads also describe young boys of the AAD, further evidencing that they were particularly vulnerable to commodification, characteristic of racial slavery. An ad published in 1783, for example, requested to buy a “beautiful n* boy, 7, 8 or 12 years old,” while another ad from 1785 announced that an 18-year-old “n*” was for sale as the master was leaving Copenhagen.³³ Such ads continued earlier practices of exoticizing and commodifying children of the AAD, clearly illustrated when the governor on St. Thomas was instructed by the West Indian-Guinean Company in 1688 to send “a couple of beautiful small n* children” to Copenhagen who were “well-shaped and pretty black (and) fresh and well-proportioned” along with animals like parrots and flamingos.³⁴

Still, the fugitive ads suggest some diversity in the work undertaken by the male AAD. 15-year-old Joseph Cornelius, for example, ran away in 1807 from “his apprenticeship with the captain and carpenter’s Mangede’s widow.”³⁵ Some had recognised professions, such as “Tobias, cooper of profession;” although the possessive “my n*” suggests that his master still perceived Tobias as his property.³⁶ Any information regarding a black boy was requested at an inn, where he probably worked in the kitchen.³⁷ Anton, a “French mulatto,” worked at a hotel until he ran away in 1799, wearing a “fashionable green shirt,” “red standing collar,” “dark blue trousers with red strings, black boots” and “a round hat.”³⁸ Such fine clothing may have been expected in his job, but he may also have served as an exotic display of wealth like Accra or Matthæus did in private households. Still, the examples suggest that the male AAD participated in the bound labour market not only as exotic displays of wealth, but also as apprentices, professionals, and hospitality workers. Again, it seems that age and gender did not alone determine whether the AAD were subjected to racial slavery practices.

31 ID_35. I use ‘n*’ instead of the n-word (used in the original source) to not reproduce the racial slur and violence associated with it.

32 ID_33.

33 ID_0001 & ID_0002.

34 Pedersen, *Danmark og Kolonierne*, 255.

35 ID_26.

36 ID_34.

37 ID_42.

38 ID_24 & ID_25.

Racial markers and descriptions of skin colour were used frequently to describe the fugitives. Yet, racial markers like “n*” did not directly denote perceptions of skin colour, since a 16-year-old “n* boy” was described as having a “yellow brown” colour.³⁹ It also did not denote ethnic origin. Origin was rarely mentioned in the ads, but the few that do suggest some geographical diversity: “Peter, born in St. Croix,” “the French mulatto Anton,” “Abraham, born in Zealand” (Denmark), and Johannes Magnus, “brought here from the coast of Guinea.”⁴⁰ Still, the ad describing a “Bengali mulatto” suggests that the same racial markers were used whether they were of Asian or African origin.⁴¹ This may support Simonsen’s argument that “n*” was used as a substitute for “slave” in Copenhagen, which she argues is a clear indication of racial slavery.⁴² Indeed, this would explain why the fugitive Helena was described as a “black n*,” which would otherwise seem superfluous.⁴³ However, as argued below, while such terms were associated with social status, they were not always substitutable with “slave.”

Descriptions of scars and deformities can be found in the fugitive ads too and are often used by historians to look for signs of violence in master-servant relationships in the context of racial slavery. Accra, for example, had many scars across his face;⁴⁴ J. H. Friedrich had a scar under his left eye;⁴⁵ Joseph Cornelius was “otherwise known by a scar on one side of the nose;”⁴⁶ and an unnamed boy was missing his big toe on the left foot.⁴⁷ Yet these physical marks do not necessarily evidence violence as they could also stem from accidents or diseases. In some cases, violence can be excluded since some diseases left recognisable marks, which were specified: William, for example, was “pockmarked” and one man, “who recently had chicken pox,” “had some cuts on his face.”⁴⁸ One ad specified that a fugitive’s finger had been cut by a chopping knife, although he also had an unexplained scar on his left cheek.⁴⁹ These physical deformities could have been caused by punishments, but also by accidents or punishments from previous experiences as enslaved elsewhere.

39 ID_30.

40 ID_06, ID_24; ID_25, ID_29, ID_47.

41 ID_002.

42 Simonsen, “Racisme, slaveri og marked,” 289.

43 ID_03 & ID_04.

44 ID_10 & ID_11.

45 ID_13.

46 ID_26.

47 ID_18.

48 ID_05 & ID_37.

49 ID_42.

Since no ads explicitly suggest physical punishments for the AAD in Copenhagen, the latter explanations may be more likely. Indeed, Pedro Escardo had a “round sign in the shape of a birthmark” burnt on his temple, which suggests that he had been branded, a common practice in some colonies.⁵⁰ However, Escardo escaped service as a sailor on a Spanish ship, so it does not necessarily prove that branding was used on the AAD in Copenhagen. The only evidence of corporal punishment in Copenhagen therefore pertains to those who escaped penal labour sentences. One “dishonest slave,” for example, with a “mulatto face,” ran away from prison with another (white) “honest slave:” they both wore “slave accoutrement” and “iron around the leg,” referring to iron chains common in such prisons.⁵¹ Notably, “slave” was used to describe penal labour convicts, and it is the only time “slave” is used in the ads aside from one ad, describing a fugitive “black slave” from an American ship.⁵² Further, the terms honest and dishonest were used to distinguish prisoners, part of the penal system and not associated with race: being dishonest meant that a person had been whipped, and once declared “a dishonest slave” you could never be pardoned.⁵³ Thus, it does not prove racially motivated violence in Copenhagen.

One ad notes that the fugitive should not be punished for running away, suggesting that this was otherwise common practice.⁵⁴ However, there is no other indication of violence, certainly not of the type and extent seen in the Danish West Indies, where fugitives often bore physical marks of violence, including bruises, scars, missing body parts, burns, iron chains, and marks from whipping and branding.⁵⁵ Thus, the violence characteristic of racial slavery in the colonies was not brought to Copenhagen. Still, avoiding mention of punishments may have been a conscious choice. Scholars, like Köstlbauer, for example, argue that 18th century German Moravian records obscure the extension of racial slavery from the colonies to Europe; Hanne Østhus argues that a similar attitude of silencing was adopted towards Adam Jacobsen in Norway, an enslaved man trafficked from the Danish West Indies.⁵⁶ Such silencing of violence in master-servant relationships is possible as some sources indicate that one fugitive from the census, Hans Jonathan, was beaten by his mistress before running away.⁵⁷

50 ID_19.

51 ID_29.

52 ID_16.

53 Birkemose, “En Slaven Stær,” 50.

54 ID_13.

55 Wolff-Tæstensen, “Bortløbne Slaver i Dansk Vestindien,” 76.

56 Østhus, “The Case of Adam Jacobsen,” 648.

57 Sarah Abel, George Tyson, and Gisli Palsson, “From Enslavement to Emancipation: Naming Practices in the Danish West Indies.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 61,

Work-Related Ads

I found 42 work-related ads between 1783 and 1835. Five ads looked for people of the AAD to work but most ads described people seeking work. Accounting for the obvious repetitions, 34 people sought jobs in Copenhagen. The typical job-seeking ad included a gendered racial marker, description of former work experience, desired work type and start date, possible inclusion of professional skills, linguistic skills, recommendations, and the contact address. Again, this section shows that opportunities for the AAD in Copenhagen varied and were shaped by different and intersecting identity markers, including age, gender, and race, but also that some were subjected to racial slavery.

While work in this period was also gendered for white servants, it seems that the intersection between race and gender determined the type of work the AAD did. Most of the male AAD, for example, sought jobs as domestic servants, many for “the proper gentry.” Many noted their hairstyling and barbing skills. Rogier, for example, could “fix hair very well” while a “mulatto ... can fix hair very well, and do other things that come with being a servant.”⁵⁸ Most ads seeking people of the AAD also specified gender, indicating that race and gender determined the type of work people were hired for: Two ads specified that they wanted a “n* boy” and two specified a “n* woman.”⁵⁹ For young boys, this could be a display of wealth as discussed above. One exception though, describes, “a position available for a white or a black boy,” indicating that race may not always have been important for the master.⁶⁰

Like the fugitive ads, the work-related ads indicate that the male AAD participated in various ways in the bound labour market. One “small, free n* boy” put an ad in the newspaper in 1805, for example, wanting “to be employed in a shoemaker apprenticeship with a good master.”⁶¹ Notably, this is one of the few ads that clearly states that the person is free. Another ad from 1800 also indicated that young boys could be taken in as apprentices and learn a profession, requesting “a blacksmith that wants to receive a black boy as an apprentice.”⁶² An ad from 1819 even suggests that “the n* John Henri Maiendix” ran his own business as a shoeshine, stating that he has moved location and “the gentlemen, who wish their shoes and boots to be shined” could get it very cheap, having satisfied several gentry for many years.⁶³

no. 2 (2019): 357.

58 ID_004 & ID_007.

59 ID_001 & ID_008; ID_027 & ID_041.

60 ID_032.

61 ID_016.

62 ID_033.

63 ID_026.

Most of the female AAD sought similar work as white female servants (as nannies, maids, and cooks), but several also sought work on journeys between Denmark and the Danish West Indies. One woman in 1800, for instance, sought to accompany a family to St. Croix and “if required, stay in their service.”⁶⁴ Another woman, in 1835, worked on such journeys between the Danish colonies and the metropole regularly:

A n* woman, resident of St. Croix, who has accompanied some kids to Denmark, wishes to be employed by a gentry or others, who may wish her service, that in this time may travel to St. Croix. She ... has often been used to serve on such journeys. No claim on wages is made, but she leaves it to them what they will give her...⁶⁵

No claim is made on wages, but it is notable that money is mentioned in this ad. Only one other ad by the 17-year-old “Bengali mulatto” mentions that money is expected in return for service, but a few other women sought to exchange their service for the journey costs.⁶⁶ In 1825, a man and a woman sought “separately, an opportunity to go to St. Croix or St. Thomas with someone, who might need their service on the journey.”⁶⁷ In 1800, another woman similarly sought “a family planning to go to the West Indies” that “would bring along an adult n* woman to serve on the journey for the freight.”⁶⁸ Thus, this may have been a niche opportunity in the bound labour market for the AAD, perhaps particularly for women. They were likely not enslaved, but free to the degree that they could seek (paid) work. An ad from 1824 supports this: “A lady who in a few days travels to the West Indies wishes a free n* woman in her service on the journey.”⁶⁹

My collection of work-related ads supports Simonsen’s argument that people of African descent could integrate into the Danish bound labour market to some extent. She argues that some adapted to the institutions which regulated the city’s labour market, noting that one man used the traditional “changeover day” (1st of May) to seek new employment, and another “free n*” sought employment through “fæstemand Jørgensen,” referring to the person in charge of formulating and concluding servant contracts.⁷⁰ Several job-seeking ads similarly include the address of the “fæstemand.”⁷¹ Six other

64 ID_012.

65 ID_030 & ID_031.

66 ID_002.

67 ID_028.

68 ID_013.

69 ID_027.

70 Simonsen, “Racisme, slaveri og marked,” 296.

71 ID_019, ID_021, ID_041; ID_020, ID_022, ID_025, ID_029, ID_037.

ads also sought employment from the 1st of May, indicating that their current contract was ending and that they were free to seek new employment.⁷² Furthermore, three ads seek employment from the 1st of November, suggesting a 6-month contract.⁷³

My collection of job-seeking ads, however, nuances Simonsen's argument that "n*" was used as a substitute for "slave." Several job-seeking people were described with the racial marker "n*" even though they were free and able to seek employment through the city's labour market institutions. In particular, the "small, free n* boy" from 1805, "a young n* woman" from 1785 and a "black n* or servant" from 1792 stated that they had their freedom.⁷⁴ Thus, it is possible that "n*" was used to denote "slave" in some cases, but not always.

Still, even for people of the AAD who were not enslaved, their freedom was limited. Firstly, despite being described as free, the phrase "black servant or n*" used in a job-seeking ad suggests the equation of servitude with the racial marker "n*." This indicates that freedom from racial slavery did not necessarily mean freedom from (racial) servitude. Secondly, racial slavery was practised around the same time that this "free" AAD appeared. The Copenhagen court confirmed twice that racial slavery could be legally practised. First in 1774, when four slaves were sold because the West Indian-Guinean company went bankrupt, and then in 1802, when three fugitives were determined to be the property of their mistress and could be sent back to the West Indies.⁷⁵ The three for-sale ads I found were published in the same period, between 1783 and 1790.⁷⁶ This temporal overlap underlines that the relative sense of freedom and opportunity to integrate into Danish labour market institutions for part of the AAD *co-existed* with the public acknowledgement of legally owning, selling, and purchasing them in Copenhagen.

Racial Trespassing

That racial slavery co-existed with part of the AAD integrating into the bound labour market in Copenhagen suggests that their experiences were multiple and diverse. We may simply conclude that racial attitudes were flexible and changing, especially toward the end of the 18th century when the transatlantic

72 ID_017, ID_018, ID_019, ID_024, ID_025, ID_040, & ID_041.

73 ID_015, ID_020, & ID_036.

74 ID_016; ID_003; ID_005 & ID_006.

75 Abel, Tyson, and Palsson, "From Enslavement to Emancipation," 341.

76 Simonsen, "Racisme, slaveri og marked," 278.

slave trade was banned in Denmark due to economic and moral challenges. However, it is also possible that racial hierarchies existed, but could be transcended. Some Danish scholars have already engaged with this topic. Danish historian Pernille Ipsen, for example, argues that people of African descent could not transcend racial hierarchies in the Danish metropole even though they had Danish fathers or were married to Danish women and had children.⁷⁷ On the other hand, that two West African men who studied at Copenhagen University in the 1730s were educated sons of high-status Ga (ethnic group in Ghana) women and Danish soldiers and baptised in Copenhagen in 1726 suggests that factors like education, religion, and/or heritage may have enabled some transcending of racial hierarchies.⁷⁸ In this section, I add to the debate on transcending racial hierarchies in Copenhagen. I specifically examine to what extent transcending racial slavery or servitude was possible through factors associated with the “Atlantic Creole” identity and heritage.

Berlin introduced the concept of the “Atlantic Creole” in 1996, referring to African individuals who came to North America in the 16th and 17th centuries before plantation slavery took hold.⁷⁹ Atlantic Creoles entered a “society with slaves” rather than “a slave society,” making them one subordinated group in a society where “subordination was the rule.”⁸⁰ In this way, the AAD in Copenhagen had a similar experience as they entered a society with slaves, not a slave society. Berlin, however, also emphasises that the Atlantic Creoles could utilise their experiences of the Atlantic world’s commerce, trade, and cultural differences for their benefit. Since 1996, the concept has been expanded by scholars who have applied it to a range of contexts, but still emphasise racial difference as an opportunity rather than a constraint, and describe Atlantic Creoles as “Christian, mobile, multilingual, and literate.”⁸¹ Below I operationalise this understanding of the “Atlantic Creole” as a guide for possible factors that may have enabled racial trespassing.

First, several people of the AAD in early modern Copenhagen were multilingual and linguistic abilities were often noted in work-related ads: a “mulatto,” seeking work as a servant in 1815, spoke, “Danish, French, English,

77 Pernille Ipsen, “‘Plant ikke Upas-Træet om vor Bolig’: Colonial Haunting, Race, and Interracial Marriage in Hans Christian Andersen’s *Mulatten* (1840).” *Scandinavian Studies* 88, no. 2 (2016): 146.

78 Gunvor Simonsen, “Belonging in Africa: Frederik Svane and Christian Protten on the Gold Coast in the Eighteenth Century.” *Itinerario* 39, no. 1 (2015): 93.

79 Berlin, “From Creole to African,” 254.

80 *Ibid.*, 283.

81 Simonsen, “Belonging in Africa,” 106.

Portuguese, and Spanish.”⁸² Several mulatto women spoke English, Danish and German;⁸³ one understood “several European languages;”⁸⁴ one spoke Danish and French;⁸⁵ and some spoke English and Danish.⁸⁶ Hence, speaking multiple languages was seemingly a skill sought after and may have enabled some opportunities for multilingual people of the AAD in the bound labour market in Copenhagen.

Second, there were no indications of literacy in the fugitive or work-related ads, but in terms of mobility, many of the AAD seemed constrained. Several West African men faced consistent rejections of their applications for entry to Denmark despite being Christian, literate, and multilingual.⁸⁷ Indeed, the central administration’s civil servants in Copenhagen drafted a chapter in the 1780s on “How Slaves can be sent to, and how they should be seen in Europe,” including a general ban on the entrance of Africans and African descendants in Denmark.⁸⁸ The fugitive ad describing Johannes Magnus who was brought to Copenhagen from Guinea “under the obligation of returning him to the same place” is notable in this context, suggesting a temporary stay.⁸⁹ Further, the job-seeking ads indicate that the AAD was somewhat dependent on Danish families to return to the Danish West Indies, while several fugitive ads suggest that some attempted to escape the country via Elsinore.⁹⁰ Thus, while some people of the AAD in Copenhagen were multilingual and did not enter a slave society as such, there were no indications of literacy, and their mobility was constrained.

Whether people of the AAD in Copenhagen were Christian (the last Atlantic Creole characteristic) is difficult to assess from the fugitive and work-related ads. The only ad that mentions religion describes a man seeking someone to teach his “n* woman” baking, calculation, and Christianity.⁹¹ While it suggests that religious education of the AAD was important to some masters in Copenhagen, it does not mean that religious education would help the woman transcend the social and/or racial hierarchy. Certainly, Christian education or conversion did not mean freedom for the enslaved in the Danish

82 ID_024.

83 ID_029 & ID_030 / ID_031.

84 ID_007.

85 ID_009.

86 ID_012, ID_013, ID_20 & ID_023.

87 Simonsen, “Belonging in Africa,” 106; Ipsen, “Plant ikke Upas-Træet om vor Bolig,” 143-144.

88 Simonsen, “Racisme, slaveri og marked,” 280.

89 ID_47.

90 ID_15, ID_25, & ID_46.

91 ID_011.

West Indies.⁹² Below, I examine whether it did in Copenhagen. Since no other ads mention religion, I look at naming practices in the fugitive and job-seeking ads and draw on public censuses from 1787 and 1801 and baptism ads describing people of the AAD to examine whether the AAD in Copenhagen was Christian, and if this enabled racial trespassing.

The censuses indicate that baptism was necessary to obtain a recognised name, but not that it would enable racial trespassing. In 1787, for example, the name rubric for a 20-year-old man states: “Jacob-called but has had no baptism as he is a n* and a heathen.”⁹³ In another, the name rubric for a 19-year-old man states: “a n*, not baptised otherwise called Andreas;” it is also stated that his profession is “my property.”⁹⁴ In the 1801 census, two people of the AAD are also described as “no name” followed by a name of either African or Greek origin, perhaps the name they were given at birth or by slave traders.⁹⁵ Thus, Copenhagen mirrored the attitude of the Danish West Indies where it was common only to recognise a Christian name through baptism as a “real” name.⁹⁶ Therefore, not all people of the AAD were baptised, and those who were not may have only had one (unofficial) name.

Notably, the most common naming practice for the AAD in Copenhagen was to have one (first) name, suggesting no baptism. Most of the fugitive ads (13) described the fugitive by their first name, although some (10) did have two names such as Johan Peter and Jacob Lauritz; the rest (12) had no name.⁹⁷ In the censuses, only 8 out of 43 people of the AAD had more than one name.⁹⁸ Notably, the only one who carried three names had his own shoeshine business (John Henri Maiendix), perhaps suggesting some correlation between social status and naming.⁹⁹ Certainly, it is plausible that he and others of the AAD with several names would have been baptised, either in the colonies (as it was legally required for all Creole infants to be baptised in the Danish West Indies from 1755)¹⁰⁰ or by their master upon coming to Copenhagen. It was, for example, specified for the fugitive J. H. Friedrich that before his baptism, his name was Franz.¹⁰¹ In 1776, an unnamed “mulatto, 18 years old,

92 Helen Richards, “Distant Garden: Moravian Missions and the Culture of Slavery in the Danish West Indies, 1732–1848.” *Journal of Moravian History*, no. 2 (2007): 60.

93 DDD, 1787. Appendix, table 4, 43.

94 DDD, 1787. Appendix, table 4, 44.

95 DDD, 1801. Appendix, table 4, 17 & 18.

96 Abel, Tyson, and Palsson, “From Enslavement to Emancipation,” 346.

97 Appendix, table 5.

98 Ibid.

99 ID_026.

100 Abel, Tyson, and Palsson, “From Enslavement to Emancipation,” 344.

101 ID_13.

belonging to” a steward was also baptised and named Gustavus Wilhelm.¹⁰² Another unnamed “mulatto” was baptised in 1796 and given the name Johan Christian.¹⁰³ Some of the AAD were thus (re)named upon receiving baptisms in Copenhagen, and often given two European or Christian-sounding names.

Having names that were European or Christian in origin, however, was also common in the Danish West Indies and did not indicate racial trespassing. Indeed, domestic servants were more likely to bear such names, but this was due to “cultural approximation” rather than a difference in social status as they were still enslaved.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, as the AAD in Copenhagen often worked as domestic servants, common European names may have indicated the type or place of work, rather than a difference in social status. That a person of AAD, “belonging to” Mr. Shuster, was baptised in 1760 in Copenhagen and named after the General Governor of the Danish West Indies illustrates that even inheriting a European/Christian name through baptism from a high-ranking white Danish man did not enable racial trespassing.¹⁰⁵

Some people from the AAD in Copenhagen even had pejorative names or “slave names.” As Benson argues, some names can be classified as “slave names,” meant to be “injurious, intended to mark slaves out by drawing upon naming forms not used by the dominant class.”¹⁰⁶ These were inspired by animals, places, classical figures, especially Greek and Roman heroes, philosophers, orators, or diminutives of European civil names as these resemble “pet names.”¹⁰⁷ There are certainly examples of these in the fugitive ads and censuses, such as Accra (the capital in present-day Ghana), Johannes Paulus (John Paul), Agna (diminutive of St. Agnes of Rome), Jaky, Jenny, and Betzy (diminutives of Jake, Jane or Jennifer, and Elizabeth).¹⁰⁸ Manneboy too, probably derived from “man” and “boy,” seems a product of the indifference with which slave names were allocated.¹⁰⁹ The persistence of such “slave names” in Copenhagen again indicates that some aspects of racial slavery were practised there.

These cases contrast the naming practices for white servants in Copenhagen. For example, one describes a “cooper apprentice” as “no name

102 ID_0008.

103 ID_0009.

104 Abel, Tyson, and Palsson, “From Enslavement to Emancipation,” 341.

105 ID_0006.

106 Abel, Tyson, and Palsson, “From Enslavement to Emancipation,” 337-9.

107 Ibid.

108 Appendix, Tables 4 and 5.

109 Abel, Tyson, and Palsson, “From Enslavement to Emancipation,” 337.

(n*) watch out.”¹¹⁰ What this warning refers to is unknown, but in the same household, there are two other younger cooper apprentices, named Lars Jensen and Erich Hansen.¹¹¹ These are presumably white as they have no racial marker and provide a stark contrast to the former who is also young, male and in the same profession. The lack of baptism could explain why this apprentice could not get his name recognised in the census as with the cases of Jacob and Andreas. However, while baptism may have provided people of the ADD with a recognised (full) name, this did not necessarily enable racial trespassing. Indeed, the Danish court confirmed Hans Jonathan as Henriette Schimmelmänn’s slave in 1802 even though he was baptised.¹¹² Hence, while linguistic skills may have benefitted the AAD seeking work, the factors associated with the Atlantic Creole identity generally did not apply to the AAD in Copenhagen and did not alone enable racial trespassing.

Rather, two cases suggest that maternal heritage was the major factor determining the possibility of racial trespassing. First, Hans Jonathan’s case indicates that while baptism may allow for a recognised name, it did not enable people of the AAD to escape racial slavery if one’s mother were enslaved. Hans Jonathan was born on St. Croix and was the son of an enslaved woman, Regina; he was baptised, and described as “mulatto,” “illegitimate,” and his father was “said to be the Secretary.”¹¹³ Despite having a white father, been baptised, brought to Copenhagen, and served in the Danish army, the court still ruled in 1802 that he was the rightful slave of Schimmelmänn. He could thus not avoid the grips of racial slavery. Indeed, inheriting status maternally was common practice in the American colonies, legally known as “partus sequitur ventrem,” and it may have followed Hans Jonathan to Copenhagen.¹¹⁴

Another ad further underlines the role of maternal heritage in constraining the possibility of racial trespassing. The ad was published in 1773, and mentions the baptism of “mulatto Thomas Thomsen,” belonging to Mr Søbøtker, born in the Danish West Indies, whose parents are Johan Gregorius Thomsen, “a white Lutheran Christian” and “Dorinda, a black heathen slave;” he was named Johan Gregorius, likely after his father.¹¹⁵ Notably, Thomas Thomsen’s original name was recognised, contrasting the above-mentioned cases of Jacob and Andreas. Thomsen’s father’s status may have helped.

110 DDD, 1801. Appendix, table 4, 16.

111 Ibid.

112 Abel, Tyson, and Palsson, “From Enslavement to Emancipation,” 341.

113 Ibid., 357.

114 Ibid., 336.

115 ID_0010.

Indeed, Chater concludes for the UK that having part white heritage helped, as only those who were mixed race with a rich, white father could enter professions.¹¹⁶

However, even if having part white heritage provided Thomsen with a recognised name before baptism, it was not enough to enable racial trespassing. Neither baptism nor inheriting the genes and name of his rich white father ensured Thomsen's freedom. Sure, Hans Jonathan's somewhat illusive heritage and his rumoured father's middling social rank could be blamed for his continued status as enslaved, but Thomsen's father was known and of high social status. Still, he was described as "belonging" to Søbøtker, and in 1777, Søbøtker published an ad in the KACE, threatening consequences for everyone who trusts, "my mulatto n* Johan Gregorious Thomsen" with anything.¹¹⁷ Thus, it seems that in Copenhagen too, "the mother's mark, not the father's name, determined your fate."¹¹⁸ Both Thomsen and Jonathan's cases suggest that this practice was transferred to the colonial metropole, again illustrating that some racial slavery practices in the Danish West Indies were mirrored in Copenhagen. That Adam Jacobsen from Østhus' study, enslaved in Norway for 10 years, was the son of an enslaved woman in the Danish West Indies further supports this argument concerning the role of maternal heritage (although it is worth noting that his father had also been enslaved).¹¹⁹

Notably, Simonsen uses the ad from 1777 to argue that the phrase "mulatto n*" only makes sense if "n*" refers to his status as enslaved and if mulatto is the racial marker.¹²⁰ Indeed, Thomsen may have been enslaved given his mother's status, but as I have shown above "n*" was used to describe servants too. Therefore, the term "n*" was flexible and used to denote various degrees of racial slavery or servitude. The lack of the term "free-coloured" (used in the Danish West Indies) in ads and censuses makes sense due to the limited size of the AAD within Copenhagen, making it unnecessary to define a class of "free-coloured" people. Yet, it may explain why racial markers like "n*" took on various meanings in Copenhagen.

116 Chater, *Untold Histories*, 237.

117 ID_0005.

118 Sadiya Hartman, *Lose Your Mother* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 80.

119 Østhus, "The Case of Adam Jacobsen," 638.

120 Simonsen, "Racisme, slaveri og marked," 289.

Conclusion

In short, this article proposed two claims. Firstly, the AAD participated in various ways in the bound labour market in Copenhagen from 1759-1854, as apprentices, hospitality workers, and professionals, but some were also subjected to colonial commodification and naming practices characteristic of racial slavery. Secondly, their opportunities in the bound labour market were shaped by intersecting identity markers including gender, age, and race, but maternal heritage seems to have been particularly important in determining the possibility of racial trespassing.

In broader theoretical terms, this article utilised an original collection of primary sources to build on the limited (English) scholarship on race, slavery and colonial labour regimes in Denmark. It added nuance to the debate on racial slavery by illustrating the diversity of the experiences of the AAD. Instead of focusing solely on either class or race, I showed that the intersection between different identity markers shaped opportunities and constraints for the AAD in early modern Copenhagen. It also added nuance to the debate concerning racial slavery in early modern Europe by underlining that racial slavery could be practised without being established as a fully-fledged institution. Instead, racial slavery had different local expressions and was experienced differently within one locality.

This article has several limitations and possibilities for further research. Due to its limited scope, I cannot discuss all here, but doing a thorough comparison of Birkemose's and my collection of fugitive ads would further illuminate the relative treatment and status of black and white servants in Copenhagen. Another fruitful route would be to explore how geographical origin shaped opportunities for the AAD.

Links to Appendix

'Search Newspapers', *Mediestream by the Royal Danish Library 2017*. Available at: <https://www2.statsbiblioteket.dk/mediestream> [Latest Accessed 23/01/2023].

NOTE: The specific hyperlink for each source is provided in the appendix, table 1-3, accompanied by the given ID number and exact date of publishing. Table 5 provides an overview of all names found in the ads.

The Danish National Archives. 'Dansk Demografisk Database (DDD)', *Folketællinger - Søg efter Person, Simpel Søgning*. Available at: https://ddd.dda.dk/soeg_person_enkel.asp [Latest Accessed 10/01/2024].

NOTE: All AAD found through this database (by search terms 'mulat' & 'n*') can be found in the appendix, table 4.

Links to Appendix

Table 1: Fugitive Ads (Data collected from Mediestream)

ID	Date	PID/Hyperlink
ID_01	24-12-1779	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:3aa5d2e9-846a-433c-a421-150a0da9b667
ID_02	12-02-1779	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:3b311dd4-7715-4f3b-9cb5-ca3c809b9f11
ID_03	10-11-1780	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:4f504a4c-254c-414f-9f23-0bd57ff6d754
ID_04	31-10-1780	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e2e0f9f4-a465-4a3a-bcb1-1a48ae697022
ID_05	31-10-1780	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e2e0f9f4-a465-4a3a-bcb1-1a48ae697022
ID_06	01-10-1781	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:dc67b536-5240-4cdd-abe0-d115d22d93d5
ID_07	10-07-1782	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:f9d85902-be1c-4ec4-b325-c97f47c32ec5
ID_08	09-07-1782	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:8148beba-9fd1-4004-a003-3cbb852a64f0
ID_09	17-07-1782	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:c88ab591-afec-4ade-b654-e4e8f5680af2
ID_10	09-10-1782	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:a0694121-9879-41ef-af56-81c9ad56bf15
ID_11	11-10-1782	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:cc96b33b-3a6b-4c64-b7b7-e207d6d2fd50
ID_12	13-06-1785	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:ae044aa8-f2f2-4016-8dc6-f1707e742859
ID_13	03-06-1785	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:544663db-1369-4857-a174-a8a400661d97
ID_14	13-10-1786	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:65d6a2b0-549a-4917-a387-443e11ff9044
ID_15	29-09-1786	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:54a3dd49-9e25-49a0-a075-da89311430d3
ID_16	21-03-1788	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:617e6528-c822-48b8-8c35-e74d9cd7dd76
ID_17	19-03-1788	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:8cc0efa7-4bf0-45b1-99ca-75310ac17204
ID_18	08-06-1789	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:a918bca6-27c7-47e5-a66f-633761d6f559
ID_19	29-11-1790	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:91b9a1d7-2fa3-4037-a48a-77bd443b0d68
ID_20	15-04-1796	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:f03ae2ea-6dd7-478f-a01d-5ca24303b701
ID_21	27-10-1797	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:d9559d93-72b4-44cd-aec6-090d3fff921b
ID_22	25-10-1797	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:524d6052-068a-4814-8c22-44b185d4bc05
ID_23	14-12-1798	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:2b9228f2-45b4-4aa3-8f6d-727abb5a1a65

ID_24	04-10-1799	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:450e795f-69e7-49c4-8179-76f0f9b1cd8b
ID_25	07-10-1799	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:93212192-0f1e-4cb3-97cf-16f454a1405b
ID_26	05-10-1807	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:7361d9fc-a3d2-4f03-b3b5-2101dee8bfbf
ID_27	21-12-1809	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:dcbbbfed-fba4-4794-8d30-1a95813373de
ID_28	19-12-1809	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:761c35af-aabc-41b4-bde3-b69721bdd2c4
ID_29	22-11-1817	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:d2b62cc0-a840-4328-8be1-5f11a7acd954
ID_30	10-06-1767	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:52f98f0e-9876-4fc3-aaeb-8b8381293e8b
ID_31	06-12-1765	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:25785895-fb13-45d8-8f42-ec80337fdda5
ID_32	15-02-1771	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:607ffa55-85b9-4d4b-811c-68ee4eafba6f
ID_33	02-07-1771	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:f56f15a0-075d-46da-9476-84442ccf20f7
ID_34	31-03-1786	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:5f6d7e6c-953e-4d96-8dc6-d1a946225c22
ID_35	05-01-1789	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:a17c5955-8db4-48f9-92aa-6607ed1b36f7
ID_36	25-11-1802	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:10eab5ff-8e58-4dfe-80d7-38c2c8980b49
ID_37	04-09-1769	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:83ec83cc-663c-4fbb-ac70-7e1ca3aa3437
ID_38	03-07-1778	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:5d2b91f5-60af-407b-8762-637fabd7c002
ID_39	19-11-1794	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:84f45317-0e57-42d9-8464-22e302c10936
ID_40	08-01-1787	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:0f7296ee-f554-4eee-8ad5-492527d4f08e
ID_41	09-09-1785	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e4285f4e-076c-4145-b074-940a1dbd9970
ID_42	22-06-1803	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:8663ca59-22e9-4289-b604-646ad0e868bf
ID_43	14-02-1786	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:bf5708e5-e756-49d2-9417-94fc47b8755e
ID_44	17-02-1786	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:fc80711a-9d36-4c0d-90b3-bc585d37e482
ID_45	16-06-1786	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e46cf0aa-f076-4f75-bddd-c3b5e6513b07
ID_46	02-06-1766	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:07908147-0974-4985-a26f-0f0292c92adf
ID_47	07-12-1804	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:566b7d32-5c6c-4e63-a8b4-d64950fdeb78

Table 2: Work-Related Ads (Data collected from Mediestream)

ID	Date	PID/Hyperlink
ID_001	19-05-1783	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:db86d261-6d2e-47c7-bd28-5c10c8c24504
ID_002	21-05-1784	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:b833cf1c-a67b-4210-bf5d-ee0a728d7dea
ID_003	12-07-1785	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e91403da-a4e3-42ee-9d39-ff80991fde78
ID_004	07-05-1788	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:a0136f8e-f526-492a-aa4c-a244770d95a5
ID_005	02-04-1792	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:b1fbc566-6884-4538-a7eb-419db71ebda1
ID_006	10-04-1792	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:c52cd244-a6d8-4308-8d97-60f4cc8399ae
ID_007	24-02-1794	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:3338153d-d1db-4fab-a1d1-f429893c2034
ID_008	31-07-1799	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:bc8ecde4-278e-4b05-990c-6d19177760a6
ID_009	06-09-1799	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:12555f36-cffb-41a4-85f0-691e10ae433a
ID_010	17-12-1800	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:6964a370-35dc-4e54-9749-20f3e27306d6
ID_011	20-05-1800	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:984b4a05-4112-4a0c-939c-10ad06ba74f6
ID_012	01-10-1800	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:3943aede-3d26-40ed-b882-c94c4484c43f
ID_013	11-10-1800	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:881b315e-aa19-401f-8485-966fe2634389
ID_014	18-11-1803	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:1b2d8f51-1cc9-4396-9ac4-2791f8d1eac8
ID_015	07-09-1805	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:88539f1e-cfbf-44d7-8649-ac74db0329af
ID_016	20-06-1805	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:d8f61a27-3516-4851-a114-1a6f3c3816dc
ID_017	20-03-1809	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:30746931-d1aa-4db9-b27e-f98aad88ba20
ID_018	01-03-1809	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:40469383-c50f-4b9f-9579-63125a7d5875
ID_019	15-04-1809	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:24915204-9d05-4137-b030-d84834074af5
ID_020	03-10-1809	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:9fd1b49e-241f-4531-880c-0d8edad6a908
ID_021	27-02-1810	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e0eb0598-8d43-420e-b3be-9bce799af6da
ID_022	24-07-1812	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:5202d900-f8a9-40a5-a43d-0501da5348b2
ID_023	13-02-1815	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:d26cf94a-57d2-463e-9304-ed179a444ecb
ID_024	27-02-1815	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:83f5ccea-7343-4beb-b725-8fae6aed83df

ID_025	24-04-1818	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:de6efca6-9d54-4ce7-a7a9-f01ccf81a5fd
ID_026	12-03-1819	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:6d7049ba-1893-4ebf-90ef-4ce4698bafa0
ID_027	22-03-1824	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:ed8f14cf-59da-496a-9de2-afd8842ec83a
ID_028	05-09-1825	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:8dc1486a-62d1-4b00-a65b-d83f7307d5ee
ID_029	28-11-1831	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e9557443-eb14-41ce-bd90-d5d1c67482fc
ID_030	08-08-1835	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:3aa9e4d2-a807-4871-8630-47335ededd50
ID_031	04-08-1835	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:4d99782c-f466-4ca2-8b29-d2da0f01ab1a
ID_032	20-12-1793	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:6737215d-1ae8-488c-89c9-5e64de80fa9c
ID_033	18-07-1800	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:15b07278-61ff-4a37-b8e1-c975b4c5b988
ID_034	10-07-1810	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:485bd90e-33d1-4ebb-92f2-45a7e00ddfce
ID_035	14-06-1814	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:8de81f12-532a-48eb-b613-f1acfdcf40dc
ID_036	23-08-1808	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e3e082bd-3046-4cb1-828e-f8ee17f0b0ac
ID_037	10-05-1803	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:52ea0251-800a-4550-a147-f12219fa367f
ID_038	23-02-1813	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e129fe2b-47a9-4654-933b-033bad3f4060
ID_039	06-05-1794	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:ed1fd97b-f8cb-47d8-8c71-655efaec1185
ID_040	17-03-1795	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:f7900a71-c7a5-423b-a018-367cc1c235c6
ID_041	14-03-1804	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:a1002ee2-f9be-4f34-a0e9-6c59b3333a13
ID_042	13-10-1824	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:cc351dd5-7e6d-42d6-bc81-bce3d55e10bf

Table 3: Other Ads (Data collected from Mediastream)

Type	ID	Date	PID/Hyperlink
Desired to buy'	ID_0001	10-12-1783	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:948a0485-297d-4d89-b51f-bb2714e835c1
For sale	ID_0002	28-06-1785	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:5421bb13-5f32-4ecc-a02e-a13b8ad12b5c
To buy	ID_0003	22-10-1790	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:75444b3f-b5ae-4a35-a8f8-265eb4e3a88c
Freedom letters	ID_0004	18-10-1776	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:824c3afd-a8a7-4ec5-802d-d322827bce24
Søbøtker's warning	ID_0005	12-02-1776	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:a86084c3-f2ef-4d71-ae75-5b183e90f5a9
Baptism: Lebrecht1	ID_0006	06-06-1760	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:dfc25447-f65c-4ecb-82d4-163e6d2d75a0
Baptism: Lebrecht2	ID_0007	06-06-1760	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:e2933c60-0bb9-497f-83d6-ce1a2ba205fa
Baptism: Wilhelm	ID_0008	08-03-1765	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:78d97a95-0063-4f77-b26f-4c64d3cc5d40
Baptism: Christian	ID_0009	29-04-1796	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:c040129a-f0aa-4439-a41f-9c81e80dc600
Baptism: Thomsen	ID_0010	21-05-1773	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:2ffa73a0-49b0-4bf5-b543-41f5c8bcc073
Fictional Story	ID_0011	23/06/1918	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:b6a57661-baa3-4f78-96b2-7f7751d0964a
News Ad	ID_0012	10/07/1911	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:efc8f962-66ff-4d17-8e56-dd5f9ab2937e
Joke	ID_0013	10/03/1905	http://hdl.handle.net/109.3.1/uuid:54dc093d-0a90-40c9-8f4f-34365cd10188

Table 4: Public Censuses 1787 and 1801 (Data collected from DDD)

ID	Name	Profession	Household Position	Age	Year
1	Agna (fem. n*)	At Wrisberg		22	1801
2	Agolli (N*)	At Wrisberg		40	1801
3	Amalia (fem. N*)	Slave at Hage's		17	1801
4	Amalia (fem. N*)		Servant	48	1801
5	Betzy (fem. N*)			20	1801
6	Carl Wilhelm (n*)	Servant		16	1801
7	Cathrine (fem. N*)		Servant	17	1801
8	Charlotte (N*)	At J. F. Hage		13	1801
9	Christian (n*)			36	1801
10	David (n*)	Servant J. L. Fix		20	1801
11	Edvard ((Elvard) N*)	See Armstrøm		11	1801
12	Emiliane Regina (n*)	Maid		36	1801
13	Eva Marie (fem. N*)	Maid		22	1801
14	Ferdinant (N*)	At Wrisberg		16	1801
15	Francis (N*)	Servant		12	1801
16	No Name (n*) watch out	Cooper Apprentice		18	1801
17	No Name (N*) Tula	Patient		32	1801
18	No Name (N*) Petrus	Servant		16	1801
19	Isack (N*)	Slave at Hage's		16	1801
20	Jack (N*)	Servant		20	1801
21	Jacob (N*)		N* (plural)	15	1801
22	Joe (N*)			18	1801
23	Johanne (fem. N*)	At Liechtenstein			1801
24	Johannes (N*)	Servant		15	1801
25	Johannes (N*)	At Lillienkiold			1801
26	Juliane Sophie (n*)	Maid		17	1801
27	Lowisa (fem. N*)		n* (plural)	19	1801
28	Ludvig (n*)	At Wrisberg		12	1801
29	Manneboy (N*)	At Wrisberg		22	1801
30	Marie (fem. N*)			24	1801
31	Peinda (n*)	Seamstress		16	1801
32	Peter (N*)	At J. F. Hage		10	1801

33	Pini (fem. n*)	At J. F. Hage		16	1801
34	Rachel (N*)	At Lilliensiold			1801
35	Sabina Helena (n*)	Maid		40	1801
36	Sara (fem. N*)	Househelp		25	1801
37	Thomas (n*)	Servant		16	1801
38	Helena (Mulat)	Seamstress		19	1801
39	Hendrich Mulat	Servant on Farm	Servant	25	1801
40	Jenny (Mulatinde)			22	1801
41	Mulatto Johannes Paulus		Being raised	13	1801
42	Mulatress Marie Katrine		Being raised	15	1801
43	Jacob-called				1787
44	Otherwise called Andreas				1787

Table 5: Names in The Fugitive and Work-Related Ads (Data collected from DDD)

ID	Name	Category
ID_02	Nicolai	Fugitive Ad
ID_01, ID_03 & ID_04	Helena	Fugitive Ad
ID_05	William	Fugitive Ad
ID_06	Peter	Fugitive Ad
ID_20	Mattæus or This	Fugitive Ad
ID_21 & ID_22	Sello	Fugitive Ad
ID_23	Johannes	Fugitive Ad
ID_24 & ID_25	Anton	Fugitive Ad
ID_34	Tobias	Fugitive Ad
ID_10 & ID_11	Accra	Fugitive Ad
ID_30	Isaak	Fugitive Ad
ID_46	Isak	Fugitive Ad
ID_45	Jaky	Fugitive Ad
ID_16 & ID_17	Jaques Tam	Fugitive Ad
ID_19	Pedro Escardo	Fugitive Ad
ID_07, ID_08 & ID_09	Johan Peter	Fugitive Ad
ID_14	Jacob Lauritz	Fugitive Ad
ID_26	Joseph Cornelius	Fugitive Ad
ID_27 & ID_28	Ernst Gilbert	Fugitive Ad
ID_29	Joel (?) Abraham	Fugitive Ad
ID_36	Peter Samuel	Fugitive Ad
ID_47	Johannes Magnus	Fugitive Ad
ID_13	J. H. Friedrich	Fugitive Ad
ID_026	John Henri Maiendix	Work-related Ad
ID_004	Rogier	Work-related Ad