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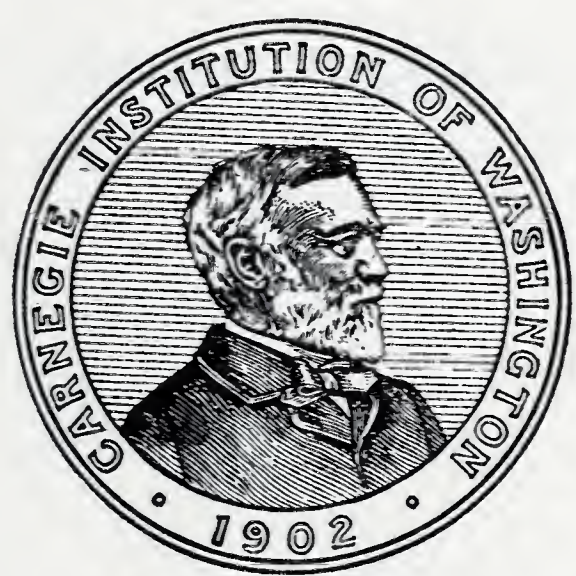


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DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA

ELIZABETH DONNAN

Professor of Economics and Sociology in Wellesley College

VOLUME III
NEW ENGLAND AND THE MIDDLE COLONIES

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PREFACE

The present volume, as was suggested in the preface to this series, presents material relating to the traffic which originated in or brought slaves to the Continental Colonies. Read in the light of the information contained in the earlier volumes, it should, in spite of its narrow range, depict the American trade as part of a larger commerce the significance of which extended far beyond the bounds of the thirteen colonies. The same methods of supply were used, the same orders issued, for traffic to the Caribbean markets and to the markets of the north, and many of the documents here printed throw light not only on the commercial relations between the West Indies and the Northern colonies but also on the slave supply of the island plantations. This however is incidental to the main purpose of the volume, which, it is to be remembered, is to illustrate the trade which pertained to those colonies subsequently a part of the United States. Even with such limitation, to present the history of the trade of the colonies *in extenso* was impossible. Yet to print a few illustrative documents for each colony did not seem a particularly useful service. Economic sources do not lend themselves to concise treatment. Diplomatic history can often be illuminated by a single protocol. The history of a long series of negotiations may be summed up in one decisive document but to the student of economic history an event assumes importance because of its recurrence. The small thing which happens over and over again becomes significant by reason of its repetition. To present this recurrence by means of original material requires large space. A few colonies have therefore been treated in detail, the others in briefer fashion. Even this plan did not make it possible to present the American material in a single volume, as was originally intended. The present work deals with the traffic of New England and the Middle Colonies, and leaves to a fourth volume the documents relating to the Southern Colonies.

No liberties have been taken with the texts except such as seemed necessary in order to make them intelligible. In this attempt many of the accounts have been reduced to more orderly form than that of the original manuscripts but the student will still find some puzzling discrepancies which may result from mistaken transcriptions or from inaccuracies on the part of early accountants. The usage as to capitalization, punctuation, and abbreviations follows that of earlier volumes.

Without the generous aid of such institutions as the library of Harvard University, the Library of Congress, the historical societies

of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, and Newport, and the Essex Institute the work could never have been completed and for their courtesy the editor wishes to express her warmest appreciation. Among many individuals who have helped to bring the volumes into existence the assistance of Miss Cornelia M. Pierce and of Miss Jean Trepp deserve special recognition.

ELIZABETH DONNAN

October 6, 1932.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	V
THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES	
INTRODUCTION	I
MASSACHUSETTS:	
1. Extract from John Winthrop's <i>Journal</i> , 1638	4
2. Body of Liberties, 1641	4
3. Agreement between Robert Shopton, Miles Casson, and James Smyth, 1644	4
4. Extracts from John Winthrop's <i>Journal</i> , 1645	6
5. Petition of Richard Saltonstall, 1645	6
6. Records of the House of Deputies of Massachusetts Bay, 1645	7
7. Emanuel Downing to John Winthrop, 1645	8
8. Records of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, 1646	8
9. Voyage of the <i>Fortune</i> , 1649	9
10. Aaron Williams to —, 1650	9
11. Accounts of the <i>Fortune</i> , 1650	10
12. Voyage of the <i>Gift of God</i> , 1650	11
13. Deposition of Coowlons Lunerus, 1653	13
14. Governor Leverett to the Lord Privy Seal, 1675	14
15. Governor Bradstreet to the Committee of Trade and Plantations, 1680	14
16. Petition of John Winslow, 1680	15
17. Sir Henry Morgan to Lord Sunderland, 1680	15
18. John Saffin and others to William Welstead, 1681	15
19. Vessels from Boston for Africa, 1698-1707	17
20. The Selling of Joseph, 1700	17
21. Saffin's "Brief and Candid Answer," 1700	18
22. Notices of Sales, 1704-1705	19
23. Massachusetts Broadside, 1704	19
24. Act for the Better Preventing of a Spurious and Mixt Issue, 1705	20
25. Notices of Sales, 1706-1707	21
26. The Importation of Negroes into Massachusetts, 1706	21
27. Petition of David Jeffries, 1707	23
28. Governor Dudley to the Board of Trade, 1708	23
29. Notices of Sales, 1712-1714	25
30. Accounts of Nathaniel Harris, 1712	26
31. Summary of Sales, 1715-1721	27
32. William Pepperrell to Benjamin Bullard, 1719	28
33. Proceedings of the House of Representatives, 1722	28
34. Notices of Sales, 1726	28
35. Petition of Andrew Trent and Benony Waterman, 1727	30
36. Accounts of the <i>Katherine</i> , 1727	30
37. Accounts of Hugh Hall, 1728-1733	31
38. Act for laying a Duty on Negroes imported, 1728	35
39. Instructions to Captain William Atkinson, 1728	36
40. Instructions to Governor Jonathan Belcher, 1731	38
41. Notices of Sales, 1732	38
42. Notices of Sales, 1733-1737	39
43. Vote of the Boston Selectmen, 1733	41
44. Extract of a Letter from Captain Moore, 1733	41
45. Samuel Waldo to Captain Samuel Rhodes, 1734	42
46. Memorial of an Admiralty Court, 1737	46

	PAGE
47. Captain Samuel Rhodes to Samuel Waldo, 1737	46
48. Petition of Isaac Royall, 1737	48
49. Testimony of Dennis Driscoll, 1738	49
50. Notices of Sales, 1739-1741	50
51. Case of the <i>Mermaid</i> , 1739	51
52. Case of the <i>Jolly Batchelor</i> , 1743	52
53. Notices of Sales, 1744-1758	65
54. Boston Custom-House Items, 1746-1757	66
55. Notices of Sales, 1759-1762	67
56. Instructions to Captain William Ellery, 1759	68
57. Sale of Negroes, 1762	69
58. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1763-1765	70
59. Effort to Check the Importation of Slaves, 1767	72
60. The Voyage of the Sloop <i>Friend</i> , 1768	74
61. Custom-House Items, 1771-1774	76
62. Instructions to Thomas Denny, Representative from Leicester, 1773	76
63. Resolution of the House of Representatives, 1776	77
64. Instructions to Captain —, 1785	78
65. Joseph and Joshua Grafton to Messrs. Harrison and Matthews, 1787	80
66. Joseph and Joshua Grafton to Captain Edward Boss, 1787	81
67. William Fairfield to Rebecca Fairfield, 1789	82
68. Moses Brown to James Phillips, 1791	83
69. Isaac Hacker to Moses Brown, 1792	84
70. Moses Brown to Samuel Eliot, 1792	85
71. Statement of Edward Pulling, 1792	86
72. Samuel Eliot to Moses Brown, 1792	86
73. J. and T. H. Perkins to Perkins, Burling, and Company, 1792	88
74. The Case of the <i>Abeona</i> , 1792	89
75. John Dawson to Montgomery and Company, 1792	98
76. Stephen Cleveland to Moses Brown, 1792	98
77. Henry Thornton to Governor Samuel Adams, 1795	99
78. The Governor at Sierra Leone to the Sierra Leone Company, 1795	99
79. Insurance on the <i>Hope</i> , 1803 (?)	101
80. The Case of the <i>Mendon</i> , 1807	102

RHODE ISLAND:

81. Act of the General Court, May 19, 1652	108
82. Act of the General Assembly, April, 1708	109
83. Governor Samuel Cranston to the Board of Trade, 1708	109
84. Act of the General Assembly, February 17, 1712	111
85. Thomas Richardson to Stephen Webb, 1714	112
86. Thomas Richardson to Stephen Webb and Nicholas Coleman, 1714	113
87. Act of the General Assembly, July 15, 1715	113
88. A Minute of the Society of Friends, 1717	115
89. Notices of Sales, 1721	116
90. Newport Custom-House Entries, 1725-1728	117
91. Edward Byam to Abraham Redwood, jr., 1727	118
92. The Voyage of the <i>Little George</i> , 1730	118
93. Newport Custom-House Entries, 1731-1739	121
94. Walter Nugent to Abraham Redwood, 1731	121
95. Order of the General Assembly, June, 1731	122
96. Act of the General Assembly, May, 1732	122
97. Accounts from an African Trade-Book, 1733-1736	123
98. James Brown to —, 1736	130
99. John Cahoon, jr., to Stephen Ayrault (?), 1736	130
100. Vessels of Godfrey Malbone, 1737-1738	131
101. Accounts of James and Obadiah Brown, 1737	132

Table of Contents

ix

	PAGE
102. David Chesebrough to Abraham Redwood (?), 1738	134
103. Francis Wilks and Zachariah Bourryau to Abraham Redwood, 1740	134
104. Abraham Redwood (?) to James Woodcock, 1740	134
105. Captain Francis Pope to Abraham Redwood, 1740	135
106. Captain George Scott to —, 1740	135
107. John Gunthorp to Abraham Redwood, 1740	136
108. Joseph Manesty to John Bannister, 1745	137
109. Joseph Manesty to Joseph Harrison, 1745	137
110. Instructions to Captain Pollipus Hammond, 1746	138
111. Newport Custom-House Entries, 1747-1755	139
112. Accounts of Abraham Redwood, 1747-1748	140
113. John Bannister to James Pardoe, 1747	140
114. Joseph Manesty to John Bannister, 1747	141
115. John Bannister to Herbert Lascelles, 1747	141
116. John Bannister to Philip Houghton, 1748	142
117. Invoice of the Cargo of the <i>Success</i> , 1749	143
118. Notices of Sales, 1750-1752	143
119. Captain David Lindsay to Stephen Ayrault (?), 1753	144
120. Sale of the Cargo of the <i>Elizabeth</i> , 1754	145
121. Accounts of the <i>Hare</i> , 1754	146
122. Samuel and William Vernon to Thomlinson, Trecothick, and Company, 1754 .	147
123. Bill of Lading of the <i>Sierra Leone</i> , 1754	147
124. Wilkinson and Ayrault to Captain David Lindsay, 1754	148
125. Accounts of the <i>Hare</i> , 1754	149
126. William Vernon to Gabriel Manigault, 1755	150
127. Samuel and William Vernon to Captain Caleb Godfrey, 1735	150
128. Accounts of the <i>Hare</i> , 1755	151
129. Accounts of the <i>Hare</i> , 1756-1758	158
130. Accounts of the <i>Titt Bitt</i> , 1756	164
131. Samuel and William Vernon to George Austin, 1756	166
132. Samuel and William Vernon to Gabriel Manigault, 1756	167
133. Samuel and William Vernon to Thomlinson, Trecothick, and Company, 1756 .	168
134. Henry Laurens to Samuel and William Vernon, 1756	168
135. Samuel and William Vernon to Thomlinson, Trecothick, and Company, 1756	170
136. Samuel and William Vernon to Austin and Laurens, 1756	171
137. Henry Laurens to Samuel and William Vernon, 1756	171
138. Samuel and William Vernon to Austin and Laurens, 1756	173
139. List of Captured Slave Vessels, 1757-1758	173
140. Accounts of the <i>Marigold</i> and the <i>Casada Garden</i> , 1758-1760	175
141. Deposition of Joseph Wanton, 1758	183
142. Captain David Lindsay to his Owners, 1758	183
143. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1758, 1760	184
144. Bill of Lading of the <i>Little Beckey</i> , 1760	185
145. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1762-1763	185
146. Bill of Lading of the <i>Friendship</i> , 1762	187
147. Samuel Vernon to Samuel Phillips Savage, 1762	187
148. Bill of Lading of the <i>Whydah</i> , 1762	188
149. Newport Custom-House Entries, 1763	189
150. Isaac Elizer and Samuel Moses to Christopher Champlin, 1763	189
151. Accounts of the <i>Little Sally</i> , 1763	190
152. Samuel and William Vernon to Richard Adams, 1763	193
153. Samuel and William Vernon to Richard Adams, 1763	193
154. Nicholas Brown and Company to Carter Braxton, 1763	194
155. Samuel and William Vernon to Champion and Hayley, 1763	194
156. Carter Braxton to Nicholas Brown and Company, 1763	195
157. Accounts of Captain Thomas Rogers, 1763	196
158. Papers of the <i>Othello</i> , 1764-1766	197

	PAGE
159. Newport Custom-House Entries, 1764	202
160. Remonstrance of the Colony of Rhode Island to the Board of Trade, 1764 . .	203
161. William Stead to Aaron Lopez, 1764	205
162. Joseph and William Wanton to Nicholas Brown and Company, 1764	206
163. Nicholas Brown to Joseph, John, and Moses Brown, 1764	206
164. News Item relating to Slave Trade, 1764	207
165. Accounts of the <i>Betsey</i> , 1765-1766	208
166. Newport Custom-House Entries, 1765	209
167. Benjamin Gardner to Moses Brown, 1765	210
168. Joseph and William Wanton to Brown Brothers, 1765	210
169. Aaron Lopez to Captain Nathaniel Briggs, 1765	211
170. Aaron Lopez to Captain Abraham All, 1765	212
171. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1765	213
172. Newport Custom-House Entries, 1766	213
173. Samuel and William Vernon to Richard Adams, 1766	214
174. William Stead to Aaron Lopez, 1766	214
175. William Stead to Aaron Lopez, 1766	215
176. Joseph (?) Wanton to John Brown, 1766	216
177. William Stead to Aaron Lopez, 1766	216
178. Newport Custom-House Entries, 1767, 1769	217
179. Accounts of the <i>Royal Charlotte</i> , 1767-1768	217
180. Aaron Lopez to Henry Cruger, jr., 1767	221
181. William Stead to Aaron Lopez, 1767	221
182. Samuel Vernon and others to George Hayley, 1767	222
183. Aaron Lopez (?) to Henry White, 1767	222
184. Trade on the African Coast, 1767	223
185. Abraham Pereira Mendes to Aaron Lopez, 1767	225
186. Aaron Lopez to Abraham Pereira Mendes, 1767	226
187. Abraham Pereira Mendes to Aaron Lopez, 1767	226
188. Accounts of the <i>Othello</i> , 1768-1769	227
189. Joseph Wanton to Moses Brown, 1768	241
190. Samuel and William Vernon to Alexander Brabner, 1768	241
191. William Vernon and Company to William Pinniger, 1768	242
192. William Vernon to Captain William Pinniger, 1768	243
193. Trade of Richard Brew, 1769	244
194. Brown Brothers to Benjamin Mason, 1769	244
195. Thomas Lanwarn to Aaron Lopez, 1770	245
196. David Beekman to Aaron Lopez, 1770	245
197. Samuel and William Vernon to —, 1770	246
198. Daniel and Lytcott to Jacob Rodriguez Rivera and Aaron Lopez, 1771 . .	246
199. Samuel and William Vernon to Captain John Duncan, 1771	248
200. Threlfal and Anderson to Christopher and George Champlin, 1771	248
201. Samuel and William Vernon to Hayley and Hopkins, 1771	249
202. Hayley and Hopkins to Aaron Lopez, 1771	250
203. Samuel and William Vernon to John Thornton and Charles Yates, 1771 . .	250
204. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1771	251
205. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1771	253
206. Samuel and William Vernon to Adams and Griffin, 1771	254
207. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1772	255
208. Captain Peleg Clarke to Ralph Inman, 1772	256
209. Ralph Inman to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1772	257
210. Christopher and George Champlin to Captain Samuel Tuell, 1772	257
211. William Snell and Company to Christopher Champlin, 1772	259
212. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1772	259
213. Samuel and William Vernon to Richard Adams, 1772	260
214. Captain Samuel Tuell to Christopher Champlin, 1772	260
215. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1772	261

Table of Contents

xi

	PAGE
216. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1772	262
217. Rivera and Lopez to Captain William English, 1772	264
217A. Captain William English to Rivera and Lopez, 1773	265
218. Accounts of the <i>Adventure</i> , 1773	266
219. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1773	268
220. Samuel and William Vernon to Brewton and Smith, 1773	268
221. Miles Brewton to Samuel and William Vernon, 1773	269
222. Bill of Lading of the <i>Cleopatra</i> , 1773	269
223. Court Order concerning Richard Brew, 1773	270
224. Bill of Lading of the <i>Ann</i> , 1773	271
225. Samuel and William Vernon to Thornton and Yates, 1773	272
226. Thomas Dolbeare to Lopez and Rivera, 1773	272
227. Captain William English to Rivera and Lopez, 1773	273
228. Thomas Dolbeare to Rivera and Lopez, 1773	274
229. Nathaniel Russell to Aaron Lopez, 1773	275
230. Nathaniel Russell to Aaron Lopez, 1773	275
231. Thomas Dolbeare to Rivera and Lopez, 1773	276
232. Accounts of Trade on the African Coast, 1774-1775	277
233. Accounts of the <i>Othello</i> , 1774-1775	285
234. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1774	286
235. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1774	286
236. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1774	288
237. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1774	288
238. An Act for Prohibiting the Importation of Negroes, June, 1774	289
239. Hayley and Hopkins to Aaron Lopez, 1774	291
240. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1774	291
241. Samuel and William Vernon to Hayley and Hopkins, 1774	292
242. David Mill to Lopez and Rivera, 1774	293
243. Christopher and George Champlin to Captain Robert Champlin, 1774	293
244. William Moore, jr., to Aaron Lopez and Company, 1774	295
245. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1774	295
246. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1774	297
247. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1774	298
248. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1774	300
249. Charles Graves to Stephen Ayrault, 1775	300
250. Christopher and George Champlin to Threlfal and Anderson, 1775	300
251. Christopher and George Champlin to Murray and Wright, 1775	301
252. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1775	302
253. Agreement on the Cargo of the <i>Thames</i> , 1775	305
254. Peatt and Westmorland to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1775	306
255. Captain Robert Champlin to Christopher Champlin, 1775	307
256. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1775	308
257. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1775	308
258. Christopher and George Champlin to Joseph and Eliphalet Fitch, 1775	309
259. Francis Maires and David Cooper to Samuel and William Vernon, 1775	310
260. Christopher Champlin to Captain Robert Champlin, 1775	311
261. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1776	311
262. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1776	313
263. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1776	315
264. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1776	315
265. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1776	317
266. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1776	318
267. Captain Peleg Clarke to Richard Miles and Jeremy B. Weuves, 1776	320
268. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1776	321
269. John Bell to John Fletcher, 1776	323
270. Accounts of the <i>Thames</i> , 1776	325
271. Captain Peleg Clarke to the Danish Company, 1777	326

	PAGE
272. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1777	326
273. John Westmorland and Company to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1777	326
274. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1777	327
275. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Westmorland and Company, 1777	329
276. Agreement between Peleg Clarke and Malcolm and Nevinson, 1777	330
277. Captain Peleg Clarke to John Fletcher, 1777	330
278. Protest on Board the <i>Thames</i> , 1777	331
279. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1777	332
280. John Fletcher to Captain Peleg Clarke, 1778	332
281. Receipt of Isaac Gorham, 1783	333
282. James Bourn to Mrs. Robey Whiting, 1783	333
283. Deposition to Isaac Gorham, 1783	333
284. Moses Brown to Clark and Nightingale, 1783	334
285. Dr. Samuel Hopkins to Moses Brown, 1784	335
286. Newport Entries and Manifests, 1786-1790	337
287. Dr. Samuel Hopkins to Moses Brown, 1787	341
288. John Brown to Moses Brown, 1787	341
289. Dr. Samuel Hopkins to Moses Brown, 1787	342
290. Act to Prevent the Slave Trade, 1787	343
291. Jonathan Edwards to Moses Brown, 1788	345
292. Accounts of the <i>Pacific</i> , 1789-1790	346
293. William Rotch, jr., to Moses Brown, 1789	348
294. William Rotch, jr., to Moses Brown, 1789	349
295. Dr. Samuel Hopkins to Moses Brown, 1789	351
296. Benjamin Hadwen to Moses Brown, 1790	352
297. Case of the <i>Hope</i> , 1792	352
298. Newport Custom-House Entries, 1794-1795	358
299. Accounts of the <i>Ascension</i> , 1795-1798	359
300. Journal of the Ship <i>Mary</i> , 1795-1796	360
301. Newport Custom-House Entries, 1796-1800	378
302. Captain Jeremiah Diman to Captain James De Wolf, 1796	379
303. Protest of the <i>Orange</i> , 1799	380
304. Agreement respecting the <i>General Greene</i> , 1799	382
305. Gibbs and Channing to Nathaniel Lawrence, 1800	382
306. Gibbs and Channing to John Parker, 1801	383
307. Accounts of the <i>Louisa</i> , 1805-1806	383
308. Gibbs and Channing to Nathaniel Russell, 1805	387
309. Accounts of the <i>Hope</i> , 1806	387
310. The Case of the <i>Ann</i> , 1807	388
311. Invoice of the <i>Friendship</i> , 1807	393
312. The Case of the <i>Nancy</i> , 1807	394
313. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1807	404

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

INTRODUCTION	405
DOCUMENTS:	
314. Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions, 1629	410
315. New Project of Freedoms and Exemptions	410
316. Report of the Board of Accounts on New Netherland, 1644	410
317. Resolutions of the States General, 1648	411
318. The Magistrates of Gravesend to the Directors at Amsterdam, 1651	412
319. The Directors at Amsterdam to the Commonalty at the Manhattans, 1652	412
320. Proposed Contract to import Slaves into New Netherland, 1652 (?)	412
321. The Directors at Amsterdam to Director Stuyvesant, 1654	414
322. Ordinance imposing a Duty on Exported Slaves, 1655	415
323. Deposition of Joan Gaillardo Ferrara, 1656	416

Table of Contents

xiii

	PAGE
324. List of Negroes claimed by Joan Gaillardo Ferrara, 1656	416
325. Charter of the Ship <i>Eyckenboom</i> , 1659	417
326. Bill of Lading of the <i>Spera Mundi</i> , 1659	420
327. Director Stuyvesant to the Directors at Amsterdam, 1659	420
328. Director Stuyvesant to Vice-Director Beck, 1660	420
329. Voyage of the <i>Gideon</i> , 1663	422
330. The Directors at Amsterdam to the Director and Council of New Nether- land, 1664	425
331. Director Stuyvesant to Vice-Director Beck, 1664	427
332. Terms of Sale of Negroes, 1664	427
333. Director Stuyvesant to the Directors at Amsterdam, 1664	429
334. The Directors at Amsterdam to Director Stuyvesant, 1664	429
335. Vice-Director Beck to the Director and Council of New Netherland, 1664 .	430
336. Bill of Lading of the <i>Gideon</i> , 1664	431
337. Director Stuyvesant to Vice-Director Beck, 1664	431
338. The Council of New Netherland to the Directors at Amsterdam, 1664	433
339. Colonel Richard Nicolls to Cornelius van Ruyven, 1664	434
340. Sir John Werden to William Dyer, 1676	435
341. Order in Council on Captain Billop's Appeal, 1685	435
342. Petition of the Royal African Company to the Court of Admiralty, 1687 . .	436
343. The Board of Trade to the Earl of Bellomont, 1698	438
344. Colonel Fletcher's Answers to the Complaints against him, 1698	439
345. Representation of the Board of Trade, 1699	440
346. The Earl of Bellomont to the Board of Trade, 1699	440
347. The Earl of Bellomont to the Board of Trade, 1699	441
348. Heads of Accusation against the Earl of Bellomont, 1700	442
349. The Earl of Bellomont to Secretary Vernon, 1700	442
350. Depositions of William Johnson and Peter Lockcourt	442
351. Negroes imported into New York, 1701-1726	444
352. New York Custom-House Entries, 1706-1732	445
353. The Solicitor General to the Board of Trade, 1713	445
354. News Item relating to Slave Trade, 1723	446
355. Governor Burnet to the Board of Trade, 1726	446
356. President Van Dam to the Board of Trade, 1731	446
357. The Board of Trade to the Privy Council, 1735	447
358. Additional Instructions to Governor Cosby, 1735	448
359. The Council of New Jersey to Governor Lewis Morris, 1744	450
360. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1751-1762	451
361. Petition of the Merchants of Philadelphia, 1761	453
362. Notice of New Jersey Sales, 1761-1764	454
363. Governor Josiah Hardy to the Board of Trade, 1762	456
364. John Watts to Gedney Clarke, 1762	457
365. John Watts to Gedney Clarke, 1762	457
366. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1763-1767	458
367. Slaves belonging to the Moravians of Philadelphia, 1766	459
368. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1770, 1797, 1805	460
369. Negroes imported into New York, 1715-1765	462
370. Negroes imported into New Jersey, 1718-1757	510
INDEX	513

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

INTRODUCTION

The story of the slave trade of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, the two New England colonies of importance in this traffic, is set forth in such detail in the pages which follow that little need be said here. The significance of their connection with this traffic lies not in the amount of their importation, which, though probably larger than is generally realized, was insignificant as compared with that of the Southern colonies, but in the economic importance of their slave-carrying business and to a lesser degree of their commerce in rum, on which in its later years the slave trade rested. Massachusetts took a hand in the commerce in negroes at a surprisingly early date and continued to deal in them throughout the period covered by these volumes. Rhode Island, entering the trade somewhat later, soon commanded a larger share of it. While much has been written on this New England commerce, many obvious questions concerning it remain unanswered. Some of these may never be answered; others find partial solution in the material here printed.

Though other New England colonies are less important than are the two mentioned, the minor rôles of New Hampshire and Connecticut deserve recognition. The record of New Hampshire's slave trade here printed begins with Governor Dudley's reply to the enquiry of the Board of Trade sent out in 1708: "There are in New Hampshire negro servants to the number of 70. And about 20 of them in nine years past have been brought in."¹ We also know that later in the century a number of vessels cleared from Portsmouth for Africa: Samuel Moore made a Guinea voyage in 1728 and in 1731; Captain Dickinson in 1732; Captain John Major, in a Portsmouth schooner, was murdered on the coast of Guinea in 1732. Whether these vessels were owned in Boston or represented an actual New Hampshire investment cannot be determined with certainty.²

For Connecticut, likewise, the annals of the trade are brief. Negroes were to be found in New Haven as early as 1664 but there is

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1708-1709, p. III.

² *Boston Gazette*, Nov. 25, 1728; *Weekly Rehearsal*, Dec. 6, 1731, May 22, 29, 1732; *Boston News Letter*, Sept. 7, 1732. In 1758 a Captain Lamphear arrived in Portsmouth, directly from the Gambia River, but the record contains no statement of his cargo. *Ibid.*, Aug. 3, 1758.

no information as to their source. On July 15, 1680, Governor William Leete reported to the Lords of the Privy Council:

And for Blacks, there comes sometimes 3 or 4 in a year from Barbadoes; and they are sold usually at the rate of 22 *li.* a peice, sometimes more and sometimes less, according as men can agree with the masters of vessells, or merchants that bring them hither.³

The next official statement on the subject is that made by the governor at the time the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations collected material for the report of 1709:

Your Lordships' letter of April 15, 1708, came not to our hand till December 22, in obedience to which wee have made strickt enquiry what number of negroes have been imported June 1698-December 1707, and find that their hath not been one vessell either of the Royall Affrican Company's or of separate traders, that hath imported any negroes hither in that space of time, nor any since or before, that wee can heare of. Their are but few negroes in this Government and those wee are supplied with from the neighbouring provinces for the most part, except that sometimes half a dozen in a year may be imported from the West Indies. As to the half yearly accounts of negroes imported from December 25, 1707, their is now a year from that time run out and none imported, nor any like to be in vessells from this Colony, their being none employed in that trade.⁴

Similar report was made by Deputy Governor Saltonstall for the period from 1708 to July, 1710.⁵

There follows a period for which we have no information. Some time between 1710 and the middle of the century a small number of vessels entered the trade. Captain Williams arrived in Connecticut in 1752, from the African coast;⁶ in 1763 the mate of an African vessel arrived in Hartford;⁷ Captain Joseph Miller, in a New London sloop, died on the African coast in 1764. The same year Captain Faggot, commander of a New London brig belonging to Messrs. Forsey of New London, lost his life in a slave uprising at Goree.⁸ W. C. Fowler wrote of three Middletown sea captains engaged in the slave trade—D. Walker, Captain Gleason, and Captain Easton. These masters were believed to have brought full cargoes to Connecticut which, when that market was overstocked, were carried to New Hampshire and Vermont. Captain Easton may have been the Captain Eaton referred to as on the coast in 1763 with a Captain Waterman, also of Connecticut.⁹

³ *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut* (1859), III. 298.

⁴ *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 209.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1710-1711, p. 123.

⁶ *Boston Post Boy*, Aug. 31, 1752.

⁷ *Massachusetts Gazette and News Letter*, July 7, 1763.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 20, 1764, *Extraordinary*, Aug. 16, 1764.

⁹ *Historical Status of the Negro in Connecticut*, p. 16; *Newport Mercury*, July 25, 1763. Captain Easton of New London was reported on the African coast in 1765. *Boston News Letter*, July 4, 1765.

That there was importation of negroes into Connecticut is clear from the legislation of 1769, which forbade further importation into that colony, "whereas the increase of slaves is injurious to the poor and inconvenient."¹⁰

In the renewal of the carrying trade after the Revolution Connecticut took some part though probably a small one. The abolitionists of Rhode Island, led by Samuel Hopkins and Moses Brown, were obliged to extend their activities to Connecticut and New Hampshire in order to prevent Rhode Island slavers from clearing from those states after the prohibition of the trade by Rhode Island. In Connecticut their allies, Levi Hart and Jonathan Edwards, were the prime movers in obtaining the law of 1788 prohibiting the trade, and the amendment of 1789 which strengthened the original act. At least one Connecticut prosecution, that of Mather *vs.* White, was brought under this law.¹¹ In 1791, three years after the trade was prohibited to Connecticut residents, Captain William Wignall of New London was killed in a negro uprising in Africa.¹²

¹⁰ *Hist. Status of the Negro*, pp. 17-18. Connecticut also shared in the traffic through her distilleries, the product of which helped to purchase African slaves. *Fitch Papers* (*Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*, vol. XVIII.), II. 277-278.

¹¹ Samuel Hopkins, *Works*, I. 123-124, 158; Rhode Island Historical Society, Moses Brown Papers, VI. 49, VIII. 34.

¹² *Salem Gazette*, Sept. 13, 1791.

MASSACHUSETTS

1. EXTRACT FROM JOHN WINTHROP'S *JOURNAL*, 1638.¹

26 [February]. Mr. Peirce, in the Salem ship, the *Desire*, returned from the West Indies after seven months. He had been at Providence,² and brought some cotton, and tobacco, and negroes, etc., from thence, and salt from Tertugos. Dry fish and strong liquors are the only commodities for those parts. He met there two men-of-war, set forth by the lords, etc., of Providence with letters of mart, who had taken divers prizes from the Spaniard, and many negroes.³

2. BODY OF LIBERTIES, 1641.¹

It is Ordered by this Court and the Authority thereof; That there shall never be any Bond-slavery, Villenage or Captivity amongst us, unless it be lawful Captives taken in just Wars, [and such strangers] as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us, and such shall have the Liberties and Christian usage which the Law of God established in Israel concerning such persons doth morally require; Provided this exempts none from servitude who shall be judged thereto by Authority.

3. AGREEMENT BETWEEN ROBERT SHOPTON, MILES CASSON, AND JAMES SMYTH, 1644.¹

Imprimis that wee shall to rights sayle to the Cape Devird² to be better informed of the sequall part of our voyage, and there at our

[1] ¹ John Winthrop, *Journal, History of New England, 1630-1649* (ed. J. K. Hosmer, *Original Narratives* series), I. 260.

² The *Desire* was a Marblehead vessel of 100 or 120 tons, in which Capt. William Pierce had in 1637 carried Indian captives to Providence Island in the Caribbean, returning with the cargo here described. In 1638 when Josselyn, on his first visit to New England, lodged with Samuel Maverick he found him possessed of at least three negroes, whom he may have purchased from Captain Pierce (Winthrop, *Journal*, I. 187, 331; John Josselyn, *Account of Two Voyages to New England*, Boston, 1865, p. 26). For an account of the early trade of Massachusetts Bay in captive Indians see G. H. Moore, *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, pp. 1-7, 30-48.

³ For want of any other explanation it has been assumed that an item of March, 1639, concerning Richard Davenport, who was allowed "for charge disbursed for the slaves which when they have earned it he is to repay back againe," related to a part of the cargo of the *Desire*. The amount was £3 8 s. *Massachusetts Colonial Records*, I. 253.

[2] ¹ The *Laws of Massachusetts of 1672* (facsimile, ed. Whitmore, 1884) omitted the bracketed words. For a discussion of this act and the legal status of slavery under it see Moore, *Notes on Slavery*, pp. 12-18, and Emory Washburn, "Slavery as it once prevailed in Massachusetts," in *Lectures before the Lowell Institute* (1869), pp. 191-225. To Moore this law gave to Massachusetts precedence over all other colonies in the sanctioning of perpetual bondage; to Washburn it proved that slavery was abhorrent to the colonists.

[3] ¹ Massachusetts Archives, LX. 290.

² Cape Verde.

arrivall to call a consultation, and to agree with an unanimos consent, what shalbe best convenient, for the good of our voyages, and to what port or ports shall be agreed upon for either ship or ships of the three ships the *Blossome* Admirall, *Seaflower* vice Admirall, and *Rainebowe* rere Admirall, and that if either of these three said ships shall come to any casualty, that the rest consotiated shall assist each other to the utmost of their power in all extremities, or convenances whether by casualties by sea, or force of enemy, or if in case any of the said Companies of the said ships shall be taken by any enemy the other consotiated shall indeavor to the utmost of their power to redeeme them, and furthermore whatsoever negars, or goods, gold, or silver, or other quallity or vallew shalbe equally divided tunn for tunn, and man for man, in each severall ship, in the Country of Ginny, and if in case wee all make a voyage, then to keepe Company together, as in former consortship according to the articles thereof, untill we come to the Barbadoes in the west Indes, and that either of the said ships shall give a just account to each other of all goods of what nature soever to each other, and that whatsoever ships, goods, pinnises of what nature soever, from lawfull authority shall be taken shall be equally distributed according to the former proportion mentioned, and for the better performances hereof wee bind ourselves joyntly and severally each to other, in the summe of two thousand pounds starling English monys to performe, and give a just accompt each to other of all goods, or marchandize so taken, and that also every Commander shall diligently observe all such orders, as shalbe expressed and constituted, by our aforesaid Counsell dureing the time of our consortship the which we have with an unanimos consent bound our selves unto, by the aforesaid assumpsit, and not to depart consortship without due notice each to other giveing a seasonable time each to other to acquaint our selves in any enterprize, wherein wee shall ingage our selves, and that the full intent of this our consortship is to perticipate according to the forementioned proportion of what benefit soever shall be taken of each other of our comitions being all as one man dureing the time of our consortship in witnes hereof wee have set to our hands and seales irrevokable untill lawefull notice of our departure according to our former engagem'ts, and what troubles shall accrue by taking neagers, or by our Commichons, or any suites of Lawe about them each severall parties here bound shall give account of what was taking, and be ready to assist each other herein to all seuts of Lawe whatsoever or disbursments, being this present 13th of February 1644.³

³ The signatures are Henry Don, William Faullion, Thomas Keyser, Robert Shopton, Miles Causon, James Smith, "each his seale against his name."

4. EXTRACTS FROM JOHN WINTHROP'S *JOURNAL*, 1645.¹

[April 13, 1645.]

One of our ships, which went to the Canaries with pipestaves in the beginning of November last, returned now, and brought wine, and sugar, and salt, and some tobacco, which she had at Barbadoes, in exchange for Africoes, which she carried from the Isle of Maio.² . . .

[July (?), 1645.]

The said Mr. James Smith³ with his mate Keyser were bound to Guinea to trade for negroes. But when they arrived there they met some Londoners, with whom they consorted, and the Londoners having been formerly injured by the natives (or at least pretending the same,) they invited them aboard one of their ships upon the Lord's day, and such as came they kept prisoners, then they landed men, and a murderer,⁴ and assaulted one of their towns and killed many of the people, but the country coming down, they were forced to retire without any booty, divers of their men being wounded with the negroes' arrows, and one killed. . . .

For the matter of the negroes, whereof two were brought home in the ship, and near one hundred slain by the confession of some of the mariners, the magistrates took order to have these two set at liberty, and to be sent home; but for the slaughter committed, they were in great doubt what to do in it, seeing it was in another country, and the Londoners pretended a just revenge. So they called the elders; and desired their advice.

5. PETITION OF RICHARD SALTONSTALL, 1645.¹*To the Honoured General Court,*

The oath I took this yeare att my enterance upon the place of assistante was to this effect: That I would truly endeavour the advancement of the gospell and the good of the people of this plantation (to the best of my skill,) dispencing justice equally and impartially (according to the laws of God and this land) in all cases wherein I act by virtue of my place. I conceive myselfe called by virtue of my place to act (according to this oath) in the case concerning the Negers taken by captain Smith and Mr. Keser; wherein it is apparent that Mr. Keser upon a sabboth day gave chace to certaine Negers; and upon the same day tooke divers of them; and

[4] ¹ Winthrop, *Journal*, II. 227, 252, 253.² One of the Cape Verde Islands.³ Smith "was a member of the church of Boston." *Ibid.*, p. 251.⁴ A small cannon.[5] ¹ John Winthrop, *History of New England* (ed. Savage, 1826), II. 379-380.

at another time killed others; and burned one of their townes. Omitting several misdemeanours which accompanied these acts above-mentioned, I conceive the acts themselves to bee directly contrary to these following laws (all which are capitall by the word of God; and 2 of them by the lawes of this jurisdiction.)

The act (or acts) of murder (whether by force or fraude) are expressly contrary both to the law of God, and the law of this country.

The act of stealing Negers, or of taking them by force, (whether it be considered as theft, or robbery) is (as I conceive) expressly contrary, both to the law of God, and the law of this country.

The act of chaceing the Negers (as aforesayde) upon the sabboth day (beeing a servile worke and such as cannot be considered under any other heade) is expressly capitall by the law of God.

These acts and outrages beeing committed where there was noe civill government which might call them to accompt, and the persons by whome they were committed beeing of our jurisdiction, I conceive this court to bee the Ministers of God in this case; and therefore my humble request is that the severall offenders may be imprisoned by the order of this court, and brought unto their deserved censure in convenient time; and this I humbly crave, that soe the sinn they have committed may be upon their owne heads, and not upon ourselves (as otherwise it will).²

6. RECORDS OF THE HOUSE OF DEPUTIES OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY, 1645.¹

[October 7, 1645.]

Upon a petition of Rich: Saltonstall, Esquier, for justice to be donne on Capt Smith and Mr Keysar for their injurious dealing wth the negroes at Gynnye, the petition was graunted; and ordered, That Capt Smith and Mr Keisar be laid hold on and committed to give answer in convenient time thereabouts. . . .

*A Letter to Mr. Wms. of Piscataqua.*²

BOSTON, the 14th 8 mo, 1645.

Mr. Wms: The Courte, understanding that the negroes wch Capt Smyth Smith [*sic*] brought were fraudulently and injuriously taken and brought from Gynny, by Capt Smiths confession, and the rest of the company, doth resolve to send them backe, and therefore doe desire that the negro wch you had of Capt

²To this is added: "The house of deputs thinke meete that this peticon shall be graunted, and desire our honnored magists. concurrence heerein. Edward Rawson."

[6] ¹*Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England* (1854), III. 46, 49.

²The letter to Williams is also found in the *Records*, II. 136, dated Oct. 1, 1645, and in Mass. Arch., LX. 291.

Smyth be forthwth sent hither, that he maybe sent home wthout delay. If you have ought to alleadge why you should not retourne him, to be disposed of by the Courte, itt willbe expected you should forthwith make it appeare, either by yourselfe or yo'r agent, but not to make any excuse or delay. . . .

7. EMANUEL DOWNING TO JOHN WINTHROP, 1645.¹

To his evere-honored brother John Winthrop Esqr. at Boston.

Sir, . . . If upon a Just warre [with the Narragansetts] the Lord should deliver them into our hands, wee might easily have men woemen and children enough to exchange for Moores, which wilbe more gaynefull pilladge for us then wee conceive, for I doe not see how wee can thrive untill wee get into a stock of slaves sufficient to doe all our buisness, for our children's children will hardly see this great Continent filled with people, soe that our servants will still desire freedome to plant for them-selves, and not stay but for verie great wages. And I suppose you know verie well how wee shall mayneteyne 20 Moores cheaper than one Englishe servant.

The ships that shall bring Moores may come home laden with salt which may beare most of the chardge, if not all of it. . . .

8. RECORDS OF THE GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY, 1646.¹

[November 4, 1646.]

The Genrall Corte, conceiving themselves bound by the first oportunity to bear witnes against the haynos and crying sinn of man stealing, as also to proscribe such timely redresse for what is past, and such a law for the future as may sufficiently deterr all othrs belonging to us to have to do in such vile and most odious courses, justly abhored of all good and just men, do order, that the negro interpreter, wth othrs unlawfully taken, be, by the first oportunity, (at the charge of the country for present,) sent to his native country of Ginny, and a letter wth him of the indignation of the Corte there-

[7] ¹ *Winthrop Papers* (Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, fourth ser., VI.), II. 64-65. Emanuel Downing, husband of Winthrop's sister Lucy and father of the more famous Sir George Downing, had come to New England in 1638. From that year until 1643 he was a member of the General Court. In 1644 and at least part of 1645 he was in London; in 1646 he was again in Salem.

[8] ¹ *Records of Mass. Bay*, II. 168, 176. Though Massachusetts protests against the slave trade began at an early date it is hardly possible to ascribe them to this episode, as do some writers. The burden of the objection to the importation of 1646 was not against the trade but against the violence by which the slaves had been acquired. Had they been purchased upon the coast it is quite possible that no questions would have been asked.

abouts, and justice hereof, desireing o'r honored Govrnr would please to put this order in execution.² . . .

The Secretary, Mr. Auditor Genr, Capt. Atherton, and Mr Sparhawk are appointed a committee to examine witnesses and draw up the case about Capt. Smith and Mr. Kezar kiling, stealing, and wronging of the negers, etc.

9. VOYAGE OF THE *FORTUNE*, 1649.¹

This is to certify all whom it may concerne that the Shipp called the *Fortune* whereof Thomas Willoughby is master together with her Cargo, belongeth to John Parrish of Charlestowne in New England merch't and is now bound for the coast of Ginney, thence to Barbados and so for New England. In testimony of the truth whereof the merch'ts under written have hereunto sett their hands this 6 (10) 1649.²

10. AARON WILLIAMS TO ———, 1650.¹

BOSTON, this 4th Jan. 1649 [1650].

Loveing friends and gent., Capt Henry Gay and Mr. Richard Spanwick: haveing recd. a letter of credit from you unto New England for the getting out of yo'r vessell for Guiney, and at my arrivall here Major Generall Gibbons have accepted it, per wch power

² The same order is found in volume III. of the *Records* (p. 84) with the addition, "By both howses." The troubles of this voyage furnished further matter for consideration by the General Court. When the *Rainbow* arrived at Barbados, the mate, Keyser, seized it and brought it home, leaving the master to return as best he could. Smith demanded recompence both for the loss on the goods which he might have sold in Barbados and for the expense he incurred in making his way from Barbados to Boston. The General Court after hearing the case decided, Oct. 18, 1645, that Keyser must pay damages for all the cargo but the negroes: "For the negroes, they being none of his but stolne, wee thinke meete to allow nothing." *Ibid.*, III. 13, 46, 49, 58, II. 115, 129; Mass. Arch., LX. 144; Winthrop, *Journal*, II. 252-253.

[9] ¹ *Aspinwall Notarial Records*, p. 411. Though it may not be possible to prove that Parrish (or Parris) had negroes as his object in sending a vessel to Guinea, it seems a reasonable assumption. He had been trading with the Dutch, who were carrying negroes to the West Indies, and his business relations with them may well have suggested to him the possible profit to be obtained by disposing of negroes in Barbados.

² This item bears the signatures of Robert Sedgwick, Nicholas Davison, Francis Norton, and William Aspinwall, "Nott Publ." Not long before this Henry Parkes, master and owner of the ship *Begining* of Boston, 40 tons, hired half of it to William Withington, of Rhode Island, for a voyage from Rhode Island to Barbados and Guinea, then back to Barbados, Antigua, and Boston. *Ibid.*, p. 220.

[10] ¹ *Aspinwall Notarial Records*, p. 287. The item which precedes this is a list of charges against a vessel, the accounts of John Parris, Richard Spanwick, Capt. Henry Gay, and Capt. Aaron Williams, Drs. The credits allowed are 265 lbs. elephants' teeth and 21 oz. gold. This suggests a Guinea voyage (possibly that of the *Fortune*) which had not carried negroes. The inclusion of these items in a collection relating to the slave trade may be questioned, but two references in later letters show that Parris's ventures even if not primarily for slaves sometimes carried a few and it has been thought justifiable to print these as illustrating New England's early connection with the African coast. Gibbons, Williams, Spanwick, and Gay were apparently concerned in a number of joint ventures. *Ibid.*, pp. 294, 309, 311.

I have formerly charged three Bills Exc: of two hund'd pounds uppon you wch I hope you have made good paym't and now at the Ballancing of o'r Accounts wth the Major there comes to yo'r partes to pay for yo'r halfe the summe of seventy pounds ten shillings and fyve pence, for wch somme have charged three Bills of Exc: uppon you, wch I hope you will make good paym't:

II. ACCOUNTS OF THE *FORTUNE*, 1650.¹

April 12, 1650.

Whereas there are divers differences depending betweene John Peters M'r of the shippe *Fortune* and John Parris merch't about the sd Shipp and Iron bought by the sd Parris of the sd Peters we the sd John Peters and John Parris by o'r free and mutuall consent have referred all differences betweene us from the begining of the world unto this present sixteenth day of May one thousand six hund'd and fifty unto Major Generall Gibons as umpire, Nicholas Davison and Geo. Lad Arbitrators indiff[er]ently chosen betweene us to determine and finally to conclude the same and do per these presents bind o'r selves each to other in the penall summe of one thousand pounds sterl. to stand to their award and finall determination.² . . .

We whose names are here under written being Arbitrators chosen by John Peters and John Parris as in the writeing above expressed to conclude of the differences betweene them, have heard both their Allegations and seriously weighed the same doe hereby finally determine and award the same as followeth:³ . . .

We award that John Parris shall give unto the sd John Peters at the arrivall of the sd shipp *Fortune* from Guiney to the Island of Barbados one Negro boy cleare of all Charges, being lawfully demanded per the sd Peters or his assignes.⁴ . . .

In the name of God Amen. This Charter partie of a freightment made betweene John Parris Merch't of New England of th[e]one partie, and John Peters of the same place aforesd on th[e] other partie, Witnesseth that the sd John Peters being Owner of the good shipp called the *Fortune* of New England burthen one hundredd and twenty Tunns or thereabouts now rideing at Anchor in Charls River in New England aforesaid hath granted and letten to freight

[11] ¹ *Aspinwall Notarial Records*, pp. 290-292.

² The agreement is signed by John Peters and John Parris.

³ No. 1 concerns the price of iron purchased from Peters by Parris; no. 2 pronounces a charter party drawn in Barbados superseded by the New England document which follows; no. 3 relates to the accounts of Parris and Peters.

⁴ The signatures read: "Edward Gibons, Nicholas Davison, Georg Lad Acknowledged by John Peterson the 12th of the 4th mo. 1650. before me Increase Nowell. Also I attested a Copie."

unto the sd John Parris all the aforesd shipp wth all her appurtenances what soever, to say masts yarges sailes anchors Cables up-tackles ground tackles together wth foure Gunns and all other necessities thereto belonging fitting for her intended voyage wch is in manner and forme following that is to say, so soone as wind and wether shall permitt the sd Ship *Fortune* to saile per Gods grace for the coast of Guiney or any other lawfull port or place where the sd John Parris shall send her, And the sd John Peters doth covenant and agree that the sd shipp *Fortune* shall continue in the sd John Parris his service eight months at the least or sixteene months at the most, and further the sd John Peters doth covenant and agree to and wth the sd John Parris that in case the sd ship *Fortune* happen to want in the interim of the voyage any appurtenances whatsoever, that he the sd John Parris is to furnish the sd shipp wth all, And he the sd John Peters doth covenant and agree to and wth the sd John Parris to allow him for what he shall so disburst, together wth so much provision for his money wch shalbe laid out, as two men indifferently chosen between them shall judge of. And the sd John Parris doth Covenant and agree to and wth the sd John Peters to victuall the sd shipp *Fortune* and to find and allowe a competent Company of men to saile her and to pay all such wages as shall grow due to the men wth in the terme of the sd voyage. And further the sd John Parris doth Coven't and agree for himselfe and his Assignes to pay unto the sd John Peters or his Assignes the summe of thirty pound sterl. per month after her arrivall at Barbados or any of the Leeward Ilands wth in fourty dayes after her discharge in goods of the Country according to the price Current, as also to allow and give unto the sd John Peters sufficient security for what freight shall then grow due, before any goods be taken out of the aforesd ship. In witnes whereof the parties above named have to this Charter-partie put to their hands and seales the 10th day of Decemb. Ano. 1649 *Annoq. Rx.*⁵

12. VOYAGE OF THE *GIFT OF GOD*, 1650.¹

[May 16, 1650.]

In the name of God Ame[n] This present writeing of Charter-party indented made concluded and agreed upon this sixteenth of

⁵ "Sealed and d'd in the presence of us, Robt Long, John Van hoegaerden, John Richbell, the marke of the sd John (+) Peters and a seale. Acknowledged the 12th of the 4th mo. 1650 before me Increase Nowell. I also attested a Copie." Dutch names not infrequently appear in the papers dealing with Parris's affairs, lending further plausibility to the supposition that he was selling slaves in Barbados.

[12] ¹ *Aspinwall Notarial Records*, pp. 300-301. Other references to the voyage of the *Gift of God* appear on page 340, but nothing which throws further light on her African trading.

July Ano D'ni 1650 betweene John Parris Merch't of N E: of the one party, and John Thompson of Lime house in the count of Middlesex mariner of the other party, Witnesseth that the sd John Comand'r of the good ship called the *gift of God* of London, burthen one hund'd and twenty tonns or thereabouts now rideing at Anchor in Pascataqs river in N. E. aforesd hath granted and letten to freight unto the sd John Parris all the aforesd Shepp wth all her appertenances whatsoever, to say masts yards sailes anchors cables uptackles ground tackles boats thereto belonging, together wth ten p'cs of ordinances and all other necessities thereto belonging fitting for her intended voyage, wth eighteene seamen, wch is in manner and forme following, that is to say the shippe the *Guift of God* shall saile per Gods grace from hence to the Barbados at or before the last day of August next ensueing the Date hereof, and there to take aboard such a Cargazoone of goods fitting for a voyage for Guiney if in case the sd Jo: Parris can there procure it, and from thence wth as much convenient speed as may be shall take her Course for Cape de Vird and so from thence to Cape Lopuz and to stay so long and unlade such goods and merchandizes as is or shalbe appointed by the sd John Parris or his Assignes: and also to lade such goods and merchandizes as the sd Parris or his Assignes shall lade aboard the sd shipp, and the sd Jo: Parris doth Coven't and grant per these presents that he his factors Deputies or Assignes or some of them shall and will well and truly pay or cause to be pd unto the sd Jo. Thompson the summe of ninety and fyve pounds sterl. per month for eight months certaine or twelve months uncertaine in goods of the Barbados according to the price there currant, wthin one month after the sd shipp's arrivall there, and it is also covenanted and agreed per and betweene the sd parties to these presents that at the sd shipp's arrivall at Barbados shall enter then into pay: Provided shee bee then ready to saile on her intended voyage wch is in manner and forme aforesd, and the sd John Thompson doth covenant promise and grant that the sd shipp shalbe stanch and strong, as also well and sufficiently victualled tackled and apparelled wth eighteene seamen as aforesd wth their wages and all other necessities at the sd J: Thompsons costs and charges, wch is needfull and necessary in such a shipp and such a voyage. It is also covenanted and agreed by and betweene the sd parties that the sd John Thompson is to have one quarter pt of the sd shipp and cargo pro Rato, and it is likewise covenanted that the aforesd men shalbe ready at all due times wth the boates of the sd shipp to serve the sd J. Parris his factors or Assignes to and from land dureing the sd voyage and also to discharge and Relade the sd shipp as opportunity shall serve.

And it is also agreed by and betweene the sd parties to these presents that the sd M'r or any of his men shall not receive aboard any goods or merchandizes from any man wth out first giveing notice to the sd John Parris his factors or Assignes to have one of their consents, neither shall any of the seamen of the sd shipp trade for any Negro or Negroes whatsoever. And the sd J: Parris doth further Coven't to and wth the sd Jo: Thompson to buy the whole Cargo fitting for the intended Negro voyage if in case it may be procured in the barbados as also God sending the good shipp to her port in Guiney, the sd Thompson is to have foure Negroes frieght free, provided he there buy them wth his owne goods. And it is further agreed by and betweene the sd parties to these p[rese]nts, that in case the sd Cargo cannot be procured in the Barbados then the sd shipp being readie, to proceed on some other lawfull designe untill a Cargo can be procured and to have her freight as aforesd. It is farther enacted and agreed that whereas it is afore expressed, No seaman shall take aboard, any goods merchandizes aboard the sd shipp, Wee do now agree they shall take aboard as much goods as shall amount to the summe of two hundd pounds sterl. to vend uppon the Coast, provided they buy no Negroes. In witnes whereof we the parties abovesd have hereto sett o'r hands and seales binding o'r selvs each to othar for the true performance of all and singular the Coven'td articles and agreements in the penall summe of two thousand pounds sterl the day and yeare first above written.²

13. DEPOSITION OF COOWLONS LUNERUS, 1653.¹

Coowlons Lunerus Aged fifty two yeeres or thereabouts saith that the vessell wherein Capt Harding left Morris and Company were and Came into this Countrey did not only Come into the berbadoes with its former Company to victuall but was permitted to trade there for negroes which the secretary of the berbadoes Informed him and desired him the said Lunerus to sell to the master or merchant of the said vessell for [torn] for him at eighty pounds starl. a yeere and that he traded with and bought of the Inhabitants of berbadoes for the spaniards both wearing clothes, Linnen, and tobacco, and negroes which they had not Reseaved aboard: further

² "John Parris and a seale, John Thompson and a seale. Sealed and d'd in the p'nce of us, Robert Sedgwick, John Allen Acknowledged the 16th of the 5th month 1650 by Mr John Parris and Mr. John Thompson before mee Increase Nowell. I also attested a Copie the 18 (5) 1650."

[13] ¹ Suffolk Court Files, Boston Court House, no. 294. This fragment, almost illegible, and divorced from all explanatory material, is here printed among Massachusetts material solely because Edward Rawson's signature, which is attached, makes it clear that the deposition was taken in Boston. Why it was taken one can only surmise.

he saith that the Pilot doctor and carpenter were Hamburgers and that some of the states of England shippes had given out they had Resolved to take the said Vessell. deposed before the magis'te 10th March 53

14. GOVERNOR LEVERETT TO THE LORD PRIVY SEAL, 1675.¹

BOSTON, September 6, 1675.

Acknowledges receipt of the King's commands subscribed by his Lordship and 16 of the Privy Council, dated 2nd December 1674, by the hand of Thomas Deane, agent to the Royal African Company, on 21st June 1675. Is ready to afford him due assistance according to the King's command and as their service may call for, which he thinks, will not be in haste. For 40 years there has not been any attempt on that navigation by any of our Massachusetts adventurers, only some from England or some Barbadoes merchants that have sent upon that voyage, and taken this way to repair their vessels.²

15. GOVERNOR BRADSTREET TO THE COMMITTEE OF
TRADE AND PLANTATIONS, 1680.¹

BOSTON, May 18, 1680.

There hath been no Company of blacks or Slaves brought into the Country since the beginning of this plantation, for the space of Fifty yeares, onely one small Vessell about two yeares since after twenty months' voyage to Madagasca[r] brought hither betwixt Forty and fifty Negro's most women and Children Sold here for ten 15£ and 20£

[14] ¹ *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1675-1676, p. 274. Endorsed: "Recd. at Com'tee, 4 Feb., 1675-1676." John Leverett was governor of Massachusetts Bay 1673-1678. The Lord Privy Seal was the Earl of Anglesey.

² The "navigation" to which reference is here made is that to Africa. Though Governor Leverett could not support the letter of his statement that no such voyage had taken place for forty years (Joseph B. Felt records the death of an inhabitant of Salem on the Guinea coast in 1663, *Annals of Salem*, II. 235), he is quite right in thinking that New England mariners offered no competition to the Royal African Company. The number of negroes in Massachusetts was increasing, but most of the increase came from the West Indies. Not long before this, one small importation had gained considerable attention. Nicholas Leech and William Hobby came to Boston, some time before 1670, bringing with them three negro women, one negro man, and one Indian woman, purchased at St. Christopher about 1665. In 1670 Robert Granby sued them for the price of these negroes and for 16,000 lbs. of sugar. The inclusion of the sugar leaves doubt as to how much of the £600 sued for should be considered as the value of the negroes. Suffolk Court Files, no. 1016.

[15] ¹ *Mass. Hist. Soc., Collections*, third ser., VIII. 337. Endorsed: "From the Governor of The Massachusetts with Answers to Inquiries. Recd. the 28 June 1680." On Oct. 12, 1676, Edward Randolph, in his "Answer to several heads of inquiry concerning the present state of New England," wrote: "not above 200 slaves and these brought in their own ships from Guinea and Madagascar. . . . There are some ships lately sent to Guinea, Madagascar, etc." (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1675-1676, pp. 465-466; Randolph's "Answer" is printed in *Hutchinson Papers* (Prince Society, 1865), II. 219, 232. For a discussion of the negro trade with Madagascar see this work, I. 93-95, and *post*, nos. 343-345, 348, 349.

apeice, which stood the merchants in neer 40£ [?] apeice one with another: Now and then, two or three Negro's are brought hither from Barbados and other of his Majesties plantations, and sold here for about twenty pounds apeice, So that there may bee within our Government about one hundred or one hundred and twenty. . . .

16. PETITION OF JOHN WINSLOW, 1680.¹

10 June 1680.

To the Honorable the Governor [and] Council sitting in Boston

The Petition of John Winslow Humbly prayeth your Hon'rs Favour in granting him liberty to bring up his Negroes to Boston which were by yo'r Honors ordered to be sent down unto the Islands they having been cleere from the small pox more then two months, since which they have had their health, and as they lye yonder are at a very great charge, damage and hinderance to your petitioner in the Sale of them; the case whereof hee humbly prayeth.

17. SIR HENRY MORGAN TO LORD SUNDERLAND, 1680.¹

PORT ROYAL, November 12, 1680.

. . . There lately arrived here a ketch empty, with only two men on board. Their statement on oath is that they were bound from New England to Guinea, where they loaded with negroes, elephants' teeth, and dust gold, and sailed for Nevis. On their way they called at an island called St. Martin's under the French Government, to wood and water, and were first invited into the harbour with much friendship, but afterwards suddenly seized and the ship unloaded. The master and his mate stayed there to obtain redress, but consented that these two men should adventure by stealth to this island, and when I have ascertained the whole story of the master, I shall transmit it to your Lordship. . . .

18. JOHN SAFFIN AND OTHERS TO WILLIAM WELSTEAD, 1681.¹

BOSTON, the 12th of June 1681.

Mr. Wm. Welstead, Wee did the last yeare send out Wm. Warren M'r of the ship *Elizabeth* for Guinea and at his returne ordered him to put in to Swansy for intelligence from us how to proceed farther

[16] ¹ Mass. Arch., LXI. 212.

[17] ¹ *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, p. 630. The earlier part of the letter relates to trade with the Spaniards. Morgan reported this to the Earl of Carlisle on Jan. 8, saying that he had the depositions of the two men. British Museum, Sloane MSS. 2724, p. 199.

[18] ¹ *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXXI. 75-76 (January, 1877). A note states that this document was copied from the Jeffries Manuscripts, "by permission of Mr. Walter Lloyd Jeffries of Boston."

and heareing that the people of Roade Island Understand thereof and all give out there intentions to Ceise her, do give you this as our ordor and request that you take the first opportunity to proceed for sayd Island and when you have there dispatched yr buisiness (in which be expeditious) go from thence and stand to and agayne at the entrance of that harbour, keepeing a good looke out to discover all ships that may be bound in there and if possible speake wth them and if it so happen as that you meett wth sayd Warren give him the letter here inclosed and cause him to returne wth you to Nantasket (where of before you come in there take in such negroes etc. as he hath of o'rs, and come up in the night wth them giveing us notice thereof wth what privacy you can, and we shall take care for there Landing,² what we have farther to ad is to keepe your men Ignorant of your designe and Improve your time what you can in fishing or w't elce may be helpfull to defray our charges, but not prejudiciall to our mayne designe in meeting wth Warren wch is the needfull at present.³

² There can be little question but that Boston at this time provided some market for negroes. A French refugee who visited the city in 1687, to gather information looking toward a settlement of fellow refugees, wrote: "You may also own Negroes and Negresses; there is not a House in Boston, however small may be its Means, that has not one or two. There are those that have five or six, and all make a good Living. . . . Negroes cost from twenty to forty Pistoles, according as they are skilful or robust; there is no Danger that they will leave you. . . . for the Moment one is missing from the Town, you have only to notify the Savages, who provided you promise them Something, and describe the Man to them, he is right soon found. But it happens rarely that they quit you, for they would know not where to go, there being few trodden Roads, and those which are trodden lead to English Towns or Villages, which, on your writing, will immediately send back your Men. There are Ship-Captains who might take them off; but that is open Larceny and would be rigorously punished." N. B. Shurtleff, *Topographical and Historical Description of Boston* (1871), I. 48.

³ The signatures are John Saffin, John Usher "for himself and Edward Shippen," James Wetcomb, and Andrew Belcher. Of these John Saffin was a successful Boston merchant, Boston deputy to the General Court, and Speaker of the colonial House of Representatives. Between 1654 and 1658 he had lived in Virginia (Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Transactions*, I. 85-86 n.). Of Andrew Belcher, father of the more famous Jonathan, the *Boston News Letter* wrote at the time of his death (Nov. 4, 1717): "On Thursday Night, last, Died the Honourable Andrew Belcher, Esq.; One of His Majesty's Council for this Province, and a very great Merchant, in the 71st Year of his Age: He has left a considerable Estate; and that which is much better A Good Name: having Obtained and Preserved to the last, the Character of a Religious, Prudent, Honest Man, both in his many Publick Offices, and in his Private Affairs and Business, which for many Years Exceeded any one Man in the Province."

19. VESSELS FROM BOSTON FOR AFRICA, 1698-1707.¹

A List of Vessells Cleared att the Port of Boston In New England For Affrica, Between the 25th of June 1698, to the 25th of Decemb'r 1707

Date	Mastr's Name	Vessell's Name	Value of Cargo	Duty Recd.
1699, Sept. 13th	Thomas Winsor	Friendship Brig'e.	£306 New Eng. Money ²	£30 12 s
1700, Augt. 19th	Ditto	Ditto	The former Cargo of the said Value being taken the Duty allowed for itt. As Certified upon Oath. This as it appears upon the Custom house books in the Port above said as Attested this 3d of Octob'r 1708.	

20. THE SELLING OF JOSEPH, 1700.¹

BOSTON, June 12, 1700.

Obj. 3. The Africans have Wars one with another: Our Ships bring lawful Captives taken in those Wars.

Answ. For ought is known, their Wars are much such as were between Jacob's Sons and their Brother Joseph. If they be between

[19] ¹Public Record Office, C. O. 5: 865, no. 8 i; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 111. Read Jan. 3, 1709 (*Journal of Board of Trade*, 1704-1709, p. 572). Until the passage of the act of 1698 (this work, I. 421-429) colonial merchants who ventured into the African trade did so as interlopers violating the privileges of the Royal African Company. After the passage of that act they were allowed to trade on payment of the ten per cent. duty demanded of all separate traders.

²£227 sterling. The list is signed, "John Jekyll Coll't and Survey'r."

[20] ¹Samuel Sewall, "The Selling of Joseph: a Memorial," *Mass. Hist. Soc., Proceedings*, VII. 161-165 (1863-1864), and *Collections*, fifth ser., VI. 16-20 n. A short extract from Sewall's well-known pamphlet is sufficient to set forth his argument. The episode which called it forth is described at length by Abner C. Goodell in "John Saffin and his Slave Adam" (*Col. Soc. Mass., Transactions*, I. 84-112). Sewall writes in his Diary June 19, 1700: "Having been long and much dissatisfied with the Trade of fetching Negroes from Guinea; at last I had a strong Inclination to Write something about it; but it wore off. At last reading Bayne, Ephes. about servants, who mentions Blackamoors; I began to be uneasy that I had so long neglected doing any thing. When I was thus thinking, in came Bro'r Belknap to shew me a Petition he intended to present to the Genl. Court for the freeing a Negro and his wife, who were unjustly held in Bondage. And there is a Motion by a Boston Committee to get a Law that all Importers of Negroes shall pay 40 s per head, to discourage the bringing of them. And Mr. C. Mather resolves to publish a sheet to exhort Masters to labour their Conversion. Which makes me hope that I was call'd of God to Write this Apology for them; Let his Blessing accompany the same." ("Sewall Papers," *Mass. Hist. Soc., Colls.*, fifth ser., VI. 16). Sewall's reading was Paul Baynes's *Commentary on the First Chapter of the Ephesians* (1618, *Col. Soc. Mass., Transactions*, I. 85 n.). In the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society is a broadside, "The Selling of Joseph, a Memorial," Colophon: "Boston of the Massachusetts, Printed by Bartholomew Green and John Allen, June 24th, 1700." Articulate criticism of the trade in negroes may be said to have begun in Massachusetts with the publication of this pamphlet, which brought to Sewall support of which he later wrote: "Amidst the Frowns and hard Words I have met with for this undertaking, it is no small refreshment to me, that I have the Learned, Reverend, and Aged Mr. Higginson for my Abettor. By the interposition of this Brest-work, I hope to carry on and manage this enterprise with Safety and Success" (Apr. 13, 1706, Sewall to the Rev. John Higginson, *Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall*, I. 326, *Mass. Hist. Soc., Colls.*, sixth ser., I.). Sewall's special reference here is to his return to the subject of the pamphlet written six years earlier. See *post*, no. 23 n.

Town and Town; Provincial, or National: Every War is upon one side Unjust. An Unlawful War can't make lawful Captives. And by Receiving, we are in danger to promote, and partake in their Barbarous Cruelties. I am sure, if some Gentlemen should go down to the Brewsters to take the Air, and Fish: And a stronger party from Hull should Surprise them, and Sell them for Slaves to a Ship outward bound: they would think themselves unjustly dealt with; both by Sellers and Buyers. And yet 'tis to be feared, we have no other kind of Title to our Nigers. Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them: for this is the Law and the Prophets Matt. 7. 12.

21. SAFFIN'S "BRIEF AND CANDID ANSWER," 1700.¹

Obj. 3. The Africans have Wars one with another; our Ships bring lawful Captives taken in those Wars.

To which our Author answers Conjecturally and Doubtfully, for ought we know, that which may or may not be; which is insignificant and proves nothing. He also compares the Negroes Wars, one Nation with another, with the Wars between Joseph and his Brethren. But where doth he read of any such War? We read indeed of a Domestick Quarrel they had with him, they envied and hated Joseph; but by what is Recorded, he was meerly passive and meek as a Lamb. This Gentleman farther adds, That there is not any War but is unjust on one side, etc. Be it so, what doth that signify: We read of lawful Captives taken in the Wars and lawful to be Bought and Sold without contracting the guilt of the Aggressors; for which we have the example of Abraham before quoted; but if we must stay while both parties Warring are in the right, there would be no lawful Captives at all to be Brought; which seems to be ridiculous to imagine, and contrary to the tenour of Scripture, and all Humane Histories on that subject.

[21] ¹ John Saffin, "A Brief and Candid Answer to a late Printed Sheet, Entituled, *The Selling of Joseph*;" Moore, *Notes on Slavery*, app., p. 254. The appendix to the "Answer," which defends Saffin's conduct toward his slave, Moore does not print but it may be found in Col. Soc. Mass., *Trans.*, I. 103 ff. Saffin's story is also to be read in the documents in the *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, vol. VIII., App., vol. III., pp. 266-271.

22. NOTICES OF SALES, 1704-1705.

BOSTON, June 1, 1704.¹

Two Negro men and one Negro Woman and Child; to be Sold by Mr. John Colmon, Merchant; to be seen at Col. Charles Hobbey, Esq. his House in Boston.

BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND The 6th October, 1705.²

This Day by me The subscriber was Exposed to publick Sale by the Candle³ at Mr. Skinners, The Swan Taverne, A Negro Boy named Jack, Alias Emannuel who was a slaive Taken from the Portuguese by the Pirate Sen'r Quares and his crew in the Brig. *Anna* and brought into this port among other things, And by order of the Govemt. here the said Slave was Exposed to Sale after some Days Notification at the Coffee House and other Publick Places in writing, and was Sett up at 19 G's⁴ the highest bidder appearing at the Sd Sale was Henry Shaw who had him fairly for Twenty pound this money at Eight Shillings per ounce, Troy.

23. MASSACHUSETTS BROADSIDE, 1704.¹

SEWALL, SAMUEL.

The Athenian Oracle, The Second Edition, Printed at London. 1704. Vol. I. P. 545-548. Quest. Whether Trading for Negros *i. e.* carrying them out of their own Country into perpetual Slavery, be in it self Unlawful, and especially contrary to the great Law of Christianity? Boston of the Massachusetts, December 5, 1705. Printed by Bartholomew Green, and are to be Sold by Samuel Phillips at the Brick Shop above the Town-House

[22] ¹*News Letter*, June 1, 12, 19, 1704. Sir Charles Hobby had married Colman's sister Judith (Justin Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, 1881, II. 542 n.). The advertisements of negroes for sale in Boston offer some slight clue to the numbers imported into Massachusetts and to the identity of the importers. An effort has been made to eliminate those notices which relate to the sale of negroes already resident in the colony, but it is obvious that this cannot always be done with certainty and in cases of doubt the editor has included doubtful items.

²*Newport Historical Magazine*, III. 263 (April, 1883). This is signed "Shannon, Vendue Master."

³*I. e.*, sale by auction. Bids were received while the candle burned an inch.

⁴Guineas.

[23] ¹*Broadsides, Ballads, etc., printed in Massachusetts, 1639-1800* (Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.*, vol. 75), p. 41, n. 88. A copy of the broadside is in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and in that of the Library of Congress. "Capt. Sewall sent the following question over to the Athenian Society," MS. note on the broadside. In the letter to the Rev. John Higginson already cited (no. 20, n. 1) Sewall wrote: "It is now near Six years agoe since I printed a Sheet in defence of Liberty. The next year after, Mr. Saffin sent forth a printed Answer: I forbore troubling the Province with any Reply, untill I saw a very severe Act passing against Indians and Negros, and then I Reprinted that Question, as I found it stated and answered in the Athenian Oracle; which I knew nothing of before last Autumn was twelve-moneths, when I accidentally cast my Eye upon it." *Letter-Book of Sewall*, I. 326.

24. ACT FOR THE BETTER PREVENTING OF A SPURIOUS AND MIXT ISSUE, 1705.¹

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,

[Sect. 6.] That from and after the first day of May in the year one thousand seven hundred and six, every master of ship or vessel, merchant or other person, importing or bringing into this province any negro or negro's, male or female, of what age soever, shall enter their number, names and sex in the impost office; and the master shall insert the same in the manifest of his lading, and shall pay to the commissioner and receiver of the impost four pounds per head for every such negro, male or female; and as well the master, as the ship or vessel wherein they are brought, shall be security for payment of the said duty, and both or either of them shall stand charged, in the law, therefore to the commissioner, who may deny to grant a clearing for such ship or vessel until payment be made, or may recover the same of the master, (at the commissioner's election), by action of debt, bill, plaint or information, in any of her majestys' courts of record within this province.

[Sect. 7. A master failing to make entry shall forfeit £8 for each negro imported.]

[Sect. 8.] And if any negro, imported as aforesaid, for whom the duty is paid, shall be again exported within the space of twelve months, and be bona fide sold in any other plantation, upon due certificate thereof produced, under the hand and seal of the collector or naval officer, in such other plantation, the importer here shall be allowed to draw back the whole duty of four pounds by him paid, and order shall be given accordingly. And the like advantage of the drawback shall be allowed to the purchaser of any negro sold within this province, in case such negro happen to dye within the space of six weeks next after importation, or bringing into this province.²

[24] ¹ *Acts and Resolves of Mass. Bay*, I. 578-579 (1692-1714). The selectmen of Boston, on May 26, 1701, voted that their representatives are desired "To promote the Encouragement the bringing of white serv'ts, and to put a Period to negros being Slaves" ("Selectmen's Records, 1701-1715," *Report of the Record Commissioners*, 1884, p. 5). In 1709 an "Act to Encourage the Importation of White Servants" placed a duty on Indian slaves, as is here done upon negro importations, while it bestowed a bounty of 40 s. per head on the importation of white male servants. After 1712 the importation of Indian slaves was forbidden. *Acts and Resolves*, I. 634, 698.

² The underlying purpose or purposes of this act can be conjectural only. There may have been advocates of it whose repugnance to the slave trade led them to hope to abolish it by means of a duty; some may have desired to protect the incoming white population from slave labor, though at this period that does not seem a reasonable explanation; some may have desired, as the title suggests, to protect the colony from racial intermixture. No one can assert with confidence that this law checked or did not check the importation of negroes. It assuredly did not prevent it.

25. NOTICES OF SALES, 1706-1707.¹

June 10, 1706.

Three Negro Men Slaves, and three Negro Women, to be Sold; Inquire of John Campbell Postmaster, and know further.

February 17, 1707.

Any Person or Persons that has a Negro Man Slave or Slaves to Sell, or to be Transported to Virginia² for a Market, may repair to John Campbell Post-master of Boston, where they may know further; Those to be Transported shall have their Passage free for their Labour thither.

26. THE IMPORTATION OF NEGROES INTO MASSACHUSETTS, 1706.¹

By last Years Bill of Mortality for the Town of Boston in Numb 100 *News Letter*,² we are furnished with a List of 44 Negroes dead last year, which being computed one with another at 30 *l.* per Head,³ amounts to the Sum of One Thousand three hundred and Twenty Pounds, of which we would make this Remark: That the Importing of Negroes into this or the Neighbouring Provinces is not so beneficial either to the Crown or Country, as White Servants would be.

For Negroes do not carry Arms to defend the Country as Whites do:

Negroes are generally Eye-Servants, great Thieves, much addicted to stealing, Lying, and Purloining.

They do not People our Country as Whites would do whereby we should be strengthened against an Enemy.

[25] ¹*News Letter*. Notices similar to the first one appeared on Aug. 26 and Sept. 9. Writers eager to prove the unpopularity of the slave trade in Massachusetts have instanced the anonymity of such advertisements as these as showing the unwillingness of the vendor to make his name public. The use of the name of the postmaster or some other well-known official was equally common in the advertisements of houses or furniture and signified only that the advertiser, having no place of business, wished to provide a place generally accessible where the public might apply for information.

²The sale of New England negroes in Virginia was probably not uncommon, though the evidence for it is scant. Philip A. Bruce cites an instance in 1678: "Know all men by these presents that I John Endicott, Cooper, of Boston in New England, have sold unto Richard Medlicott, a Spanish Mulatto, by name Antonio, I having full power to sell for his life time, but at the request of William Taylor, I do sell him but for ten years from the day that he shall disembark for Virginia, the ten years to begin, and at the expiration of the said ten years, the said Mulatto to be a free man to go where-soever he pleases. I do acknowledge to have received full satisfaction of Medlicott." *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, II. 81; *William and Mary College Quarterly*, VI. 117.

[26] ¹*News Letter*, June 10, 1706.

²*News Letter*, Mar. 18, 1706.

³The valuation placed upon negroes for tax purposes at this time was: "Each male negro above fourteen years of age, at twenty pounds value; each female negro of fourteen years of age and upwards, at fifteen pounds value: except said trustees, by reason of their age or infirmity, shall see just cause to make any abatement of said value, which they are hereby allowed." *Acts and Resolves*, I. 615.

By Encouraging the importing of White Men Servants, allowing somewhat to the importer, most Husbandmen in the Country might be furnished with Servants for 8, 9, or 10 *l.* a Head, who are not able to Launch out 40 or 50 *l.* for a Negro the now common Price.

A Man then might buy a White Man Servant we suppose for 10 *l.* to Serve 4 years, and Boys for the same price to Serve 6, 8 or 10 years: If a White Servant die, the Loss exceeds not 10 *l.* but if a Negro dies 'tis a very great Loss to the Husbandman. Three years Interest of the price of the Negro, will near upon if not altogether purchase a White Man Servant.

If Necessity call for it, that the Husbandman must fit out a man against the Enemy; if he has a Negro he cannot send him, but if he has a White Servant, 'twill answer the end, and perhaps save his Son at home.

Were Merchants and Masters Encouraged as already said to bring in Men Servants, there needed not be such complaint against Superiors Impressing our Children to the War, there would then be Men enough to be had without Impressing.

The bringing in of such servants would much enrich this Province, because Husbandmen would not only be able far better to manure what Lands are already under Improvement, but would also improve a great deal more that now lyes waste under Woods, and enable this Province to set about raising of Naval Stores, which would be greatly advantagious to the Crown of England, and this Province. . . .

Suppose the Government here should allow Forty Shillings per head for five years, to such as should Import every of those years 100 White Men Servants, and each to serve 4 Years, the cost would be but 200 *l.* a year, and a 1000 for the five years: the first 100 servants being free the 4th year, they serve the 5th for Wages, and the 6th there is 100 that goes out into the Woods, and settles a 100 Families to strengthen and Baracade us from the Indians, and so a 100 Families more every year successively.

And here you see that in one year the Town of Boston has lost 1320 *l.* by 44 Negroes, which is also a Loss to this Country in general, and for a less Loss, (if it may improperly be so called) for a 1000 *l.* the Country may have 500 Men in 5 years time for the 44 Negroes dead in one year.

A certain person within these 6 years had two Negroes dead computed both at 60 *l.* which would have procured him six white Servants at 10 *l.* per head to have Served 24 years, at 4 years a piece, without running such a great risque, and the Whites would have strengthened the Country, that Negroes do not. 'Twould do wel[1]

that none of those Servants be liable to be Impressed during their Service of Agreement at their first Landing.

That such Servants being Sold or Transported out of this Province during the time of their Service, the person that buys them be liable to pay 3 *l.* into the Treasury.

27. PETITION OF DAVID JEFFRIES, 1707.¹

June 12, 1707.

To his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esqr. Capt. General and Governor in Chief and to the Hono'ble the Council and House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay now in General Court assembled June 12th 1707.

The Petition of David Jeffries of Boston Merch't, Humbly Sheweth,

That your Petitioner had a negro woman named Bilhah and four Small children one that Sucked at her Breast consign'd to him in the sloop *Rebecca* John Pitts Ma'r from Jamaica who arrived here in October last. And your Petitioner was forced to pay four pounds a head for their Importation which your petitioner thinks very hard in regard some these sd Children were not worth the Money and therefore

Yo'r Petitioner humbly prays the favour of this great and General Assembly that so much thereof may be remitted him as Shall seem Equitable and reasonable.²

28. GOVERNOR DUDLEY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1708.¹

BOSTON NEW ENGLAND Octob'r 1st 1708.

My Lords, Your Lordships Commands of the fifteenth of April last past, referring to the Affrican trade for Negros, carryed on by the Affrican Company, and other Seperate Traders to Her Ma'tys Province of the Massachusetts, came to my hand from Barbados on

[27] ¹ *Acts and Resolves, Mass. Bay*, vol. VIII., App., vol. III., pp. 770-771, from Council Records, VIII. 335, and Mass. Arch., IX. 157.

² "In the House of Representatives, June 13: 1707, Read and Referrd to next Session, Novr. 11: 1707. Read and Committed." Endorsed: "David Jeffries. Petition, June 13: 1707. Refer'd to next Sessions." On Nov. 15 the House granted the petition by remitting the duty on the youngest child. This received the assent of the governor on Nov. 25:

"Order for abating Four Pounds of the Duty due by David Jeffries of Boston, on a Negress and Four Children consigned to him in the sloop *Rebecca*, from Jamaica, John Pitts, Master.

"Upon reading the petition of David Jeffries, merchant, praying an abatement of the duty for four small negroe children imported,

"Ordered That the Sum of Four Pounds be abated to the Petitioner, in regard one of the Said negroes, was a Sucking child." *Acts and Resolves*, vol. VIII., App., vol. III., p. 248.

[28] ¹ C. O. 5: 865, no. 8; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 110.

the Twenty eighth of Septemb'r past. And I have used all possible application to make my letters ready from this Province, as I hope to do from the Province of New Hampshire, and this is the first conveyance since.²

And that I might perfectly Satisfy your Lordships what Negro's have been Imported into this Province from the Twenty fourth of June, 1698 to the 25th of Decemb'r, 1707, I have caused the Officers of the Revenue to Attend me, and have had Conference with the principal Merchants and Planters referring to the Number and prices of Negro's brought in.

And I find by the best Computation that I can make (which cannot faile me to any Degree) That there are in Boston Negro Servants to the Numb'r of 400 above halfe of them born here.....400
In One hundred Towns and Villages in this Province.....150

Total.....550

That in the sd Nine years and halfe last past of the above said Number Arrived Two hundred.

That none of these were brought in by any Ships of the Affrican Company, nor Separate Traders directly from any part of Affrica, but from the West Indies, That is to Say, Barbados, Jamaïca, the Leward Islands, etc. Nor can I learn from any Merchants or Planters here, that before this time, The Affrican Company had any Ships or Factory here; But Some Traders on their own Accompts, a long time Since, have been upon the Coast of Guinean and brought Slaves, the last was Thomas Windsor in the year 1700, who brought in Twenty five negroes. Copy of the Dutys paid to the Affrican Company is Inclosed. Since which here is an Officer, Mr. Benja. Alford, Impowrd to receive the Ten per Cent. As by Act of Parliam't given for the Affrican Company,³ whose Commission is Dated 25th Feby. 1700/1.

Every Body is sensible of the Absolute necessity and great benefit of that trade for the West Indies, but it is not so Serviceable for these Northern Plantations.

Because the Winter halfe year Admits of little Service from them, but Demands a great deal of Clotheing, which is very dear in these Provinces.

² On Oct. 10 Governor Dudley wrote that there were seventy negro servants in New Hampshire, about twenty of whom had been brought in during the past nine years (*ibid.*, p. 111). On Jan. 26, 1709, Eleazar Kimberly reported to the Board of Trade that after strictest inquiry, he found that no negroes had been imported into Connecticut by the Royal African Company or the separate traders; that perhaps half a dozen a year might come from the West Indies. In 1710 Deputy Governor Saltonstall made a similar report. *Ibid.*, 1708-1709, p. 209; 1710-1711, p. 123.

³ Act of 1698. See this work, I. 421-429.

The Negroes so brought in from the West Indies, are Usually the worst Servants they have, which are therefore Sent to be Solde. The prizes are Usually between Fifteen and Twenty five pounds per head.

These Plantations being upon the Continent Admit of their running from their Masters, whereas upon the Islands they are soon Recovered.

Upon all which Accounts they have been found so little profitable and the Planters here do so much prefer White Servants from Great Britain, Ireland, Jersey, and Guernsey, who are Serviceable in the War presently, and after become Planters, that they have Set, by a Law three years Since, Four pounds per head upon all Blacks imported, to Encourage the bringing in of White Servants.

This my Lords is the past and present State of that Trade in this province.⁴

29. NOTICES OF SALES, 1712-1714.¹

November 10, 1712.

A Young negro girl born in Barbadoes that speaks good English, to be sold by Mr. Grove Hirst,² merchant, and to be seen at his house in Trea-mont Street, Boston.

April 13, 1713.³

A very likely Negro Man, aged about 18 or 20 years, lately arrived from Jamaica, to be Sold by Capt. Gilbert Bant and to be seen at his House in Middle-Street, Boston.

August 3, 1713.

Three Negro Men and two Women to be Sold and seen at the House of Mr. Josiah Franklin at the Sign of the blue Ball in Union-Street Boston.⁴

¹ To this letter the Board of Trade replied on Jan. 12, 1709: "We take notice that you say the Assembly of the Massachusetts Bay have, by an Act passed about three years ago, laid a duty of £4 per head on negroes, you ought to have acquainted us with the year the said Act was passed in, and have given us the title of the Act, for we can find none such among those we have; and therefore we expect that you transmit it to us by the first opportunity. One of the reasons you give why negroes are not desired in New England, is because it being on the Continent the negroes have thereby an opportunity of running away; the same reason will hold in Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, which are also upon the Continent, where negroes are so valuable." C. O. 5: 913, pp. 44-46.

[29] ¹ *News Letter*, of dates given.

² Grove Hirst was Samuel Sewall's son-in-law.

³ During the year 1713 there are in the custom-house entries as recorded in the newspapers two vessels outward bound for Cape Verde. Without further evidence of negro trade such items have not been included here, though a vessel bound for Cape Verde could easily engage in the traffic in slaves.

⁴ The Blue Ball, at the corner of Hanover and Union streets, was purchased by Josiah Franklin in 1712 and remained in the possession of the family 41 years. See Shurtleff, *Description of Boston* (pp. 626-634), for a history of the house; Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston* (II. 273), for a picture of the sign which gave it its name.

June 14, 1714.

Five Young Negro's, aged between Ten and Fifteen Years to be Sold by Mr. John Jeffers, and to be seen at his House in Brattle Street, Boston.

August 23, 1714.

Three Negro Women, one Girl, four Men and two Boys, to be Sold by Messieurs John and David Jeffers Jun., and to be seen at Mr. John Jeffer's House in Brattle Street, Boston.

September 13, 1714.

To be disposed of by Mr. Samuel Sewall Merchant, at his Warehouse near the Swing-Bridge in Merchants Row Boston, several Irish Maid Servants, time most of them for Five years one Irish Man Servant who is a good Barber and Wiggmaker, also Four or Five likely Negro Boys.⁵

September 27, 1714.

One Negro Woman, Five Negro Boys, and One Negro Girl, to be Sold by John Ferry, and to be seen at the House of Mr. Simon Rome, the next Door to the Post Office in Cornhill, Boston.

October 25, 1714.

Several Negro Men and Women, to be sold on reasonable Terms, by Mr. Richard Bill Merchant, and to be seen at his House in Sudbury-Street Boston.

Two Negro Men aged about 22 Years, a Boy aged about 16, and a Girl aged about 12 Years, to be Sold by Thomas Palmer Esqr. or Capt. Joseph Wood: The Negro's to be seen at the House of Capt. Gilbert in Fish-street at the Upper End of Scarlets Wharffe in Boston.

30. ACCOUNTS OF NATHANIEL HARRIS, 1712.¹

1712.	Mr. Nathanael Humphry of Antigua	Dr.	£	s.	d.
May.	To what he was indebted to me at Antigua to come out of the produce of the Negro Man		14	14	0
July	To freight of 2 Negro's		4	0	0
	To the Impost of Ditto		7	12	6
	To 2 Shirts 1 pr. Shoes and Cap for Negro Man		1	7	0
	To Cloathe and keeping the Negro Woman and damage recd. by her		5	0	0
	To Comission for Selling the Negro Man		1	10	0
			£34	3	6

⁵ A combination of trade in negroes and in Irish servants was probably not unusual.

[30] ¹ Mass. Arch., IX. 165-166. The previous year Nathaniel Harris, in the sloop *Virginia*, cleared from Boston for Virginia (*News Letter*, Dec. 10, 1711).

The notices of sales for 1711 are:

May 14, One man, one woman, two, boys, William Clarke
Nov. 12, Negro man, Henry Franklyn
Dec. 10, Negro man, Post Office

Contra	Cr.	£	s.	d.
1712 By Mr. Dwight for one Negro Man Sold to him for		30.	0.	0
By Ballance due to me		4.	3.	6
By one Negro Woman in my house to be delivered on demand named Hagar and "appraised at twenty Eight pounds money in province bill upon the Oaths of Capt. Gyles Fifield and Tho. Jenkins Sworn before me Paul Dudley, Justice of Peace." ²				

BOSTON, October 9th, 1712.
Errors Excepted NATH'L HARRIS

31. SUMMARY OF SALES, 1715-1721.¹

Date	Negroes	Agent
1715, Apr. 15	Negro boy and two young negro women	Samuel Sewall
May 9	Several negro men and women	William Atkinson
June 6	" " " " "	" "
July 18	Six young negro women and four children	Post Office
" "	Two negro men, one negro woman	William Harris
Aug. 8	Several young negro men	Messrs. Guionneau
" "	Two negro men and a boy	Capt. Simon Ramy
" "	Two notices of single negroes	
" 22	Three young negro women	Ship Tavern
Sept. 12	Six negro men	John Binning
Oct. 10	Four negro men, two women	William Clark
1716, June 25	Several negro men, a woman, a boy	John Pym
1717, Apr. 8	Several negro women and boys	Capt. John Corney
June 10	Negro man, negro girl, two negro boys	Nathaniel Cunningham
Aug. 12	Two negro boys	Jonathan Barnard
1718, Apr. 28	Two negro women	William Harris
Oct. 20	Three negro men and two women	John and James Alford
1719, Apr. 20	Negro man	Mr. Skinner
" "	Two negro men	John Powell
May 11	Several negro boys and girls	John Charnock and Co.
" "	Two negro men	Thaddeus Maccarty
" 25	Negro boy	Samuel Sewall
June 1	Two negro girls, a negro woman	Mr. Faneuel's Warehouse
Nov. 30	Negro man, two negro women	Capt. Peter King
" "	Negro boy	Capt. John Ellery
1720, Jan. 4	Negro man	Capt. Samuel Long in Charlestown, or Mr. Thomas Moffat in Boston
Oct. 24	Negro woman, two negro boys	Capt. Robinson
Nov. 21	Negro man	Capt. Joseph Wadsworth
Dec. 19	Gold Coast negro woman	Capt. Robinson
1721, May 8	Two negro men	William Clark
" 29	Several negro men from St. Jago	Mr. Holmes

²The words enclosed in quotation-marks are in different handwriting from the remainder of the manuscript.
[31] ¹Notices of these sales appeared in the *News Letter* or in the *Boston Gazette* of the dates given.

32. WILLIAM PEPPERRELL TO BENJAMIN BULLARD, 1719.¹

June 25, 1719.

Sir, I received yours by Captain Morris, with bills of lading for five negroes and one hogshead of rum. One negro woman, marked Y on the left breast, died in about three weeks after her arrival, in spite of medical aid which I procured. All the rest died at sea. I am sorry for your loss. It may have resulted from deficient clothing so early in the spring.

33. PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 1722.¹

December 7, 1722.

Penn Townsend, Esq; brought down a Petition of Leonard Vassal,² praying, That as he brought over some Negros for the use of his Family, he may have the Impost remitted. Sent down from Council Recommended. Read and Ordered, That the prayer of the Petition be granted. Sent up for Concurrence.

December 8, 1722.

Charles Frost, Esq; brought down a Petition signed Leonard Vassal, passed on in Council Decemb. 7, viz. Read and Concurred. Provided, That if the Petitioner shall hereafter dispose of any of the Negros within this Province, he shall pay unto the Commissioner of Impost, the Duty set by Law for the same.

Sent down for Concurrence. Read and Non-concurr'd,

And the House Insist on their own Vote. Sent up for Concurrence.

34. NOTICES OF SALES, 1726.¹

May 12, 1726.

Three likely Negro Boys lately Arrived here, to be sold by Mr. Jacob Royall in Union St., Boston.²

[32] ¹ Usher Parsons, *Life of Sir William Pepperrell* (Boston, 1855), p. 28. Benjamin Bullard, an Antigua merchant, had shipped to Kittery Point five negroes, consigned to the firm of Pepperrells. In 1705 a slave belonging to William Pepperrell had run away and reached South Carolina, where he was secured by the governor and returned to Kittery. *News Letter*, Apr. 22, 1706.

[33] ¹ *Journal of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*, IV. 139, 140.

² Leonard Vassall, grandson of Samuel Vassall, the London alderman who had been concerned in the slave trade as well as in many other colonial ventures of the seventeenth century, had come from Jamaica to Boston not long before this. He died in Boston in 1737.

[34] ¹ *News Letter*, of dates given. Many of the items are repeated in later issues of the *News Letter*. The custom-house entries for 1725 give, Jan. 7, John Harris, sloop *Africa*, outward bound for Africa, and on Oct. 14, Harris from Africa, but offer no evidence as to whether he brought negroes. The advertisements are:

1723, Aug. 19, Three negro women, Samuel Sewall

1725, Aug. 5, Several negro boys, one girl, John Webster

Aug. 19, Four negroes, man, a woman, boy, girl, Isaac White

² On Aug. 1 Jacob Royall advertised "A Parcel of Negro Boys and Girls" at three, six, nine, or twelve months' credit. *Boston Gazette*, Aug. 1, 1726.

May 26, 1726.

Eight Choice Negro Men, One Negro Woman, and an Negro Girl to be seen, and Sold at the Salutation, by Mr. Benony Waterman at the North End, Boston.

June 30, 1726.

To be Sold, Several likely Negro Men, lately Arrived from the West Indies, fit for Town or Country Service, to be seen at Mr. Anthony Youngs House at the Salutation in Boston.

To be Sold by Mr. Samuel Sewell at his House in the Common,³ Boston, several likely Young Negro Men and Boys Just Arrived.

July 18, 1726.⁴

Several Negro Boys, Girls and Women To be Sold on board the Sloop *Dolphin*, Benjamin Millekin, Master, lately Arrived from St. Kitts, now laying at the Long Wharf, and if desired, the Buyer shall have 3, 6, 9 or 12 Months Credit.

Very Likely Negro Boys and Girls, to be Sold by Mr. John Carnes, Brasier, near The Draw-Bridge in Boston.

Just Arrived, A Likely Young Negro Man, and Five Sturdy Negro Boys, to be Sold by Messieurs Guionneau and Leblond, and to be seen at the said Mr. Guionneau's House in Queen-Street Boston

September 1, 1726.

To be Sold, A Parcel of Negros, Just Arrived, *viz.* Men, Women, Boys and Girls; they are to be seen at Capt. Nathaniel Jarvis's House near Scarlets Wharff.⁵

October 6, 1726.

Likely Negro Boys and a Girl just arrived, to be sold by Mr. Samuel Sleigh, Inquire at Messieurs Oliver and Welsted's Warehouse on the Dock, Boston.

November 17, 1726.

Several choice Gold Coast Negroes lately Arrived. To be Sold at Mr. Bulfinch's, near the Town Dock, Boston.

December 15, 1726.⁶

Two likely Young Negro Men lately imported, to be Sold by Thomas Steel Esq., and to be seen at his House in Hanover Street, Boston.

³ Similar notice in *Gazette*, July 18.

⁴ *Boston Gazette*, July 18, 1726. This issue of the *Gazette* contains five advertisements of newly arrived negroes.

⁵ On Sept. 29 Captain Jarvis advertised "A likely Negro Girl, lately Arrived from the West Indies," which suggests that he had disposed of all his cargo but one.

⁶ The custom-house entries for 1726 are:

Jan. 18, Cleared for Africa, John Harris, sloop *Africa*

Nov. 24, " " " Francis Plaisted

35. PETITION OF ANDREW TRENT AND BENONY WATERMAN, 1727.¹

August 18, 1727.

A Petition of Andrew Trent and Benony Waterman of the Island of Barbados, Merchants now residing in Boston, shewing that on the 31st of May last, they arrived at Boston from Barbados, having sundry Negro Slaves on Board as their Property, which they entred and paid the Duty of £4 per Head for according to the Law of this Province, that Two of the said Negroes dyed in July last, being the Property of the Petitioners at their decease, and were of the Value of One Hundred and Fifty Pounds or thereabouts, praying they may be allowed to draw back the said sum of Four Pounds per Head by them paid for the Duty of the said Two Negroes deceased, for the Reasons mentioned.

Read and Ordered, That the Prayer of the Petition be granted and that the Commissioner of Impost be and hereby is directed to repay to the Petitioners the Money they have paid for the Duty of the two deceased Negroes within mentioned. Sent up for Concurrence.

36. ACCOUNTS OF THE KATHERINE, 1727.¹

Sloop "Katherines" Book Begun anno 1727 and Cheifly Relates to what Cap Plaisted was Concernd in Exe. per G. G.

1727	Dr Sailes and Nete Prosede of Sundery Negroes Vizt.			
	To abatement made Joseph White, Esqr.	£ 2.	10.	
	To the Buriall of foure Negroes	2.	18.	4
	To foure Coffines	1.	16.	
	To Dannell Goff at Vandue	13.	17.	6
	To Impost	94.		6
	To abatement made Mary Gilbert	5.	0.	
		£120.	2.	4
1727	Per Contra		Cr.	
Sept.	By Joseph Plasted	1	Boye	£75. 0. 0
	By William Thomas	1	Ditto	75. 0. 0
	By John Stanford	1	Man	75. 0. 0
	By Capt. Macarty	1	Boye	80. 0. 0
	By Thomas Jackson	1	garle	80. 0. 0
	By Joseph White Esqr.	1	Boye	62. 10. 0
	By William Mallus	1	Woman	80. 0. 0
	By Mathew Bond	1	Boye	60. 0. 0
	By Sam'el Weekes	1	Ditto	80. 0. 0
	By [Jonathan] Brown	1	Ditto	60. 0. 0
	By Capt. Jno. Pittes	1	Woman	80. 0. 0

[35] ¹*Jour. House of Representatives, Mass.*, VII. 333. On Oct. 7 a similar petition from Simon Rogers, who had purchased a new negro in July, was granted (*ibid.*, VII. 369; *Mass. Arch.*, IX. 201). For further information about Rogers see *post*, no. 37, n. 1.

[36] ¹*Mass. Arch.*, CXXXVI. 45-80. The advertisements for 1727 are:
Feb. 2, Negro man, John Brewster
Aug. 2, Parcel of likely negroes of both sexes, Capt. Nathaniel Jarvis

See also *post*, no. 37, n. 1, and S. G. Drake, *History and Antiquities of Boston*, pp. 574-575, notes, where a number of advertisements are printed which the editor has not come upon.

[Accounts of the "Katherine"—continued:]

Cr.	By Capt. Jno. Webster	1	Ditto	70.	0.	0
	By Joseph Cowell	1	garle	£65.	0.	0
	By Hebbert Newton	1	Boye	65.	0.	0
	By Edword Luttwich	1	Man	75.	0.	0
	By George Cambles	1	garle	30.	0.	0
	By Natha'el Weles	1	Boye	75.	0.	0
	By Mary Gilbart	1	"	75.	0.	0
	By James Pecker	1	Boye	60.	0.	0
	By Giddeon Ball	1	garle	60.	0.	0
	By Natha'el Emes	1	"	50.	0.	0
	By James Fordike	1	"	47.	0.	0
	By Dannill Goff	1	"	59.	0.	0
	By Francis Plasted	1	Boye	45.	0.	0
	By John Stover	1	garle	70.	0.	0
				£1653. 10.		
To Sundery Charges per the other Side				120. 2. 4		
. ² Nete Prosed Carried to Credit of the owners				£1533. 7. 8		

37. ACCOUNTS OF HUGH HALL, 1728-1733.¹

1728 Feb. 15. Memo. to get Certificates for the following Negro's Ship'd out of the Province.
Sam'l Seddon of Hampton, 1 Neg'e boy Imported 2d Sept'r 1727 per Capta. George Lee.

²The section omitted records the sale of the general merchandise and the rum on board. The description of the cargo of lumber carried by the *Katherine* to the Leeward Islands, amounting to £466 17 2¾, and a list of the expenses of her "outset," amounting to £331 5 4½, are in no sense peculiar to a slaver. The vessel was apparently reloaded in Boston and sent to Africa for a second slave cargo. The accounts are in such confusion that it is well-nigh impossible to separate those items which relate to the voyage under Captain Plaisted from those which belong to the voyage under Captain Atkinson. The instructions sent to Captain Atkinson (*post*, no. 39) supply the names of the owners, among whom was the captain himself. In items of Aug. 19, 1729, he is charged "To ¼ of £500 Starling Insuerance on the Sloop *Catharine* from Boston To Guiney and Back againe and Reinsurance from Antiago When have the acc'tt from Loyde and Rusk Shall Charge yr. ¼ parte." One fourth of "Nete Prosede of acc'tt Sales of Negroes Rum etc. from antigo" is entered as £516 15¾. The sale of this cargo offers more evidence on the price of slaves in Massachusetts than the editor has elsewhere come upon. Massachusetts currency at this time was valued at 17 s. per oz. of silver, though it was 8 s. per oz. in 1712. W. B. Weedon, *Economic and Social History of New England*, II. 473.

A few scattered examples of earlier and later prices may furnish some basis for comparisons, though most of these are for seasoned or country-born rather than new negroes. The inventory of the estate of James Lloyd, a Boston merchant, in 1693, valued a negro man at £30 (*Papers of the Lloyd Family*, 1927, p. 121). In 1707, for purposes of taxation, negro men over fourteen were valued at £20, women at £15 (*Acts and Resolves, Mass. Bay*, II. 615). The *News Letter* of Mar. 10, 1718, gave the average valuation of the negroes in the colony as £30. In 1727 a new negro man was valued at £20 (*Mass. Arch.*, IX, 202 a). By 1776 a negro man who had cost £60 was offered for sale at £50, a woman whose cost was £35 could be obtained for £30. *Medford Historical Register*, III. 120.

[37] ¹The items which follow are those relating to negroes, selected from an account book of Hugh Hall which was presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Mrs. Mary Baury Jackson Rathbone, great-great-granddaughter of Hugh Hall. The small volume is labelled "Small Accounts not posted," and the entries are frequently so abbreviated as to be unintelligible. For 1727 we also have several items relating to Hall's business: "Several very likely Young Negro's of each Sex (just Arrived) to be Sold at Six or Twelve Months Credit, on good security, by Mr. Hugh Hall Merchant,

Wm. Willson of Carolina, 1 Negro was Imported 18th April 1727 per Capt. Benja. Hathorn.

Mary Danilsone of Killingly, 1 Negro Man nam'd Cuffee Imported May 1728 per Capt. Bowditch.

David Naughtye of Guilford 1 Negro Girl Imported per Capt. Peter King.

Ditto 1 Negr boy imported 3d Sept. per Capt. Waterhouse.

Tho. Salter 1 Negro Imported 3d Sepr by ditto.

John Knowls of Hartford. 2 Negros a boy and a Girl Imported 3d Sept. by ditto.

Isaac Freeman of Fairfield 1 Negr. boy Ditto.

James Brown of Providence, 1 Negr. man nam'd Tom imported 4th Octo'r last per Capt. Norwood.

William Caddow, 1 Girl Imported 3 Sept by Capta. Samuel Waterhouse.

Ballances Due to my Employers Barbadoes this 6th March 1728.²

Thomas Richards of Barb's Dr. . . .

Charges on 2 Negro's Dyed

To Cadders for Dyet and Care	£2
To Williams the Grave Digg'r	1. 4.
To Doct'r Douglass's bill	2. 3. 6
To Bearers at	16.
To Cost for two Coffins	1. 6.
To Ditto for Bringing the Negro's on Shore and rum	5. 8

7. 15. 2

Sale of Three negro's, Eight barrells of Sugar and one hhd. of Rum, on Acco't of Mr. Thomas Richards of Barb. and put into my hands for Sale.³ . . .

at whose Ware-house on Mr. Pitt's Wharffe is Sold Barbadoes Rum and Sugar in Hogsheads, Tairces or Barells, and sundry European Goods" (*News Letter*, May 4, 11, 18, 1727); "Boston, July 10, 1727. Receiv'd of Mr. Simon Rogers Twenty pounds in full for a Negro man named Nick whose Title I Promise to Warrant and Defend. Per H. HALL;" "Impost Office, Boston Octb: 7: 1727. These Certify that Mr. Hugh Hall has Ingaged to pay the duty of Three Negro males and one female Imported from Barbados per the Ship *Martha* Edward Cooper Comd: in June Last. For Daniel Russell Esq. Comis., per EPHRA BREED. To whom it may Concern, Sold Mr. Simon Rogers one of three negro's above mentioned named Nickey. H. HALL." Mass. Arch., IX. 202 a-b.

During the year 1728 Hall's advertisements for negroes "just arrived" appeared in the *News Letter* from May 23 to July 11, and in the *Gazette* of Sept. 16 and 30. The notice of Sept. 30 refers to "Men, Women, Boys, and Girls, some of which Arrived on Saturday last." Hall is still advertising newly arrived negroes in the *News Letter* of Aug. 7 and 14, 1729.

² Here follow ten names.

³ On May 9, 16, 23, and 30, 1728, Thomas Richards advertised in the *News Letter* "a parcel of fine likely Negroes . . . Two Boys, Three Girls, Three Women, and Four Men, At the House of Capt. Nathanael Jarvis at the North End, Boston."

June 5.	By John Allen	1 Negro Girl	£75
20.	By Will'm Warner	1 Boy	80
23.	By Stephen Kellogg	1 Girl	70
			316. 16. 6 ⁴

Deduct the following Charges. . . .			
	Ditto [Cash] for Petticoat for Jubah		5
	Do for Doct'r for Blister and [?]		5
	Ditto for Dyet of the Neg's Four Dayes a 10/per week till sold		£6. 17. 2
. . . .			
	To Duty of 5 Negros		21. 7. 6
	To Commission on the Whole 5 per cent		15. 18. 10

Negro's Receiv'd from Barbados in the Year 1729.

Tilla	Sold J. Allen B. Thing Exeter S. Kellogg W. Warner	} Th. Richards
Dido		
Juba		
Abra		

Receiv'd per Grafton

Quaco	Gosse at Auction	
Duke	B. Clough Marston D. G. I. Davis	} S: Osborne
Jasper		
Bass		
Abah		
Pater	Cash [?]	} John Best
Quamno	Langdon	
Essee	T. Higin	
Quashey	B. Lincoln	} Geo. Forster
Benabah	Jno. Billings	
Shante	R. Pope	} R. Warren Esqr.
Cubbah		
Frank	B. Colman	} T. Applewhaite
Armenda	Wm. Caddow	
Prince	D: Henshaw	Jno. Trent
Punch	J: Colman	Weir of W. C.

per Raymond

Sherper	H. Blanchard	R. and J. Osborne
Betty	Ex [illegible]	T Applewhaite

per Capta. Langdon

Austin	Nath'n Thwing	} T. Salter Esq.
Deddie	J. Davenport	
Abanna	Cunningham	} Jno Howell jun.
Arannah [?]	Jas. Hay	
Quy [Ivy?]	W. C. and I. D.	Dr. Jno Hall.
Sampson	Wm. Wheeler	H. Hall Esqr.

⁴ The total here given includes the sugar and rum as well as the negroes.

per Capta King

Cuffy
A Lame JosephGregory
CrosbeyOtt: Haggatt Esqr.
Eyer Walcott

Receiv'd per Forster

Augt. Lango
Banma
Bamba
July Gumba
Sherry
Munen
Sept. 1. Elecata
Augt. 3d. Bumbo
Cumba
July 18. Quoney
July 15. Demeca
Yamboo

Dyed
Thos. Salter
Vendue £40
Jno Dannels
Wm. Dodge
Charles Warham
Thomas Craft
B. Stratton
Jona Barnard
Job Cort
N. Salisbury
I. Knowles

H. Hall Esqr.

per King

Aug. 29. Ocreka
Sept. 20. Ankque
Sept. 1. Ocrasaw
Aug. 9. Ocrague
Aug. 29. Oessah
Aug. 21. Taynay
Aug. 19. Yono Cish
Aug. 21. Bacches
Sept. 29. Boyyas
Aug. 23. Agonna
Bayna
Yaumah
Acavan
Abnabea

Ebenes'r Demon
Mest. Haven
Benja. Blanz
Theo. Prince
Ebe'r Damon and S.
Eben'r Hawkes
Ed. Jommer
Eben'r Hamks
Joseph Crosby
Ditto
B. Jepson
Dyed
Kilbourn
B: Barron

H. Hall Esqr.

Ocra
Jack Lewy
Ventured
Prince
Ossan
Thom
Mamillus

Brintnall
David Mason
Thos. Coch
Ben. Welles
Jacob Royall
B. Salter
P. Pope

Geo. Worrell
Exrs. for Forster Esqr.
Phil. Lewis
John Ashley Esq.
Francis Vaughan Esqr.
John French Esqr.
Peter dead
Henry Jonas
Attorney to Sm Bromley
Esqr.

Addy
Cudjo

John Billings
Caleb Norwood

BOSTON Anno. 1729

Augt. 15. Received by Capt. Laist

Jupiter
Bongeos
Jackes
Sarah
Theribah
Grace

Nath'a Cowdry
Frances Wardell
St. and Sa. Wms.
B. Billengs
Vendue £31
Dyed

Ex'rs of G: Forster

Sam'l Osborne, Esqr.

Sham
Guy
Robbin

Jno Franklyn
Goasa Vendue
Jno Franklyn

Jas Dotten Esqr.
John Wallcott Esqr.
Jno Downs Esqr.

P W and H Mingo sold Sept. 5 Robt Warren Esqr

Andbe
Simon

B Sanders

per Carrington

Oct. 18 per Jacob Williams

John	John Miller	Sarah Smith
Ned	Ditto	John Tyacke
Quashey	Ditto	Col. T. Applewaite
Carey	Ditto	Wm Holder shiped by Execs.

Mem'dum Sundry of my Negro's in the hands of the following p'sons,

Returned Austin in Mr. Jos. Wroas hands
returned Sham in Capn Coyers

return	Duke	} Men'd: 351 Owners to be Shipt assignees of Sir J: Bush
	Quaco	
	Adam	
	Elecato	

Negroes rece'd Anno 1730 per Captn Langdon

Tom	} S: Osborne Esqr Jno French Esqr
Jenny	
Primax	
Quarto	

Mr. Bryants Negro Dyed abt. 11 Aug.
Mr. Brintnal Dyed the begining Sept.

38. ACT FOR LAYING A DUTY ON NEGROES IMPORTED, 1728.¹

An Act more effectually to secure the duty on the Importation of Negroes.

Whereas the payment of the duty of four pounds per head laid upon negros imported into this province, is often evaded by bringing them in, in a clandestine manner; for remedy whereof,

Be it enacted by His Excellency the Governour, Council and Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, [Sect. 1.] That henceforth the master of any ship or vessel whatsoever that shall bring into this province any negro or negros shall be obliged to give in upon oath a true account or list of the negros he has on board or brought with him, on penalty of one hundred pounds for failure therein or for giving a false list.

And whereas negros are frequently landed in the neighbouring provinces or colonies, and brought thence into this province in order to save the duty,

[Sect. 2.] Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That whoever shall purchase or bring into any town of this province as aforesaid, any negro or negros for which the duty has not been already paid, shall be obliged, within fourteen days after the said negros being so brought in, to make an entry with the clerks of the town where the said negro shall be brought, and to pay the duty of four pounds per

[38] ¹ *Acts and Resolves*, II. 517-518 (1715-1742).

head to the said clerk, to be by him transmitted to the commissioner of impost in Boston, on penalty of eight pounds to be paid for each negro not entred as is hereby required, to be recovered by action, bill, plaint or information in any of his majestie's courts of record, by the said town clerks respectively; one-half thereof to his majesty for the use of the province, one-fourth to the town clerk who shall sue for and recover the same, and one-fourth to the poor of the town where the forfeiture is made: provided, the prosecution be within twelve months after the bringing in of such negro or negros.

[Sect. 3.] And be it further enacted, That from and after the publication of this act, the duty paid for any negros who shall dye within the space of twelve months from the time of their importation, shall be drawn back by the owner of such negros; any law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

[Sect. 4.] This act to continue in force for the space of seven years, and no longer.²

39. INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN WILLIAM ATKINSON, 1728.¹

BOSTON Decem'r 28th 1728.²

² This measure was re-enacted in January, 1739, the only important change being the substitution of a period of ten for seven years as the term for which it was to be effective. *Acts and Resolves*, II, 981-982.

[39] ¹ Library of Congress, Vernon-Wager MSS., no. 3. On Oct. 7, 1729, agents of the Royal African Company at Cape Coast Castle wrote to the company that the chief mate and three men of the *Guinea* packet, Captain Martin, had been "panyard" at St. Andrews River, "on Acco't of a Caboshier panyard by a Boston Ship, Capt. Atkinson" (T 70: 7, p. 159). On Oct. 22, 1730, the agents reverted to the subject, writing, "The natives have contracted an aversion to the Sort of Vessels called Sloops since their ill treatment from Capt. Atkinson from Boston" (*ibid.*, p. 168). Another version of the story of Captain Atkinson's misdemeanors reported that he had stolen many negroes on the coast and sold them. The treasure on board had tempted his crew, who rebelled and threw him into the sea. Some of the negroes escaped and reported the mutiny, whereupon the crew were seized and were in gaol in Antigua (*Weekly Journal and British Gazetteer*, Dec. 13, 1729). Several other English papers also contained the story. This is in all probability the same William Atkinson who in 1726 was captured by pirates while a passenger on a North Carolina sloop, turned the tables on the pirates, and aided in bringing them into Boston as prisoners. For an account of his adventure see *News Letter*, July 7, 1726.

² For the years 1728 and 1729 the notices not already quoted are:

- 1728, Sept. 12, Two new negroes
- Sept. 19, Three likely negroes
- Sept. 30, Two negroes, Jonathan Sewall
- Oct. 21, A parcel of likely Negroes just imported, Jacob Royall
- Nov. 14, Two young negroes, William Green
- 1729, June 19, A Parcel of young negroes, Edward Thomas
- July 3, Four negro boys, Christo. Ceely
- July 3, A Parcel of young negroes, Benony Waterman
- July 17, Several young negro women, Clark and Kilby
- Sept. 4, A parcel of young negro boys and girls, Gerrish and Harris
- Oct. 23, Four negro men and a negro girl

The customs entries from the *News Letter* are:

1728, Mar. 21, entered in from Guinea, Robert Ball

Capt. William Atkinson, You being master of the Sloop *Katherine* and she having her Cargo aboard and cleared at the offices, you with your Company are to embrace the first favourable Opportunity of wind and weather and set Sail with the said Sloop Directing your Course for the Coast of Guinea, where Arriving Dispose at the best prices you can of our Cargo aboard Consign'd as per bill of Lading, and mounts to, per Invoice, £[blank] and Invest the produce thereof mostly in good likely Negroes from 12 to 25 Years of Age the Greatest part to be boys. Bring also Some Chamwood, Elephants Teeth, and Gold Dust. for the Better Sale of the Cargo you may proceed from Harbour to harbour as you shall Judge for our Interest. for your Care and Managem't of the Voyage we are content that you Shall have Over and above your wages the usuall Comm'ns of 4 per Ct. on the Sale of the Negroes here; and what Else may be the Produce of our Cargo from hence. and whereas you made a Declaration to us under your hand of the 12th Nov'r past of a very Considerable affair that you have assur'd us you Can and will manage greatly to our Advantage which in case you Effect with Safety we do hereby promise and engage that you Shall Share a Seventh part thereof equally with us, and as to any Transaction about it we will indemnify you to the full Value of what we may be Benefitted by the said Affair, If need should so require. When you Come in Sight of the Light house, make a Signal by hauling up a goose wing of your main Sail and the light house Master will come of to you with our Letters of further direction, and you may consult with him, and he will Assist you in Getting any thing ashore you may desire. If it should happen he Should not come of to you you may Ply of and on and send up a Letter to us by Some faithfull hand as Soon as possible, and having got from aboard what you Think proper if no Man of Warr at Nantascot bay you may go on Shore. If there Should, then you may go into Cape Ann, or any other Harbour, for our farther Orders, and our present thot's are to Send the Sloop with the Negroes to Virginia. Above all things we commend to you the Greatest Dispatch imaginable in the Sale of your Cargo and every thing else, and hope you will not stay above two months upon the Coast of Guinea and that we may see you here Some time In May or June Next at farthest. Wee have a great Confidence in you[r] prudence, and Good Management In every Article may happen in the

Sept. 19, cleared for Africa, Peter Jump

Dec. 26, " " " William Atkinson

1729, July 19, entered in from Guinea, Peter Jump

During the year 1729 Captain Cutler, probably the commander of the *Jolly Batchelor* a few years later, cleared for Africa. Captain Jump, on the schooner *William*, must have returned to Africa not long after this, for early in 1731 the English papers reported his death on the coast, where he had been surprised by negroes and all his crew but three killed. *Read's Weekly Journal and British Gazetteer*, Jan. 28, 1731.

voyage, and that you keep us early advice from Guinea, and all Other places, as you proceed and If we have pointed to any thing here that Cannot be done, Or Omitted any thing which hereafter you may be Able to put in practice for our better Advantage, we Still Submit it to your prudence and Descretion to do as you shall See Occassion, or as any thing to us unforeseen may require, and we have only to Request to you our Desire and Order that having completed all you[r] Business on the Coast of Guinea, you must make the best of your way to this place. So we Commit you to the Devine protection and Care.³

40. INSTRUCTIONS TO GOVERNOR JONATHAN BELCHER, 1731.¹

December 10, 1731.

. . . Whereas Acts have been passed in some of Our Plantations in America for laying Duties on the Importation and Exportation of Negroes to the Discouragement of the Merchants trading thither from the Coast of Africa. . . . It is Our Will and Pleasure That you do not give your Assent to or pass any Law imposing Duties upon Negroes imported into Our Province of the Massachusetts-Bay payable by the Importer or upon any Slaves exported that have not been sold in Our said Province, and continued there for the space of twelve Months. . . .

41. NOTICES OF SALES, 1732.

April 17, 1732.¹

Just imported from Barbadoes and to be Sold by Pyam Blowers, Three very likely Negro Men, a fine Negro Woman with a Boy and

³ The instructions are signed: "Your Loving Friends Jona. Belcher, Peter Pusulton, Willm. Foy, Eben'r Hough, Wm. Bant, Andw. Janvill." Jonathan Belcher, a prosperous Boston merchant, was a member of the council from 1718 to 1729 and governor of Massachusetts from 1730 to 1741.

[40] ¹ *Jour. House of Representatives, Mass.*, 1732-1734 (Mass. Hist. Soc., 1930), p. 23; *News Letter*, June 15, 1732. There seems to be no evidence that Massachusetts contemplated changing her duty act at this time. These instructions, the result of Virginia legislation, were sent to all colonial governors, irrespective of the conditions in the particular colonies.

[41] ¹ *Weekly Rehearsal*, Apr. 17, May 1, 8, 1732. The notices for 1730 are: May 7, "Likely negros from 12 to 20 Years," Jacob Royall, Dorchester; June 4, "Parcel of choice negroes . . . many of which have had the small pox, Inquire of Brattle Oliver." The one outward entry for Africa is John Payne for Guinea, Oct. 8, 1730.

For 1731: Aug. 5, "Choice parcel of negro boys and girls," Merret and Fletcher; Sept. 23, "Sundry likely negroes," James Allen. The customs entries are, May 6, Robert Ball entered from Africa; Sept. 16, Robert Ball, outward bound.

The *News Letter*, Mar. 4, 1731, states that between December, 1729, and Dec. 4, 1730, two vessels cleared for Guinea. The Portsmouth, N. H., clearings for Dec. 6, 1731, included Samuel Moore for Africa (*Weekly Rehearsal*, Dec. 6, 1731). In the year 1731 appeared Paul Dudley's *Essay on the Merchandize of Slaves and Souls of Men*, which was advertised in the *News Letter* for Aug. 26, 1731, with the advertisement of a "likely Negro Lad" not far from it.

Girl, to be seen at Mr. Barnsdale's next Door to Mr. Harris's school at the North End Boston.

July 24, 1732.²

To be Sold by Benony Waterman from Barbadoes at Capt. Nathaniel Jarvis's House, near Scarlet's Wharff, in Boston, a parcel of likely young Negros lately arriv'd from the West Indies, also good Barbadoes Sugar, to be Sold by said Waterman, at Mr. Pyam Blowers Warehouse upon the Dock.

December 28, 1732.³

Several likely young Negros of both Sexes, lately Imported from the West Indies, fit for either Town or Country Service, among whom is a choice Negro Man suitable for a Gentleman's Family: To be sold. Enquire at Capt. Nath. Jarvis's, near Scarlet's Wharff at the North End, Boston.

42. NOTICES OF SALES, 1733-1737.

August 6, 1733.¹

To be Sold by Benony Waterman from Barbados, at Capt. Nathaniel Jarvis's House near Scarlet's Wharf, a Parcel of Likely Young Negroes, also good Barbados Sugar to be Sold by the said Waterman at Mr. John Phillips's Warehouse near the Swinging Bridge.

May 16, 1734.²

Just Imported, Several very likely Negro Boys and Girls: To be Sold by Mr. Charles Coffin, at the Seven Stars in Ann Street; as also choice West India Rhum.

June 13, 1734.

To be Sold by Joseph Lindsay, just arrived from Barbadoes likely young Negro Boys and Girls; Also Barbados Rum, White and Muscovado Sugar and cotton Wool. Inquire at Mrs. Barnsdell's at the

² *Weekly Rehearsal*, July 24, 31, Aug. 7, 1732. On Sept. 4, 11, 18, 25, and Oct. 2, Samuel Pemberton advertised "several likely negro boys."

³ *News Letter*, Dec. 28, 1732, Jan. 4, 11, 1733; also in *Weekly Rehearsal*, Jan. 18, 1733. The following are the customs items for 1732:

May 25, cleared for Africa, Thomas Dickinson; Oct. 5, outward bound for Africa, Robert Ball; Oct. 19, outward bound for Africa, Richard Cole; Nov. 22, outward bound for Africa, Samuel Moor.

For the years following 1731 the naval officers lists from Virginia (*post*, vol. IV.) add to the names of New England vessels carrying negroes.

[42] ¹ *Weekly Rehearsal*, Aug. 6, 20, 27, Sept. 3, 1733. The only customs entries pertaining to Africa are those of John Avis and Thomas Kennelly, one entering in from Cape Verde, the other clearing for Cape Verde. *News Letter*, Sept. 6, Nov. 1, 1733.

² This and the following items are from the *News Letters* of the dates given. In every instance the item is repeated in one or two subsequent issues.

North End, Scarlet's Wharff or at his Warehouse near the Swing Bridge at the Town Dock.

June 27, 1734.

Just Imported, by John Hawkesworth from Barbadoes a Parcel of fine likely Negros, Men and Women, and are to be Sold at Mrs. Mary Barnsdale's at the North End, near Mr. Harris School.

Just arrived, Very likely Negro Men, Women, Boys, and Girls, to be sold by Capt. Philip Dumaresq;³ Merchant in Boston. . . .

December 19, 1734.

On Thursday next, the 26th Current, Will Be Sold by Publick Vendue, by Daniel Goffe,⁴ at the Sun Tavern, at Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, Six or Seven very likely Young Negro Boys and Girls, lately arrived from the West Indies (being a very Cold Season, will be Sold Very Cheap).

May 26, 1737.

Just Imported from Guinea, A Parcel of likely young Negroes, Boys and Girls: To be Sold by Thomas Jenner Esq: at his House in Charleston.

June 16, 1737.⁵

To be Sold A very likely lusty Negro Man about Twenty-two Years of Age, lately imported from Guinea. Inquire of the Printer hereof.

³ Philip Dumaresq had settled in Boston and married there early in the century. From the customs items it is evident that from 1713 until 1740 he was actively engaged in coastwise and West India trade. In the latter year he was captain of the *Young Eagle*, fitted out by John Jones, jr. See J. F. Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period* (1923), pp. 373, 493; and A. T. Perkins, *Sketch of the Family of Dumaresq* (1863).

⁴ Governor Belcher had a short time before recommended Capt. Daniel Goffe to Sir Charles Wager for marshal of the admiralty. Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.*, sixth ser., VI. 517.

⁵ *News Letter*, June 16, 23, 30, 1737. The customs entries are:
 1735, May 22, entered in from Africa, Wyer
 Oct. 16, cleared out for Cape Verde, Silk
 Dec. 11, outward bound for Cape Verde, Williams
 " 25, cleared out for Africa, Mousell
 1736, Jan. 29, cleared for Cape Verde Islands, Robertson
 Aug. 5, entered in from Cape Verde, Mousell
 Nov. 25, cleared out for Africa, Ball
 Dec. 1, entered in from Africa, Thurston
 1737, Feb. 17, outward bound for Africa, Bryan
 May 26, entered in from Africa, Ball
 Sept. 1, entered in from Gambia, Robertson
 Oct. 20, cleared out for Cape Verde, Mousell

Though most of the information to be gleaned from these records pertains to Boston, it is of course true that a few negroes were coming in to other ports of Massachusetts. Such items as the following suggest a procedure probably not uncommon, "I wrote to Mr. Salmon of Barbadoes to send me a negro." From the diary of Matthias Plant, June 22, 1735, Joshua Coffin, *History of Newbury*, app. H, p. 338.

43. VOTE OF THE BOSTON SELECTMEN, 1733.¹

At a Meeting of the Selectmen, July 11, 1733. Capt. John Sheffield master of the Brig. *Orange Tree*, being Stopt at the Castle, informs that he has been 30 Days from Spikes's² in Barbadoes with his Brig. with Rum, molasses, Six Bags of Cotton and Twenty Negroes, and that on the 12 may, he was himself at Bridge Town in Barbadoes, where the Small pox was then very rife, but that he took in his Loading at Spikes's and that all the time of his Loading and in his passage, he has had none of his people ailing or complaining, and desires he may have Liberty w'th his Brig. to come up into the Harbour.

Voted, That Messrs. Armitage, Jeffries, Winslow and Saltonstal be desired, with a Justice to go on board the Brig. and to examine into the affair.

Accordingly the above Committee with Justice Sewall went down, and Examin'd the Master and Mate upon Oath, and apprehending no Danger to the Town, of the Small pox, from the Said Brig. etc. A Certificate was Granted.

44. EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN MOORE, 1733.¹

[SANTIAGO, July 20, 1733.]

On the 17th of June last, as we were coming down the River Gambia, at Twelve o'Clock in the Night, the Natives fired at us, upon which began a very smart Engagement, which lasted till day light: Mr. Lowder was most of the Time in the Cabbin loading small Arms, some of our People not having Discretion to do it themselves, till by an unhappy contrary Wind, the River narrow, and the Vessel not answering her Helm, we fell along the Shore, the Natives rus'd on in great Numbers in order to board us, but were so received that they thought proper to Retreat: In which Conflict Mr. Lowder came upon Deck, and (being in a Consternation) was shot thro' the Body; He went immediately down, and had all imaginable Care taken of him: He being in the Height of Action, his Wound was with great Difficulty stop'd bleeding. He liv'd Twenty four Hours, sensible of his approaching Dissolution, and spent his little Time in making his eternal Peace.

[43] ¹ "Selectmen's Minutes, 1716-1736," *Report of the Record Commissioners* (1885), p. 243.

² Speights Town, on the northwest coast of Barbados.

[44] ¹ *Weekly Rehearsal*, Sept. 10, 1733; also in the *News Letter*, Sept. 6, "Extract of a Letter from Capt. Moore, who sail'd from this Port for Guinea the beginning of last Winter, dated at St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verde Islands, July 20, 1733." See this work, II. 409 n., 411.

The Captain also writes, that Doctor Blaney, a young Gentleman who had his Education at Harvard College, and who went to Guinea with him, died of a Fever the 12th Day of July last.²

45. SAMUEL WALDO TO CAPTAIN SAMUEL RHODES, 1734.¹

BOSTON, March 12th 1734.

Sir, With my Sloop *Affrica* which you command I desire you'll make all possible dispatch for Barbadoes where I have recomended You to my Friend Mr. James Pemberton who will I hope be capable of Serving you in disposall of Some considerable part of your Cargo² att a good rate and giveing You as much Cash for the same as the amount or near it. Bill Lading you have with You also Invoices Inclosed that of the Cargo to be disposed of in the West Indies am's to £2763. 17. 8 the other which contains some part of the Cargo fitt for Guinea am's to £1462.4.11¼ in Sale of the whole I doubt not You'll do your endeavours to Serve my Intrest and be the Success what it may I shall acquiesce. What of your Cargo You may not have Opportunity of selling att Barbadoes att a good rate (so for Cash), You may probably dispose of att some one or more of the Leward Islands takeing either money or Rum in Pay which done you are to proceed for the Island of St. Eustatius there applying to Mr. Fredrick Gysen to whom I now write to take your directions in Investing the whole Value of what Effects he may have of mine in his hands to be shipt on board your Sloop or the Scooner *Gambia* Capt. Masters for the Coast of Guinea or part in one and part the other. what Effects of mine that you left last Voyage in said Island, You'll also with full Produce of the West Indies Cargo You have now aboard Invest in a Cargo of Rum for Guinea, I compute my Effects will be near extensive enough to load your Sloop with Rum, also to purchase a good Quantity of Gunpowder and many other Goods that You may think as suitable and reasonable as you can propose to gett on the Coast. You have herewith Copys of Mem'o, given me att London of what Goods are suitable for the Coast, and If You think your Cargo will admitt thereof without prejudice to the Voyage, buy an assortment;

² About a year earlier bad news had reached Boston concerning another New England venture: "Portsmouth New-Hampshire, Aug. 29 [1732]. A Vessel from the Coast of Guinea advises, that Capt. John Major in a Schooner from this Place, was treacherously Muredred, and his Vessel and Cargoe seized upon by the Negroes." *News Letter*, Sept. 7, 1732; *South Carolina Gazette*, Nov. 18, 1732; see also this work, II. 403, 409-410.

[45] ¹ Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court. Suffolk Court Files, no. 46527. These instructions were called to the attention of the editor by Miss Amelia C. Ford. See "An Eighteenth-Century Letter from a Sea Captain to his Owner," *New England Quarterly*, III. 136-137.

² The cargo consisted of fish, candles, wine, shoes, desks, silversmiths' wares, pork, oil, staves, bricks, lead, brass, steel, iron, pewter, beads, cowries, muskets, and dry-goods. Suffolk Court Files, no. 46995.

as Trade Guns and Musketts are a very necessary part of your Cargo I would advise You to omitt no Opportunity of purchasing till you have obtained what You think a Sufficient Quantity. As soon as You arrive att the Island of St. Eustatius I am of Opinion it will be best to dispatch the Scooner *Gambia* with about 4000 Gall. of Rum for the Cape de Verde, with orders att the Isles of May with all possible Expedition to take aboard a Loading of Salt, and to engage att St. Jago such a Quantity of the Cape de Verd Cloths as may be necessary to assort You, as there may probably be some hazard in taking them aboard it may be best to have that omitted, till your Arrival there when the Scooner may take them: and You after There is no hazard may take such part as you think proper out of her, as You'll also do by the Salt or any other Goods She carrys She being intirely under your Care and Direction and if the Master Capt. Moses Masters does not answer your Expectations you may either remove him, or sell the Vessell; if he behaves well he may greatly advantage our Voyage which I hope he will do. Copy of his Orders signed by him You have herewith, also Invoice of his Guinea Cargo from here [?] and Bill Lading which You'll take due care of. From the Cape de Verde You'll with all possible Expedition go for Guinea, there Trade in such manner and Places as You think best. You will be a Judge of what may be most for my Intrist, so I shall intirely confide that You'll act accordingly in the Purchase of Negros, Gold Dust or any other the produce of that Country with which You'll as soon as possible make your Return to me either by way of the West Indies or Virginia where You'll sell Your Slaves either for Gold Silver or good Bills of Exch'e, in which You'll be very carefull not only to have a good and substantiall Drawer but a Prospect of due Payment which without much Difficulty You may be Informed in, and when there appears any hazard You had best avoid the Bills unless some good Man will endorse the same, all which Bills You are to remitt by different Conveyances to London making One half the same payable to Messrs. Parkin, Sibwell [?] and Co., the other half to Messrs. Bullock and Moller. what Gold You may gett from your Slaves, and Dust (or on the Coast) it may be best to bring with You. The Scooner *Gambia* I hope You'll be able to sell on the Coast, and bring the full Produce of her and Cargo with You, but if You can't sell her, and she takes from the Coast a Cargo of Slaves it will be best the same be consigned to Mr. Pemberton att Barbadoes if a Markett there, and at the other Islands to whom you think best able to serve me, but if You are obliged to take a large Number of Boys and Girls and you find the time of Year for coming hither agreeable You may send him directly home to me but it would be more Pleasure

to me to have her well sold, You'll give the Master a Caution to take care of her Bottom, and You'll also consider the hazard of sending up the Rivers that unless You think the Master will be prudent it may be best to avoid any hazard that way, tho the Prospect of Advantage thereby may be considerable. I am told You have frequent Opportunity on the Coast of Selling Slaves for a good Price on [*illegible*] Bills to Liverpool, and often to Lisbon. if any thing the former way offers You'll be under Difficulty to know the Circumstance of the [*illegible*] drawer and so You'll take all needfull Caution to prevent Loss and from the letters I apprehend if any of the English Factory are concerned in the Vessell You'll be safe, and the Recomendations of any of them in favour of any Portuguese Gentleman may be satisfactory, If by anything unseen our Cargo should not be so extensive in Value as to afford a Prospect of Gain, If by tarrying and tradeing some reasonable time upon the Coast You find You can make the Voyage better You'll do it, but If you meet a quick Markett for your Rum and Your Voyage will answer, the sooner You gett of the Coast the better, as your Voyage will be the shorter and very probably your Compy and Slaves in better health, and all our Risques will be the less, and as we may very likely try the Voyage again. should You be unsorted and any small part of your Cargo remain that is not perishable You'll be able to Judge whether it may be best to wait the Sale thereof or bring it back. As You'll want from the West Indies an additional small number of Men I hope You'll be able to engage Mullins and Crew, who You may give some small Encouragement that may tempt him. Capt. Masters Mate I promised a hogshead of Fish so lett him have No. 44 which You'll compute the cost of, and take of him what it amounts to more than his Months pay which Masters ought to Pay You if he paid not his Mate here.³ . . .

Herewith you have abstracts from Mr. Wilk's Letters of the Insurance I ordered which it will be for my Intrest and Safety that You observe and I do recommend your proceedings to be accordingly Else we not only lose the Premium, but in case of Accident my whole Intrest. You must send me Bills Lading for yours and Masters whole Cargo from St. Eustatius by different Conveyances that I may be able to prove my Intrest, and write me if you have Opportunity from Guinea of what occurs respecting Sale of the Cargo there, and what of each sort You may be able to purchase, and may actually have purchased, and as Opportunity direct may not offer You can make use of any to any part of the West Indies under Cover to any

³ In the paragraphs omitted are references to earlier West India trade of Waldo's, and directions for the disposal of various effects of his.

of the Acquaintances there. If Your coming from off the Coast with Slaves will bring it towards Winter or late in the Fall before You can reach Virginia it will be best to go for the West Indies where by trying more or less the Islands You may probably do better than by selling att Virginia, and if You have any number of very Young Slaves which do not render as well att the Places where You sell Your large or Well grown ones it may be adviceable to bring them here with You especially if theyll not render equall to £65 or £75 this money each. If in your Return hither from Virginia You think well of taking a moderate Loading of wheat You'll do it as from the West Indies You'll endeavour the bringing a Cargo of Molasses, or anything else You may think will do better than Pistolls or Bills Excg. . . . I have att Barbados some knowledge of Mr. Peters Oliver also Mr. Clarke who You may apply to in case Mr. Pemberton will not serve You on as good Terms as You can reasonably desire. You'll be able to judge there whatever may most conduce to my Intrest, and as I can't expect your waiting there the Sale of your Goods You'll leave such things there as you think will best answer taking as much Cash with you on Account thereof as You can persuade them to advance, in which [*illegible*] will be room for the Person You engage with to liberate and thereby he may recomend himself to a Com's on the Slaves in case of your sitting down att that Island for a Markett; I can't avoid earnestly recomending to you the utmost dispatch from the West Indies that You may be with your Rum on the Coast before the Rd. Islanders or any others from these parts by which You'll doubtless reap great advantage. For your own Safety as well as mine You'll have the needfull Guard over your Slaves, and putt not too much confidence in the Women nor Children least they happen to be Instrumental to your being surprised which may be fatall. I have wrote Mr. Kirby if he has not shipped (nor engaged freight for) the Effects he has of mine I shall esteem of his Paying em to You, so If you think you shall need em You may order accordingly, or If You do not want it and Everard makes his Return from St. Kitts hither he may take 'em but probably you may there meet some Musketts and India Goods which may be agreeable for Your Voyage, in which case You'll take 'em with You. . . . Capt. Masters has with him 10 bbs. of Carroline Pork which he signed no Bill Lading for, he had that Quantity for Hubbard, the like from Holmes. What Beeffe or Pork You may think necessary for your Compa You'll take the best Opportunity for the buying of in the West Indies. . . . You must att Barbadoes esteem your Wines part of your Guinea Cargo which its my Intention they shall be unless You meet an agreeable sale for them this I mention to obviate any Pretence they may

make to oblige You in said Island to Pay a Duty on them there or else where unless you sell them. there is one Mr. Nath'l Haggett in sd Island who has a good Understanding with the Governour to whom I Pray You'll tender my Service, as he may be capable of doing You Service in Return, on Acct. of Your Wine.⁴ . . .

46. MEMORIAL OF AN ADMIRALTY COURT, 1737.¹

June 11, 1737.

A Memorial of the Commissioners of a Special Court of Admiralty, now sitting in Boston, for the trial of Piracies, Felonies and Robberies upon the Sea, shewing that on the 7th Instant, Samuel Tyley Gent. Register of said Court, exhibited certain Articles of Felony and Murder against Samuel Rhodes of Boston, Mariner, charging him with killing and murdering a Negro Man called Frederick's Slave, on the 2d of January 1735, upon the high Seas and within the Jurisdiction of the Admiralty of Great Britain, viz. on board the sloop *Africa*, whereof the said Rhodes was then Commander, lying at Anchor in the River Gambia on the Coast of Guinea near unto Fort St. James, and about sixteen Leagues up the River, that the said Rhodes on his Arraignment pleaded the Matters alledged are not in the Jurisdiction of the Court, and of that prayed Judgment; and the Matter being attended with great and uncommon Difficulties, praying the Court to give such Directions to the Agent upon the State of the Case, to be transmitted to him, as may be deemed necessary for clearing up the Difficulties as attend the present and may attend future Cases of this Nature. Read.

47. CAPTAIN SAMUEL RHODES TO SAMUEL WALDO, 1737.¹

NORTH KINGSTON August 26, 1737.

Sir, . . . I would have you seriously consider that From Eustatius I took on your acco't one hundred and thirty hhds. (or Thirteen thousand g's) of rum and between three and Four hundred Ponds Ster: in dry cargoe. This cargoe sufferd thirty one hundred Pounds Loss as beneath viz. 3500 g's Rum exclusive of 10 per Ct.

Leakt out in gold at.....	3 p.	£2695.	o.	o
Long boat and thirty odd pigs of Lead Lost at Gambia		175.	o.	o
Ditto at Anamaboa.....		60.	o.	o
Do. 2 cannoots [canneets?]		230.	o.	o
				3160. o. o

⁴ For an account of the disasters of this voyage see *post*, no. 47.

[46] ¹ Mass. Arch., *House Journal*, p. 40.

[47] ¹ Suffolk Court Files, no. 44562; *New England Quarterly*, III. 137-145.

This is no inconsiderable sum to come out of our cargoe nor is there any possibility for you to think I did not well improve the other part, when you consider and you ought to Do me that Justice That I purchased for you more than two hundred Slaves, more than one tonn of wax and half a tonn of Ivory, which had it pleased God, would have made me more in the gs: sales than twenty thousand Pound at a very moderate computation. . . . you have a number of times objected to me my Long Stay on the Coast, I was forct to stay trading from October until June (about Eight months) theres no man alive but must have done the same at that time nor can your frowns (which I deserve not) ever make me say that I am herein taxable, I beg your patience Sir, while I recount to you the detention of other rum men at the same time, two Snows of Road Island one of 140 the other of 90 Slaves the first stayed to Dispose of their Rum all most eight months, the other between 6 and 7 months, a sloop of Boston annother of Road island each about 45 slaves was on the coast one five months the other six, two sloops of Barbad one 90, the other about 35 Slaves one stayed nine months, the other 7 months and at this rate might every rum vessel be counted one small one excepted who had a lucky dispatch, you object that I had some dry cargoe and ought not to have stayed at Gambia which is no rum country. I have to say that had I known the country then as I know it now I would not have continued so long there but my account of the Leward coast being full of Rum did not deceive me and my design herein was nothing, more than advanceing your Interist, as to our haveing Dry cargoe enough to shorten our tarrying on the Coast there's nothing in it at all, both the Barbadians were sorted Dry yet could they not draw their rum sooner, ther's one objection of yours which I am confident you dont want answerd namely that what time the Plux came among our slaves I should havd destroyed one part of our Cargoe (to say the rum) to save the other this you have told me a number of times yet I dont think you were serious in it, You impute the Mortallity among the Slaves to our Long tarrying, I have no notion of thats makeing it absolutely necessary and expected, because there is so many instances the contrary, you very often seem to Repine and say that such a mortallity never was before, if it was the greatest that ever was this ought by no means to make you angry with me, but though I can't se[e] what good they can do us we are not without company. Isaac Holmes from South Carolina will tell you that two angolamen this summer lost so many slaves that the Remaining would not pay mens wages, there is now at newport not long arrived a small Guineaman who buried all the Negroes except a few which

had As good have gone with the rest being of no value² . . . the negroes was dyeing and meagre. this may be evinced from the Death of 16 of them presently after sageran bought them this was all most half of them.³ I must have either have sold them all together (some just Dead excepted) and take the Coacoa⁴ the price 66 ps as I remember, or else have half of them turnd aside and have sold at a prime price, and it was my opinion that the Former would be our best acc't . . . when Sageran first saw and markt the negroes, we did not talk about the Cocoa we were at first wide in the price which coming to Sageran's Partner one John De Bergist sayd they could not pay all cash and mentiond the Cocoa which I afterwards to my sorrow took, but Sir had I then insisted upon all money I must have kept the negroes. no person in Eustatius but these men would have give anything for them but Rum Sugar or some thing Contra: Bando, a few only Excepted, I should have had the charge of them and they would have Died on our hands, had I known the Cocoa was not merchantable I would not have taken it but would have sold the negroes as I could which how many and at what price would have gone off may be estimated from Sagerans acco't who sold as many of them again for Rum molasses etc, which he wanted for the Road island men as he cou'd and Lost (which I can now Prove) Eight Hundred Ps. . . .

48. PETITION OF ISAAC ROYALL, 1737.¹

December 7, 1737.

Petition of Isaac Royal late of the Island of Antigua, now of Charlestown in the County of Middlesex, Esq.; shewing that he has removed with his Family from Antigua to this Province, and brought with him considerable of his Substance, and among other Things and Chattels, a Parcel of Negros designed for his own Use in the Management of his particular Affairs, and not any of them for Merchandize, praying he may not be obliged to pay the Duty of Impost,

² On July 20, 1738, the sheriff was ordered to seize Rhodes's goods to the value of £5000. The charge against him was that he had stowed the rum casks carelessly in sand ballast and had failed to inspect them. The jury found for the defendant and directed Waldo to pay the costs. Suffolk Files, nos. 46995, 47713, 48317. See *post*, no. 49.

³ The correspondence does not show the disposition of the remainder of the cargo of 200 negroes which Captain Rhodes had purchased.

⁴ Waldo had complained that Rhodes disposed of his negroes for a cargo of unsaleable cocoa, contrary to his instructions. Those portions of the letter not here printed deal for the most part with this purchase.

[48] ¹ Mass. Arch., *House Journal*, p. 70. The petition was considered Dec. 21, 1737, but was not granted (*ibid.*, p. 100). On at least two occasions, while Royall was a resident of Antigua, Governor Belcher wrote to him for a negro boy (Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.*, sixth ser., VI. 255, "Belcher Papers"). After his removal to Massachusetts he occasionally sold slaves. In 1743 two are advertised about which "information may be obtained from Jacob Royal of Boston or Isaac Royal of Charlestown." *News Letter*. Feb. 24, 1743.

for the Reasons mentioned. Read, and Ordered That the Petition be considered to morrow Morning.²

49. TESTIMONY OF DENNIS DRISCOLL, 1738.¹

Mr. Dennis Driscoll of Lawfull Age Tes[t]ifieth and saith That he was Mate of the Sloop *Mary* of Bristoll upon the Coast of Guinea in the year 1733; and in the Year 1735 was Mate of the *Bartlett* Galley of Bristoll upon the said Coast of Guinea; and in the Year 1736 was mate of the Ship *Hobhouse* of Bristoll upon the said Coast and that he has in every one of the several Voyages he made in the aforesaid Vessells traded upon the Coast of Guinea on board of Rum Vessells that came from America, And that he perfectly well remembers he has seen on board the said Rum Vessells the Ground Tier of Rum stowed in Shingle and Sand Ballast and that he has heard Several m[asters of] Rum Vessells on the said Coast say that th[ey had] Suffered a great Deal of Leakage for want of [iron] bound Casks [*torn*] that he has been in the hold [of] Several [Vessells] on said Coast and has [*torn*] of the Ground Tier of said [*torn*] seen all or great part [*torn*] Leaked out, the Deponent further saith he never sa[w an]y large Casks of Liquor, bro[ught] from Europe in Wooden bound Casks nor from [the] Canarys or Western Islands nor any other place except America, that when he was Mate of the aforesaid Sloop *Mary* of Bristoll he stowed away on board said Sloop in Holland several large Butts of Brandy the Casks being Iron Hooped and that they were Carried in Said Sloop to Guinea which were stowed in Sand Ballast. he further adds that he assisted in Loading a Vessell with Rum for Guinea in Barbadoes and that all the ground Tier was in Cask with wooden hoops and Stowed with Shingle Ballast.²

Suffolk ss.

BOSTON October 12, 1738.

² On July 6, 1731, Samuel Royall had petitioned in behalf of his brother Isaac, who was still in Antigua, asking that he be relieved of the duty on six negroes brought into Boston. This petition also was refused. *Journal of the House of Representatives*, X. 206.

[49] ¹ Suffolk Files, no. 47639.

² "Then appeared Dennis Driscoll and made oath to the truth of within Declaration by him Subscribed, Mr. Waldo's Attorney being notified and Mr. Freeman appearing for them, said Driscoll being bound to Sea. Before me Abiel Walley Just: peace Sworne to in Inf'r Court Boston October 1738. Att'r Ezek'l Goldthwait, Cler. Copy Exam'd Byfield Lyde Cler."

50. NOTICES OF SALES, 1739-1741.

June 21, 1739.¹

A likely Negro Boy about 14 Years, and two Men One about 25, the other 30, all New and just Imported, to be Sold. Enquire of the Printer.

July 19, 1739.

To be Sold by John Vryling, living in Beacon Street, Two very likely young Negro Girls, and a Negro Boy, just imported from Mounserrat, and can understand and speak pretty good English, and are already very handy in a Family.

July 24, 1740.

Just imported and to be Sold by Thos. Hubbard, Merchant at his Dwelling House in Summer Street Boston,² a parcel of fine young Negro Boys and Girls; also Cotton Wool and Old West India Rum.

Lately imported and to be sold on Board the Briganteen *Industry* John Leppington Master now lying in the Harbour of Charleston, A Parcel of very likely Negroes, Enquire of said Leppington either on board said Brigg or at his House in Charlstown.

September 4, 1740.

Sundry likely young Negro Boys, and one Negro Girl to be sold by Bodman and Shipton.

October 7, 1740.

Just imported from the Coast of Africa, and to be Sold by Mr. John Jones³ on board the Brigantine *Poultney*, now lying at Clark's Wharff, A Parcel of likely Young Negroes, Men, Women, Boys and Girls; to be seen on Board said Vessel.

May 14, 1741.

Just arriv'd and to be Sold by Jones and Griffin, A Parcel of likely Negros. Likewise most all sorts of European Goods.

October 29, 1741.

Lately imported from the West Indies, sundry likely Negroes, to

[50] ¹ These items appeared in the *News Letters* of the dates given and in subsequent issues. The customs entries for 1739 are:

July 12, entered in from Gambia, Robertson

July 12, entered in from Cape Verde, Mousell

Aug. 2, outward bound for Africa, Cutler

Nov. 8, outward bound for Africa, Bennet

² Thomas Hubbard was for many years speaker of the House of Representatives; he later became a member of the Council. For twenty-one years he was treasurer of Harvard College. The house on Summer Street, purchased from the Vassall estate in 1737, Hubbard occupied until 1773. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXV. 37-52.

³ This John Jones was probably the brother-in-law of Peter Faneuil and one of the owners of the *Jolly Batchelor* (*post*, no. 52). The *News Letter* of Oct. 23 also advertised two recently imported negroes.

be Sold by John Alford and Jonathan Tyng at their Warehouse in Boston.⁴

51. CASE OF THE *MERMAID*, 1739.¹

July 10, 1739.

John Robinson, Master of the Schooner *Mermaid* from the Coast of Guinea, being sent for appear'd, and was Sworn by Mr. Justice Lyman and being Examin'd, on oath, Declares, as follows, That he came from the River Gambo, Two and Forty Days ago, with Eleven White men on board, and Fifty Slaves; That they had the Small Pox, on board, five Months ago, for about Ten Weeks, one Hundred and Forty leagues up the River Gambo; that he buried Two Whites and One Black; that afterwards he burnt Brimstone in the Vessel and Cleansed her with all possible care *Vizt.* in February last, Since which no Person has been Sick of that Distemper, but that they have had the Measles, and Flux on board, that the Flux continues among the Slaves, but the measles is not now among them, That they have lost Fifteen Slaves of the Flux, in said River and in their Passage and that they buried two in Sight of Cape Cod, Yesterday: That 3 Whites and 4 Blacks have had the Small Pox, that all the White men on board have had the Small Pox; That the negroes are all young under Twenty years of age; That he took out all his Water Casks and Cleansed them, but the Ballast had not been Shifted.

⁴The *News Letter*, Oct. 1, 1741, suggests one source of New England slaves: "Last Tuesday Night several Black Slaves, which were lately taken by Capt. Rouse in the Spanish Prize and brought in here, and who have been disposed of to several Persons in Town, being join'd and assisted by several other Black Servants, made their escape out of the Harbour in a Long-Boat which they stole." One young man, just imported, was offered for sale in 1742; in 1743 Charles Apthorp offered for sale a parcel of both sexes, and "a parcel of likely negroes just imported from Guinea, and to be sold on the *Post Boy*," was advertised (*News Letter*, Feb. 4, 1742, Aug. 8, 1743; *Boston Evening Post*, May 3, 10, 1742). The customs items in the *Evening Post* are:

1741, Feb. 12, cleared for Africa, Dickinson
 June 29, outward bound for Africa, Stocker
 Nov. 23, outward bound for Africa, Cutler
 1742, July 29, cleared for Africa, Beer (or Beard)
 Oct. 11, cleared for Africa, Ball
 Nov. 25, outward bound for Africa, Freeman
 1743, July 11, entered in from Africa, Beer
 Aug. 4, entered in from Africa, Ball
 Dec. 5, cleared for Africa, Ball
 Dec. 5, cleared for Africa, Beer

The melancholy end of Beer's trading is recounted in the *News Letter*, May 7, 1747: "By a Letter from the Coast of Guiney, *via* Barbadoes, dated the 14th of January last, we have Advice, that Capt. Bear in a Vessel belonging to Rhode Island, being off Cape Coast Castle with a Number of Negro Slaves, and a considerable Quantity of Gold Dust on board; the said Slaves found an Opportunity to rise against the Master and Men, and kill'd the said Master and all the Crew, except the two Masters [Mates], who by jumping over board and swimming ashore sav'd their lives. What became of the Vessel and Negroes afterwards the Letter does not mention."

[51] ¹"Selectmen's Minutes, 1736-1742," *Report of the Record Commissioners*, pp. 187-188.

The Select men having Considered the above Declaration, are of Opinion it is Convenient the said Vessell be visited, and therefore Voted, That Capt. Armitage, Capt. Forsyth, Caleb Lyman Esqr. and Mr. Clarke be and are hereby desired to take a Doctor, with them, and to go on board said Schooner, Now in the Road, and to make a Strict Enquiry into the Circumstances of said Vessel, and Slaves, and that they Report thereon as soon as may be.

The Gentlemen above named, accompanied by Doctor Davis and Doctor Rand having Visited the said Schooner, They Report as follows, *Vizt*,

That they found about Twelve of the Slaves on board Sick of the Fever and Flux, and that there is a very dangerous Stench on board, and 'tis their Opinion, It is necessary for the safety of the Town, that the said Vessell be not permitted to come to the Wharf, for the present, but that she be sent down to Rainsford Island, or some other Convenient place, in order for the Airing and Cleansing the vessell, and Shifting her Ballast, and for airing and taking Care of the Slaves, and that they put on Shore all their Casks.

Accordingly a Number of His Majesties Justices being present, a Warrant was drawn for carrying the said Schooner down to Rainsfords Island and there to remain until further order from lawful Authority; Signed by the Hon. William Dudley and Anthony Stoddard Esqrs. Samuel Sewall, Samuel Adams, Caleb Lyman and Daniel Henchman Esqrs. with the Select men.

52. CASE OF THE *JOLLY BATCHELOR*, 1743.¹

The Libel.

George Birchhall, Charles Wickham *et al.*² *vs.* *Jolly Batchelor*.
Colony of Rhode Island etc.

[52] ¹ The manuscripts relating to this case are in a bundle of admiralty papers in the archives of Rhode Island, but since the owners of the *Jolly Batchelor*, Peter Faneuil, John Jones, and Captain Cutler, all lived in Boston, it has seemed better to place the case with the Massachusetts material. After a catastrophe on the coast George Birchhall had rescued the *Jolly Batchelor*, placed Captain Wickham in command, and sent her to New England. An announcement of Captain Wickham's arrival at Newport was published in the *Evening Post*, Aug. 15, 1743: "We have now certain Advice, that Capt. John Cutler, late Commander of a Snow belonging to this Town, who sail'd for Guinea some time ago as he was trading in the River Sierra Leona, was murdered, with 2 or 3 of his Men, by some Portuguese who are settled on that River. They rifled the Vessel, and took away his Slaves, etc. but by the Assistance of an honest English Man who is settled in those Parts, some of the Slaves were recovered, and the Vessel again fitted for the Sea, and last Friday she was brought into Newport by Capt. Wickham of that Place, who had himself been taken by a Spanish Privateer on the Coast of Guinea some Time before." Shortly after the arrival of the vessel Birchhall brought suit against the representatives of the owners for salvage, and libelled the snow. W. B. Weeden, in *Economic and Social History of New England* (II. 467-472) and in "Early African Slave Trade in New England" (*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, new ser., V. 124-128), gives a brief account of the fate of this venture.

² In a letter to Godfrey Malbone, written Sept. 12, 1735, Charles Wickham is referred to as a Newport captain (*Commerce of Rhode Island*, I. 44). He, with Alexander Mackensie, William Wyat, and Silvester Sweet, had shipped from Newport on

To the Hon'ble John Gidley Esq. Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty for the Colony aforesaid³

The Libel and Appeal of George Burchil now residing at the Banana Islands⁴ on the Coast of Guinea in Affrica Mercht against the Snow *Jolly Batchelor* and her Cargoe, whereof John Cutler Deceased was late Master, And your Appellants come into this Hon'ble Court and do Libel Appeal and Say that on or about the Ninth Day of March A D 1742 That at the River Saralone⁵ on the Coast of Guinea the said Vessel was Seized apprehended and Taken and the Master thereof with Two of the Marriners were barbarously Murdered by the Natives on Shore, and who at the Time aforesaid took Possession of said Vessel and her Rigging and Sails afterwards took and Carried on Shore together with her Slaves then on board and then did leave and abandon sd Vessel and afterwards to wit on the ninth Day of April following the Appellants with much Labour Hazard and Care retook said Vessel and procured for her partly by purchasing of the Commanders of Some English Vessels then on the Coast Suitable and Necessary Sail and Rigging for her and also procured from the Natives Twenty Slaves and some of those stores that they Carried from the Vessel aforesaid and Appointed Charles Wickham Master thereof who hath now brought her into this Port. Wherefore as this a Matter of Salvage and therefore Cognizable in this Court the Appellants prays the Advisemon of this Court on the Premises and as he apprehends he hath a right to Salvage for sd Vessel and Cargoe for his great Pains Expences and Labour sending her into this Port aforesaid and that the usual process of the Court may be Issued forth against said Vessel and Cargoe and the Owners thereof Notified to Answer this Libel and abide your Honours Decree thereon and they will in Duty bound ever pray etc.

NEWPORT Aug: 18th⁶

the *Eagle*, Sept. 8, 1742. The *Eagle* was seized by a Spanish privateer, hence Wickham and his three men were on the African coast without a vessel and thus were free to bring the *Jolly Batchelor* home. Wickham's sailors believed that enough of the cargo of the *Eagle* had been preserved to yield the amount of their wages and appealed for them to Judge Gidley's (Gridley?) court. The record does not show the outcome. Weeden, "Early African Slave Trade," Am. Antiq. Soc., *Procs.*, new ser., V. 126 n.

³ John Gidley of Newport had been appointed judge of admiralty in March, 1742, "till the King's will could be known." Leonard Lockman was appointed to the place in 1744. S. G. Arnold, *History of Rhode Island* (1860), II. 140, 145.

⁴ The Banana Islands, near the mouth of the Sierra Leone River, became of increasing importance to the slave traffic as the century advanced. John Clarkson, in his account of his mission to America in 1791 (New York Hist. Soc., MS., I. 121), described them as the "Paradise of Africa."

⁵ Sierra Leone.

⁶ Signed, "J. Honyman advoc pro Ad, Jno. Gidley Judge," "Filed and Allowed and Court to be held at 3 oClock P M. A true Copy exam. pr Jm Gould D. Regr." Endorsed, "Copy of the Libel Geo: Burchil vs. Snow *Jolly Batchelor*." Both the copy and the original of this libel are among the papers of the vessel. In so far as the latter is at all legible the two correspond exactly.

Deposition of Alexander McKenzie.

Alexander McKenzie aged about 35 years, testifieth and Saith that at farron Bay on Serrelone River on the Coast of Guinea abt the 8th of March last past, he went on board the Snow, called the *Jolly Batchelor* John Cutler Commr with a design to get a pasage with sd Cutler (the vessel he was before in being lately taken by the Spain-yards) the sd Cutler accordingly shipt him, and in two or three Days after the sd Cutler being then in good health, Sent on shore the Yawl to look for the Long boat, (in wch he the Deponent went with two Blacks) wch had been mising a day or two before, in looking for wch he was sent out one Day about 9 a Clock in the morning and returnd the next Day about 7 a Clock with the Long boat with the two negroes before mentioned. when he came on board two Portuguese Negroes laid hold on him the Deponent and presented two Cockt pistoles at his breast, and forced him on board the Snow where were about twenty other negroes who were Confederates in the murder of Cap Cutler, who's body half an hour after he saw dead upon the half deck and some of the negroes tying stones about his hands and then they threw him over. In an hour or two after this all the slaves in the vessel to the number of about Seventy or Eighty were Caried on shore in the Long boat and Yawl, while some others were plundering the sd Vessel, and in the Evening they caried the deponent with some others on shore at atown called Senr Lewis's[?] town and kept them there till the next day, when the deponent one Rich'd Smith and Jno Kendall had leave to go from them and they by the direction of two negroes in three Days and a half arrived at a place called the Ban-nanoes where they inform'd Cap Burchall and Cap Wickham that Cutler was murdered With two of his men and his vessel taken. In seven or Eight Days after the sd Burchall fixed out three shallop and a smaller boat with abt thirty men black and white with fire arms within three or four days, after they arrived at Sarelone river where they found the vessel Lying like a wreck without any running riging or Sails to the Yard. when they came on Board there was no person there, then Mr. Burchall and Capt Wickham borrowed a Shallops Main Sail and fore Sail and brought the Vessel to White Mans Bay about four Miles distant and then said Burchall and Wickham procured the Forestay Sail Main Sail and Fore Sail and Maintop Sail, with about Thirty five of the Slaves that were carried out of the Vessel, and the Foretopsail Cut to pieces, and proceeded with the Ves-sel to the Island of Bananos and their bought Rigging etc. and re-fitted the Vessel. But wanting provision and some other Necessaries were obliged to keep sd Vessel thereabouts Six Weeks and upon

Arival of Capt Pitman in a Ship from Bristol were Supplied and then they returned to Serralone River to Water the Vessel, and Capt. Wickham Sailed from [*illegible*] with Twenty Slaves on the Owners account, for Newport in Rhode Island where We arrived the Eleventh Day of this Instant August and further saith not.⁷

*Deposition of Charles Wickham.*⁸

Charles Wickham of Newport, Mariner On Oath in Open Court Declared, That he was at the Bannanoes on the 12th or 13th Day of March last at the House of Mr. George Burchall, and saw an English Ensign hoisted over upon the Main and as soon as he saw it Capt. Burchall dispatched a Canoe over which returned in about two Hours and brought three White Men Over with him, who travelled by Land from Serralone who told us they belonged to the Snow *Jolly Batchelor* and declared that Capt. John Cutler the Master of sd Snow had been about four Days before cut off by about twenty Portugese and Negroes who came aboard sd Snow armd and killed the sd Cutler and two of his Men and carried away the running Rigging and Sails of sd Snow together with the Slaves and Cargo and forced all the Seamen and Mariners on Shoar at Senr Lewis' Town in Sierra Leon River. About the 28th of the same Month of March Capt. George Burchall fitted out from the Bonanas three Shallops and a Yawl maned with about thirty men blacks and Whites well armed in order to go to the sd River and retake sd Snow. About eight and forty Hours after we arrived at Whiteman's Bay in Sierra Leon River where Capt Burchell and the Deponent immediately went on shoar to John Cumberbur's Town and upon advising with him went in our Shallops and Yawl to a Portugese negro named Joseph Lopez and desired him to Assist us that we might recover sd Snow. He promisd he would Whereupon we returned to Whiteman's Bay where we expected him the next Day there. We waited about Eight Days without hearing anything of sd Lopez and then one of his Men came with Orders to Senr Lewis to deliver up the Vessel and Slaves And the same Day sd Lewis sent Word to Us that we might go up to Farrons Bay and take the Vessel. The next Day we went in two of our Shallops and Yawl only the other Shallop being gone to get Provision and took possession of the Snow, Likewise her Main sail and Foresail were delivered at the same Time, Top sails and Fore-staysail We purchased of the Natives and a small Quantity of the

⁷ Signed: "the mark of Alexander + McKenzie, Sworn in Open Court."

⁸ At the top of the sheet which contains this are the beginnings of depositions by Silvester Sweet of Newport and William Wyatt of Portsmouth, Eng., both crossed out. John Battey, of Jamestown, R. I., and Oliver Arnold, mariners, who were at the house of George Birchall on Mar. 12 or 13, deposed to substantially the same account.

running Rigging and after we had got her a small matter fitted we carried her down to the Bannanoes and after we had been there some Time Came Capt Pitman from Bristol, who supplied us with Cordage sails and provisions to fit her for the Sea. There was no English Vessel at the River Sierolone at the Time the sd Snow was taken and for some Time afterwards. I received at several Times Thirty four Slaves of Senr. Lewis, two of which Died and twelve were Sold for the Necessary Stores and provisions for the Vessel, to wit Eight to Capt. Burchall and four to Capt. Pitman and the remaining Twenty the Deponent [hath ?] now brought into this port in sd Snow. And the Deponent further Saith That One of the Mariners belonging to sd Snow told the Deponent that the Slaves on Board sd Snow were Numbered the Night before sd Capt. Cutler was Murdered and that there were Seventy five of them then on Board and further the Deponent saith that after they had taken possession of sd Snow they went and lay at Whiteman's Bay about Ten Days in Order to recover the Slaves of sd Vessel but could not get any more than the above Thirty four, and one that was sent down to sd Snow at the Bannanoes who afterwards run away.

Account of Augustine Lopez.

SEIRRALIOAN, Febr the 14th 1742/3.

Dr Captain Jno. Cuttler to Augustine Lopez

	Bars
To 4 Buckaneer Guns at 6	24
To 2 Barrells Pork at 20	40
To 2 Small Guns at 4	8
To 2 Musquets at 4	8
To 6 Glass Muggys	3
To 60 Gall: Rum at 1	60

—
Bars 143⁹

Resibi por Conto de Capp'ann Joan Cuttler no mão de Sr' Capp'an Jorge Birchll.

Seu Servidor

AGUSTINHO LOPEZ¹⁰

⁹ The value of the bar in terms of English money differed widely from time to time. One writer familiar with African commerce in 1690 gave its value as about 6 s.; another as 6 s. 8 d.; Park, at the end of the eighteenth century, thought it worth about 2 s. Weeden gives 12 bars as the equivalent of £1 sterling, a low valuation for any period. It should be understood that bars were more frequently the money of account than an actual medium of exchange.

¹⁰ "Received on account of Capt. John Cutler by the hand of Capt. George Burchill. His servant, Agostinho Lopez."

Account of Captain Joseph Pitman.

BANNANOES.

Dr	Snow Jolley Batchelor to Joseph Pittman				Bars
	To	7 lb twine			3½
	To	Trisaile Gibb Topmaststaisaile			28
	To	3 C. Bread			25
			C	qr	lb
	To	Tirce of Pork qt.	2	1	0
	To	a Hhd. Beef qt.	3	2	8
			5	3	8 at 12
	To	Pump Leather and Saile Needles			70
	To	Cordige 1 C at 12			1
	To	one New Top Gallent Saile			12
	To	one Box Candles qt. 68 ct. 6 ct. p. 1			11
	To	5 C Bread and Butt			9½
					33

Bars 193

May the 28th 1743. The Contents of the above and all demand per Js: PITTMAN

Account of Slaves Received.

SIERRALIONE, June the 14th 1743.

An Acct. of Slaves, Recd. on Acct. of the Owners of the *Jolly Batchelor*, Capt. Jno. Cutler Late Commdr.

		Slaves
To	34 recd. at Sierralione	34
To	3 Recd. from Henry Tucker	3
To	1 Sent to me at the Bannanoes	1
To	1 Tooth weight 52 lb.	
To	1 Boy Left Ill in my hands recovered	1
		Slaves 39

Contra

Cr.

By	2 Slaves Died at the Bannanoes	2
By	5 Runaway at Do.	5
	Pay'd as pr Bill	12
	Remains on board as pr Bill Lad.	20
	Payd one Tooth as pr Bill wt. 52 lb.	
		Slaves 39

Account of George Birchall.

SIERRALIONE, June the 14th 1743.

Dr. Sneau Jolly Batchelor to George Birchall

	Bars
To a Bill paid Capt. Wickham for Provisions	50
To a Bill paid Capt. Pitman	193
To Do. paid Mr. Augustin Lopez	143
To a Coil of Cordage and Block	3
To 3 small Do.	7
To 2 Do.	5
To a boat Load of Mangoes	2
To 3 Coiles Cordage from Jno. Cumberbatch	4
To Cordage and blocks from Do.	4
To Half a Main Topsaile at Do.	7
To the other Half at Pinto	5
To mangoes	2
To a Main Topsaile	20
To a Brass Box Compass	5
To a fore Stay Saile	8
To paid Joshua Acct. for Riggen and backstays	13
To 6 Cuttlases for the Up of the Sneau	6
To 4 Guns for Do.	20
To Powder for Do.	7
To Ball for Do.	2
To 2 Iron Potts for Do.	5
To 2 Iron Bars for pump Spears	2
To one Ax	1
To 7 yds of Duck	3½
To 2 Pistols	8
To 10 Rice brought from the Bannanoes	40
To 8 Do. Sent for	32
To 22 Do. Delivered the Ship at her departure	88
To 2 New Iron bound Butts at 10 Each	20
To one Do. Small	8
To 20 Gall: Rum on the Sneau Acctt.	20
To Mangoes	4
To 120 lb. of punch	7

Bars 744½

Contra Cr.

June the 14th

By twelve Slaves at 60
 By one Tooth wt. 52 lb.

Bars

720

24½

Bars 744½

Letter of George Birchall.

Gentlemen, The Mellancholly Subject on wch I now write you, I do not Doubt but you have heard ere this comes to your Hands, as Capt. Noris Sail'd for your parts While I was Endeavouring to recover your Sneau, and so Miss'd the Oppertunity of Acquainting you, that on the 12th of March I had Advice that there was an English flagg Hoisted on the Main land Opposit to the Island on wch we Reside, and as it was a thing Uncommon, I Ordered one of my Cannoes to goe see for what it was Hoisted, and my Canoe soon return'd wth the Deceas'd Captn. Cuttler's Boy, and some of the Remains of his people, who Inform'd me that Captn. Cuttler wth two others of his People were Murder'd in the River Sierrallone, by some Portugees that live there and his Ship cutt off and Plundered, and as I found it was by a Particular Sett of People, and the Natives had not any Hand in it, I did not Doubt but I should recover her, I therefore tooke three Shalops and a Yall wth me well mann'd and sail'd for the River and at my Arrivall, I found her Laying like a wreck, Strip'd of her Sails, Riggin, Provisions, Stores and in Short every thing but a few old Rum Hogsheads fill'd wth fresh Water. when I found in what Condition she was, I did not think it worth while to meddle wth her, Unless I could have the Slaves Deliver'd up, wch they Inform'd me was Eighty four when She was Cutt off, (I therefore haveing an Acquaintance wth the Great King of this Countrey, and Mr. Josepf Lopez who abhor'd the Action and of Great Powre in the Country,) Apply'd my self to these two, first Setting forth the Baseness of what had been committed, and of what Determt [detriment] it was Likely to be to the River, If they did not give the Owners Satisfaction for what they hade Suffer'd. they both Promis'd to doe all in there Power and they Immediately Sent to the Vilain, to Deliver every thing up to me, but the Slaves and every thing else belonging to her, was so Distributed about it was Imposable to Collect them; her Riggen, Stores and Sail's was Cutt, and Devided therefore it was not to be got, but by Imploying one of the Natives to give the others Incouragement to bring them in, which was done, I then got the Sneau and what Sailes etc. I could with thirty four Slaves and being at much Expencess, and Provisions not to be got in the River, I sail'd with her for the Bannanoes, and there to remain Untill I could Provide Provisions and Necessarys for the Voage Home, and for want of Provisions was Oblig'd to land the Slaves, and put them into my Plantacion that they might not Starve before I could make Provision for them, I Ordered all my Boats out in Pursute of Provisions, with the best of Goods to Purchase it,

but it came but Slowly in, there being a Scarcity at this Juncture all over the Country. the first Assistance we met with was from Captn. Pitman who Arrived here from Bristoll, and as I traded with him for neare a Thousand pounds Sterling, it Engaged him to Spare me what Sailes were Necessary and wanting, likeways Provisions, as youll see by his bill of Parcells Inclos'd, this Enableing her to goe off the Coast, after she was Wooded and Water'd. I Proceeded again with her to Sierralione in Order to Compleat it, and at the same time to try what more of the Slaves I could recover, A list of which I here send you, I have had much more trouble in this affair than I at first could have Expected; besides neglecting my own Business and factorys, which I have sufferd much by, but doe not repine at it as I did it to serve my deceased friend, his Friends and family, whose virtues and honour, the Unfortunate Deceasd used often to mention to me, with so much Satisfaction, that we used often to wish our Selfs with you, to whome he had Promisd to interduce me, in my way to old England, this makes me Mellancholly therefore I must Conclude this Subject, and add that as Captn Wickam hade the Misfortune to Loose his Ship by a Spanish Privateer, he with his mates and People came to the Bannanoes in Order to gett a Passage off the Coast, and as this affair Happn'd, While he was with me, I haveing known him before, allthough he had an Oppertunity of getting off some time before with Captn. Jno. Noris, who likeways Promis'd to give him his Passage, and his Slaves with him freight free, therefore I thought it was but Justuce to give him the freight as he was disapointed to serve the Sneau, of which he has hade a Share of the Trouble, and on these terms and Obligeing the Sneau, and Effects to Pay him and his people Wages as pr the Incloasd List, I Prevail'd on him to Stay, and take Charge of the Ship to bring her home to you, as after the Expençe was Paid as pr the Incloased Acct. their was but few Slaves Remaining, as youll See by the Incloas'd Bill of Ladeing, and not any Papers to be found where you hade Order'd her, I thought to send her to you Directly wch was far the best way; I have Endeavour'd much but to no Purpose to gett his Papers and Books of Accts, they Allways Denying that they knew any thing of them Although John Kendell has Seen them in their Hands, hade I Recover'd his Books it would have Enabl'd me to have Settled all Accts, to your Satisfactions, as allso to my own, for Captn. Cuttler dealt wth Severall People as well as with my self, where he sometimes left goods, without being Paid Directly for them and at other times recd. Slaves, and not haveing right Sortments was Left Untill he hade. Just before the Unhappy Mellancholly time, he Left in my Hands a Large quantity of Flints de-

sireing me to give them storehouse room, and when he return'd from Sierrallione, If we could agree for them I was to have them, we Disagreed about the Price, he wanting Seven and Sixpence pr Thousand, and I Insisting on Paying him five Shilings only, as they were a Large Parcell, but what quantity Exactly I cannot tell as we Did not Agree, he only tooke the weight of them and kept it to him Self, but there Appears to be about Fourty Thousand. I hade allso two Hoggsheds of Rum Containing two Hundred and Sixteen Gallons, and a Small Parcell of Loose Beads of no value, when he was wth me Last. I hade made a Memmorandum, in my Accts. wth him wherein he hade Overcharged me in Somethings, which he Promisd to Draw out fair again and en[illegible] the overcharge to my Satisfaction, but never return'd the Acct. Again to me, therefore without the Books Its Impossable to be at any Certainty, but as these Rogues are Roman-catholicks, and their is a Priest here, I hope to Prevail wth him to Procure them, if they are not destroy'd, then I shall be able to Collect in his Debts, of which I know there is some, but must have a powre before I can make any Demand; I recd. for Capt. Cuttler Just before he Died three Slaves, and a Tooth weight fifty two pounds, from Mr. Henry Tucker, who is yet indebted to him, but cannot tell how much. this Person as soon as he heard news of what hade Happend at Sierrallione, made a Demand of the Slaves and Tooth, but I let him know though I hade no Power to Demand the Debts, I hade Power to keep what was put in my hands on the Owners Acct. therefore gave him a Recipt, and shipd the Tooth, and two of the Slaves on board the Sneau, the other Slave Died at my House. I allso have sent a Boy Slave which Captn. Cuttler Left in my Hands verey Ill, but since well recoverd, allso rec'd one Woman sent by Mr. Lopez to me, he finding She was the Sneaus Property, there is likeways here a verey Poor man, who Assisted Captn. Cuttler in tradeing and Borrow'd his Long boat to Trade in, and when he return'd from his Voage, Put his Effects into Captn. Cuttlers Hands in hopes of Buying his Long boat, and he being well Acquainted in this Country, went to gett Rice for the Sneau, but before he returned the Ship was Cutt off, and the Poor man has little or any thing left, his Debt is something above three Hundred barrs, and I belive is Justly due to him, as he sent his Acct. To Capt. Jno Noris to Settle it for him before the Sneau was cutt off, therefore the Man ought to be Paid out of what may hereafter be recover'd, there is four Slaves due for the Long boat, but will not be paid Untill the Person has Some Satisfaction for his goods, which was Carried off by Captn. Edward Tarleton, and what Contributed much towards the Captns Unhappy End, as the whole relation will be too tedious to mention

here, I refer it to the Captn and People that are now in the Sneau, I have put the Gold Watch which Belongs to the Deceased, into Captn. Wickhams hands, to Deliver to Mrs. Furnel the Deceas'd Sister,¹¹ who I have heard him say so much of that hade he lived, I belive he had Bestow'd it that way, therefore I hope it will come safe to her.

Gentlemen I think I have nothing further to add then that I have Impowerd Capt. Wickam, to Receve whatsoever may become Due to me, on Acct. of my Recovering the Sneau, and Slaves, which I hope at Least will be a Third of all, and when that is done I do Ashure you I shall be a Looser. I hope you give him immediat Satisfaction, that everything will be done Agreeable to him. Gentlemen, I am very Sorrow that after recovering those Slaves, I have to Acquaint you that ten of your Slaves Run away wth one of Island Cannoes five of which I have gott back again, I lost 23 at the Same time and Capt. Wickam three, I have only got one of my own as yet, but am in Pursute of them, hope to recover them, and be Ashured If I can gett yours allso, you Shall have them paying the Charges, my best Endeavours shall not be wanting to Serve you as far as Lays in my power. when Captn. Wickam Acquaints you wth the Custome of this Country, wch he is now Acquainted with, and you are Strangers to, youll find how much I have already favour'd you, one Instance is this at the Time I Advanc'd my money for your Use, I have charged my Self Sixty Bars pr Head for the Slaves which I am paid in, and at the same time the greatest Price we Livers in this Country, we pay but fourty five, an other, I have not made a Charge for any Provisions which was Expended at my House, for the Up of between thirty and fourty of your Slaves, Dureing the time of their Stay, which was more than Six Weeks. Sir I have sent by Captn. Wickam, a bundle of Papers which is all that was put into my hands by John Kendell, I hope it will come safe to your hands.

Gentlemen the reason of my sending the Ship to Road Island, is because all the people and officers are Inhabitance of that place, and hade she been orderd Elsewhere I am not certain whither they would have proceeded in her as they Started severall Difficulties about it. Gentlemen I hope this will meet wth a favourable recption as I have done it purely with Intention to Serve you.

¹¹ A. E. Brown describes Mary Cutler as "Highly educated with decided literary tastes" and withal, a "poetess." It was Benjamin Faneuil's marriage with her which caused his choleric uncle Andrew to disinherit him in favor of Peter. *Faneuil Hall and Faneuil Hall Market* (Boston, 1901), pp. 16-17.

*Decree.*¹²

I have Considered the Libble of George Burchill Residing at the Banana Islands on the Coast of Guiney in Africa Mercht against the Snow *Jolly Batchelor* Jno. Cutler Late Commander and her Cargoe etc. and I do Adjudge and Decree to him the one third part of the aforeside Snow and Appurtenances and the one third part of the twenty Negros Mentioned in the Libble free of all Charges or Deduction for Salvage the aforeside Snow and Negroes I order to be Apprisd on Oath by Benj: Cranston, Patrick Grant and Tho: Vernon and to be sold at Publick Vendue by Will King Deputy Marshall of this Court on the thirtyth of this Instant Augt at the House of Mr. Jacob Hassey and I Order the sd Will King to pay the one Whole third thereof to George Burchell or to his Lawfull Attorney the other two thirds after all Charges are first Subducted and tax'd by me I order the sd Will King to pay to Benj. Furnel¹³ of Boston Esq. and Mr. Jno Jones¹⁴ Mercht Aforesaid as soon as Demanded by them althe Portage Bill in this Case I Reject.¹⁵

Appraisement.

By Virtue of a warrant Directed to us the Subscribers from the Hono'ble his Majesty's Court of Admiralty in the Colony of Rhode Island etc. To A prize the Snow *Jolly Bachelor*, with her Tackle Apparel furniture Slaves etc. We have Aggreable to Sd warrant Viewed the Said Snow etc. according to the best of our Skill and Jud[g]ement, think they are worth as follows *Viz.*

¹² "20th Aug'st 1743, George Burchall *vs* Snow *Jolly Batchelor* and Cargo. The Court being Opened according to Adjournment, His Honr the Judge pronounced his decree."

¹³ Peter Faneuil died Mar. 3, 1743. In the absence of a will his brother Benjamin became administrator of his estate (Brown, *Faneuil Hall*, pp. 16-17, 102). No evidence has come to light to give positive support to Brown's statement that Peter Faneuil, "like his contemporaries, was often found engaged in the trade in human beings," though it is probable that he frequently received a slave or two from the West Indies, along with other commodities. The present seems to have been his only venture to Africa. In 1737 he wrote to Thomas Kilby, "Captain sends you for his private account two young negro men, wch, if you can get a good price for, pray dispose of them" (*ibid.*, p. 45). His letter to Capt. Peter Bulkley (or Buckley), commander of the *Byam*, ordering a young lad for a house boy is well known. It is to be found in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, VII. 418 (August, 1864); L. M. Sargent, *Dealings with the Dead* (Boston, 1856), II. 532; Brown, *Faneuil Hall*, pp. 32-33; Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, II. 262.

¹⁴ The venture of the *Jolly Batchelor* seems to have been strictly a family investment. Capt. John Jones was the husband of Mary Anne Faneuil, sister of Peter and Benjamin. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 121; Sargent, *op. cit.*, II. 503, 510; *News Letter*, Mar. 10, 1743.

¹⁵ The decree is signed "Jno. Gidley Judge." The costs, amounting to £184 10 8, are enumerated by Weeden in "Early African Slave Trade," *Am. Antiq. Soc., Procs.*, new ser., V. 125-126.

		The Snow <i>Jolly Bachelor</i> , with her Tackle		
		Apparrel Furniture, Yawl, etc. worth		£1300
5 negro boys	Jobah	£75		
	Jobah	90		
	Cubah	80		
	Farih	80		
	Young	105		
		—		430
3 Girls	Durah	50		
	Battah	50		
	Bungoh	65		
		—		165
6 Women	Yallah	80		
	Morandah	85		
	Mowoorie	100		
	Simboh	100		
	Burrah	100		
	Yearie	100		
		—		565
6 Men	Cubah	105		
	Carie	95		
	Cudah	60		
	Fassiah	50		
	Curiarah	100		
	Pattoe	100		
		—		510
				—
				£2970

NEWPORT 31st August 1743.¹⁶

Sale.

Acco't of the Sale of the Snow *Jolly Batchelor* etc.
with Twenty Negroes:

Mr Samll Vernon to 1 Negro Boy	£100
Mr John Tweedey to 1 Negro Girl	81
Mr Brinley to 1 Negro Man	93
Col Cranston to 1 Negro man	75
Sailes Carr to 1 Negro man	105
Mr Harte to 1 Boy	91

¹⁶ Signatures, "Pat: Grant, Thos: Vernon, Benj. Cranston." Endorsed: "Personally appeared the within named Patrick Grant, Thomas Vernon and Benjamin Cranston and made Oath to the truth of the within Appraisement According to the best of their Skill and Judgment. Attest. J. Gould D Regr."

Mr Samll Bayley to 1 Negro Woman	106
Capt. Charls Wickham to 1 Negro Woman	74
Mr Chitenen to 1 Negro Woman	101
Mr Chaning to 1 Negro Boy	134
Colo. Cranston to 1 Negro Boy	71
Mr Brinley to 1 Negro man	85
Mr Brinley to 1 Negro man	94
Mr Don to 1 Negro Boy	78
Capt. Hartle to 1 Negro Girl	59
Wm King to 1 Negro Girl	40
Mr Isaacs to 1 Negro Girl	69
Capt. Wickham to the Snow	1300
Mathias King to 1 Negro Girl	75
Capt. Robinson to 1 Negro man	41
Mr Brinley to 1 Negro man	60
	2924 ¹⁷

53. NOTICES OF SALES, 1744-1758.

August 23, 1744.¹

Just Imported, from the Coast of Guinea, And to be Sold on Board the Schooner *Post-Boy*, Robert Ball Master, lying at Mr. James Russel's Wharff in Charleston, A Parcel of likely young Negro Boys and Girls. Inquire either of said Ball on board said Schooner, or of said Russel at his Warehouse on said Wharff.

August 11, 1746.²

Just Imported, A Parcel of young Negro Slaves of both Sexes, to be Sold. Enquire at Mr. Oliver's Bake House, near the South Battery.

November 9, 1747.³

Two likely young Negroes, about 14 Years old, a Boy and a Girl, lately imported from Guinea, to be sold by Thomas Jenner, Esq. at Charlestown.

¹⁷ It should be £2932. Weeden says that the snow sold for £1300, the twenty negroes for £1644, which gives a total of £2944. The men average £84, the women £79 (Am. Antiq. Soc., *Procs.*, new ser., V. 126). To this is added, "The Marshalls commission 2½ per ct. = 18. 5. 6 from court costs."

In the admiralty papers of the Rhode Island archives there are documents relating to a second African case, in which Edward Mumford brought suit for wages on a voyage to Guinea and New England, commanded by John Robinson. The case belongs to the court proceedings of 1745.

[53] ¹ *News Letter*, Aug. 23, 30, 1744. Ball entered in from Africa May 25. *Boston Gazette*, May 28, 1744.

² *Boston Post Boy*, Aug. 11, 1746. John Merrick advertised negro men on Mar. 31, 1746; Robert Jenkins, on July 11. *Post Boy*, Mar. 31; *News Letter*, July 11, 17, 1746.

³ *Boston Evening Post*, Nov. 9, 1747.

October 19, 1749.⁴

To Be Sold, by Samuel Hendly and Company, at his House in Charleston, A likely Parcel of Negro Boys and Girls, and two fine Negro Men, just imported from Africa.

October 10, 1751.⁵

To Be Sold. At Publick Vendue, at the Bunch of Grapes, Mr. Samuel Wetherhead's Tavern in King Street, on Tuesday the 15th Instant at Twelve o'Clock, Five strong hearty stout Negro Men, most of them Tradesmen, such as Caulkers, Sailmakers, etc. Any Person Inclining to Purchase may see them any Time before the Sale, on Board the Schooner *Success*, Matthew Milburn Master, lying at the South Side of the Long Wharf; the Condition of Sale may be seen at the Place of Sale. Boston, October 9, 1751.⁶

June 22, 1752.⁷

Kittery, June 14th. This Day arrived the *Betsey*, Samuel Lanphier, Commander from the Coast of Guinea, with a Quantity of very likely Boys and Girls of the blackest Sort: All Persons who incline to be Purchasers may apply to me the Subscriber, where they shall be dealt with on reasonable terms. ALEXANDER RAIT.

October 26, 1758.⁸

Just Imported and to be Sold. By Arnold Welles, Some very likely Negro Boys, from twelve to eighteen Years of Age, and three or four Negro Men between twenty and thirty Years old.

54. BOSTON CUSTOM-HOUSE ITEMS, 1746-1757.¹

Date	Master	Voyage
1746, Feb. 10	Robinson	Entered in from Africa
June 16	Ball	" " " "
1747, May 21	Thomson	" " " "
Sept. 10	Ball	" " " "

⁴ *News Letter*, Oct. 19, 26, Nov. 2, 1749.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1751.

⁶ An advertisement which appeared in the *Post Boy*, Oct. 7, 1751, for what is obviously the same group, said that they were from Halifax, and directed enquiries to Benjamin Hallowell of Boston.

⁷ *Post Boy*, June 22, 1752.

⁸ *News Letter*, Oct. 26, 1758, and following issues.

[54] ¹ *News Letter*, for the dates given. In addition to the advertisements for newly arrived negroes already printed, the following have been found in the Boston papers between 1745 and 1758:

1746, Jan. 27, *Evening Post*, two men from West Indies, printer
Mar. 31, *Weekly Post Boy*, several negro men, John Merrick
July 11, *News Letter* and *Evening Post*, two or three negro men, one a cooper, one a carpenter from West Indies, Robert Jenkins
1749, June 8, *News Letter*, a likely negro woman, Alford and Tyng
1754, Aug. 19, *Evening Post*, two men, one woman, Edward Scheaffe from *Blava*
1758, July 24, *Evening Post*, six healthy negro boys and girls, by auction at the Royal Exchange Tavern
July 27, *News Letter*, five likely negro boys just imported, printer

Date	Master	Voyage
1748, Dec. 1	Fuller	Entered out for Africa
Dec. 8	Ellery	" " " "
" "	Thomson	" " " "
1749, June 16	White	Outward bound for Africa
July 30	Ball	Cleared out " "
Aug. 3	Fuller	Entered out " "
Sept. 21	Besham	Entered in from Cape Verde
1750, June 20	Power	Entered out for Africa
July 11	Fuller	" in from "
Oct. 24	Rhodes	" out for "
1751, May 6	Ball	" in from Barbados
1752, July 16	"	Cleared out for Africa
" 29	Grey	" " " "
Sept. 14	Ellery	" " " "
1753, Nov. 22	Harding	" " " "
1754, Jan. 3	Ellery	Entered out " "
1757, Feb. 10	Binney	Cleared " "

55. NOTICES OF SALES, 1759-1762.

October 18, 1759.¹

To be Sold, A Very likely Negro Boy, has been about Twelve Months from the Coast of Guiney, speaks good English, strait Limbed, handsome featur'd, good natur'd and has had the Small-Pox. Enquire of the Printer.

August 7, 1760.²

Just Imported from Africa, a Number of prime young Slaves from the Windward Coast and to be Sold on board the Schooner *Phillis* lying at New-Boston.

July 30, 1761.³

To be Sold, A Parcel of Likely Negroes, imported from Africa, enquire of John Avery at his House, next door to the White-Horse, or at a Store adjoining the said Avery's Distill House, at the South-End near the South Market: Also if any Persons have any Negro Men, strong and hearty, tho not of the best morral character, which are proper Subjects for Transportation, may have an Exchange for small Negroes.⁴

[55] ¹These items appear in the *News Letters* of the dates given and in subsequent issues. In May, Arnold Welles advertised "A few very likely negroes chiefly boys to be sold at a reasonable rate". *Evening Post*, May 14, 1759.

²"Gwinn for Africa" was "outward bound" Jan. 9, and "enter'd in from Africa" Aug. 6 (*News Letter*, Jan. 10, Aug. 7, 1760). Gwinn (or Gwyn), Ball, Innis, and Day all cleared for Africa in the closing months of 1760 (*ibid.*, Sept. 25, Oct. 16, Nov. 6, 13, Dec. 11, 1760). The *News Letter* of Sept. 24, 1761, writes of Captain Day, of the sloop *Thomas*: "By Capt. Day who arriv'd since our last from the Coast of Africa, with a Number of fine Negroes: whilst they were on the Coast, they got open the Hatches and rose upon the Crew, but were soon overcome and subdued, their Ring leader being Shot and kill'd, and others wounded."

³"Gwin from Africa" appears in the custom-house record as printed in the *News Letter*, July 16, 1761. He was reported "in a Schooner of Boston", on the coast of Africa, in February of that year; by Aug. 12 he was once more outward bound for Africa (*ibid.*, June 4, Aug. 13, Sept. 4, 1761). Other inward entries from Africa during the year were Carpenter, June 24, Ball, July 29; outward to Africa were Binney, May 13, and the sloop *Thomas*, Gresham Spear, Oct. 22. *Ibid.*, May 14, June 25, July 30, Oct. 22, 1761.

⁴A negro man and woman, from Goree, are advertised. *Ibid.*, Oct. 15, 1761.

May 20, 1762.⁵

Just Imported from Africa, A Number of Prime young Slaves, from the Windward Coast: To be seen at Mr. Blanchard's Store at New-Boston.

Just Imported, From the Coast of Africa, A Parcel of likely Negroes; To be Sold on board the Sloop *Diamond*, Capt. Wickham, now lying at Mr. Avery's Wharf, near the South Market. Inquire also at said Avery's House near the White-Horse.

Those who incline to purchase, must apply speedily, as the Vessel is soon to sail for Rhode-Island.⁶

June 10, 1762.

Just Imported from Africa, A Number of Prime Slaves from the Windward Coast. To be seen at a Store on Mr. Griffin's Wharf.

November 4, 1762.

Just Imported from Africa. And to be Sold Cheap at No. 5, Butler's Row, A Few prime Men and Boy Slaves from the Gold Coast.

56. INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN WILLIAM ELLERY, 1759.¹

14th January, 1759.

Sir, The Snow *Caesar* is fully loaded and equipped for sea. My orders are to you, that you embrace the first favorable opportunity of wind and weather, and proceed to the coast of Africa; touching first, if you think proper, at Senegal, where, if you find encouragement, you may part with such part of your cargo as you can sell to your liking, and then proceed down the coast to such ports or places as you judge best to dispose of your cargo to advantage, so as to purchase a cargo of two hundred slaves,² with which you are to proceed to South Carolina, unless a peace should happen, or a good

⁵ From the customs items one learns that the brig *Phillis*, Peter Gwinn, entered from Africa May 19; the sloop *Diamond*, Thomas Wickham, from Africa May 27. Binney and Swatridge cleared for Africa July 22, Spear Oct. 20, and Gwinn Nov. 4 (*ibid.*, May 20, 27, July 22, Oct. 21, Nov. 4, 1762). Gwinn cleared for Maryland June 2, returning to Boston Sept. 15; Ball entered from Rhode Island July 14. *Ibid.*, June 3, July 15, Sept. 16, 1762.

⁶ This sentence was added to the advertisement on its third appearance. *News Letter*, June 3, 1762.

[56] ¹ Charles Brooks, *History of the Town of Medford* (1886), p. 437. The advertisements and customs records are far from satisfactory and one can be certain that they fail to disclose the total amount of trade between Massachusetts and the African coast. For example, Captain Lindsay, whose voyages to Guinea in the '50's have been described by G. C. Mason ("The African Slave Trade in Colonial Times", *American Historical Record*, I. 315 ff.), had Boston as well as Rhode Island owners (*News Letter*, Aug. 31, 1758). Captain Mersyer, arriving in New York on May 12, 1754, reported the arrival of a snow from Boston just before he sailed from the Gambia River. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1754.

² The return cargo was 153 adult slaves and two children. Brooks, *Medford*, p. 437.

opportunity of coming off with a man-of-war, or some vessel of force, for the West Indies. In that case, I would recommend the Island of St. Christopher's, being handy to St. Eustatia's, for the sale of your slaves. Buy no girls, and few women; but buy prime boys and young men. As you have had often the care of slaves, so I think it needless to say much upon that head in regard to keeping them well secured and a constant watch over them.

Your cargo is good, and well assorted. Your rum,³ I make no doubt, will hold out more than it was taken in for; having proved some to hold out more than the gauge. As you have guns and men, I doubt not you'll make a good use of them if required. Bring some of the slaves this way if not too late.

I am, with wishing you health, success, and happiness, your assured friend and owner,

57. SALE OF NEGROES, 1762.¹

Sales of two Negros receiv'd from Africa for Acco'ts of Captn. Thomas Underwood, sold per Orders of Capt. Phillip Wilkinson.

BOSTON, June 1762.

	£	s.	d. ²
1762			
June 8th By Cash of the Governor for 1 Negro Boy	46.	13.	4
By Ditto of John Melvill for 1 Ditto	46.	13.	4
	93.	6.	8
Charges	£	s.	d.
paid Cap'n Wickham freight	13.	6.	8
Duty	2	0	6
1 Weeks board for One and			
2 Weeks for the other		12	
Cloathing for Ditto		6	
My Commiss'ns on Sales and			
returns at 5 per Ct.	4	5	0
Nett Proceeds Carr'd to			
Acct. Curr't	72	16	6
Dr. Acco't Curr't		Cr. 93.	6. 8

³ In part this cargo consisted of "Eighty-two barrels, six hogsheads, and six tierces of New England rum; thirty-three barrels best Jamaica spirits; thirty-three barrels of Barbadoes rum; twenty-five pair pistols; two casks musket-ball; one chest of hand-arms; twenty-five cutlasses." *Ibid.*, p. 437.

[57] ¹Rhode Island Historical Society, G. C. Mason, *Reminiscences of Newport*, I. 70. Mason illustrated four sets of especially printed *Reminiscences* with original letters and other papers and presented them, one to the Rhode Island Historical Society, one to the Newport Historical Society, and one to the New York Public Library. The fourth is understood to be in the possession of members of the Mason family. Reference to the *Reminiscences* must be explicit as to the set if the location of a document is to be indicated.

² In 1776 Isaac Royall, giving directions for the sale of his negroes, stated that two of them had cost £60 sterling each, and two £35. *Medford Historical Register*, III. 120.

Sepr. 27th To my ord'r on Messrs Wilkinson and Ayrault ³ in your fav'r	} 72. 16. 6	By proceeds of 2 Negroes as above	} 72. 16. 6
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BOSTON 27th Sepr 1762

Errors Excepted

I. GREENLEAF

58. NEWS ITEMS RELATING TO SLAVE TRADE, 1763-1765.¹

BOSTON, July 7 [1763].²

We hear from Hartford in Connecticut, that one Day last Week, the Mate of a Vessel lately arrived there from the Coast of Africa, being delirious, took a Negro Boy into his Arms, and jump'd into the River, and drowned both himself and the Boy.

NEWPORT, June 25 [1764].³

Capt. Wanton, who left the Coast in February last, informs us, that Mr. Ebenezer Washbourn, of that Place, who was Mate of the Brig ———, Capt. Rhodes⁴ of Piscataqua, lost his life at Cape Malpas, on the Coast of Africa, the latter End of December or Beginning of January last. He being acquainted with the Coast, and desirous of going ashore to trade, took the Long Boat, with several men, and a Quantity of Goods, for that Purpose: but the Negroes having been injured by a Vessel just before, detained these People, being the first they met with, as Objects of their resentment: But Capt. Rhodes having a Number of them in his Possession, they agreed to exchange, and accordingly delivered up all the Men except the Mate, who on a Dispute arising concerning the Goods, which the

³ Mason, in printing this account, substituted the name of Peter Williams for that of this house. *Am. Hist. Rec.*, I. 345.

[58] ¹ *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News Letter*, July 7, 1763, Sept. 20, 1764.

² The custom-house items as they appeared in the *Gazette and News Letter* for Jan. 20, Mar. 10, June 9, Aug. 12, Dec. 1, 9, 1763, are:

Jan.	19,	cleared for Africa,	Day	
Mar.	9,	outward bound for Africa,	Gardner	
June	8,	"	"	, Diamond, Stanton
Aug.	10,	"	"	, Lion, Binney
Nov.	30,	cleared	"	, Rose
Dec.	7,	outward bound	"	, Pinkham

J. B. Felt records that a Salem vessel sailed for Guinea on May 21, 1763 (*Annals of Salem*, II. 261). Captain Binney arrived in Boston on July 14, having disposed of a cargo of slaves in Martinique (*Gazette and News Letter*, July 14, 1763). One additional item of this year suggests a well-developed trade. On Nov. 17, 1763, Thomas Hancock and Company advertised for sale the *Adventure*, Boston built, 250 tons, with dimensions suitable for the Guinea trade. *Ibid.*, Nov. 17, 1763.

³ *News Letter*, July 5, 1764.

⁴ This may have been the Captain Rhodes who entered out from Boston to Guinea Oct. 24, 1750. *News Letter*, Oct. 25, 1750.

Negroes had applied to their own Use, jumped overboard, and was instantly followed by one of the Blacks, who swam under him, and by some Stabs in his Body, killed him.

BOSTON, September 17 [1764].⁵

By a Vessel from the West-Indies we learn, That Capt. Joseph Miller, in a Sloop from New London, died on the Coast of Africa, and all his Hands, except two, and that the Negroes soon after availing themselves of that Opportunity, came off from the Shore and killed the two surviving Men, and then took Possession of, and pillaged the Vessel.

BOSTON, March 7 [1765].⁶

Last week was committed to Goal in this Town, William Preest,⁷ who, as he says, was Chief Mate of the Brigantine *Hope*, Thomas Goold, Master, belonging to Messers Forseys, which Brig sailed from New London about a Year ago, bound to the Coast of Guinea; that at Senegal in the Night time the Crew of the said Vessel murdered their Captain, and threw him overboard, and one Taggart, who had been appointed chief Mate in the Room of Preest, occasioned by a Dispute between him and the Captain, took Command of the Brig and went to St. Thomas's; that in their Passage the Negroes rose on them and killed one or two of the Crew; and they killed seven or eight of the Slaves; that they went from St. Thomas's to Porto Rico, where the Spaniards seized the Vessel and Slaves, upon which the Crew ran away with the Boat at St. Domingo, and then separated themselves. It is said Preest confesses that he assisted in throwing the Captain over-board after he was dead, but that one Huntington, second Mate, and one Miller, a Foremast Man, knocked the said Capt. Goold in the Head, while he lay asleep, which was on the 15th of May last.⁸

⁵ For this year the *Gazette and News Letter*, Jan. 5, Feb. 23, Sept. 20, and Oct. 25, gives:

Jan. 4,	cleared for Africa,	<i>William Henry</i> ,	Pinkham
Feb. 23,	" " "	<i>Virginia Packet</i> ,	Spear
Sept. 19,	" " "	<i>Triton</i> ,	Caleb Gardner
Oct. 25,	" " "	<i>Greyhound</i> ,	Symes

Probably in August, 1764, the schooner *Mary* of Marblehead, Richard Boyd, master, arrived at Jamaica with 78 Gambia slaves. *Georgia Gazette*, Jan. 17, 1765.

⁶ *News Letter*, Mar. 7, 1765.

⁷ On Mar. 28 the *Gazette and News Letter* recorded the death of William Preest while in gaol.

⁸ This account bears a close resemblance to one which appeared in the *Gazette and News Letter* of Aug. 16 (*Ext.*), 1764: "New York, August 9. Last Sunday arrived the Brig *Dispatch*, Captain Gifford, in 29 Days from St. Domingo, in whom came the mate of a Brig — late commanded by Capt. Faggot, belonging to Messrs. Forsey of N. London, by whom we learn, That as Capt. Faggot was at Anchor, off Goree, on the Coast of Africa, with 43 Slaves on board, the Slaves rose in the Night against the Crew, cut the Cable, killed the Capt. and two of the Men, but were at last overcome by the Mate and the rest of the Sailors, who went into Porto Rico. The Spaniards boarded the Brig, on Pretence of the clandestine Trade, and condemned both the Vessel and Cargo."

July 11, 1765.⁹

We hear that Capt. Spear of this Place is arrived at South-Carolina, from the Coast of Africa: He has been from hence near 18 Months, and buried his Mate, Boy, and every Hand on the Coast: he lost a great Number of Slaves, while he waited for the Arrival of some Man of War to supply him with Hands to bring off his Vessel.

August 22, [1765].¹⁰

Capt. Grounsell,¹¹ who is arrived at Marblehead from the West-Indies, informs that he spoke with Capt. Ball, of this Port, 13 Days ago, bound for South Carolina from the Coast of Guinea, having on board about 200 Slaves.

59. EFFORT TO CHECK THE IMPORTATION OF SLAVES, 1767.¹

. . . About the time of the Stamp Act, what before were only slight scruples in the minds of conscientious persons became serious doubts, and, with a considerable number, ripened into a firm persua-

⁹ *Gazette*, July 11, 1765. Captain Spear entered from South Carolina Aug. 29 (*ibid.*, Aug. 29, 1765), having delivered 80 slaves in Charleston (see *post*, vol. IV.). Justin Winsor states that the decline of the Massachusetts slave trade began in 1765, a statement difficult to prove or disprove conclusively (*Memorial History of Boston*, II. 485, note 4). This period certainly saw the growth of controversy over the abolition of the trade, though occasional protests against it had already found utterance. Salem in 1755 expressed disapproval of the traffic, when Deacon Timothy Pickering was empowered by the town to petition the General Court in their behalf against the importation of negroes. Felt, *Annals*, II. 416.

¹⁰ *Gazette and News Letter*, Aug. 22, 1765. The significant customs entries, from the issues of June 20, July 4, 23, and Oct. 3, are:

June 19, outward bound for Africa, Gwinn

July 3, cleared out for Newfoundland and Africa, Kent

July 23, entered out for Africa, M'Carty

Oct. 2, outward bound for " , Godfrey

Thomas Irving's "Account of Vessels entering inward and clearing outward," Oct. 10, 1765, to Oct. 10, 1766, gives 3 as clearing from Boston to Africa in this time. Mass. Hist. Soc.

Report reached Boston in August, 1766, that Captain McCarthy had arrived in Barbados; by October Gwinn was back in Boston, from St. Croix (*Gazette and News Letter*, Aug. 14, Oct. 23). Dole cleared for Africa Dec. 11. One further item testifies to the importance of the African trade in Boston at this time: "To Be Sold By James Griffin, Sundry Goods Imported for the Coast of Guinea, viz. French, Danish, and Trading Small-Arms, Nicanes, Tapsails, Chelloes, Guinea Knives, Iron properly drawn for the Coast, Britannia's. Also, Hemp, Duck, Ozenbrigs, Cordage, Anchors, etc." *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1765.

¹¹ "Grounsell", in the dialect of Marblehead, meant Crowninshield.

[59] ¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.*, fifth ser., III. 385. Samuel Dexter to Jeremy Belknap, Feb. 23, 1795. In 1795 Judge Tucker of Virginia sent to the Rev. Jeremy Belknap of Boston "Queries respecting Slavery and Emancipation of Negroes in Massachusetts". Copies of these questions Dr. Belknap distributed to about forty gentlemen of prominence who might be able to give information on the subjects. The questions themselves, with Belknap's reply compiled from the correspondence which he had elicited, are to be found in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.*, first ser., IV. 191-211; the letters received by Dr. Belknap, *ibid.*, fifth ser., III. 382-416. The letter here printed, though written in 1795, is given this place because of its account by a member of the House of Representatives of the attempt to check the importation of slaves in 1767.

sion that the slave trade was *malum in se*. Pieces against it appeared in newspapers, and some pamphlets were written.²

March 4, 1767, a bill intituled "An Act to prevent the importation of slaves into this Province" was read a first time in the House of Representatives.³ On a second reading the next day, it was committed for alteration. On the 13th it appeared again, and was read a first time under the title of "An Act for preventing the unnatural and unwarrantable custom of enslaving mankind in this Province, and the importation of slaves into the same." On a second reading (the 16th)⁴ a vote for a third reading did not obtain; but a committee was appointed to bring in a bill for laying a duty on slaves imported. Such a bill was brought in the next day, intituled "An Act for laying an impost on the importation of negro and other slaves into this Province," and read a first and second time, and on the 18th read a third time, and passed to be engrossed. I was then a member of the House, and active for the bills under every form. The Council made many amendments, the House non-concurred, and thus died the bill. Had it passed both Houses, Gov. Bernard would not have signed it. The duty was laid high.⁵

² One of these publications was a portion of a sermon preached by the Bishop of Gloucester, before the S.P.G.F.P., Feb. 21, 1766 (*Gazette and News Letter*, Apr. 2, 1767); another outburst against the slave trade is to be found in the *News Letter*, Aug. 2, 1770. The growing opposition to the trade can also be followed in the pamphlet literature which preceded the Revolution. In 1772 appeared an *Oration on the Beauties of Freedom*, dedicated to the Earl of Dartmouth, which contained a plea for the liberty of the negro. The author of this plea stated that he had offered it to the newspapers but had been refused space. James Swan's *Dissuasion to Great Britain and the Colonies from the Slave Trade*, one of the most ambitious of the pamphlet publications, was addressed to the Governor, the Council, and the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay. Another evidence of increasing interest in the moral aspect of the slave trade is to be found in *A Forensic Dispute on the Legality of Enslaving the Africans, held at the public Commencement in Cambridge, New England, July 21st, 1773*, by Two Candidates for the Bachelor's Degree (Boston, 1773). The debaters were Theodore Parsons and Eliphelet Pearson, both natives of Newbury.

³ The instructions of the Boston town meeting to the representatives, James Otis, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock, in 1766, were, "that you move for a law, to prohibit the importation and purchasing of slaves for the future". The next year the question was put as to whether to adhere to this clause in the previous instructions and it was determined to do so. "Town Meetings, 1758-1769", *Report of the Record Commissioners* (1886), pp. 183, 200.

⁴ A note corrects this. The second reading was on the 14th; a committee to bring in a bill for an impost was appointed on the 16th.

⁵ The customs entries which appear during this year in the *Gazette and News Letter*, Jan. 22, Oct. 1, 22, Dec. 10, are:

Jan. 21,	cleared for Africa,	Dole
Sept. 30,	" " "	Gwin
Oct. 20,	" " "	Sally, McCarty
Dec. 10,	" " "	Cordis

The day on which Capt. Daniel McCarthy cleared he advertised for two runaway seamen who were to be returned to him or to Thomas Boylston, the owner of the *Sally*. Samuel Dexter, in a letter to Dr. Belknap, writes of "McCarthy, and I believe Job Prince" as the captains of Thomas Boylston in this trade. Prince's name does not appear in the customs entries which have been noted, but one reference to his adventures we possess: "Boston, July 6, 1761. The Same Day Saturday last Capt. Prince came to Town from Salem, who informs that on his Passage from New-york to Guinea in a Ship, he was taken by a French Privateer of 14 Guns, and carried into Martinico. Capt. Prince had 2 Men killed before he struck." *News Letter*, July 9, 1761.

60. THE VOYAGE OF THE SLOOP *FRIEND*, 1768.¹

BRIDGETOWN, BARBADOES, June 2, 1768.

Sir, I improve this opportunity to inform you of the ill success of our voyage: we arrived at Anaboa² on the Coast of Africa the 28th of March, where we purchased 102 slaves and had 31 freighted by the Governor of Cape-Coast Castle for the Island of Granada; the 17th of June we sailed from Oppom,³ which is 30 leagues to leeward of Annamaboe: the 20th, Captain Dole was taken sick with a violent fever, attended with a bleeding at the Nose, and after using our utmost efforts, he recruited: the 29th made the Island Fernand Po, having very unsettled weather from our sailing from Oppom, and only one observation during the eleven days between Oppom and Fernand Po: After beating several days in the bite of Biafra the captain was taken with a relapse; we met with several fresh gales of wind, which put the sloop very much out of repair; and it was the captain's desire, with the advice of a master of a vessel, who had taken passage off the coast, and was acquainted with the Cameroons, to bear away for that river in order to clean and repair: The 23d of July arrived at the Cameroons, where we found the ship *Union* of Liverpool, Thomas Hewes, commander, which had a surgeon on board, who attended captain Dole during our stay here, which was 9 days in cleaning and repairing the vessel: the whole time the captain was very low, and it was the surgeon's opinion very dangerous: July 31st we put to sea, found the weather very unsettled and the wind continually from W.S.W. to S.W. which is directly into the bite: August 23d being 3 leagues from the Island Ferdnand Po, captain Dole departed this life after 64 days sickness: I continued beating till the slaves provisions were expended, except 5 days at a short allowance; we met with a fresh gale of wind that split our main-sail, it being very bad before rendered it quite unserviceable; [with?] advice of the vessels company I bore away again for the Cameroons: The 6th October we arrived there and found the snow *Katherine* of London, Joseph Valens, master and capt. Hewes; the latter having no provisions to spare, I applied to capt. Valens for a supply, who knowing my necessity required £75 sterling for a quantity of yams for 6 weeks; which to prevent the slaves suffering, I was obliged to comply with: Having repaired the vessel in the best manner possible we proceeded to sea; and went to Fernand Po, where I purchased

[60] ¹ *Gazette and News Letter*, July 7, 1768. "Boston July 7, 1768. Extract of a Letter from the Mate of the Sloop *Friend*, Dole, late Master, who sailed from this Port, for the Coast of Africa, about Eighteen Months since, to the Owner in Boston, dated Bridgetown Barbadoes, June 2, 1768."

² Anamabo.

³ Appam.

three boats load in order to help out: We continued beating till the 6th December, all the people being sick but myself and one more, and having carried away three of our starboard shrouds in a very severe gale of wind, the vessel springing a leak, and for 6 hours with 3 feet of water in her hold, during which time we never perceived to gain upon her, pumping and baleing continually, the sails and rigging past repair, and no canvas or twine on board, we were obliged to bear away the third time for the Cameroons: where the vessel after a proper survey was condemned. I freighted the slaves on board the brig *Henry*, Joseph White, master belonging to Liverpool, having buried 33 slaves belonging to the cargo, and 8 of the freight. During our passage in the brig from the Cameroons, which was 3 months and 7 days, we buried 19 of the sloop's cargo and 9 of the freight, which makes in the whole 66: what remains is 46 cargo and 17 freight: We arrived at Barbados the 31st of May: having buried 4 of the people and 2 drowned during the voyage: only myself, the carpenter, and 2 people now survive. Being now bound to Granada, shall from thence give a more particular account of our misfortunes.⁴

⁴ One fragment of 1768 gives no direct information about Massachusetts slave trade, but may offer a slight clue to the Boston interests connected with it: "Boston, July 16th, 1768. Bills of Exch'e, Dr. to Cash paid Mr. Mumford for the following Bills of Exch'e *Vizt.* Stevenson and Went on Lascells and Daling in favor of Charles Wickham on 12 Months Sight, 8 pr Ct. being deducted the Bill for Stg. £279. 4. 3. £342. 10" (Mass. Hist. Soc., Amory Waste Books, 1768). Stevenson and Went, and Lascelles and Daling were Barbadian dealers in slaves.

For 1769-1770 the *News Letter* offers the following customs items:

1769, Jan. 12,	outward bound for Africa,	McCarty
Mar. 9,	" " " "	, Turner
May 25,	" " " "	, McNeil
Oct. 26,	" " " "	, Gwinn
Nov. 30,	" " " "	, Foster
1770, May 10,	outward bound for Africa,	Dunn
June 7,	" " " "	, McCarthy
" 28,	" " " "	, Fletcher
July 12,	cleared out	" " , Turner
Oct. 18,	outward bound	" " , Bennet
" 25,	" " " "	, Craigie

Captain McCarthy of the *Sally* was one of the signers of a certificate sent to England from Anamabo Nov. 3, 1770. See this work, II. 543 n.

61. CUSTOM-HOUSE ITEMS, 1771-1774.¹

Date	Master	Voyage
1771, Aug. 29	McCarthy	Outward bound for Africa
“ “	Turner	“ “ “ “
Sept. 26	Dunn	“ “ “ “
Dec. 19	Tash	Cleared “ “
1772, May 28	Bennett	Outward bound “ “
July 9	Fulford	“ “ “ “
Aug. 6	McCarthy	“ “ “ “
Sept. 3	Craige	“ “ “ “
Nov. 26	Hay	“ “ “ “
Dec. 31	Shaw	Cleared “ “
1773, ² Apr. 8	Dean	Outward bound “ “
“ “	Ford	“ “ “ “
June 3	Dunnell	“ “ “ “
July 8	Dunn ³	Cleared “ “
Sept. 16	Turner	Outward bound “ “
“ “	Gibson	“ “ “ “
Dec. 2	Holloway	“ “ “ “
1774, ⁴ May 26	Cunningham	Cleared “ “
Aug. 25	Hay	“ “ “ “
“ “	Buffinton	“ “ “ “
“ “	Collyer	“ “ “ “
“ “	Gill	“ “ “ “
Nov. 3	Orne	Outward bound “ “

62. INSTRUCTIONS TO THOMAS DENNY, REPRESENTATIVE
FROM LEICESTER, 1773.¹

May 19, 1773.

. . . And, as we have the highest regard for (so as even to revere the name of) liberty, we cannot behold but with the greatest abhorrence any of our fellow-creatures in a state of slavery.

[61] ¹ *Gazette and News Letter*, for the dates given.

² Professor S. E. Morison finds eight clearances from Boston for Africa in 1773 (“The Commerce of Boston on the Eve of the Revolution”, *Am. Antiq. Soc., Procs.*, new ser., XXXII. 38). This disproves the conclusion Dr. Belknap reached in 1795, that not more than three ships a year from Boston were ever engaged in the slave traffic (*Mass. Hist. Soc., Colls.*, first ser., IV. 196). Vessels from other Massachusetts ports were also on the African coast. “Salem, July 13. We hear that the Schooner ———, belonging to this Place, and late commanded by Capt. John Masury, is arrived in the West-Indies, from the Coast of Africa; and that the Captain and three Men were dead; but that the Mate and one Hand, the only two of the Crew left, performed the arduous Task of navigating the Vessel from the River Gambia to Dominico in 19 Days, having at the same Time 25 Slaves under their Care.” *Gazette and News Letter*, July 15, 1773.

³ On Oct. 15, 1770, Richard Brew wrote from the African coast to Liverpool merchants that one-third of a Boston vessel, the *Beggar’s Benison*, commanded by Captain Dunn, was owned by Mr. Grossle, governor of Cape Coast Castle, who was, under the organization of the English company of 1750, forbidden to trade in slaves. Because of this ownership Captain Dunn received preferential treatment in the trade, as did other Boston and Rhode Island captains with whom English officials traded. African Merchant, *Treatise upon the Trade from Great-Britain to Africa* (1772), app. H, pp. 85-86, 98.

⁴ This list, which can make no pretensions to completeness, may occasionally be supplemented by incidental information from other sources. On Dec. 25, 1774, Capt. Peleg Greene wrote to Aaron Lopez of Rhode Island that Captain Johnson of Boston was trading at Anamabo (*Commerce of Rhode Island*, I. 524-525).

[62] ¹ Emory Washburn, *Historical Sketches of Leicester* (Boston, 1860), pp. 442-

Therefore we strictly enjoin you to use your utmost influence that a stop may be put to the slave-trade by the inhabitants of this Province; which, we apprehend, may be effected by one of these two ways: either by laying a heavy duty on every negro imported or brought from Africa or elsewhere into this Province; or by making a law, that every negro brought or imported as aforesaid should be a free man or woman as soon as they come within the jurisdiction of it; and that every negro child that shall be born in said government after the enacting such law should be free at the same age that the children of white people are; and, from the time of their birth till they are capable of earning their living, to be maintained by the town in which they are born, or at the expense of the Province, as shall appear most reasonable.

Thus, by enacting such a law, in process of time will the blacks become free; or if the Honorable House of Representatives shall think of a more eligible method, we shall be heartily glad of it. But whether you can justly take away or free a negro from his master, who fairly purchased him, and (although illegally, for such is the purchase of any person against their consent, unless it be for a capital offence) which the custom of this country has justified him in, we shall not determine; but hope that unerring Wisdom will direct you in this and all your other important undertakings.²

63. RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 1776.¹

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENT. Sepr. 13, 1776.

Whereas this house is credibly informed that two Negro men lately brought into this State as prisoners taken on the high seas are advertised to be sold at Salem the 17th instant by public auction,

443. In 1771 a second attempt to forbid importation was made by the legislature, but the bill was vetoed by Governor Hutchinson (W. E. B. Du Bois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, pp. 31-32, citing *House Journal*, 1771, pp. 211, 215, 219, 228, 234, 236, 240, 242-243). In 1773 Salem representatives were instructed to use their endeavors to prevent future importation of negroes, as "repugnant to the natural rights of mankind, and highly prejudicial to the Province" (*Gazette and News Letter*, May 27, 1773; also *Gentleman's Magazine*, XLIII. 358). The town meeting of Sandwich voted: "That our representative is instructed to endeavor to have an Act passed by the Court, to prevent the importation of slaves into this country, and that all children that shall be born of such Africans as now are slaves among us shall, after such Act, be free at 21 years of age" (F. Freeman, *History of Cape Cod*, Boston, 1862, II. 114-115). The negroes of Massachusetts sent in numerous petitions for the passage of such a measure. Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.*, fifth ser., III. 387, 432-437.

² A bill for the purpose here described passed both houses, and went to Governor Hutchinson for his signature on Mar. 8, 1774. He refused his assent on the ground that he had no authority from the crown to confirm such a bill, in which position he was undoubtedly right. The same position was taken by Gage a few months later. Mass. Hist. Soc., *Colls.*, first ser., IV. 201; Du Bois, *op. cit.*, p. 32, citing *House Journal*, March, 1774, pp. 224, 226, 237, June, pp. 27, 41.

[63] ¹ Mass. Arch., CCXV. 96.

Resolved That the Selling and enslaving the human Species is a direct violation of the natural rights alike vested in all men by their Creator and utterly inconsistent with the avowed principles on which this and the other United States have carried their Struggle for liberty even to the last appeal, and therefore that all persons concerned with the said Negroes be and they hereby are forbidden to sell them or in any manner to treat them otherwise than is already ordered for the treatment of prisoners of war taken in the same Vessel or others in the like employ and if any Sale of said negroes shall be made, it hereby is declared null and void.²

64. INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN ———, 1785.¹

November 12, 1785.

Captain, Our brig, of which you have the command, being cleared at the office, and being in every other respect complete for sea; our orders are, that you embrace the first fair wind and make the best of your way to the coast of Africa, and there invest your cargo in slaves. As slaves, like other articles, when brought to market, generally appear to the best advantage; therefore, too critical an inspection cannot be paid to them before purchase; to see that no dangerous distemper is lurking about them, to attend particularly to their age, to their countenance, to the straightness of their limbs, and, as far as possible, to the goodness or badness of their constitution, etc., will be very considerable objects.

Male or female slaves, whether full grown or not, we cannot particularly instruct you about; and on this head shall only observe, that prime male slaves generally sell best in any market. No people require more kind and tender treatment to exhilarate their spirits, than the Africans; and, while on the one hand, you are attentive to

² This was sent to the Council, where a new draft was drawn up and returned to the House on Sept. 14. This the House refused to accept, and returned its own resolution. On Sept. 16 however it agreed to a second draft sent to it from the Council. As actually passed the resolution read: "Whereas this Court is credibly informed, that two Negro men, lately taken on the High Seas, on board the sloop *Hannibal*, and brought into this State as prisoners, are advertised to be sold at Salem the 17th instant by public Auction, Resolved, That all persons concerned with the Said Negroes be and they hereby are forbidden to sell them or in any manner to treat them other ways than is already ordered for the treatment of prisoners taken in like manner; and if any Sale of the said Negroes shall be made, it is hereby declared null and void. And that whenever it shall happen, that any Negroes are taken on the High Seas, and brought as prisoners into this State, they shall not be allowed to be sold, nor treated any otherways than as prisoners ordered to be treated, who are taken in like manner" (Mass. Arch., CCXV. 95-96). The softening of the indictment of slavery may have been insisted upon by the Council to spare the feelings of the southern colonies. The sale of negro prisoners of war, here forbidden, was a sore point with the promoters of Sierra Leone twenty years later than this.

[64] ¹ Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II. 289-290. The brig was probably the *Favorite*. See Felt, II. 287, 291; Moore, *Notes on Slavery*, p. 66.

this, remember that on the other hand, too much circumspection cannot be observed by yourself and people, to prevent their taking the advantage of such treatment, by insurrection, etc. When you consider that on the health of your slaves, almost your whole voyage depends; for all other risques, but mortality, seizures and bad debts, the underwriters are accountable for; you will therefore particularly attend to smoking your vessel, washing her with vinegar, to the clarifying your water with lime or brimstone, and to cleanliness among your own people, as well as among the slaves.

As the factors on the coast have no laws but of their own making, and of course such as suit their own convenience, they therefore like the Israelites of old, do whatsoever is right in their own eyes; in consequence of which, you ought to be very careful about receiving gold dust, and of putting your cargo into any but the best hands, or if it can be avoided, and the same despatch made, into any hands at all, on any credit. If you find that any saving can be made by bartering rum for slops, and supplying your people with small stores, you will do it; or even if you cannot do it without a loss, it is better done than left undone; for shifts of clothes, particularly in warm climates, are very necessary. As our interest will be considerable, and as we shall make insurance thereon, if any accident should prevent your following the track here pointed out, let it be your first object, to protest publicly, why, and for what reason, you were obliged to deviate. You are to have four slaves upon every hundred, and four at the place of sale; the privilege of eight hogsheads, and two pounds eight shillings per month; these are all the compensations you are to expect for the voyage.

Your first mate is to have four hogsheads privilege, and your second mate two, and wages as per agreement. No slaves are to be selected out as privileged ones, but must rise or fall with the general sales of the cargo, and average accordingly. We shall expect to hear from you, by every opportunity, to Europe, the West Indies, or any of these United States; and let your letters particularly inform us, what you have done, what you are then doing, and what you expect to do. We could wish to have as particular information as can be obtained, respecting the trade in all its branches on the coast; to know if in any future time, it is probable a load of N. E. Rum could be sold for bills of exchange on London or any part of Europe; or for gold dust; and what despatch in this case might be made.

You will be careful to get this information from gentlemen of veracity, and know of them if any other articles would answer from this quarter. We should be glad to enter into a contract, if the terms would answer, with any good factor for rum, etc. If any such

would write us upon the subject, and enclose a memorandum with the prices annexed, such letters and memorandums shall be duly attended to. We are in want of about five hundred weight of camwood, and one large elephant's tooth of about 80 lbs., which you will obtain. If small teeth can be bought from 15 to 30 lbs., so as to sell here without a loss, at three shillings, you may purchase 200 lbs. Should you meet with any curiosities on the coast, of a small value, you may expend 40 or 50 gallons of rum for them. Upon your return you will touch at St. Pierres, Martinico, and call on Mr. John Mounreau for your further advice and destination. We submit the conducting of the voyage to your good judgment and prudent management, not doubting of your best endeavours to serve our interest in all cases; and conclude with committing you to the almighty Disposer of all events. We wish you health and prosperity, And are all your friends and owners.²

65. JOSEPH AND JOSHUA GRAFTON TO MESSRS.
HARRISON AND MATTHEWS, 1787.¹

SALEM 6th Jany, '87.

Gentn., Your esteemed favour of 8th Jany last came duly to hand, the contents of it merits our best thanks which we beg leave to present. We purposed our Brigtn. *Gambia*² for your Coast again this Winter but the quantity of Rum that was shipped in the fall from Rhode Island has induced us to lay her by for the present, in the Spring we probably shall try an African Voyage. . . . The bearer hereof Captn. Wm. Robinson having a Cargo of Rum, Tobacco and Lumber we have desired him to give your House the preference of it and have given him a Letter for that purpose. Mr.

² The owners may have been Joseph and Joshua Grafton. Of the New England trade after the Revolution one English sojourner on the African coast wrote: "they have now here, from Boston and its vicinity, six vessels, five of which, I am told, have positive orders to take slaves only, and more are daily expected. By reason of some disagreement or misunderstanding among their captains, the price of slaves is much enhanced; and the factories all along the coast, are so well supplied with rum, that the demand, and of course the price, are considerably lessened. But such enterprising geniuses are the New Englanders, that I expect to hear of their sending vessels for slaves round the Cape of Good Hope: for when they find (which they will soon do) the great disproportion between the profits of some of their vessels voyages and those that are now about leaving the coast, and when to this they will add the prospects of markets hereafter, and the embarrassments they are liable to from our frigates, methinks the time is not far distant for such an event to take place." *Charleston Evening Gazette*, Oct. 25, 1785.

[65] ¹ Essex Institute, "Log of the *Romulus*, 1781," letter no. 7. Harrison and Matthews were located at the Isles de Los (or Delos). Letter no. 5 relates to the affairs of a deceased Captain Chilcutt, who had evidently been trading on the African coast for the Graftons. The Isles de Los, much frequented by the American traders of this period, are the Ilhas dos Idolos mentioned by Hawkins (this work, I. 48 n.), close to the mouth of the Sierra Leone River.

² Felt says that the *Gambia* had made an African voyage in 1785.

Morriarty his Mate being intrusted by our Judge of Probate with papers to prove the Will of the late Capt. Joseph Robinson of our ship *Africa*, we shall esteem it very Kind (as it was made at Cape Coast Castle) if you have any acquaintance with Governour Mourgue³ there, for an introductory line to him in order that he may meet with no difficulty in accomplishing his Bussiness.⁴ . . .
By Brig. *Favorite*, Robinson.

66. JOSEPH AND JOSHUA GRAFTON TO
CAPTAIN EDWARD BOSS, 1787.¹

SALEM 21st Sept. '87.

Sir, . . . As we wrote you in Decem'r last, so we again say, "if you are not engaged when we are in want of a commander we shall give you the preference". We should, ere this, have fixed our Brig. for Africa, had not we been so disapointed from Charleston in payments but from the latest accounts from the Coast, we find prime Slaves were not to be purchased for less than 200 Galls. Rum eac. and even at that rate, they could not be purchased at the factories. We shall again write you whenever we intend our Brig. for Sea. . . .

We probably shall in a short time fix her for Charleston, for to give 200 Gals. Rum for a Slave will not answer, more especially to sell 'em in the West Indies.

the Sale of Slaves at Charleston being prohibited,² has so far frustrated our entended plans, that except some new channel should be open for the Sale of them we shall be quite discouraged from carrying on the Trade.³ . . .

³ James Morgue, governor at Cape Coast Castle 1784-1787.

⁴ Another letter of the same date, repeating a part of this one, adds, "If our Trade to Africa should fail we shall be at a loss how to improve [*i.e.*, employ] our Vessells". The writers then explain the restrictions which have been laid upon that trade, and discuss the possibility of sending small cargoes of rum to the coast (Essex Institute, *ibid.*, no. 10). The Graftons were restoring a business which had been largely to the coast of Africa. On Feb. 3, 1787, Messrs. Perkins and Burling, who had established a house in Santo Domingo, wrote to the Graftons, evidently in response to enquiries, that it would be difficult to introduce slaves into Santo Domingo since the strictest scrutiny would be observed (L. V. Briggs, *History and Genealogy of the Cabot Family*, II. 472). Capt. George Crowninshield also sent a vessel from Salem to Africa in 1787, the *Polly and Sally*, Thomas Thomas, 50 tons, sent out Aug. 6, 1787. This had not been heard from on Apr. 11, 1788. Essex Institute, no 40, letter of Apr. 11, 1788.

[66] ¹ Essex Institute, "Log of the *Romulus*," no. 163. The letter is addressed to Swansea. Captain Boss had sold slaves in Charleston, S. C., in 1786.

² South Carolina prohibited the trade in 1787. For a time at least the Graftons considered African cargoes other than slaves. In one letter to London correspondents they enquired concerning the bills of exchange drawn on Messrs. Harrison and Matthews, Isles de Los, James Crawdson (?), Popo, and Governor Morgue, Cape Coast Castle, and expressed an interest in ivory, camwood, and gold dust, but not in slaves. On Mar. 26, in a request to John Coffin Jones of Boston for capital, they stated that they were interested in trade in gold dust. Essex Institute, nos. 14, 65.

³ Felt records that in November the news reached Salem that the brig *Favorite*, possibly belonging to the Graftons, had arrived at Martinique with crew and cargo

67. WILLIAM FAIRFIELD TO REBECCA FAIRFIELD, 1789.¹

CAYENNE, April 23, 1789.

Honour'd Parent: I take this Opportunity to write Unto you to let you know of a very bad accident that Happen'd on our late-passage from Cape Mount, On the Coast of Africa, bound to Cayenne, we sail'd from Cape Mount the 13th of March with 35 Slaves

greatly depleted by disease (*Annals*, II. 292). In spite of the obstacles in the way of profitable trade at this time, scattered evidence testifies to a continued interest in the traffic in slaves. The schooner *Collector*, John Carnes, possibly owned by Messrs. Pierce and Cabot of Boston, carried slaves to Charleston in 1786. While it is not possible to assert with finality that an African insurance in which William Robinson and Nathan Goodale were concerned was on a slave vessel, it is probable that such was the case (*Essex Institute*, nos. 66, 69, 83). In 1791 the *St. John*, Grafton, of Salem, and the *Speedwell*, Burdett, of Boston, were trading between Africa and Surinam (*Salem Gazette*, Sept. 6, 1791). The African news which reached Boston that year was scarcely of an encouraging nature: "Boston, Oct. 3. . . . A letter of a late date from a gentleman on the coast of Africa, to his friend in this town says, 'That Mr. John Ormond, (a famous chief and factor) of the Rio Pongas, is no more. His white people are all massacred by the natives, and his property become a prey to his own slaves. Numbers of people are sufferers unfortunately I am one. This event has caused such tumult and confusion, that the trade is almost at a stand'" (*ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1791). In 1794 the *Favorite* and *Two Brothers* cleared for Africa; in 1795, the *Ruth*, the *Hope*, and the *St. John*. *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, Feb. 11, 1794, Sept. 15, Oct. 6, Dec. 8, 1795.

[67] ¹*Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XXV. 311-312. The letter is addressed to Salem. The Rev. William Bentley wrote of the departure of William Fairfield, sr., from Salem: "September 23. Capt. Wm. Fairfield, *Felicity*, Sch., sailed, according to the Clearance, for Cape de Verd Islands. It is supposed from the Cargo, this latter carried, and the character of the owner, that this Vessel is intended for the slave trade. The owner confesses he has no reluctance in selling any part of the human race. The event in its probable consequences gives great pain to thinking men, and in consideration of the owner's easy circumstances, is supposed to betray signs of the greatest moral depravity" (*Diary of William Bentley*, Salem, 1905, I. 104). The next week Bentley wrote: "The Law against Slavery, the outward bound passage of a vessel for Guinea, as mentioned (p. 318), led me to think of the general conversation on the Slave Trade, and as the Clergy were mentioned as having procured the Law against it, to think what had been said against them. It so happened that the owner of the Guinea Vessel uttered in the preceeding week many hard things upon the subject of the Clergy, etc." (*ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1788). The law to which Bentley referred, passed Mar. 25, 1788, is quoted at length in the "Case of the *Abeona*," *post*, no. 74. Its passage had been hastened by the kidnapping of three free negroes in Boston. They had been put to work on a vessel in Boston harbor, then carried to the island of St. Bartholomew and offered for sale. Indignation over this outrage brought a number of petitions to the legislature, one of them being from the Boston clergy, and hastened the passage of the Massachusetts act abolishing the slave trade. Meantime Governor Hancock and the French consul had communicated with all the West India islands, the governor of St. Bartholomew had stopped the sale in that island, and the kidnapped negroes were returned to Boston in 1788. *Mass. Hist. Soc., Procs.*, LI. 356-358; see also Robert Rantoul, "Negro Slavery in Mass.," *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, XXIV. 94-96.

Judge James Winthrop, in his reply to Belknap's queries in 1795, wrote: "The construction of the act is such that it must extend the prohibition to every part of the world. . . . I cannot forbear adding that it would be more worthy of an enlightened legislature to regulate a trade which is woven into our nature, and has been carried on and considered as lawful from the earliest antiquity, than to try to abolish it. If abuses have crept in, they ought to be guarded against; but abuse alone will not justify abolishing a trade which manifestly tends to preserve life and to increase the quantity of productive labor in the whole world. Wars among savages may in some small degree be promoted by the trade, but the lives of the prisoners are saved." *Mass. Hist. Soc., Colls.*, fifth ser., III. 390-391.

On bord, the 26th day of March the Slaves Rised upon us, At half past seven, my Sir and all hands being Forehead Except the Man at helm and my self, three of the Slaves took Possession of the Caben, and two upon the quarter Deck, them in the Caben took Possession of the fier Arms, and them on the quarter Deck with the Ax and Cutlash and other Weapons, them in the Caben, handed up Pistels to them on the quarter Deck. One of them fired and killed my honoured Sir, and still we strove for to subdue them, and then We got on the quarter Deck and killed two of them. One that was in the Caben was Comeing out at the Caben Windows in order to get on Deck, and we Discovered him and Knock'd him over-bord, two being in the Cabin we confined the Caben Doors, so that they should not kill us, then three men went forhead and got the three that was down their and brought them aft And their being a Doctor on bord Passenger that Could speak the tongue he sent one of the boys down and Brought up some of the fier arms and Powder And then we Cal'd them up and one Came up and he Cal'd the other and he Came up. We put them In Irons and Chained them and then the Doctor Dres'd the Peoples Wounds they being Slightly Wounded. Then it was one o'clock they buried my honoured Parent, he was buried as decent as he could be at Sea the 16 of this month. I scalt myself with hot Chocolate but now am abel to walk about again. So I remain in good health and hope to find you the same and all my Sisters and Brothers and all that Inquires after me. We have sold part of the Slaves and I hope to be home soon.²

68. MOSES BROWN TO JAMES PHILLIPS, 1791.¹

PROVIDENCE 1st 11 Mo. 1791.

. . . The Superior Court of Massachusetts at their late Session have Established their Law over the Slave Traders, by Decreeing the fine upon the Transgressors,² not now suffering their own nor Even the Cittizens of this or any other state to fitt their Vessells, on a Slave Voyage to Affrica, from that state, after a long struggle to Baffle and Delay the tryal in the Courts below, the Jury in both

²"News of the death of Captain William Fairfield, who commanded the Schooner which sailed in Capt. Jo White's employ in the African Slave Trade. He was killed by the Negroes on board." The Fairfield's were apparently members of Bentley's congregation, since he records them as among those whom he has visited enough to know the family, which consisted of nine children. Bentley, *Diary*, I. 123, 124.

[68] ¹Rhode Island Historical Society, Moses Brown Papers, VII. 60. James Phillips was the London printer and publisher who issued Clarkson's *Essay on the Commerce of the Human Species*. For years he was closely associated with the London committee for the abolition of the slave trade, and his imprint appears upon many antislavery pamphlets of this period. For Moses Brown see *post*, nos. 284 ff.

²The reference is to a decision rendered by the Massachusetts court in October, 1791, concerning the *Hope*, Captain Stanton. See *post*, nos. 292, 293, 297, and notes.

Courts, and the Judges Charge in the latter has done Honour to the Cause of Humanity and we hope will have some good Effects here where there is a powerfull opposition to our Law and the societies³ Endeavours to Execute the same by the Guiney Traders. . . .

69. ISAAC HACKER TO MOSES BROWN, 1792.¹

SALEM 9th Mo 11th 1792.

Respected Friend, . . . He [Capt. Stephen Cleveland]² is a person I have long been personally acquainted with, is one whom I esteem for his principles of equity and Benevolence to the oppressed Affricans and is the prossecutor of one of the Traffickers and his Associate and partner in Iniquity, the noted Sinclair and Waters³ who have transported many of those unhappy People from their native land to the West Indies and sold them there, the Circumstances of the evidence etc. may be best given thee by himself, his Circumstance is singular in this place, being the first who hath boldly stood forth in the Cause, and altho many are wishing well to him, yet he hath to Combat with a Considerable number, of whom it is no breach of Charity to say are the very worst of mankind. I hope he will not be discouraged but persevere on to the bringing to Justice such Inhuman Violaters of Justice, Humanity and Law.⁴ . . .

³ Providence Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

[69] ¹ R. I. Hist. Soc., Moses Brown Papers, VIII. 6.

² Stephen Cleveland at the age of sixteen had been seized by a press gang and served for a number of years on an English frigate. His son, Richard Jeffry, who had served in the counting-house of Elias Hasket Derby, was at this time on a voyage. On Apr. 20, 1792, he wrote to his father from the Cape of Good Hope, "I long to hear how your lawsuit is settled, the event of which causes me much anxiety." H. W. S. Cleveland, *Voyages of a Merchant Navigator* (1886), pp. 4-6, 12, 14.

³ On Nov. 12, 1790, Bentley wrote: "It is reported that Sinclair has returned from a Guinea voyage with the loss of all his crew. Notwithstanding the laws of the Commonwealth, there is not one man of spirit to stand forth and make enquiry into these detestable practices. I am informed that the daring wretch, who has made me so much mischief, is engaging in such a voyage." On Aug. 2, 1792, his entry was: "The Slave Trade engages the public attention. Sinclair returned into this port, and being without the affections of the people, was a fit subject for the Law. S. Cleveland, of the G. Jury, with a precept and Sheriff, taking such assistance as they pleased went to his Vessel, but found he was at his house, to which they went directly. He was in the room below and received them but soon suspecting their design he slipped up stairs, and fastened the door, threatening death to any person who should approach him. The officer burst the door. Sinclair threw down his arms, and jumped out of the window, and was apprehended by the guard below. He was conducted to close prison, his property attached, and that of Capt. J. Waters for this infamous trafick" (*Diary*, I. 212, 384-385).

Bentley's implication that Sinclair was not the only violator of the law is borne out by an entry in Felt's *Annals* (II. 296): "Reported that another of our vessels, the *St. John*, had arrived at Surinam from Africa. This shows, that a few of our merchants, like others in various sea ports, still loved money more than the far greater riches of a good conscience, more than conformity with the demands of human rights, with the law of the land and the religion of their God." The vessel to which reference is made here and in the papers which follow (*post*, nos. 71, 72, 74) was the *Abeona*, Sinclair, which cleared from Salem for Goree on Mar. 8, 1791. An *Abeona* of Salem, under one Captain Smith, was reported at Havana on June 19, 1792. *Salem Gazette*, Mar. 8, 1791, June 19, 1792.

⁴ Cleveland also had a letter for Brown from Edward Southwick of Danvers: "*Esteemed Friend*, Captn. Stephen Cleveland the bearer hereof hath lately commenced

70. MOSES BROWN TO SAMUEL ELIOT, 1792.¹

PROVIDENCE 14 9th Mo 1792.

Esteemed Friend, Since I Saw thee in Boston I have been applyd to by some of my friends at Salem for advice and Assistance to Capt. Cleavland of that Town in the Case he has Commenced against the Master and owners of a Slave Vessel which saild from that Town and Carryd out from Africa about 90 Slaves and Sold at the Havannah of which fact it is Said full proof is made, but as the Defendants have made themselves Rich by the Trade and sensible by this Craft they have their Wealth are not only clamorous against the Prosecutor who I am Informed is a Person of Good Character but by their ability to Exceed him in feeing Lawyers as he is not a man of much Property, he stood in Need of the aid and assistance of the friend[s] of Humanity and Justice to Execute the Law upon the Transgressors and what Renders some Influence the more Necessary is that I am Informed that Parsons one of the Lawyer[s] had taken from the opposite side in the Case which the Society was Engaged in at Taunton² and Recovered, but Pleas in Arrest of Judgment has been by Parsons layd before the Superior Court and is yet unsettled and to this Judge Sullivan is Depended on in that case to plead the Cause in behalf of the Society or Mr. Rotch³ who engaged him but is said by some to be Engaged on the side of the Slave Traders at Salem, but I hope this is a mistake. Some of us here desirous of Establishing your Law, have thought best to Desire thy Assistance in applying to Judge Sullivan in the Case of Salem by which it will be known if he is Engaged against Cleavland and If Sullivan will Receive a fee on Cleveland[']s behalf should hand him Twenty Dollars herewith sent thee by Cleveland but if he declines then Engage Dexter of Charles Town in both Cases. Capt. Cleavland

an action against the Master and Owners of a Schooner which has been on the Coast of Africa for Slaves and taken from thence Ninety three and sold at the Havannah. It being an action of consequence And he like to meet with considerable opposition has thoughts of consulting with some of the Abolition Society on the Subject" (Moses Brown Papers, VIII. 7). The suggested opposition Cleveland had already encountered. Bentley's record for Aug. 10 is, "The Slave Trade affair has incensed most violently a certain class of people against the Informer, whose life has been threatened."

[70] ¹ Moses Brown Papers, VIII. 8. The copy of this letter in the letter-book is at points almost incoherent, and probably differs considerably from the form of the letter actually sent to Eliot.

² The Providence Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. The Taunton case was that of the *Hope*, see *post*, nos. 292, 293, 297. Theophilus Parsons, a member of the Massachusetts convention which ratified the Constitution, was later chief justice of Massachusetts.

³ James Sullivan, attorney general 1790-1807, governor 1807-1808, had pleaded the case against the owner of the *Hope* in a speech described by the Boston *Centinel* as "able and elegant" (T. C. Amory, *Life of James Sullivan*, 1859, II. 15-16). William Rotch, jr., of New Bedford, was one of a family of Friends of Nantucket and New Bedford who were in part responsible for the strong antislavery sentiment of those places.

has been up here on this Buseness with Some overtures to the Society on this Subject which as it is not together and the President and Principal Councillor absent nothing in Cash in our Fund by Reason of the Many Calls on the Treasurer, a few of us have made this more for the Incouragement of Capt. Cleveland and the promotion of the General Cause. . . .

71. STATEMENT OF EDWARD PULLING, 1792.¹

The Subscriber in the practise of Law at Salem in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts does hereby certify that Sometime in the Month of July last past, he instituted a Suit at the Request of Captain Stephen Cleveland, against Joseph Waters and John Sinclair wherein the said Stephen Cleveland as well for the commonwealth of Massachusetts as for himself declared against them in debt for transporting ninety Inhabitants of Africa in the Schooner *Abeona* whereof they were owners, to the Havanna and there selling them as Slaves.

That the Writ is made returnable to the Court of Common Pleas next to be holden at Newburyport within and for the County of Essex on the last Tuesday of September instant, that the said Stephen Cleveland, has taken unwearied Pains to procure the necessary Evidence, that he has taken the depositions of two of the Crew belonging to said Schooner which amounts to full Evidence of that fact, that he has duely subpoenaed a John Waters who was mate of the said Schooner and who now is in Salem, that the Writ has been duely served on the said Waters and Sinclair, on the said Waters by attaching property in two or more Vessels, on the said Sinclair, by arresting his Body, who has procured good and substantial bail, and that said Stephen Cleveland has taken every proper and legal step to support the said Action.

SALEM, September 17 At 1792

Inscribed Saml Elliot.

72. SAMUEL ELIOT TO MOSES BROWN, 1792.¹

BOSTON Septem'r 19, 1792.

Sir, I duly recd. your obliging Favour by Mr. Cleaveland, and immediately attended to the Business to wch you called my Notice. The same Afternoon I waited upon Judge Sullivan who told me

[71] ¹ Moses Brown Papers, VIII. 9, enclosed in a letter from Samuel Eliot to Moses Brown. Edward Pulling, a Salem selectman and a member of the convention which ratified the Constitution, is described in these letters as a "Gentleman much esteemed, of good Character and Reputation in the Law."

[72] ¹ Moses Brown Papers, VIII. 9.

he could not then determine, if he had engaged in the Case, Cleaveland against Sinclair as the Minutes of the Causes he had undertaken were at his Office, but he would let me know on Monday Forenoon. I again waited upon him at that Time, or rather attempted to, as I found he had just set out for Worcester Court. He had however left a Letter, the purport of wch was, to say, he had been applied to in the Case of Cleaveland Superior Court at Salem, but that the action at Taunton, wch he mentioned to me on Saturday as a leading Cause, by wch Cleaveland's would be determined would be argued first and that he was to argue it in Support of the Law of this State, and that he would do it with Energy being determined to exert himself in doing all he could for the Establishment of the Freedom of the whole Human Race. You will notice my Business with him on Saturday was to offer him the Fee of 20 Dollars you sent to me by Mr. Cleaveland wch he did not chuse to take then, as he had not with him his Minutes of his Engagements. Upon receiving his Letter abovementioned I was fully of his Opinion, that the Cause at Taunton will make a precedent for that at Salem. Consequently if Judge Sullivan would have received the money, it would in a Manner have been thrown away, as the Gentleman is already bound to defend against Parsons at Taunton, and he must do it with Force if he means to preserve any Consistency, having written and published a Pamphlet solely to advocate the Importance of the seperate Governments, in Opposition to the Idea of Consolidation² and Mr. Cleaveland having informed Me, that Mr. Pulling and Parsons could alone speak in his Case at Newbury, even if Sullivan and Dexter were both engaged, I have thought it best to omit speaking to Dexter, at least at present especially as I do not think he could now be brought in to do any Good at Taunton. These Determinations you must be sensible, are made, subject to your Controul as I am very willing my Opinions should be reversed by your superiour Judgment, and consequently I shall hold myself ready to obey your Orders.

I inclose you a Paper signed Edward Pulling, forwarded to me by Capt. Cleaveland. This latter Gentleman, I had never seen, till your Introduction of him. It appears to me, he has very great Merit in this Case. He is, as he tells me, in Advance Eighty Dollars wch from what he says of his Circumstances, he must not be suffered to lose. Our Society I trust, will enter with Spirit into the Business. It is enough, and more than enough, for Mr. Cleaveland to bear the personal Insults and Abuse he suffers. I am ready to pay any As-

² Sullivan's pamphlet was probably *Observations upon the Government of the United States*. For some general account of his opinions on the relations between state and federal government see Amory, *op. cit.*, I. 221-237.

sessment, or to do any thing that may be reasonably expected. Do not let the Society be disgraced by any want of timely Effort and Exertion. If we do not support Mr. Cleaveland, as far as appears to me, it would be better the Society were extinct. I hope better things than the smallest Inattention, tho I thus speake my Design is to excite the warmest Zeal and the most vigorous Activity. . . .

73. J. AND T. H. PERKINS TO PERKINS, BURLING, AND COMPANY, 1792.¹

Oct. 6, 1792.

. . . This money you will appropriate to the purchase of the Slaves and other articles specifi'd in the enclosed Memo. (for us as agents of Dan'l McNiel² from the Cape to the Havanna and from there here). If you cannot readily buy the Slaves in the road, we hope you will find some new negroes from on shore, who know nothing of the language, and will answer to admit the vessel, (which must be entered as from St. Eustatia and St. Thomas, and the papers calculated accordingly—we mean his log.) We are to fit out his vessel³ for the Coast, and send a number of vessels to take away the Molasses he has consigned to us: They will take the Cape on their way, in "order to get the Slaves for admission." For this business we are to receive 5% on outfit, and 5 on sales.⁴ . . .

[73] ¹ Briggs, *The Cabot Family*, I. 390. The originals of the letters which passed between Perkins and Burling in Santo Domingo and various Boston merchants the editor has not examined, but the selections printed by Dr. Briggs contain frequent references to aspects of the slave trade. On June 24, 1790, Perkins and Burling of Santo Domingo wrote to Theodore Lyman of Boston: "We by no means advise your sending any more (negroes). It is almost impossible to get rid of an infant negro." On July 27 they informed Simon Elliot of the safe arrival of the *Betsey*, Capt. Allen Hallet, with thirty-two slaves in whom they understood he was interested. On Dec. 16, 1791, Thomas Handasyd Perkins wrote to M. Jean Laroque: "When the disturbances of Yr Colony have passed, you will probably be in want of Cargoes for the Coast of Africa. Rum, Tobacco, and Coarse Cloths are always to be had here low, such as suit the Guinea Market" (*ibid.*, I. 387, II. 478, 505). For a brief sketch of the connection of T. H. Perkins with Santo Domingo see *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, X. 201-211. Simon Elliot, was his father-in-law.

² This may have been the Captain McNeil who in 1786 commanded the *Thomas*. "By her [*Betsey*] we learn that the ship *Thomas*, Capt. M'Neil, had arrived at that island [St. Thomas] from the Isle de Los, on the coast of Guinea, with a cargo of 200 slaves; Between 40 and 50 perished in their passage by the disease and cruelties peculiar to this inhuman traffick. Capt. M'Neil's crew had been very sickly. The mate, carpenter, cooper, and four hands were buried in the course of the voyage." *New Haven Gazette and the Connecticut Magazine*, Apr. 27, 1786.

³ The *Katy*.

⁴ In 1793 the same firm wrote: "If you cou'd buy more Slaves at 150 or 200 dollars, such for instance as went down in the *Katy*, and charter a vessel to take them to the Havanna, all on a/c of the *Sachem*, it wd do well. . . . They are worth 250 to 270 Ds." (Briggs, II. 505). Not only do the Perkins papers provide information on the relations between Boston merchants and the West India trade in slaves but they are said to contain over one hundred letters to traders in Africa, which might add much to our knowledge of the methods by which the African trade was carried on at this time. *Ibid.*, I. 391.

74. THE CASE OF THE *ABEONA*, 1792.¹

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Essex ss.

*To the several sheriffs of our County of Essex or his Deputy,
Greeting,*

We Command you to attach the goods or Estate of Joseph Waters of Salem in our said County of Essex Merchant, and John Sinclair of said Salem mariner to the Value of four thousand seven hundred pounds, and for want thereof to take the bodys of the said Joseph and John (if they may be found in your precinct) and them safely keep, so that you have them before our Justices of our Court of Common Pleas, next to be holden at Newburyport, within and for our said County of Essex, on the last Tuesday of September next, then and there in our said Court to answer to Stephen Cleveland of Salem aforesaid Shop Keeper, who Sues this action as well for the said Commonwealth as for himself, In a plea of Debt for that by an act of the great and General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts made and passed in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty eight, Intitled "an act to prevent the Slave trade, and for granting relief to the families of Such unhappy persons as may be Kidnaped or decoyed away from this Commonwealth; it is among other things Enacted,² that no Citizen of this Commonwealth, or other person residing within the same shall for himself or any other person whatsoever either as master, factor, super cargo, owner or hirer in whole or in part, of any Vessel directly or indirectly, Import or Transport, or buy or sell or receive on board his or their Vessel with intent to Cause to be Imported or Transported, any of the Inhabitants of any State or Kingdom, in that part of the world called Affrica as Slaves, or as Servants for Term of years; and that every Citizen Inhabitant or Resident as aforesaid, who shall directly or Indirectly receive on board his or their Vessel with Intent to Import or Transport, or Cause to be Imported or transported any of the said Inhabitants of Affrica, Contrary to the true Intent and meaning of this Act, and be thereof Lawfully Convicted, shall forfeit and pay the sum of fifty pounds; for every person by him or them so received on board, with Intent

[74] ¹Suffolk Court Files, no. 134544 (4). Proceedings in the court of common pleas for Essex County, in a case brought, on appeal, before the Supreme Judicial Court at Boston.

²The act was passed Mar. 25, 1788. Its opening paragraphs read: "Whereas by the African trade for slaves, the lives and liberties of many innocent persons have been from time to time sacrificed to the lust of gain:

"And whereas some persons residing in this Commonwealth may be so regardless of the rights of human kind, as to be concerned in that unrighteous commerce. . . ." *Acts and Resolves*, 1786-1787, pp. 615-617, March, 1788, ch. 48.

to be Imported or transported, and the sum of two hundred pounds for every Vessel fitted out with Intent to, and that shall actually be Employed in the Importation or transportation, aforesaid, to be recovered by Action of Debt, in any Court within this Commonwealth, proper to try the same; the one moiety thereof to the use of this Commonwealth, and the other moiety to the person who shall prosecute for and recover the same.”³ Now the Pl’t in fact says, that sometime in the month of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety one, the schooner called the *Abeona* was fitted out by the said Joseph Waters and John Sinclair Citizens of said Commonwealth and residents at said Salem and Sailed on a Voyage from Salem aforesaid to that part of the world Called Affrica, which said Schooner then, and is still Owned by the said Joseph and John, and the said John was then and is still master of said Schooner, and the said John [did] actually proceed in said Schooner on said Voyage to the Coast of Affrica and did then receive on board said schooner Ninety Inhabitants of said Affrica, and from thence did Import and Transport them to Certain Islands in the West Indies (so called) and there so Sold said Inhabitants for Slaves, by reason of which the said Joseph and John have forfeited the sum of fifty pounds for every person thus Imported or Transported, and the sum of two hundred pounds for the fitting out of said Schooner, Wherefore by Law an action hath accrued to the said Stephen, to recover of the said Joseph and John the sums of four thousand five hundred pounds, and two hundred pounds, one moiety thereof for the use of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the other moiety thereof to the said Stephen the Pl’t. Yet the said Joseph and John tho’ requested have not paid said sums or either of them, but unjustly detain them.⁴ . . . and still do refuse to pay the same, all which is to the Damage of the said Stephen who sues as aforesaid (as he saith) the sum of five thousand pounds, which shall then and there be made to appear, with other due damages, and have you there this writ, with your doings therein, Witness, Benjamin Greenleaf, Esqr. at Salem this Second day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety two.

J. OSGOOD Clerk.

Essex ss, august 2d: 1792. In obedience of the within, and for want of Goods and Chattles and Estate of the within named John Sinclair, and by order of the within named Stephen I have taken the

³ Section 2 of the act provided that insurance placed on such vessels and cargoes should be null and void; the last section, that the act should not extend to vessels which had already sailed.

⁴ Repetitious matter is here omitted.

body of the said John Sinclair and have Committed him to the Commonwealth Goal in Salem.

JOSEPH TURELL Dep: Shff.

Essex ss, august 2d. 1792. In Obedience to the within writ I have Attached one individual half part of the following goods and Chattles, being of the Value of Eleven hundred pounds, which ware shewn to me by the within named Stephen Cleveland, as the Estate of the within named Joseph Waters and which I attached by order of Said Stephen (to wit) the Schooner Called the *Abeona* now Lying at Peirces Wharf in Salem in said County, of about Eighty Tons burthen, together with the masts, Spars, Sails, Anchors riging and Appurtenances with all the Cargo on board the same, Consisting as it is said of about Seventy or Eighty Casks of Molasses not Gauged, supposed to Contain about seven or Eight thousand Gallons—about three hundred dried Hydes and a quantity of Logwood, also the Sloop Called the *Dolphin*, Bu[r]then about sixty five tons with her masts, Spars, Sails Riging, Anchors and Appurtenances now lying in Salem in the County aforesaid, with her Cargo on board the same Consisting as tis said of about two thousand Bushells of Corn and about two hundred Bushells of flour, and also the schooner *Charming Sally*, burthen about sixty seven Tons now lying in Salem in the County aforesaid, with her masts Spars, Sails, Riging, and all appurtenances, and at the same time I gave to said Joseph Waters a summons in due form of Law.

JOSEPH TURELL, D. Sheriff

State of Massachusetts, Essex ss, Court of Common pleas

September T: 1792.

Stephen Cleveland	}	Def'ts plea
vs		
Joseph Waters and <i>als.</i>		

And the said Waters and Sinclair come and defend the force and Injury, and pray Judgment of the writ aforesaid, and say, that the said Court of Common pleas here, Ought not to have Cognizance of the action aforesaid, because they say, that by the Constitution for the United States of America, ordained and Established by the people thereof, Since the making of the said Act (entitled an act to prevent the Slave trade and for granting relief to the families of such unhappy persons as may be kidnapped or decoyed away from this Commonwealth) and before the Cause of the Action aforesaid, if any hath accrued to the said Cleveland, is supposed to have ac-

crued or the supposed Crimes and Offences in the said Writ alledged are supposed to have been Committed, it was, and is, among other things ordained and Established, that the Congress of the said United States, Shall have power, to regulate Commerce with foreign nations, and to define and punish Offences against the law of Nations, and that the Judicial power of the said United States shall Extend to all Cases of Admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction, and that the trial of all Crimes not Committed within any State, shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by Law have directed: And further, the said Waters and Sinclair say That by an act of the first Congress of the United States, pursuant to the said Constitution passed in the first session of the said Congress, Entitled an Act to Establish the Judicial Courts of the United States, it is among other things Enacted; that the District Courts, by that Act Established, shall have, Exclusively of the Courts of the several States, Cognizance of all crimes and Offences that shall be Cognizable under the Authority of the United States, Committed within their respective Districts, or upon the high Seas, where no Other punishment then Whipping, not exceeding thirty stripes, a fine not Exceeding one hundred dollars, or a term of Imprisonment not exceeding Six months, is to be Inflicted; and shall also have Exclusive Original Cognizance of all Civil Causes of Admiralty and Maritime Jurisdiction, and in and by the same Act it is further Enacted, that the Circuit Courts, thereby Established, Shall have Exclusive Cognizance of all Crimes and Offences, cognizable under the Authority of the United States, Except where that act otherwise provides, or the laws of the United States shall otherwise direct, and Concurrent Jurisdiction with the District Courts of the Crimes and Offences cognizable therein⁵—And so the said Waters and Sinclair say, that the Cause of the action aforesaid, if any hath Accrued to the said Cleveland, and the supposed crimes and offences in the said Writ alledged, if any have been Committed, did accrue to the said Cleveland, and were Committed on the high seas, within the Exclusive Jurisdiction of the Judicial Courts of the said United States, and not at Salem in the said County of Essex, or within the said state of Massachusetts, or Elsewhere, within the Jurisdiction of this Court of Common pleas here—And this the said Waters and Sinclair are ready to Verify; Wherefore they do not Suppose, that the said Court of Common pleas here will or Ought to have or hold further Cognizance of the action aforesaid.⁶

And the said Stephen Cleveland who sues as aforesaid, says the said plea of the said Joseph and John above by them pleaded and

⁵ *Statutes at Large*, pp. 73-93, 1 Cong., 1 sess., ch. 20.

⁶ Signed, "Joseph Waters, Jno. Sinclair."

the matters and things therein Contained are bad and Insufficient in Law to proclude this Court from having and taking Cognizance of the Action aforesaid, and that by Law the said Stephen is not bound to Answer thereto, and all this the said Stephen is ready to Verify, wherefore for want of sufficient plea in this behalf, the said Stephen who Sues as aforesaid, prays Judgment, and that the said Joseph and John may Answer Over.

Per E. PULLING.

And the said Waters and Sinclair, say their plea aforesaid is good and sufficient in Law to preclude this Court from having and taking cognizance of the action aforesaid of the said Cleveland against them had, and because he has not answered thereto, pray Judgment of the writ aforesaid and that the same may abate—and for their Costs.⁷

[*Letter of James Sullivan to Samuel Sewall.*]

BOSTON 15th Sep'r 1792.

Sir, The inclosed plea ⁸ is well. perhaps the only use to be made of it is, that should it be over ruled you can appeal and avoid a trial by Jury in the Common pleas. I believe the same advantage as intended by the plea may be had on the merits of the case for it appears to me that it brings up the question whether our act has the force of Law, if it has not, because Congress hath the cognizance of this kind of business then there is no act in existance agt the slave Trade, for the United States have made none. This question may be made on the issue or reserved for a motion in arrest of Judgment. The offence if there was one was committed on the high Seas, but there was none unless our Court had authority to make the Law. if they had, then the offence exists and is Cognizable in our Courts.⁹

[*Deposition.*]

I Joseph Crookshanks of Lawful age testify and say that I shipped on board the schooner *Abiona* John Sinclair master. And sailed from Salem on the fourth day of march in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred and ninty one for the coast of Africa and

⁷ Signed, "Samuel Sewall." Endorsed: "A true copy, Attest. J. Osgood Cler." There follows: "And now the said Waters and Sinclair being ordered to answer over in this suit, come and defend etc. when and where etc. and say they are not guilty and neither of them is guilty in manner and form as the said Cleaveland has declared and thereof put etc. by Samuel Sewall. And the said Cleveland likewise. G PARSONS, STEPHEN CLEVELAND."

⁸ The plea of the defendants.

⁹ The court of common pleas decreed that Waters and Sinclair should answer the plaintiff's writ and declaration, thus maintaining the jurisdiction of the state courts in the premises. Waters and Sinclair appealed to the Supreme Judicial Court.

arrived at Goree on said coast some time in the month of April following, that we caried on board said schooner from salem to said coast of Africa a cargo of Rum, Tanned leather, tobacco, etc. that we caried from Salem to said coast twentyseven pair of shackles, and twentysix pair of handcuffs', as I recollect, that we disposed of our cargo at sundry Islands on said Coast of Africa, that we there took on board said schooner ninety two or ninety three black Inhabitants of Africa which Captain Sinclair commonly called Slaves, some of which were brought on board said schooner in Irons and some not, that we sailed from said coast with the said black people on board, about the last of september one thousand sevenhundred and ninety one and arrived at maritinico in the west indies some time about the last of october following, where we landed the said black people, and afterward within a few days took them on board again, and carried them to the Havannah where we left them, and Captain Sinclair afterwards told me that the Slaves were all sold, except a little girl whom he called Abiona, her he carried with him to New York. I further say that I shipped on board said schooner as carpenter to go to the coast of africa for Slaves.

And further saith not.

SALEM October 24th 1792.

The Jury find,¹⁰ that sometime in the month of March *viz.* on the fourth day of that month in the year One thousand seven hundred and ninety one, the Schooner called the *Abeona* mentioned in the second Count of the Plaintiffs Writ was fitted out by the said Joseph Waters and John Sinclair then Inhabitants in said Commonwealth and residents at said Salem with intent to be employed in the transportation of divers inhabitants of said Africa as slaves, which said Schooner was then and ever since has been owned by the said Joseph and John, and the said John was Master thereof, and did actually sail on said voyage within the same month of march in said Schooner, and arrived in the month of June in the same year to the Coast of Africa, and the said Schooner was there actually employed in the transportation of divers inhabitants of said Africa there received on board the said Schooner in the months of September and October in the year last aforesaid and not before and thence did transport the same to certain Islands in the West Indies and there afterwards sold them as Slaves in manner and form as the said Cleaveland in his second Count has alledged; and contrary to the said Act referred to in said Cleave-

¹⁰ The court's statement of the case is omitted as it covers familiar ground. It, as well as the sheriff's writ, enumerates three *Abeonas*, all committing the same offence in the same year. This, it seems clear, must be the result of the legal forms used, not of the facts.

land's Writ. And the Jury further find, that since the making of that Act and before the purchase of the said Cleaveland's Writ aforesaid another Act of the General Court of the said State of Massachusetts, entitled an Act for the Ease of the Citizens concerning Actions upon penal Statutes was made and enacted and is given in evidence in this Case.¹¹

And further the Jury find, that since the making of the said act to prevent the Slave Trade etc. in the said Writ mentioned and before the fitting out of the said Schooner as aforesaid, it was and is ordained and established by the Constitution of the United States of America among other things, that the Congress of the said United States shall have power, to regulate Commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, to define and punish piracies and felonies committed upon the High Seas and Offences against the law of Nations, and that the Migration or Importation of such persons as any of the states now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress, prior to the year One thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person and that no state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing it's inspection laws.

And whether the said Action of the said Cleaveland could be brought at the time of bringing the same, or can be duly maintained within the said County of Essex, and whether since the establishment of the said Constitution of the United States, any Action could accrue to the said Cleaveland upon the matters and things in his said second Count alledged, the Jury are wholly ignorant, and pray the advisement of this Court thereon And if upon the whole matter this Court shall be of opinion that the said Cleaveland's Action might be brought and maintained as aforesaid, and that an Action has accrued to him as aforesaid, then the Jury find the said Joseph and John Guilty and that they have forfeited the said sum of two thousand pounds, in manner and form as the said Cleaveland has alledged in the said Count: but if otherwise of opinion, then the Jury find the said Joseph and John as to the said second Count not Guilty.

And as to the other Counts in the said Cleaveland's Writ aforesaid, the Jury find the said Joseph and John not Guilty, and that neither of them is Guilty.

BENJ'N GAGE

Writ dated 2d July 1792, Served Augt. 2d. 1792.

¹¹ *Acts and Resolves*, 1788-1789, pp. 19-21, June, 1788, ch. 12.

1st.¹² Aco. as it respects the transportation of Africans which by the Writ appears to be done wholly upon the High Seas.

2dly. As it respects the fitting out a Vessel with intent to transport—wh is partly arising within the County and partly at sea.

1st. Since the act prohib'g the Slave Trade, the Constit. of Un'd Sts. has been establ'd wh has restrained the legisl. powers of the individ. Sta' in sev'l part'rs and by or under that Constit. are now establ'd new Courts to exercise their office within the states having Jurisd'n in some Cases concurr'g in others, exclusive of the C'rts of the sev'l sts. That Cons. and the laws of the un'd Sts. made in pursu'e thereof are now the Supr. law of the land, and the judges in ev'y St. are bound thereby notw'g the Cons. or laws of any St. As that Supr. law might be supposed to affect the legisl. power of a state, the def'ts in this ac. might and may yet avail themselves of any defence aris'g therefrom upon the exam'n of the Merits of this act.: from which they must be at all events discharged, if the state Legisl. has not at this time the power of making the laws upon wh their supposed crime arises: but the object'n may we appreh'd be very properly consid'd under the present plea. And we need not on this quest, consider the power of the legisl. of the St. to declare any supp'd facts to be crim'l, but only whether they have power to establ. a tribunal for the trial of any facts, whether crim'l or not, happ'g under cert. local circumst's; We say may it please your hon[or] and it is admitted by the D C'rts and we appeal to the Writ in this Case, that the facts alledged as crim'l ag. the Def'ts in this Ac. are supposed to have happ'd on the High Seas and we argue that the Legisl. of any St. has not at the time auth'y to instit. a tribunal for the trial of facts happ'g there and we conclude that if they cannot and we shall further endeavour to shew that the constit. and Laws of the U. S. having establ'd tribunal with exclusive pow. instit.—any former institut'n is annulled. Jurisd. of matters arising upon the High Seas, the Jurisd. of This C'rt in This Case is therefore taken away The Sen. stat. upon wh this Ac. is grounded has been cons'd as a commerc. regulat. and in that view is I think abolished by the 10th Sect. of 1st Art. of the Cons. of the Un. Sts. wh has declared that no state shall, without the consent of Congr. lay any imposts or Duties on imports or exports. It has been and I think is more properly consid'd as defining and punishing an Offence wh if com'd at all must be com'd on the High Seas or within the territory and Jurisd. of other States or Kingd's—and that view is an exen. of the author'y given to Congr. of defining and punish'g Pir's and fel's comm'd on the H'h Seas and off's ag. the law of nats. wh

¹² This is apparently a memorandum of the argument for the defense.

from the nature of it is an exclus'v auth'y. But it is not to my pres't purp. to enlarge upon these topics. The Trib'l instit'd for the trial of the facts alledged as an offence, is a Court of the St. of Mass's wh however constit. and supr. in matters aris'g within the state, is excluded from any Jurisd. of this action by Art. 3, of the Const. of U. S. Sect. 1 and 2, by wh the jud'l power of U S is vested in a Supr. C'rt and in such other C'rts as the Congr. may establ. and wh Jud'l Power is declared to extend, among other things, to all Cases of admiralty and Marit. Jurisd. and by wh it is also determ'd that the trial of all crimes not comm'd within any St. shall be at another place or places as the Congr. may by law have directed. These causes of the Constit. appear to me to conclude ag. any auth'y wh the Legisl. of a part'r St. might have to establ. a tribunal for the trial of the facts alledged in this Ac. wh wheth'r cons'd as a breach of a Commerc'l Regulat. or an off'ce ag. a pub. inst. are

Art. 1. S 8. To def. and pun. pir's and fel's comm'd on the H'h Seas, and off's ag. the law of nats.

S 10. No St. shall with't the consent of Congr., lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except'g what may be absolutely nec'y for executing its inspect. Laws.

Art. 3. Sect. 2. The Judic'l power shall extend to all cases in law and equity aris'g under this Const. the laws of the Un'd St's and treaties made or wh. shall be made und'r the auth'y etc. to all Cases of admiralty and marit. jurisd.

The trial of all Crimes etc. not comm'd within any St. shall be at such place or places as the Congr. shall by law have directed.

1st Congr. 1st Sess. ch. 20. p 93 }
Act to establ. the Jud. Crts. }

S. 9. The distr. C'rts shall have exclus'y of the C'rts of the sev'l sts. cogn. of all Crimes and Off's and shall be cogn. und'r the auth'y of the U. S. comm'd within the respt. Dis. Cr. or upon the H'h Seas etc. and excl. orig. cogn. of all cir. Cases of adm. and marit. Jurisd.

S. 11. Circ't C'rts have excl. cogn. of all Crimes and Off's cogn. und'r the auth'y of U. S., exc. etc. and concur't Jurisd. with the distr. C'rts of the Crimes and Off's cogn. therein.¹³

¹³ In January, 1792, a suit was begun in Portland by John May against one Mr. Hodges, for fitting out the *Eagle* for Africa and importing slaves therein. "Mr. Lithgow informed the Court that Mr. Hodges was an alien, and that as such (the sum sued for being about 500 dollars) he had a right then to file a petition for the removal of the cause from that Court to the Federal Court of this District The question, however, was new, and in the opinion of the Court was important; a decision of it was therefore postponed till the last Tuesday in May next" (*Salem Gazette*, Jan. 17, 1792). This may have been the case referred to in July: "Portland, June 22 At this term an action, John May Esq. vs Henry Skinner and others merchants, for breach of an act of this Commonwealth, to prevent the Slave Trade etc. removed from the Court of Common Pleas of this County, because one of the Defendants is an Alien, went to a Jury, who returned a special Verdict against the Defendant; and the same is continued to September term for advisement." *Ibid.*, July 3, 1792.

75. JOHN DAWSON TO MONTGOMERY AND COMPANY, 1792.¹

LIVERPOOL, 24th Novr., 1792.

Messrs. John Montgomery and Co., Boston

Gentn., I have received your favor of the 10th Ultimo and am Obligd for your kind offers of Service, but you will be informed e're this the African trade is not yet abolished. I am not at present in want of Shipping, but its probable I may send a Ship or Ships to your address to take in Rum such as you mention, to assort other goods upon the coast. If I should dispatch any Ship to you, or my agents on the Coast of Africa in my Name, to be loaded with Rum etca, I shall rely on you to use your endeavours for my Interest, and also to give the Vessels the quickest dispatch possible, and your Bills on me to the amount of whatever is Shipd for my account will meet due Honor, and you will please to observe I do not permit Goods to be Shipd on a Vessel of mine upon any pretence whatever but what is solely for my Own Account.²

76. STEPHEN CLEVELAND TO MOSES BROWN, 1792.¹

SALEM, Novr. 30th, 1792.

. . . Sinclair is gone to New Yourk in a Small Ship Belonging to himself and other Guinea merchants, with a Compleat Cargo for

[75] ¹Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, XLIV. 668. John Dawson was at this time the holder of a contract to supply negroes to the Spanish markets of the West Indies (this work, II. xlv, 577 n., 656 n.). From this letter one may surmise that Montgomery and Company had written to the Liverpool merchant soliciting business in rum traffic, under the supposition that the slave trade was soon to be abolished in England. *Ibid.*, p. lviii.

²Apparently at the time of writing this letter Dawson wrote to John Ashley, one of his African agents, directing him if he needed rum to send to Boston for it, as a letter of June 3, 1793, from Ashley to Montgomery and Company informs them that he is sending the *Abby*, under Capt. Joseph Winter, "for a Cargoe good strong Rum; which I must beg of you to have put on board with all possible dispatch; as I shall be much in want, having been lately much disappointed in the arrival of our Liquor Ships from Holland, owing to the Warr between France and England". Directions follow for the casks in which the rum is to be shipped, for lumber, and for carpenters who are to be sent out on the *Abby*. Ashley also wrote to Dawson explaining that he had been obliged to promise Captain Winter an emolument of £100 in lieu of the commissions he would have received on slaves had he not been sent direct to Boston for the rum. On the arrival of the *Abby* in Portland, where Captain Winter took on water and provisions, it was seized as an English vessel carrying American papers and evidently held for nearly five months. A letter from William Smith to Capt. William McNeill, Feb. 7, 1794, indicates that the rum cargo, comprising 138 hogsheads and 46 tierces of Medford rum, valued at three shillings a gallon, was at last shipped under Captain McNeill, consigned to John Ashley and Capt. Joseph Winter, who was a passenger on the *Abby*. Both Winter and Ashley were reminded in letters of instruction from Smith that "by the Laws of this State no Vessell belonging to it is suffered to bring off any Slaves from the Coast of Africa under the penalty of £50 for each Slave and £200 fine for the Ship". Smith also wrote to Dawson explaining the transactions which he, in the absence of Montgomery in Spain, had undertaken on Dawson's account. A letter of Dec. 23, 1794, advised Captain Winter that rum was then so high in Boston that there was no object in his returning for another cargo (Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, XLIV. 668-683). This seems to have concluded Smith's efforts to share in the profits of the Spanish slave trade carried on by Dawson and Company.

[76] ¹Moses Brown Papers, VIII. 15. The earlier paragraphs of the letter report that the case has been postponed to the June term at Ipswich. One of Cleveland's

Africa. He had Several Crews who left him for fear of going after Slaves. he has been Obligated, finally to Ship them for New York there to be Discharged where he may find Ignorance Enough to go any where he Chuses. His Bondsmen are good and are holden to finall Judgment.² . . .

77. HENRY THORNTON TO GOVERNOR SAMUEL ADAMS, 1795.¹

Sir, I have the Honor of addressing you on the Part of my Brethren the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, a Society lately instituted for the purpose of Substituting a Trade in the natural Productions of Africa in the Place of that now Carried on for Slaves and with a view to the General Civilization Instruction and Improvement of the Natives of that abused Continent. We have been informed by the Governor and Council of our Settlement in Africa (Men of great coolness and perfect veracity)² that several American vessels have from time to time been trading in Slaves on that Coast Contrary as We are assured to the Laws of the States to which they respectively belong. Under these Circumstances We think it our Duty to put you in Possession of the Substance of the Intelligence we have received so far as respects those Vessels which appear to belong to the State of Massachusetts. And we shall continue to feel ourselves bound to transmit any Similar Intelligence which We may hereafter receive on such unquestionable Authority.

SIERRA LEONE HOUSE LONDON 12 March 1795.

78. THE GOVERNOR AT SIERRA LEONE TO THE SIERRA LEONE COMPANY, 1795.¹

The Ship *Willing Quaker*² Adamson Master belonging to Boston or Salem in New England. She arrived at the mouth of the River

witnesses had brought suit against Sinclair for abuses on the coast of Africa, and had recovered £60 in the lower court. The appeal was still pending when Cleveland wrote. In all these cases the great difficulty was that of jurisdiction.

²On Mar. 4, 1793, Jonathan Edwards wrote to Moses Brown that a suit had been begun in New Haven by Dr. Mather, of Saybrook, against "White, Pratt, and Newel," African slave traders. On Sept. 24, 1793, this suit was still pending in the Connecticut courts. Whatever the outcome, it did not prevent Newell from a slaving voyage the next year. Zachary Macaulay writes of his presence on the Sierra Leone coast in July, 1794, and of the difficulties of that settlement with him. Viscountess Knutsford, *Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay*, pp. 60-61, 65, 74.

[77] ¹This document and also no. 78 are printed from a photostat copy in the Library of Congress. Henry Thornton, member of Parliament and London banker, was chairman of the court of directors of the Sierra Leone Company.

²Zachary Macaulay was made governor of Sierra Leone in 1794. For his own account of his intercourse with American slavers see Knutsford, *Macaulay*, pp. 62-67.

[78] ¹"Extract from the Letters of the Governor and Council at Sierra Leone to the Chairman and Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company."

²The *Willing Quaker* was reported at Havana in the summer of 1792. She sailed from the West Indies Dec. 15, 1792, where her cargo had been supervised by Perkins and Burling, agents of Capt. Daniel McNeil, one of her owners. Messrs. J. and T. H. Perkins of Boston may also have been owners. Of the cargo the agents

Sierra Leone on the of April 1793, thence she went to the Bananas and the Isles de Los, and whilst she staid on the Coast lay mostly at one or other of these places. She took in Slaves at both places. In the month of July she left the Isles de Los with upwards of One hundred Slaves on board, bound it is supposed to Surinam. A. W. Hutchinson came out as Supercargo, but some difference arising between him and Adamson he was left on the Coast whence he took a passage to the West Indies in the Schooner *Union* of Salem, R. Fisher Master, also freighted with Slaves.

Witnesses. Crews of the *Willing Quaker*, Adamson of Boston, and of the *Nancy*, Cook of Providence.

The Schooner *Union* of Salem in New England.³ When she arrived on the Coast she was commanded by one Hall⁴ who dying at Bance Island, was succeeded in the Command by his Mate. She took on board a Cargo of Slaves from the Rio Nunez with which she left the Coast bound to the West Indies, or Surinam about the latter end of October last. The name of the Master who carried her off was Fisher.

On leaving the Rio Nunez as we heard he carried off several free people Natives of Africa, who were on board assisting the Mariners in doing the vessel's duty.

Witnesses. Crews of the *Union*, Fisher of Salem, and of the *Kate*, Conolly of Charlestown.

Brig *Rachel* of Boston, Leetch Master, and John Knight Super-

wrote to Captain McNeil: "The *Willing Quaker* sailed from here the 15. . . . The want of Tobacco kept her here for some time . . . and we concluded to put on board of her 20 hhds. more Rum" (Briggs, *The Cabot Family*, I. 392; *Salem Gazette*, June 19, 1792). Captain Adamson carried a letter from McNeil to King Naimbanna of Sierra Leone, directing that seven slaves owed to him as the result of earlier trading be paid to Adamson in men and boys. The instructions from the owner to the captain charged him to see that the cargo was young and healthy, without defects in limbs, teeth, and eyes, and with as few females as possible. The slaves were to be "well fed, well used, and kept clean and dry." The men slaves were to be always in irons and the gratings locked at sunset. The price desired was \$50 per head (*ibid.*, I. 391-392). About the same time that the *Willing Quaker* was being fitted out Messrs. J. and T. H. Perkins were despatching the *Clarissa* to Havana with slaves, under Capt. William McNeil, nephew of Daniel. The Havana port was at this time open to American vessels only if they carried new negroes. It was therefore customary for American merchants to include in their cargoes a sufficient number of negroes to ensure admission, along with a mixed cargo of merchandize. This practice the letters between J. and T. H. Perkins in Boston and Perkins and Burling in Cape François frequently illustrate.

³ See Knutsford, *Macaulay*, pp. 52, 55, 60, 62, 133, 164-165.

⁴ "Reports that Capt. Spence Hall died in the Guinea Trade. He has left a wife and six children, belonging to the english Church in this Town. He has been an unfortunate man, and thus sought base means for his redress" (Dec. 19, 1793, Bentley, *Diary*, II. 77). Bentley later wrote: "A Second Guinea Captain has died this season, Burditt, who with Hall lived in this part of the Town, and were of the Eng. Church. The first belonged at Charlestown, and sailed from it near Boston. The last was a foreigner; both married in the Town. The news produced a bonfire on the Common, in all the rain and the people were alarmed, supposing it to be a building in flames." Jan. 23, 1794, *ibid.*, II. 80.

cargo. Arrived in Sierra Leone River 24th Novr. 1793, and went thence to the Bananas. He sold his Cargo there to a Mr. Geo. Bolland for upwards of fifty Slaves, with which it is supposed he will shortly proceed to Surinam.

Witnesses. Crews of Brig *Rachel*, Leetch of Boston.

There was one also belonging to Boston whose name we could not learn taking in Slaves at Goree and having taken in 40 Slaves, on her way down the Coast, the slaves rose and put the Captain 1st and 2d Mates and one man to death, the vessel drifted to the mouth of the Rio Nunez, where she went ashore and was taken possession of by Mr. Lawrence a trader in that River, after an engagement with the insurgents of 6 or 7 hours Continuance.

79. INSURANCE ON THE *HOPE*, 1803 (?).¹

By this Policy of Assurance Underwritten in the Office kept by N. P. Russell, Messrs. J. and T. H. Perkins for Mr. Robt. Corning

[79] ¹For this fragment of an insurance policy on a slave vessel the editor is indebted to Professor S. E. Morison. See his *Maritime History of Massachusetts*, p. 33, for a reference to it. It is probable that many such vessels were insured in Boston, though the evidence to prove that such was the case is difficult to unearth. In January, 1818, suit was brought in Charleston, for the payment of certain promissory notes given as premiums on insurance policies executed in Boston, on slaving voyages from Africa to Charleston in 1803. It was held by the court that the notes were void since by the act of 1788 Massachusetts citizens were forbidden to participate in that trade (Mrs. Helen T. Catterall, *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery*, II. 306). All Boston companies were not willing to insure such cargoes, however. On Mar. 19, 1802, Thomas Davis, president of the Boston Marine Insurance Society, wrote to Eben Stocker, of Newburyport: "We have always declined writing on Vessels to the coast of Africa after Slaves. I suppose the one mentioned in your letter from Havannah must be of that description" (Mass. Hist. Soc., Papers of the Boston Marine Insurance Society, Letter-Book, May 1, 1799-Dec. 21, 1828). G. C. Mason published the fragment of an insurance written in New York on the brigantine *Anstis* (no date): "And touching the adventures and perils which we the assurers are content to bear, and do take upon us in this voyage, they are of the seas, men of War, Fire, Enemies, Pyrates, Rovers, Thieves, Jettizons, Letters of Mart and Countermart, Surprizals, Taking at Sea, Baratry of the Master and Marine[r]s and all the Perils, Losses and Misfortunes that have or shall come to the Hurt, Detriment or Damage of the said Goods and Merchandize, or of the said vessel her Tackel, Apparel and Furniture or any part thereof" (*Am. Hist. Rec.*, I. 318-319).

A letter which falls outside the limits of this work is not without interest at this point. On Jan. 25, 1810, N. P. Russell wrote to Messrs. J. and T. H. Perkins: "At your particular request, I have offered to the underwriters in my office the two African risks, viz. the Ship *Sn. Francisco de Asis* and Cargo, and the Schr. *Carlota*, Capt. Fitzpatrick, and Cargo, at twenty five per cent. owing to recent news from the Coast of Africa, the underwriters absolutely decline insuring any vessels in the slave trade at present, and of course will not even name a premium on these or any others" (Mass. Hist. Soc., Perkins Papers). The inference seems to be that Messrs. J. and T. H. Perkins were still concerned in the slave trade, though after the act of Congress of May 10, 1800, they had apparently hesitated to deal further in negroes. "An Am. Vessell wd be as deeply implicated with one slave as with a load from the Coast—the forfeiture is the vessell and \$2000 fine, and \$200 pr head for each slave—this amounts to a pretty severe prohibition and we prefer losing a little upon a few horses than gaining upon human flesh—so that upon all sides we are opposed to getting our vessells in by Negroes." Havana, July 16, 1804 (?), J. and T. H. Perkins to James Graham, *The Cabot Family*, II. 517.

of St. Croix, doth make insurance and cause to be insured, lost or not lost, the sum of thirty-three thousand three hundred dollars, on the Danish Ship *Hope* and Cargo (one-third on Ship and two-thirds on Cargo) at and from the Coast of Africa to Havana, with liberty to touch and trade at St. Thomas, commencing the risk when the outward cargo is loaded.

[Premium 10 per cent. The assurers are liable for loss by insurrection, but not by natural mortality. Each slave is valued at two hundred dollars. This policy is meant to take up the risk where a former policy leaves it, meaning no. 15,884 . . . dated June 13, 1803.

Underwritten for \$13,000 by Sam'l Bond, Benj. Homer, Nathl. Fellowes, J. Prince, Wm. H. Bordman, Tuthill Hubbard, Crowell Hatch. Policy no. 15899.]

80. THE CASE OF THE *MENDON*, 1807.¹

Before the Most Noble and Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes.

The *Mendon*, Jonathan Gorham Fitch, Master.

The said Jonathan Gorham Fitch, the Master, and
Claimant of the said Ship and Cargo, as the
true, lawful, and sole Property of Subjects of } Appellant,
the United States of America,

against

George Cunningham, Commander of the Private
Ship of War the *Elizabeth*, the Captor of the } Respondent
said Ship and Cargo, by him taken and carried to the Island of Dominica

Case on behalf of the Claimant and Appellant.

The above Ship, laden with an assorted Cargo of India Goods and other Merchandizes, in Virtue of his Majesty's Royal Licence, sailed from the Port of London to Loango, on the Coast of Africa, where the said Goods were bartered for Slaves, with which she sailed for the River La Plata, and on entering the same he found the Ports under Blockade by his Majesty's Squadron under the Command of Sir Home Popham; that the Master was warned not to attempt to enter any Port except that of Maldonado, then in Possession of the

[80] ^a Vice admiralty briefs in the possession of the Marine Research Society. For the privilege of examining these records and for presenting those sections here printed the editor is indebted to Mr. George Francis Dow of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. The brief contains the statement of the case for the appellant with abbreviated depositions of the master and of one or two seamen, a list of the papers on board the vessel, most of which are briefly summarized, the judgment rendered, and an appendix which presents many of the papers in full.

English; but he afterwards received Permission to go to Monte Video, which the Master attempted, but on his Arrival at Monte Video, he was warned off by the Spaniards; from thence he went to Rio de Janeiro, and after staying there about a Month, taking in Provisions and Water and repairing his Ship, he sailed for the Havannah, and on the 6th March, 1807, the said Ship and Cargo were captured by the Private Ship of War the *Elizabeth*, George Cunningham, commander, and carried into the Island of Dominica.

On the 24th March following, Proceedings were commenced against the said Ship and Cargo as Prize, at the Suit of the Captor, in the Vice Admiralty Court for the Island of Barbadoes.

On the 17th April, the Judge of the said Court, no claim having been entered for the Ship and Cargo, condemned the same as lawful Prize to the Captors. . . .

Jonathan Gorham Fitch, Master.

To the First Interrogatory this Deponent saith, That he was born at Nantucket, that he had been chiefly at Sea for the last seven Years, and that he is a Subject of the United States.²

3. That the said Ship and Goods were taken on Friday, the 6th March, 1807, in about the Latitude of fifteen Degrees; that he believed they were seized for being bound to the Havannah; that the said Ship was brought into the Port of Roseau; that she sailed under American Colours; that she had no other Colours on board; and that no Resistance was made at the Time of the Capture.

4. That he was the Master, and was first appointed to the Command of the Ship by John Mackay, of Boston; that he took Possession of her about three Years ago at Buenos Ayres; that Richard Curtis was the Name of the Person who delivered him the Possession; and he believed the Place of his Residence was at Boston.³

6. That the whole of the Lading on board belonged to the Examinant; that neither he nor any of the Officers or Mariners had any Part, Share, or Interest in the Ship, except that the Examinant belonged to her in the Capacity of Master; and that she was built at Weymouth, in the State of Massachusetts.

² In his deposition Captain Fitch describes in more detail his various voyages. This seems to have been his first venture in slaves.

³ Among the papers carried by the vessel was a clearance dated Portsmouth, Dec. 7, 1801: "Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States of America, to all who shall see these Presents; greeting. Be it known, that Leave and Permission are given to Richard Curtis, Master or Commander of the Bark called the *Mendon*, of the Burthen of 137 29/95ths Tons, or thereabouts, lying at present in the Port of Portsmouth, bound for the Cape of Good Hope, and laden with Brandy, Shooks, Hoops, Grindstones, Canvas, Axes, Steel, Cordage, Butter, Beef, Coals, Anvils, Rum, and Dry Goods, to depart and proceed with the said Bark on his said Voyage, such bark having been visited, and the said Master having made oath, before the proper Officer, that the said Bark and Cargo belongs to one or more of the Citizens of the United States of America, and to him or them only."

7. That her Name was the *Mendon*; that she had been so called since she was built; that she had a Sea-letter on board; that during the Voyage before she was taken she sailed from London to the Coast of Africa, and from thence bound to the River La Plata, at which Place he arrived about the 20th November then last past, and found that it was blockaded by his Britannic Majesty's Ships of War; that he then sailed in her for the Rio de Janeiro, and that her last Voyage began at London and was to have ended there; that her Lading on her first Voyage was with Slaves, from the Port of Mosambique bound to the River La Plata, at which Place they were sold, when the Examinant took Charge of her and loaded her with Tallow for the Port of London, where it was delivered; that she then carried Dry Goods to the River La Plata, there loaded Tallow, which was delivered at London; that her last Cargo was an assorted one of India Goods, taken in at London and delivered at the Bay of Loango, in Africa; that the last Port she sailed from was the Rio de Janeiro, which she left about the 20th January last, but that no Clearances were given since she left the Port of London.

8. That the Lading she carried at her first setting Sail was an assorted Cargo of India Goods and about three Pipes of Spirits, and that she had on board when captured seventy-five Slaves and some trifling Articles remaining of her outward-bound Cargo.⁴

9. That Mr. Mungo Mackay was the Owner of the Ship; he knew him to be the Owner from Information of his Agent, who chartered her to the Examinant; that such Owner was by Birth an American and resided in Boston, where he believed he had always resided.

10. That a Bill of Sale of the said Ship was made by Philip Riley to John Mackay, the Brother of Mungo Mackay, on Account of the said Mungo Mackay, at Buenos Ayres in the Presence of two Witnesses, which was delivered up to the Captors.

12. That he, the Examinant, was the Lader, Owner, and Consignee of the Cargo on board; that he now lived in London, and carried on his Business and Trade there; that he had been established there as a Resident for twelve Months; that before he went to Sea his Residence was at Nantucket; that the Ship was bound to the Havannah, where the Cargo would have been delivered if permitted, and for the real Account, Risk, and Benefit of the Examinant; that, at the Time of the lading of the Cargo, and at the present Time, and also if the same should be restored and unladen at the destined Port, the same did, do, and would belong to the Examinant, and to no other Person.

⁴ The cargo laden in London amounted to £1715 15 9. William Brunton, the captain's clerk, stated that it consisted of India goods, crockery, rum, and paints, and that the paint was still on board when the vessel was captured.

15. That a Charter-party was signed, which was delivered up with the Papers; that such Charter-party was made in March or April last past, between the Examinant and a Mr. William Todd, the Agent for the Ship at London, the Contents of which were, that the Examinant, for the Sum of five hundred Pounds Sterling, paid to Mr. Todd by him, was to have the Use of the said Ship so long as he chose, he keeping her in Order at his own Expence.

16. That there were on board the said Ship at the Time of her taking her Departure from her last clearing Port, before her being taken as Prize, a Register, Sea-letter, Mediterranean Pass, Bill of Sale, Charter-party, one Bill of Lading, with a Consul's Certificate attached to the same, the King's Licence, Invoices, Accounts, and two Protests; that none of them were burnt, torn, thrown overboard, destroyed, or cancelled, concealed, or attempted to be concealed, except the two Protests, which were still in Possession of the Examinant, but he had been shewn to the Captain of the Privateer.

19. That on his Departure from London he left Instructions with Messrs. Foster, Brunton, and Goddard, of London, to insure the said Ship and Goods on her Passage from London to Africa, and from Africa to the River La Plata, and back to London.

20. That in case the said Ship had arrived at her destined Port, the Examinant was to have taken the Chance of the Market for the Sale of his Goods.

21. That the Negroes were of the Congo Nation,⁵ and the other Articles remaining on board were of the Manufacture of Great Britain.

27. That all the Passports, Sea-briefs, Charter-parties, Bills of Sale, Invoices and Papers, which were found on board, were entirely true and fair; and that none of them were false or colourable; and that he knows of no Matter or Circumstance to affect their Credit; that the Passport and Sea-brief were obtained by Mr. Harne, of Massachusetts, for this Ship only; that he believed they were obtained upon the Oath of the Persons therein described, and were to last as long as the Ship was sea-worthy; that there was a Duty or Fee payable, and he believed they were paid; and that there was a Duty and Fee to be paid whenever they were renewed; that such Passports had not been renewed, to the Knowledge of the Examinant, and he believed the Ship was in the Port when the Sea-brief and Passports were granted.

29. That the Ship was steering her Course to the Havannah at the Time of her being first pursued and taken, and that her Course was

⁵ Brunton testified that the slaves were shipped on board in Loango Bay, in August and September, 1806.

not altered by the Appearance of the Vessel by which she was taken; that her Course was at all Times, when the Weather permitted, directed to the Havannah.

30. That the Ship was first sold to Mr. Riley, by her then Supercargo, whose Name he did not know; that such Sale was made at Buenos Ayres, but he did not know at what Time, for what Sum, or what Consideration, or whether such Sum was ever paid; she was afterwards sold by Mr. Riley to Mr. John Mackay, for his Brother, Mungo Mackay, at Buenos Ayres, for about 11,000 Dollars, to the best of his Recollection, which Sum was paid; that it was a fair and true Equivalent, and he believed such Sale and Transfer to have been truly made, and not for the Purpose of covering or concealing the real Property; and he verily believed if the said Ship should be restored she would belong to Mr. Mungo Mackay, and to no other Person. . . .

*James Williams the Mate.*⁶

6. That he believed the Captain to be the sole Owner of the Ship and her Lading.

7. That after he shipped on board the said Ship she sailed from Loango, bound to Monte Video, but was detained by a British Squadron under Sir Home Popham, and carried to Maldonado; that from Maldonado she sailed to Monte Video, by Permission of Sir Home Popham; that the Ship was not allowed to enter there, and she then sailed for Rio de Janeiro, from whence she sailed bound for the Havannah or Charlestown, which would be most convenient; that the only Cargo of which he had any knowledge was her last outward-bound Cargo, consisting of Cloths, Earthen-ware, Spirits, and a small Quantity of Cutlery, which was delivered at Loango, excepting a small Part thereof then on board, and that the said Ship sailed from Rio de Janeiro about the 19th of January, then last past.

8. That the said Ship when taken, had on board Slaves and a few Articles of her outward-bound Cargo.

9. That to the best of his Knowledge the Captain was the Owner of the Ship when taken; that he believed he was the Owner at the Time from his having so informed the Examinant.

12. That Captain Fitch was the Lader, Owner, and Consignee of the Cargo then on board, which was to have been delivered at Charlestown or the Havannah for the real Account, Risk, and Benefit of the said Captain Fitch; that his Belief was founded on what Captain Fitch had informed him; and that he could take upon himself to swear he believed that at the Time of lading the Cargo, and

⁶ Williams was a native of Pennsylvania; for four years he had lived in Charleston.

at the present Time, and also if the same should be restored and unladed, the same did, does, and would belong to the said Captain Fitch, and to no other Person.

20. That he believed if the Cargo had been unladen at the destined Port it would have immediately become the Property of the said Captain Fitch, and of no other Person; and that he was to have taken the Chance of the Market for the Sale thereof.

21. That the Slaves on board were Natives of Africa; and that the remaining Articles of the outward-bound Cargo were of the Manufacture of Great Britain.⁷ . . .

*Papers transmitted in the Process from Barbadoes.*⁸

Register, dated Portsmouth, 7th December, 1801, granted on Oath of Samuel Ham, of Portsmouth, in the State of New Hampshire, Merchant, who deposed that he, together with Benjamin Conner, of Exeter, and Jonathan Clark, of Portsmouth, were the Owners of the Ship *Mendon* of Portsmouth, whereof Richard Curtis was then Master, a Citizen of the United States; that the Vessel was built at Weymouth, in the State of Massachusetts, in the Year 1800, as appeared by Certificate, and that the said Ship had been duly registered at the Port of Portsmouth.

Certificate, dated Buenos Ayres, 24th June, 1804, and signed Silas Atkins, jun. and Mark Riley, that at the City of Buenos Ayres there was no American Consul, nor Agent for the United States, and that the within-mentioned Ship, the *Mendon*, was bought by John Mackay, Agent for Mr. Mungo Mackay, jun. a Citizen of the United States, residing at Boston, on his sole Account and Risk, and that Jonathan Gorham Fitch was appointed Master, in Lieu of Richard Curtis, late Master. . . .

Bill of Sale of the Ship, dated 24th June 1804, by John Reilly, of Philadelphia, Owner of the *Mendon*, of Portsmouth, in Consideration of the Sum of 11,000 Dollars lawful Money of the United States of America, paid to him by Mungo Mackay, jun. of Boston, he sold to the said Mungo Mackay, jun. the said Ship, to the sole and only proper Use and Benefit of him the said Mungo Mackay, jun. for ever.

. . . Whereas, the Commanders of several Slave Ships, who had a Notification given them, that the Ports of La Plata [were

⁷ The deposition of Brunton, a British subject, native of Scotland, follows.

⁸ In addition to the items here printed, clearance papers, a certificate from the American consul in London, the articles of agreement and the roll of the officers and crew of the vessel, a freight agreement between William Todd, jr., London agent of Mungo Mackay, and Captain Fitch, several further depositions, and various certificates are included among the prize papers. The *Mendon* had on board ten mariners, two Germans and eight Americans, from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Albany, and Charleston. She carried three blunderbusses, one musket, four pistols, two cutlasses, and ammunition, for protection from the slaves, but had no guns mounted.

blockaded] have represented that their Slaves wanted Refreshments of every Kind, which they could not procure at Maldonado, and they were apprehensive by going to Monte Video, they might suffer the Penalty of a Breach of Blockade; under Considerations of Humanity no Steps whatever shall be taken against Slave Ships for their entry into the Ports of La Plata, nor if met shall such Ingress be considered, by any of the Cruizers under my Command, as a Breach of Blockade, on the Contrary the Captains and Commanders of his Majesty's Ships in La Plata, are desired to permit all Slave Ships to enter any of the aforesaid Ports, provided there is no legal Objection to their entry, except the Breach of the Blockade.

Given under my Hand on board his Majesty's Ship *Diadem*, Maldonado Road, the 16th November, 1806.⁹

HOME POPHAM.

RHODE ISLAND

81. ACT OF THE GENERAL COURT, MAY 19, 1652.¹

Whereas, there is a common course practised amongst English men to buy negers, to that end they may have them for service or slaves forever; for the preventinge of such practices among us, let it be ordered, that no blacke mankind or white being [be] forced by covenant bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assignes longer than ten yeares, or untill they come to bee twentie four yeares of age, if they bee taken in under fourteen, from the time of their cominge within the liberties of this Collonie. And at the end or terme of ten yeares to sett them free, as the manner is with the English servants. And that man that will not let them goe free, or shall sell them away elsewhere, to that end that they may bee enslaved to others for a long time, hee or they shall forfeit to the Collonie forty pounds.

⁹ The cause was heard Apr. 17, 1807, before the judge of the vice admiralty court of Barbados, and the vessel and cargo were condemned as prize. An appeal from this decree was entered by Jonathan Gorham Fitch and John Mackay of Boston, brother and heir of Mungo Mackay. The Lords, having heard the proof read, reversed the earlier decision and restored the ship and cargo to the claimants.

For some knowledge of the share which Massachusetts took in importations into South Carolina between 1803 and 1807 see this work, vol. IV., South Carolina.

[81] ¹ "Acts and Orders made at the Generall Court of Election held at Warwick", *Rhode Island Colonial Records*, I. 243. For a discussion of this measure see Du Bois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, pp. 33-34; W. D. Johnston, "Slavery in Rhode Island," *Publications of the Rhode Island Historical Society*, new ser., II. 114. This, the fourth law in this country limiting slavery, has no extant history. What lay behind it, how widespread was the desire for it, for how long, if ever, it was enforced, can only be surmised. It is not improbable that the Dutch from Manhattan made negro slaves available to the Rhode Island colonists, but no evidence of this has come to light. The fact that the act was passed at a time when commissioners from Newport and Portsmouth were not meeting with those of Providence and Warwick may have some significance, since the economic importance of slavery was clearly greater to the southern towns; but this again is surmise, as it is by no means manifest that such importance had as yet been recognized.

82. ACT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, APRIL, 1708.¹

And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that whereas, by an act of Assembly, in February last past,² concerning the importing negroes, one article of said act, expressing that three pounds money shall be paid into the treasury for each negro imported into this colony; but upon exporting such negro in time limited in said act, said three pounds were to be drawn out of the treasury again by the importer:

It is hereby enacted, that said sum for the future, shall not be drawn out, but there continued for the use in said act expressed; any act to the contrary, notwithstanding.

83. GOVERNOR SAMUEL CRANSTON TO THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1708.¹

May it please your Lordships: In obedience to your Lordships' commands of the 15th of April last, to the trade of Africa.

We, having inspected into the books of Her Majesty's custom, and informed ourselves from the proper officers thereof, by strict inquiry, can lay before your Lordships no other account of that trade than the following *viz.*:

1. That from the 24th of June, 1698, to the 25th of December, 1707, we have not had any negroes imported into this colony from the coast of Africa, neither on the account of the Royal African Company, or by any of the separate traders.

2. That on the 30th day of May, 1696, arrived at this port from the coast of Africa, the brigantine *Seaflower*, Thomas Windsor, master, having on board her forty-seven negroes, fourteen of which he disposed of in this colony, for betwixt £30 and £35 per head; the rest he transported by land for Boston, where his owners lived.

3. That on the 10th of August, the 19th and 28th of October, in the year 1700,² sailed from this port three vessels, directly for the coast of Africa; the two former were sloops, the one commanded by Nicho's Hillgrove, the other by Jacob Bill: the last a ship, com-

[82] ¹"Proceedings of the General Assembly held for the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, at Newport, the last Tuesday of April, 1708", *R. I. Col. Recs.*, IV. 34.

² Various searchers in the Rhode Island material have failed to find either text or title of the February act (Du Bois, p. 205). If the statement in the act of 1715 is correct, a duty was laid upon incoming negroes as early as 1701/2. No other evidence of it has been found, however.

[83] ¹*R. I. Col. Recs.*, IV. 54-55. Governor Cranston was here replying to the circular letter sent out by the Board of Trade on Apr. 15, 1708, in preparation for its comprehensive report to the House of Commons of Jan. 27, 1709 (this work, II. 49-81). The governor's three letters of this date were read by the board on Dec. 12, 1709. *Journal of the Board of Trade, 1708-1715*, p. 104; *R. I. Col. Recs.*, IV. 92.

² See *ante*, no. 28. Captain Windsor's expedition in 1696 was in violation of the monopoly of the African Company. While those of 1700 may have complied with the requirements of the law of 1698, it is quite likely that they too were encroachments upon the privileges of the company.

manded by Edwin Carter, who was part owner of the said three vessels, in company with Thomas Bruster, and John Bates, merchants of Barbadoes, and separate traders from thence to the coast of Africa; the said three vessels arriving safe to Barbadoes from the coast of Africa, where they made the disposition of their negroes.

4. That we have never had any vessels from the coast of Africa to this colony, nor any trade there, the brigantine above mentioned excepted.

5. That the whole and only supply of negroes to this colony, is from the island of Barbadoes; from whence is imported one year with another, betwixt twenty and thirty, and if those arrive well and sound, the general price is from £30 to £40 per head.³

According to your Lordships' desire, we have advised with the chiefest of our planters, and find but small encouragement for that trade to this colony; since by the best computation we can make, there would not be disposed in this colony above twenty or thirty at the most, annually; the reasons of which are chiefly to be attributed to the general dislike our planters have for them, by reason of their turbulent and unruly tempers.

And that most of our planters that are able and willing to purchase any of them, are supplied by the offspring of those they have already, which increase daily; and that the inclination of our people in general, is to employ white servants before negroes.

Thus we have given your Lordships a true and faithful account of what hath occurred, relating to the trade of Africa from this colony; and if, for the future, our trade should be extended to those parts, we shall not fail transmitting accounts thereof according to your Lordships' orders.⁴

NEWPORT, on RHODE ISLAND, December 5, 1708.

³ One specific purchase can be cited: William Hawkins of Providence purchased a negro from William Mackcollin, a Barbados merchant, on June 7, 1695. *Early Records of the Town of Providence* (1894), IV. 71-72.

⁴ Cranston accompanied this report by two others dealing with subjects about which the Board of Trade had asked information. A comparison of these reports with that sent to the board by Governor Peleg Sanford in 1680 shows that during the intervening quarter of a century Rhode Island had passed from a planting to a trading community. Sanford reported that there were no merchants nor men of considerable estates, no shipping save a few sloops, and no customs duties. The Newport custom-house was established in 1681; a duty on molasses was laid in 1696. During the '80's Rhode Island developed the great skill in distilling which was to play so large a part in her later commercial history. Cranston's account pictures a commercial society in close intercourse with the West Indies and ripe for wider trading ventures. Ship-building had already come to be one of the important activities of the colony during the preceding decade. The population was 7181, of which 426 were blacks. *R. I. Col. Recs.*, IV. 55-59; Arnold, *History of Rhode Island*, I. 488-491.

84. ACT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, FEBRUARY 17, 1712.¹

And whereas, there was an act of Assembly made at ———, in the year ———, entitled an act, etc.:

It was then and there enacted, that for all negroes imported into this colony, there shall be £3 current money, of New England, paid into the general treasury of this colony for each negro, by the owner or importer of said negro; reference being had unto the said act will more fully appear.

But were laid under no obligation by the said act, to give an account to the Governor what negroes they did import, whereby the good intentions of said act were wholly frustrated and brought to no effect; and by the clandestinely hiding and conveying said negroes out of the town into the country, where they lie concealed:

For the prevention of which for the future, it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the publication of this act, all masters of vessels that shall come into the harbor of Newport, or into any port of this government, that hath imported any negroes or Indian slaves, shall, before he puts on shore in any port of this government, or in the town of Newport, any negroes or Indian slaves, or suffers any negroes or Indian slaves to be put on shore by any person whatsoever, from on board his said vessel, deliver unto the naval officer in the town of Newport, a fair manifest under his hand, which shall specify the full number of negroes and Indian slaves he hath imported in his said vessel, of what sex, with their names, the names of their owners, or of those they are consigned to; to the truth of which manifest so given in, the said master shall give his corporal oath, or solemn engagement unto the said naval officer, who is hereby empowered to administer the same unto him; . . .

But if the said master shall refuse to give to the said naval officer such a manifest as aforesaid, or to swear to the said manifest when so delivered to the said naval officer, then upon complaint of said naval officer, (whose oath shall be sufficient evidence in this case,) to the Governor, or in his absence, to the next officer of the peace in the town of Newport, the Governor, or the officer to whom the complaint is made, shall immediately issue out a warrant of distrainment unto the sheriff or his deputy, to apprehend the body of the said master, and him to commit to Her Majesty's jail, there to remain without bail or mainprize until he hath paid the full sum of £40 current money, of New England, to the treasurer of this colony, for

[84] ¹ "Proceedings of the General Assembly held for the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, at Newport, the 27th of February, 1711-12", *R. I. Col. Recs.*, IV. 133-135. The same session enacted that the naval officer be allowed "a book suitable and fitting for the business relating to the importation of negroes, etc. pursuant to an act herein mentioned, relating to the same". *Ibid.*, p. 138.

the use of said colony, with all other charges that shall accrue through his contempt.

And when the said master hath delivered his said manifest and sworn to it, as abovesaid, and before he hath landed on shore, or suffer to be landed, any negroes or Indian slaves as aforesaid, he, the said master, shall pay to the naval officer the sum of £3 current money, of New England, for each negro; and the sum of forty shillings of the like money for each Indian that shall be by him imported into this colony, or that shall be brought into the colony in the vessel whereof he is master.

But if he hath not ready money to pay down, as aforesaid, he shall then give unto the said naval officer a bill, as the law directs, to pay unto him the full sum above mentioned, for each and every negro and Indian imported as above said, which bill shall run payable in ten days from the entering the manifest as above said; and if at the end of the ten days, the said master shall refuse to pay the full contents of his bill, that then the said naval officer shall deliver the said bill unto the Governor, or in his absence, to the next officer of the peace, as aforesaid who shall immediately proceed with the said master in the manner above said, by committing of him to Her Majesty's jail, where he shall remain without bail or mainprize, until he hath paid unto the naval officer, for the use of this colony, double the sum specified in his said bill, and all charges that shall accrue thereby; which money shall be paid out by the said naval officer, as the General Assembly of this colony shall order the same.² . . .

85. THOMAS RICHARDSON TO STEPHEN WEBB, 1714.¹

[NEWPORT,] 15th of 4 mo 1714.

Respected Friend, Stephen Webb, Capt: Ramsey Arrived here last week per whom I have thine wth: the Malatta woman who is Come in good helth and as thou Saye is a Likely Creature. I have not yet had a Chap² to my minde Shall doe the best I Can for you in Disposeing of her and make Returns as Soone as Can I Shall not think £45 too much for her if Can git it tho: hardly expect to git it for her.³ . . .

² All masters were required to give £50, current money, bond. To clear up any uncertainty as to the meaning of this act it was, on May 7, 1712, "Voted, and it is further enacted by this Assembly, upon the request of the naval officer, concerning the act of importation of negroes and Indians, that any negroes or Indians brought into the harbor of Newport, or any other part of the colony, and an entry made of the vessel, and a manifest given by the master, is an importation within the act." *Ibid.*, IV. 143.

[85] ¹ Newport Historical Society, Letter-Book of Thomas Richardson, no. 70.

² Customer, purchaser.

³ As the phraseology of the letter suggests, Thomas Richardson was a member of the Society of Friends. Rhode Island Friends apparently took no action in regard to the buying and selling of slaves until three years after the date of this letter, and instances of trade on the part of members of the society can be found until the 'sixties.

86. THOMAS RICHARDSON TO STEPHEN WEBB AND
NICHOLAS COLEMAN, 1714.¹

NEWPORT the 21st of 8br 1714.

Respected Friends, Stepn Webb and Nicho's Coleman . . . I had determand to take a Journy to Boston in a few days and then designed to send som fish and mackrell to my Friend Stephn Webb for the produce of his Mullatto Woman there haveing not been any opportunity from hence Since I sold her but Shall now observe the Lattr orders and carry ther Ntt pduce being £36. 10 (As per Accott Sales Inclosed) to the Cr of your Compa Acctt. She is a lusty and handy wench but haveing some bad quality my Kinsman has Returnd her to me again in order to be sent to York or Sold here. . . .

87. ACT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, JULY 15, 1715.¹

This Assembly, taking into consideration that Newport is the metropolitan town in this colony, and that all the courts of judicature within this colony are held there; and also, that it is the chief market town in the government; and that it hath very miry streets, especially that leading from the ferry, or landing place, up to the colony house, so that the members of the courts are very much discommoded therewith, and is a great hindrance to the transporting of provisions etc., in and out of the said towns, to the great loss of the inhabitants thereof:

Thereof, be it enacted by this present Assembly, and by the authority thereof it is enacted, that the sum of £289 17 s. 3 d., now lying in the naval officer's hand, (being duties paid to this colony for importing of slaves),² shall be, and is hereby granted to the town of Newport, towards paving the streets of Newport, from the ferry place, up to the colony house, in said Newport; to be improved by their directors, such as they shall, at their quarter meetings appoint for the same.

And whereas, there was an act of Assembly, made at Newport, in the year 1701-2,³ for the better preventing of fraud and coven, in paying the duties for importing of negro and Indian slaves into this colony, and the same being found in some clauses deficient, for the effecting of the full intent and purpose thereof;

Therefore, it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every master of ship, or vessel, merchant or other person or persons,

[86] ¹ Newport Hist. Soc., Richardson Letter-Book, no. 70.

[87] ¹ "Proceedings of the General Assembly, 1715," *R. I. Col. Recs.*, IV. 191-193.

² Since this includes duties on Indian as well as negro slaves it does not make certain the number of negro importations.

³ One is tempted to dismiss this as a misprint for 1711/2, since the act of that date certainly reads as if it were the first legislative attempt to prevent fraud in the payment of the import duties on slaves.

importing or bringing into this colony any negro slave or slaves of what age soever,⁴ shall enter their number, names, and sex in the naval office; and the master shall insert the same in the manifest of his lading, and shall pay to the naval officer in Newport, £3 per head, for the use of this colony, for every negro, male or female, so imported, or brought in. And every such master, merchant, or other person, refusing or neglecting to pay the said duty within ten days after they are brought ashore in said colony, then the said naval officer, on knowledge thereof, shall enter an action and sue the recovery of the same, against him or them, in an action of debt, in any of His Majesty's courts of record, within this colony.

And if any master of ship or vessel, merchant or others, shall refuse or neglect to make entry, as aforesaid, of all negroes imported in such ship or vessel, or be convicted of not entering the full number, such master, merchant, or other person, shall forfeit and pay the sum of £6, for every one that he shall refuse or neglect to make entry, of one moiety thereof to His Majesty, for and towards the support of the government of this colony; and the other moiety to him or them that shall inform or sue for the same; to be recovered by the naval officer in manner as above said.

And also, all persons that shall bring any negro or negroes into this colony, from any of His Majesty's provinces adjoining, shall in like manner enter the number, names and sex, of all such negroes, in the above said office, under the penalty of the like forfeiture, as above said; and to be recovered in like manner by the naval officer, and shall pay into the said office within the time above limited, the like sum of £3 per head; and for default of payment, the same to be recovered by the naval officer in like manner as aforesaid.

Provided always, that if any gentleman, who is not a resident in this colony, and shall pass through any part thereof, with a waiting man or men with him, and doth not reside in this colony six months, then such waiting men shall be free from the above said duty; the said gentleman giving his solemn engagement, that they are not for sale; any act or acts, clause or clauses of acts, to the contrary hereof, in any ways, notwithstanding.

Provided, that none of the clauses in the aforesaid act, shall extend to any masters or vessels, who import negroes into this colony, directly from the coast of Africa.⁵

⁴In practice, infants were not subject to the duty. "It is ordered by this Assembly, that the duty of two sucking slaves imported into this colony by Col. James Vaughan, of Barbadoes, be remitted to the said James Vaughan." *R. I. Col. Recs.*, IV. 209.

⁵This exemption may imply a desire to foster a trade not yet flourishing. There is little evidence to show the amount of direct trade between Africa and Newport at this time, or between Newport, Africa, and the West Indies. Robert Grieve,

And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the money raised by the impost of negroes, as aforesaid, shall be disposed of as followeth, *viz.*:

The one moiety of the said impost money to be for the use of the town of Newport, to be disposed of by the said town towards paving the streets of said town, and for no other use whatsoever, for and during the full time of seven years from the publication of this act; and that £60 of said impost money be for, and towards the erecting of a substantial bridge over Potowomut river, at or near the house of Ezekiel Hunt, in East Greenwich, and to no other use whatsoever.

And that Major Thomas Frye and Capt. John Eldredge be the persons appointed to order and oversee the building of said bridge, and to render an account thereof to the Assembly; and the said Major Frye and Capt. Eldredge to be paid for their trouble and pains, out of the remaining part of said impost money; and the remainder of said impost money to be disposed of as the Assembly shall from time to time see fit.⁶

88. A MINUTE OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, 1717.¹

NEWPORT, 1717.

A weighty concern being on this Meeting concerning the importing and keeping slaves. This Meeting therefore refers it to the con-

in an article on "The Sea Trade and its Development" (Edward Field, *State of Rhode Island*, 1903, II. 402), seems to imply that the assiento granted by the treaty of Utrecht to Great Britain stimulated Rhode Island commerce. Indirectly and after some years this may have affected the profits of Rhode Island traders somewhat, but in so far as it is possible to judge from existing material there is little to support the opinion that a direct increase in Rhode Island slaving resulted from the contract of 1713. In the "Remonstrance" of Rhode Island against the continuance of the Molasses Act, in 1764, the implication is that the people of the colony regarded 1723 as the year in which their trade to the African coast became one of importance.

⁶At the meeting of the Assembly of May, 1716, it was reported that there was not sufficient money from the impost on negroes to meet the payment of £60 here ordered, and the Assembly voted to take £20 from the general treasury to make good the deficiency. In October, 1717, the Assembly ordered that £100 from the imposts on slaves be paid to the overseer who had charge of paving the Newport streets. The act was modified June 18, 1723, when it was "Voted, that Mr. Daniel Updike, the attorney general, be, and he hereby is ordered, appointed and empowered to gather in the money due to this colony, for the importation of negroes, and to prosecute, sue and implead such person or persons as shall refuse to pay the same; and that he be allowed five shillings per head, for every slave that shall be hereafter imported into this colony, out of the impost money; and that he be also allowed ten per cent. more for all such money as he shall recover of the outstanding debts; and in all respects to have the like power as was given to the naval officer by the former act." In June, 1729, it was provided that half the duty on slaves was to be set aside for the paving of Newport streets, the other half for the support of "the great bridges on the main, in the country roads". *R. I. Col. Recs.*, IV. 209, 225, 330, 424.

[88] ¹R. M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (1911), p. 157. In 1727 the Yearly Meeting voted: "It is the sense of this Meeting, that the importation of Negroes from their native country and relations is not a commendable nor allowable practice and that practice is censured by this Meeting." The difference in the wording of this suggests that the direct importation from Africa may have become more common

sideration of Friends everywhere to waite for the wisdom of God how to discharge themselves in that weighty affair, and desires it may be brought up from our Monthly and Quarterly Meetings to our next Yearly Meeting, and also that merchants do write their correspondents in the islands and elsewhere to discourage their sending any more (slaves) in order to be sold by Friends here.

89. NOTICES OF SALES, 1721.¹

NEW-PORT, RHODE-ISLAND, June 2d, 1721.

By Order of the Court of Admiralty, There are Nineteen Negroes whereof Two are Men, Eleven Women, Four Boyes and Two Girls, to be Exposed to Sale by Publick Vendue on Wednesday the Fourteenth Day of this Instant June, at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, at the Town School-House of said New Port.² . . . Where all Persons that are inclined to buy the said Negroes, Cocoa or Sugars; or any one of the said Negroes, or part or parcel of said Cocoa or Sugars, are hereby invited to resort. The Conditions of Sale to be seen at the Coffee House, and at the Register's Office, both in said New Port at any Convenient Hours Three Days preceeding the time of Sale.

RHODE ISLAND, June 23, 1721.³

The Sale of the Negro's, Cocoa and sugars, which by Decrees of the Honourable John Menzeis Esq: Judge of the Court of Admiralty were appointed to be sold on the 14 and 15 Instant and continued to this day, and the Prices to be paid in and secured, as by the said Decrees and Conditions of Sale published by Warrant of the said Judge will appear; which sale being obstructed most illegally by An Act of the Governour and his Assistants (a Copy of which was refused when demanded by said Judge) on pretence that the ordering and disposal of such belongs to them by their Charter, and that the Governour of Rhode Island as Vice-Admiral hath a Right to the

since 1717. For the attitude of two prominent Rhode Island Friends toward slavery see Caroline Hazard, *Thomas Hazard, Son of Robt., call'd College Tom* (1893), pp. 43-45; Wilkins Updike, *History of the Narragansett Church* (1847), I. 174; Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158.

[89] ¹*Boston News Letter*, June 5, 1721. John Menzies, judge of the vice admiralty court in Boston, on July 20, 1721, wrote an account of the events which in all probability led to this sale. Two Whipples, Christopher Almy, and Norton were concerned in a vessel which had been seized by the pirate Roberts off St. Lucia. After six or seven weeks the pirates captured a Dutch vessel, loaded it with sugar, cocoa, and negroes, and sent Norton off to dispose of the cargo. He anchored in Tarpaulin Cove, between Rhode Island and Massachusetts, and here his confederates sent sloops to convey the goods to Providence Plantations. The attention of the customs officers of both Massachusetts and Rhode Island was attracted and that portion of the cargo not already disposed of was seized. *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, VI. 135-136.

² Cocoa and sugar were also put up for sale under the same conditions.

³ *News Letter*, June 29, 1721; Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy*, pp. 318-322.

Value, if no Owner appear, (tho' their Charter contains no such Priviledge or grant:) The Judge considering these proceedings to be an unjustifiable incroachment upon His Majesty's Right, and the Authority of the Court and Jurisdiction of Admiralty by him Constitute; as also considering a Publication of Articles or Conditions of sale put up and signed by John Wanton and Nathaniel Kay Esqr; in other Terms than the said Judge had ordained, and whereby they had appointed two parts of the produce to be Loddged in their own hands, and the third to be given to the said Governour, And this, notwithstanding that the Judges Decree as to the Negro's was upon an Information laid by the said Kay in the Court of Admiralty: As also considering that Thomas Flower surveyor and searcher at this Port had refused to deliver supplies of the Cocoa and Sugars condemned to be sold upon a Libel filed at his instance: He the said Judge did Ordain the said Wanton, Kay and Flower to be summoned before him, to answer for their contempt of the said Decrees, and disobeying the Authority and Jurisdiction of His Majesty's said Court; And upon their Non Appearance the Judge Amerced the said Thomas Flower in 10 *l.* Nathaniel Kay in 50 *l.* and John Wanton who persevered in his contempt and threatened the Marshall of Court with Imprisonment for offering to serve the citation against him in the like sum of 50 *l.*

It is also observable, That this Day and the Day preceeding, the Doors of the Court-house were shut up and the Judge of Admiralty denied access thereunto, unless he would comply with their Acts of Council, which to him appeared a betraying of the trust reposed in him, if he should have complied therewith, and therefore was obliged to hold the Court elsewhere.⁴

90. NEWPORT CUSTOM-HOUSE ENTRIES, 1725-1728.¹

Date	Master	Voyage
1725, Jan. 7 ²	James Hester	Cleared for Africa
June 24	Clark ³	Outward bound for Guinea
Sept. 30	Hester	Entered in from Guinea
Dec. 28	Thurston	Cleared for Guinea
1726, Jan. 27	William Barry	Outward bound for Africa
Sept. 22	Thurston	Entered in from Guinea
Nov. 25	"	Outward bound for Africa
1728, Sept. 30	Scott and Malbone ⁴	" " " "

⁴The following is the only item in the *R. I. Records* which relates to this controversy: "Ordered, that the committee appointed for the sales of the negroes, and cocoa, and sugar, pay and allow to Lieut.-Col. Wm. Coddington all such reasonable charges and allowance for his time, that he hath spent and taken in securing the same." "Proceedings of the General Assembly, Newport, the 13th day of June, 1721," *R. I. Col. Recs.*, IV. 298.

[90] ¹The last item comes from the *Boston Gazette*, the others are from the *News*

91. EDWARD BYAM TO ABRAHAM REDWOOD, JR., 1727.¹

ANTEGOA Augt. the 10th 1727

Sir, . . . This is to advise You that I have Loaden on board of Sloop *Betty*, Daniell Coggeshall² Coma. for Your accot . . . two negroes one boy and one Girl . . .

Augt. 20th 1727

To cloaths for negroes	£ 12 s.
. . .	
To Capt. Thos. Tarleton for a negro boy	30
To Thomas Kerby Esqr. for a negro girle	23

92. THE VOYAGE OF THE *LITTLE GEORGE*, 1730.¹

Since our last² we have had a more particular Account of the Negroes rising and overcoming Capt. George Scot of Rhode Island, in his return from Guinea, which we have been desired to Insert: And it is as follows, *viz.*

I George Scott, (the Scriber) Master of the Sloop the *Little George*, belonging to Rhode Island; Sailed from the Bonnana Islands on the Coast of Guinea, the first of June 1730, having on Board

Letter. The dates given are those of the issue of the paper. The actual date of the entry is usually a day or two earlier.

² "In the fall we expect negroes here directly from Guinea, a vessel having sailed from here [Boston] and one from Rhode Island". Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England*, II. 456, quoted from the "Amory MSS."

³ This may be the Jeremiah Clark whose capture by the Spaniards and recapture by pirates had been reported in the *News Letter*, May 16, 1723. Possibly it was also that Jeremiah Clark who arrived from South Carolina with the story that Capt. Richard Duffie of Rhode Island had been taken by the pirate Sprigs, who later gave him not only his liberty but 25 negroes. *Ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1725.

⁴ The *Newport Hist. Mag.* (III. 56) prints a painter's bill of 1728, which contains the items: £3 for painting the sloop *Betty*, Matthew Malbone; £16 for painting the *Charming Betty*, George Scott.

[91] ¹ *Newport Hist. Soc.*, Redwood Letter-Book, no. 644, pp. 4, 5. The Byam family was a numerous and important one in Antigua. The elder Edward Byam had been president of the Council of Antigua and lieutenant governor of the Leeward Islands. A few months after the date of this letter he was commissioned lieutenant governor of Antigua. The writer of the letter was probably his son Edward, who acted as attorney for Redwood.

Abraham Redwood, sr., born in Bristol, Eng., once the commander of a vessel trading between London and Jamaica, later a planter in Antigua, had removed first to Salem, then to Newport, some years before this. He retained his extensive sugar plantations, and since it is with plantation affairs that many of the letters of this correspondence deal only a few of them have been printed in the Rhode Island material. Abraham Redwood, jr., merchant and philanthropist of Newport, was born in Antigua, educated in Philadelphia, married and settled in Newport. *Newport Hist. Mag.*, I. 7-16; *Commerce of Rhode Island*, I. 1 n.

² As Redwood's wife was Martha Coggeshall, Daniel was doubtless a connection of his. In the letter of Apr. 11, 1731, a part of which follows, Nugent writes of loading goods for "your brother-in-law Mr. Coggshe'll", who, according to the editor of *Commerce of Rhode Island* (I. 16 n.), was David Coggeshall.

[92] ¹ *News Letter*, May 6, 1731. The account is signed by George Scott.

² The first notice of this disaster appeared in the *News Letter*, Apr. 29, 1731.

Ninety six Slaves (thirty five of which were Men.) On the 6th of said Month at half an hour past four of the Clock in the Morning, being about 100 Leagues distant from the Land, the Men Slaves got off their Irons, and making way thro' the bulkhead of the Deck, killed the Watch consisting of John Harris Doctor, Jonathan Ebens Cooper, and Thomas Ham Sailor; who were, tis thought, all asleep. I being then in my Cabin and hearing a Noise upon Deck (they throwing the Watch overboard) took my Pistol directly, and fired up the Scuttle which was abaft, which made all the Slaves that were loose run forwards except one or two Men (who seemed to laugh at the Cowardice of the rest, and defiance of us, being but 4 Men and a Boy) who laid the Scuttle, and kept us down confin'd in the Cabin, and passing by the Companion to view us, we Shot two Men Slaves.

On so sudden a surprize, we were at a loss what to do, but consulting together, filled two round Bottles with Powder, putting Fuses to them, in order to send them among the Slaves, with a Design at the same instant of Time, to issue out upon them, and either suppress them or loose our Lives; but just as we were putting our design in Execution, one of the Slaves let fall an Ax (either thro' accident or design) which broke the Bottle as Thomas Dickinson was setting fire to the Fuze, and taking fire with a Cagg of Powder, in the Cabin, rais'd up the Deck, blew open the Cabin Doors and Windows, discharged all our fire Arms but one, distroyed our Cloaths and burnt the Man that had the Bottle in his hand in a most miserable manner, and my self with the rest very much hurt thereby.

Upon this unhappy accident, we expected no less than immediate Death, which would have been unavoidable, had they at that Juncture of time, rushed in upon us. And being in this consternation and hopeless, sent up the Boy in order (if possible) to bring them to Terms, but they slighted our Message. And soon after (the Smoke clearing out of the Cabin) we found the other Bottle of Powder which by Providence had not taken fire, and which put new Life and vigour into us, that we were resolved to withstand them to the uttermost; and accordingly Loaded our Arms and Shot several of the Slaves, which occasioned all the Men Slaves to betake themselves to the Quarter Deck, over our Heads. The Slaves then got two Swivel Guns, and filled them almost full with Powder, which they found in the fore Hold, as they were looking for Provisions, and designed to blow the Bulkhead in upon us, which they put fire to several times, but could not get off by reason of wet Weather. We had two Carriage Guns in the Boat, which we expected the Slaves would get out, and therefore watched them very narrowly; but in

a dark Night they effected it, and brought them upon the Quarter Deck; they loaded one of the Guns, and pointed it directly down the Scuttle: we hearing them about the Scuttle and having prepar'd ourselves; so soon as they lifted it up, we Shot the Man dead that pointed the Gun, another of the Slaves standing by clapt a Match to it and fir'd it off, which blew the Scuttle all to pieces and some of the Deck, but did us no Damage. They then took pieces of Boards and laid them over the Scuttle and the Hole they had made in the Deck, and laid the Tarpawlin, with a great Weight upon them to prevent our coming up.

Then they made Sail (as they thought) towards Land and were continually heaving down Billets of Wood, and Water into the Cabin, with intention to Disable us and spoil our small Arms. And the Fourth Day after the Rising made the same Land we departed from, then stood off and on again for 4 or 5 Days more, in which time the Boy being forced by Hunger, run up among the Slaves, who immediately put him in Irons. They made several attempts to come down into the Cabin, but their Courage fail'd them. I then call'd to them to come down to decide the Matter, they answer'd, by and by.

Finding our selves grow very weak, thro' these hardships, and for want of sustenance; we thought it proper before our Strength was quite spent to take some desperate Course. I proposed to cut away the Cieling and bore some Holes thro' the Vessels Bottom, which being approved on, was directly done, and let in about three feet of Water, I then called to the Slaves, and told them, I would drown them all, which frightened them exceedingly: They then sent the Boy to the Cabin Door, to tell us, that they had but just made the Land, and that when they got a little nearer the Shore, they would take the Boat and leave them with the Young Slaves: I told them if they would do that I would not sink her. (My design in letting the Water in, was to force the Vessel on her side that we might get some advantage.) They stood in for the Land about 12 a Clock at Night, struck upon the Bar of Serrilone River, and were in great Danger of being lost. The Vessel being strong beat over the Bar, and they run Ashore about 3 Leagues up the River, on the North Side; being then High Water, and at Seven a Clock the next Morning there was not above a foot of Water along side.

The Natives waded from the Shore with fire Arms, wou'd have fain try'd to overcome us, but were perswaded from it by the Slaves on Board, who told them we should shoot them if they appeared in our Sight. They perswaded the grown Slaves to go Ashore, and drove the Young ones over board and then followed them, making the

Vessel shake at their Departure. Our Boy assuring us the Slaves had all left the Vessel, we immediately went up with our Arms, and saw the Slaves just Ashore. We found our great Guns loaded quite full. And as we hoisted out our Boat, the Natives mustered very thick on the Shore and fired at us divers time. We made what haste we could to the other side of the River, where we Rowed down about two Leagues, and found a Sloop riding in French-man's Bay belonging to Montserat, James Collingwood Commander, where we refreshed our selves, being all of us in a weak and miserable condition, having had nothing to subsist upon, during the Nine Days we were under this Affliction but Raw Rice.

93. NEWPORT CUSTOM-HOUSE ENTRIES, 1731-1739.¹

Date	Master	Voyage
1731, Nov. 15	Perkins ²	Cleared for Africa
1732, July 17	Wickham	Outward bound for Africa
Aug. 7	Hammond ³	" " " "
Aug. 21	Scott	" " " "
Sept. 11	Haynes	" " " "
Oct. 30	Knox	Entered in from "
1733, Jan. 29	Brin	Outward bound for "
July 23	Wickham	" " " "
Aug. 20	Scott, Hammond	" " " "
" "	Godfrey	Cleared " "
Sept. 10	Cahoone	" " "
Dec. 11	Wickham	" " "
1734, July 8	Mumford	" " "
Aug. 26	Godfrey	" " "
Oct. 14	Scott	" " "
1736, Jan. 2	Hammond ⁴	" " "
1739, Mar. 12	Malbone, Wickham	Outward bound " "
July 2	Potter	Entered in from Africa
" "	Wickham	Cleared for Africa
Dec. 17	Eldred	Outward bound for "

94. WALTER NUGENT TO ABRAHAM REDWOOD, 1731.¹

ANTIGUA, April the 11th, 1731.

Worthy Sir, . . . I send you two Negroes; if you like them

[93] ¹ The entries are from the *Weekly Rehearsal*, the dates being those of the issue of the paper, not of the customs entries.

² News reached Newport in October, 1732, that Captain Perkins had been killed on the coast on Apr. 27, 1732, in a negro uprising on his vessel (*Weekly Rehearsal*, Oct. 30, 1732; *News Letter*, Oct. 27, Nov. 2, 1732; *South Carolina Gazette*, Dec. 9, 1732). Items concerned with the slave trade were copied from paper to paper in the colonies, so that whatever information reached America from Africa was thoroughly disseminated.

³ "We hear from the West Indies, that Capt. Hammond in a Sloop (belonging to Capt. Malbone of Rhode Island) in his Passage from Guinea to Barbados, having on board 55 fine Slaves in Lat. 9 Long. 37 was over set and all the Slaves Drowned, the Capt. with 8 Men, after being 6 Days in their Boat, 3 Days of which without Victuals and Drink, got safe to the West Indies." *News Letter*, Mar. 6, 1740.

⁴ The items which follow are from the *Boston Gazette*.

[94] ¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., Wetmore Papers, vol. I.; *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 15-16. Nugent was at this time an applicant for the management of Redwood's Antigua plantation (*Commerce of R. I.*, I. 10, 21). On Apr. 4, 1729, William Hillhouse of Antigua sent Redwood a negro in disgrace for bad conduct but promising amendment. *Ibid.*, I. 6.

keep them and give my Account credit for what you think they are worth. the Negroe man is a Peice of a Saylor and a fine Papa Slave,² cost thirty pounds Sterling out of the Ship. The Negroe woman is a fine Slave. [I] had another which is a better washer, but Suspected somthing I entended against her, on which Shee's given us the Slip this morning, but hope to have her againe before Pope³ sailes. note, this woman I now send I bought her from One John Wilson, and paid him forty-five pounds Cash. I now understand his Title is not good, and am advised to ship her off. if you Like her I will Warrant her to you. . . .

95. ORDER OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, JUNE, 1731.¹

Whereas, James Cranston, naval officer of the colony, has set forth to this Assembly, that near a twelve-month since, one Mr. Royall imported into this colony forty-five negroes, on which there was a duty of £3 per head, and not long after, sixteen of said negroes were transported into the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, where there is a duty payable also; and prayed for directions how to proceed in said affair.

Upon consideration whereof, it is voted and ordered, that the duty to this colony of the said sixteen negroes transported into the Massachusetts Bay, as aforesaid, be taken off and remitted; but that he collect the duty of the other twenty-nine.²

96. ACT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, MAY, 1732.¹

Whereas, there was an act made and passed by the General Assembly at their session, held at Newport, the 27th day of February, 1711, entitled "An act for laying a duty on negro slaves that shall be imported into this colony," and this Assembly being directed by His Majesty's instructions to repeal the same;

Therefore, be it enacted by the General Assembly, and by the authority of the same it is enacted, that the said act, and every clause

² The inhabitants of Great and Little Popo or Papaw, in the kingdom of Ardra on the Slave Coast, were called by the English Papaws. They are described by Bryan Edwards as "the most docile and best-disposed Slaves" brought from Africa. Edwards, *History of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (1794), II. 73-74.

³ Capt. Francis Pope, at this time master of Redwood's sloop *Abraham and Jonah*, frequently appears in the Redwood letters. See *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 16, 31, 35, 37, 41.

[95] ¹ "Proceedings of the General Assembly held at Newport, the second Monday in June, 1731", *R. I. Col. Recs.*, IV. 454.

² The Massachusetts duty was £4. See *ante*, no. 38.

[96] ¹ "Proceedings of the General Assembly, held at Newport, the first Wednesday in May, 1732," *R. I. Col. Recs.*, IV. 471.

and article therein contained, be, and it is hereby repealed, made null and void, and of none effect for the future.²

97. ACCOUNTS FROM AN AFRICAN TRADE-BOOK, 1733-1736.¹

		£	s.	d.
	Bought 6 Slaves and Mer.			
	No. 1. A Man for 30 rum ²	20		
	2. Do for 30 rum	20		
	3. Do for 30 rum			
	4. a Man boy 80 rum			
	5. a Woman 80 Do			
	6. a Girl 60			
	GALENAS May the 6 [1733]			
	No. 7. a boy\for 108 gals rum			
	8. a Do \and 25 of Sugar [torn]			
	No. 9. a Man for 80 gals of r[um]			
	Bartered with Hallebur	B.		
	28 gals at 3/9	21		
	10 at 5/	10		
	1 barr'l Tar	6		
		—		
		37 bars ³	9	
				5

² There seems to be no evidence that this act of repeal encountered any objection on the part of the colony. Her ready compliance with the royal instructions was later cited as a proof of merit by James Martin, secretary of Rhode Island, in a letter to Richard Partridge, colonial agent: Sept. 6, 1734, "This Colony always paid a due Deference and Regard to any Orders and Instructions either from his Majesty or the Board of Trade And did imediately upon Receipt of an Order from that Board repeal an Act for laying a Duty upon Slaves imported here" (Gertrude S. Kimball, *Correspondence of the Colonial Governors of Rhode Island*, I. 63-64). The prompt repeal of the duty is also referred to by the governor on Dec. 1, 1735, in response to a question from the Board of Trade, when he wrote: "We had only a Duty of £3 per head on Negroes imported from the West Indies (and then exempted therefrom All directly from Africa) Which Act was immediately repealed upon the receipt of an Order from Your Hon'ble Board" (*ibid.*, I. 73). It is entirely probable that it was by this time obvious, both to the Rhode Island merchants dealing in slaves and to those interested in the revenues of the colony, that importation into Rhode Island was, and would continue to be, inconsiderable and that the repeal of the duty act was a matter of small consequence. Johnston's implication that an increase in trade resulted from the repeal can hardly be supported by the evidence which he cites. When Governor Hopkins wrote of eighteen vessels annually sent to the coast he was not referring to the trade into Rhode Island alone but to those vessels which carried negroes to the West Indies as well, a point which Johnston does not make clear ("Slavery in Rhode Island," R. I. Hist. Soc., *Pubs.*, new ser., II. 124). It is however true that the increase in the negro population of Rhode Island between 1730 and 1748 was surprisingly large. In 1730 there were 1648 blacks, in 1748, 3077. Updike calls attention to the fact that the enumeration for 1730 did not include the towns east of the bay, a fact which would account for part of the increase. Updike, *Narragansett Church*, I. 169.

[97] ¹For the accounts which follow the editor is indebted to Professor B. M. Bigelow, of Brown University, who came upon them among miscellaneous papers in the Newport Historical Society. They are apparently sheets from a trade-book, possibly made up some years after the trade, since items of 1740 and 1741 appear along with those of 1733 and 1736. Some of these items seem to have little to do with the slave trade. The editor has taken the liberty of arranging the entries in so far as it was possible according to date. On a separate sheet, not here printed, the item "To what Expended on the Snow *Unity*" appears once or twice but it is not clear that the trade here described is that of the *Unity*.

²The surmise of the editor is that the "30" should in each case be 80.

³The name Joseph Scott is written several times across these accounts.

			£	s.	d.
		Received from him			
		24 2 lb basons	12		
		2 ps niconess	8		
		1 ps blue baft	6		
		1 ps of Do	6		
		1 Compass	5		
			37 bars	9	5
		No. 10 a Man bought of Joshua Lincok for	50 bars		
		36 lb. of Teeth	12		
		18 lb. of Scraveloes ⁴	3		
			65		
		pd him for the above goods and Slave			
		1 ps of blue baft	6		
		2 [illegible]	8		
		1 qt of powder	6		
		1 p Silk [illegible]	6		
		9 Iron bars	9		
		25 lb of Sugar	5		
		33 gal of rum	24	16	
		TABO CANEE			
		No. 11 a Man			
		3 Guns	12		
		2¼ barl Powder	16		
		1 ps Chelloes	5		
		blue bunting	5		
		TABOCANEE May the 15th 1733.			
			Bars		
		No. 12 a Man			
		3 Guns	12		
		1 ps blue Baft	8		
		1 ps and ½ of blue bunting	9		
		2 Quarter Barrls Powder	16		
		2 4 lb basons	2		
		2 2 lb basons	1		
		2 Cags rum	8		
		1 Iron bar	1		
			57 Bars		
10th		Bought two tons and half of rice for the following goods:			
		11 Quarter barls of Powder	88		
		20 4 lb basons	20		
		34 2 lb basons	16		
		9 Iron bars	9		
17		2 ps of Niconess	10		
		1 ps Tapseals	8		
		½ ps of Photees	4		
		3 ps of bunting	18		
			93 bars		
			[173]		

⁴ The term scrivello was applied to an elephant's tusk weighing less than twenty pounds.

			£	s.	d.
		RIVER SESTORS May the 26th			
		Custom to the King			
		1 Cag of Rum			5
		2 Iron bars			2
					—
		pd. for Wood the following Goods			
		1 peice and half of blue linnen			9
		1 Iron bar			1
					—
					10
		ANAMABO June the 8th 1733			
		paid the Customs			34
		to Anamabo			
		to Agar			
		to little Cormantine			
		to great Cormantine			
		to Anashan			—
					34
June	8th	No. 13 a Man	32 l.		
		4 2 lb basons			2
		2 ¼ barls. of Powder			16
		1 ps of Purpits			5
		105 gallons of Rum			105
					—
					128
				32	
		No. 14 a large Girl	22 l.		
		barls of Powder			
		[c]helloe			
		57 gals of Rum			
		ps. purpets			
		5. . . .			
		ANAMABO June the 9th 1733			
		No. 15 A Man boy	30 l.		A
		1 ps blue Baft			8
		2¼ barrels of Powder			16
		1 ps Sleties			2½
		93 gallons of rum			93
		3 lb of Sugar			½
					—
					120
				30	

6 The following entries are here omitted: "Anamabo June the 9th 1733. Jonathan Nichols Dr.

"To 95 gall's Moll. at 7/6 pr gall	£	35	12	6
To 13 bbls of Flour wt. Nt. 23C 13l. at 40 s.		47	8	3
To Your Note hand for £80 Cash the 5th of April 1742—				
the 15th of June 1743		92	2	9
		175	3	6
		47	8	3
		£127	15	3"

"NEWPORT RHODE ISLAND June 24th 1734
Received of Joseph Scott Two hogshead of Rum containing Two Hundred and Twenty three gallons which I promise to dispose of for sd Scott clear of Charge and invest the Nt Proceeds etc such goods as I think will be most to his advantage. As Witness My Hand NATHAN BULL."

				£	s.	d.
		No. 16 a Woman	24 l.			
		4¼ barrels powder		32		
		1 ps of blue Baft		8		
		2 ps Chelloes		10		
		2 Sheets		2		
		2 Blankets		2		
		42 gallons of rum		42		
				96		
					24	
10th		No. 17 A Man	32 l.			
		32 Ackys Crocran		32		
		2½ barls of Powder		16		
		1 ps of blue Bafts		8		
		20 Iron bars		20		
		1 green purpet		5		
		47 galls of Rum		47		
				128		
					32	
		No. 18 A Woman	24 l.			
		96 gallons of rum		96		
					24	
		No. 19 A Man	32 l.			
		4 Acky's crocran		40		
		1¼ barls of powder		8		
		1 ps of blue Bafts		8		
		72 gallons of rum		72		
				128		
					32	
11th		No. 20 A Boy	23 l.			
		1¼ barrell of Powder		8		
		84 gallons of Rum		84		
				92		
					23	
		No. 21 a Man	32 l.			
		1 ps blue Baft		8		
		120 gallons of rum		120		
				128		
					32	
		No. 22 A Man boy	25 l. 10 s.			
		1¼ barl of Powder		9		
		6 Acky's crocran		6		
		89 gallons of rum		89		
				104		
					32	
					[25	10]
		ANAMABO August the 1st 1733				
		No. 92 a Woman	21 l.			
		84 gallons of rum		84		
					21	
2nd		No. 93 a Woman	24 l.			
		1 Cag tallow		3		
		1½ ps of calico		5		
		1 ps purpets		5		
		30 Acky's crocran		30		
		53 gallons of rum		53		
				96		
					24	

				£	s.	d.
	3d	No. 94 a boy	26 l. 10			
		2 oz crocran	32			
		8 Sheets	8			
		1 Cag of tallow	3			
		63 gallons of rum	63			
			106	26	10	
	4th	No. 95 a woman	24 l.			
		1 ps of cuslees	5			
		1 ps of French Stripe	4			
		5 Acky's crocran	5			
		82 gallons of rum	82			
			96	24		
	8th	No. 96 Man	32 l. 10 s.			
		3 Carpets	6			
		1 Blankit	1			
		5 Sheets	5			
		1¼ barl powder	8			
		2 bunches of Beeds	2			
		6 lb of Sugar	1			
		3 oz crocran	48			
		(pd. one Cag tallow in part of the crocran)				
		59 gallons of rum	59			
			130	32	10	
		Bought of Thomas Dickinson 19 Slaves [nos. 97-115, 3 men, 3 men boys, 13 women] for 1704 gall. rum £426 and 36 bars Iron.				
		ANAMABO August the 9th 1733				
		No. 116 a Boy	22 l.			
		88 galls of rum	88			
		No. 117 a Woman	21 l.			
		3 Small purpits	9			
		75 gallons of rum	75			
			84			
		No. 118 a Man	33 l.			
		3 ps blue bunting	12			
		1¼ brl powder	8			
		4 Sheets	4			
		1 ps of ½ Says	8			
		48 gallons rum	48			
		52 Do Do	52			
			132	33		
		No. 119 a Girl	£12:10			
		50 galls of rum	50	12	10	
		Paid my Gold Taker				
		ANAMABOE 1736			Oz.	Acky
August 18th			oz. A.			
No. 1		A Boy				
		24 Ancors rum	6		6	
19th						
No. 2		A Woman				
		19 Ancors rum	4 12		4 12	

	ANAMABOE 1736	Oz.	Acky
No. 3	A Woman 22 Ancors rum 58	5	8
No. 4	A Woman 2 quarters barl powder 18 Ancors rum 48	5	8
29th No. 5	A Woman 20 Ancors rum 5	5	
No. 6	A Woman 1 qr bb Powdr 18 ancors rum 48	5	
No. 7	A Man 26 Ancors Rum 68	6	8
No. 8	A Boy 18 Ancors Rum 48	4	8
No. 9	A Boy 13 Ancors Rum 34	3	4
No. 10	A Girl 2 qr bb Powder 12 Ancors rum 3	4	
No. 11	A Boy 2 bb Flower		
No. 12	A Man 1 qr bb Powder 26 Ancors rum 68	7	
8th No. 13	A Man 1 bender booges 5 Iron bars 18 Ancors Rum 48 oz. 7	7	
15th No. 18	 ⁶ A Man boy 2 qr bb Powder 2 Iron bars 4 purpits 17 An: 1 gall: rum 45 oz. 612	6	12

⁶ Purchases 14 to 17 were two men, at 7 oz. each, one boy at 5 oz., and one girl at 4 oz. 6 ac.; nos. 19 to 22 were three women at 5 oz. each, and one boy at 3 oz. 2 ac.; nos. 23 to 39 included five men, four of them at 7 oz. each, one at 7 oz. 4 ac., three women, each with a child, at 5 oz. 8 ac., 5 oz. 12 ac., and 5 oz., respectively, three women, two at 5 oz., one at 5 oz. 4 ac., one girl at 3 oz. 15 ac., four boys, at 5 oz. 4 ac., 5 oz. 8 ac., 6 oz., and 6. oz. 8 ac., and one man boy at 6 oz., 4 ac.

	ANAMABOE 1736	Oz.	Acky
21st	Sold Capt. John Watkins 7 Slaves 5 large boys 1 Woman 1 Girl for £137 or Recd. the following goods Viz. 50 ps Purpits at 5A 4 long Ells 8 half Ells 2 whole Says 4 half Says 4 ps b [illegible] and D Callicoes 4 p blue bafts 3 p Cott: Romals 3 p Challaes 4 cags Tallow oz. 34	A. 10 15 2 12 — 7	7
Octr the 5th	Sold Capt. John Watkins 3 Slaves 2 Women and 1 Boy Recd. the following goods Viz. 4 long Ells 1 half bb Powder 30 Purpits 1 cag Tallow oz. 14	 6 3 — 9	9
Novr. the 4th	Sold Capt. John Blackinridge 5 Men 1 boy and 1 Girl for Recd. the following goods Viz. 77 perperts 4 Long Ells 4 half Ells 1 Chest Sheets qt 65 10 Cags Tallow 9 Blue Bafts 2 pr Seernickers 2 Callicoes 1 Gingham 3 blankets 7. oz. 44	1 1 14 10 8 8 — 4	4
Nov 12th	Sold Capt. John Watkins 2 Men 9 Women 1 Girl for Recd. the following Goods Viz. 108 perperts 29 half Ells 1 Ell 12 Half Says 2 W. Says 20 Cags Tallow 3 cott Stripes 4 Chelloes by so much overpaid in the slaves sold before 8. oz. 64	12 8 12 15 8 9 — 64	

⁷ Nos. 40 to 50 were five men, four at 7 oz., one at 7 oz. 2 ac., three women, at 5 oz. each, two girls, one at 4 oz., one at 4 oz. 8 ac., one boy at 5 oz.
⁸ Nos. 51 to 75 included four men, three at 7 oz. each, one at 6 oz. 12 ac., ten women, at 5 oz. each, seven boys at prices ranging from 4 oz. 8 ac. to 6 oz., three men boys, at 6 oz., 6 oz. 12 ac., and 7 oz., and one girl at 4 oz. 12 ac. Nos. 76 to 111 included fifteen men, at 7 oz. each, ten women, one at 4 oz. 12 ac., the remainder at 5 oz., one large boy at 6 oz. 4 ac., four boys at from 4 oz. to 4 oz. 8 ac., a man and a boy for 13 oz. 6 ac., one man boy for 7 oz., two girls at 7 oz. each and one at 4 oz. The total purchases here recorded are 111.

	ANAMABOE 1736	Oz.	Acky
Nov. 24th	Sold Capt. Hammond 4 Women for Recd. the following goods Viz. 16 perpets 7 half Says 3 half Ells 1 ps Niconee 4 qr bb powder 14 Sheets 2 paper Sleties 112 galls rum oz. A. 5 3 8 1 8 5 2 14 5 7 oz. 20 8	20	8

98. JAMES BROWN TO —, 1736.¹

S'r, I Understand by Capt. Mitchel that you had some thoughts of going in my Vessel to Guinia, and these are to Informe you that if you have, I would have you come up as soon as you can in Order that we may Agree upon the Voiage, we want some body that is Acquainted in Sheathing of Vessells, and if you can bring such a man up with you I shall be glad, provided you come in a day or two, I design to begin to grave her to-morrow but we have nobody here that is acquainted with that work.

99. JOHN CAHOONE, JR., TO STEPHEN AYRAULT (?), 1736.¹

ANAMABO, Octobr the 27th, 1736.

Sir, After My Respects to you: these may Inform how it is with me at present. I bles god I Injoy my health very well as yett: but am like to have a long and trublesom Voyge of it, for there never was so much Rum on the Coast at one time before, Nor the Like of the

[98] ¹R. I. Hist. Soc., Letter-Book of James Brown, 1735-1739. This is an undated fragment, without superscription, placed between letters of Mar. 28, and Apr. 6, 1736. On Apr. 9 Brown wrote to a Mr. Marcy that he could spare no more rum, since he was himself fitting out a vessel with rum. The reference in the two letters is undoubtedly to the *Mary*, which sailed for Africa in 1736, with John Godfrey as captain and Obadiah Brown as supercargo (see Gertrude S. Kimball, *Providence in Colonial Times*, 1912, pp. 245-248; also, *post*, no. 101). James and Obadiah Brown, brothers, were in business together at this time. After the death of James in 1739 Obadiah carried on the business, first alone, then with the four sons of James—Nicholas, Joseph, John, and Moses.

[99] ¹*Commerce of R. I.*, I. 46-47. G. C. Mason, in "The African Slave Trade in Colonial Times" (*Am. Hist. Rec.*, I. 312), substituted the name John Griffin for that of the writer of this letter. The group of Newport captains engaged in the slave trade before the Revolution, to which Cahoone belonged, was superior to many of the men concerned in this traffic. Most of them were members of the Fellowship Club of Newport, the rules of which precluded gaming, drunkenness, quarrelling, and all oaths. To this society they contributed 6*d.* for each month of a successful voyage and received aid after an unsuccessful one. Among the members are found: Abraham All, Charles Bardine, Peleg Clarke, John Jepson, Thomas Carpenter, Caleb Gardner, Jeremiah Clarke, William English, Peter Dordin, James Duncan, George Champlin, and six members of the Wanton family. *Newport Hist. Mag.*, IV. 163-177.

french shipen² never seen before for no. for the hole Coast is full of them. for my part I can give no guess when I shall get away, for I purchest but 27 Slaves since I have bin hear, for Slaves is Very Scarce. we have had Nineteen sail of us at one time in the Rhoad: so that these ships that are said to Cary prime Slaves off is now forced to take any that Comes. heair is 7 sail of us Rume men³ that we are Ready to Devur one another; for our Case is Despart: So, I begg that you will exist my family in what they shall want for I no not when I shall git home: to them myself. I have had the misfortune to Bury my Chefe Mate on the 21st of September, and one man more; and lost the Negro man, primus, and Adam Over board on my pasedge one three weeks after another: that makes me now Very weak handed: for out of what is left theair is two that is good for nothing. Cap Hamond hath bin hear six months and has but 60 Slaves on bord. my harty service to yr Spouse and family.

This day we are Informed Capt Handy heth cast away his Sconer to windward.

100. VESSELS OF GODFREY MALBONE, 1737-1738.¹

NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, February 21 [1737].

We are also inform'd from Guinea by the way of the West-Indies, That the Scooner *Haddock*, belonging to Capt. Godfrey Malbone of New-Port, was over-set and intirely lost, having on board Eight Slaves and a Quantity of Gold Dust; one Aldridge Master and all his Hands only saved.

RHODE ISLAND, June 2 [1738].

By a private Letter from the West Indies, to a Gentleman here, we are inform'd, That a very fine Sloop belonging to Capt. Godfrey Malbone of this Place was totally consum'd by the Lightning on the Coast of Guinea, with a great many Negroes on board. Capt. Caleb Godfrey, Commander, and his Company saved their Lives by taking to the Long Boat.

²The French were at this time not only making inroads on the English trade in the region of the Gambia River, where the two nations were always rivals, but were attempting to gain a foothold on the Gold Coast, probably in order to meet the needs of Louisiana and their Sugar Colonies. Of any move which suggested French aggrandizement in Africa or in the West Indies the English were instantly suspicious. Adam Anderson, *Origins of Commerce* (Dublin, 1790), III. 483.

³The New England traders. They alone made rum the staple for trade on the West Coast, though later in the century the term was occasionally used to include any West India captain who carried rum as his major commodity.

[100] ¹*News Letter*, Mar. 3, 1737, June 8, 1738. Godfrey Malbone, of Virginia birth, was a picturesque privateer and slave trader of Newport for more than twenty years. Redwood purchased a negro from him on Oct. 29, 1733, paying £90 (Wetmore Papers, vol. 1). Edward Peterson tells that on one occasion a slaver owned by Godfrey and John Malbone was attacked by pirates, whereupon the captain offered freedom to all the slaves who would join in defending the vessel. The enemy was repulsed, and the freed slaves settled on the Malbone estate in Pomfret, Conn. *History of Rhode Island* (1853), p. 103.

101. ACCOUNTS OF JAMES AND OBADIAH BROWN, 1737.¹

Dr. Obadiah Browne		£	s.	d.
1737	To his 8th part of Gibbs the Bakers bill in 1736 for Sundries to the Sloop <i>Mary</i> amounting to £41.6.0	5	3	
	To his 8th part of his portledge bill too and from Guinea amounting to £599.17.0	74	19	9
	To 15 Months interest of £38. os. 7d. (at 2s. p pound p annum) being the 8th part of £304. 5 remaining due for her Outsetts when she Sailed to Guinea	4	15	
	To his 8th part of the remainder of her Outsetts last Voiage and her Outsetts and Cargoe this present Voiage all amountg to £1052. 7s. 5½d.	131	11	11
June 25th	To 1080 pounds of Coffee Sold to Mr. Metcalf at 3/7 p.	193	10	
	To 574 pounds of ditto Sold to ditto, being part of the <i>Rainbows</i> Cargo	102	16	10
	To an over Charge in the ozenbriggs of 27 pieces of Eight in the W. Indies allowing each piece at 24s. N. E. Currency ²	32	18	
	To his 8th part of his own Charge and disbursements on said Sloop the whole amounting to £113. 6. 6 as per his Acct. amounting to in his Book	14	3	3
	To his 8th part of Cap. Godfries ³ bill for Clearing out Collecters fees and other Charges all amounting to £9. 4. 4 as per his Acct. in his Book	1	3	
	To the ballance of his Separate Accounts as in Ledger C folio (90)	189	19	1
	To getting the wavels out of the Corne		5	
	To Storeage of Sundries since the Sloop came from Guinea £5 to his 8th part of it	9	12	6
	To Storeage of her old Sails and Wharffage of her boom and windless £1. 15 his 8th part of it	9	4	3
	To cloths and sundry Expences and Disbursements for Jacob Nete £28. 15 the one halfe	14	17	6
		£765	19	1
Cr.				
	By his 8th part of 4 bolts of Ozenbriggs qt 453 Ells at 4s. per amounts to £90 12s.	11	6	
	By his 8th part of 11 bolts of duck at £13 per is £143	17	15	
	By his 8th part of 727 bushells of Salt at 4 per amounts to £145. 8	18	2	2
	By his 8th part of Cordage as per Invoice dutch wt 2822 lbs. and English gross wt 26 2. 16 lbs at £8. per the whole amounting to £213. 2. 10	26	12	10

[101] ¹“Accounts of the Sloop *Mary* on her return from Guinea,” R. I. Hist. Soc., Moses Brown Papers, Misc., I. 2. A part of the slaves brought from Africa by the *Mary* were probably sold in the West Indies; three, valued at £120, were brought to Providence. On May 26, 1737, James Brown wrote to an unknown correspondent: “if I Remember Rite you deziared me to right you a few Lines at the Arivol of my Gineman. Theas may informe you that she is Arived and you may have A slave if you Cum or send Befoar they are Gon.” Kimball, *Providence in Colonial Times*, p. 248.

²In 1738 the ratio of Rhode Island currency to sterling was 4 to 1.

³Capt. John Godfrey sailed again for Africa in the fall of 1737, this time in the *Olive Branch*, probably belonging to the Vernons. Newport Hist. Soc., William Vernon Letter-Book, no. 79.

		£	s.	d.
1737	By his 8th part of £60 for a Negroe woman thats gone to the Bay	7	10	
	By his 8th part of two Small Slaves one boy and one girle £60	7	10	
	By his 8th part of £77 for a Chest of guns and 2 p. pistells	9	12	6
	By his 8th part of £12. 5. 6 for a barrel of Sugar gone in sd Sloop	1	10	8
	By Cash of Mr. Metcalfe	50		
	By his 8th part of what properly belonged to her before she Sail'd per Agreement and now is in my possession	7		
	By 1080 pounds of Coffee his 8th part of it	24	3	9
	By his 8th part of some Corne and part of a barrel of Sugar 12s. 6d.	1	2	6
	By his 8th part of Empty hhds.	1	10	
	By one halfe of three Months work of Jacob Nete at £5 per Mo from the first of March to the last of May 1736	7	10	0
	To 1737 James Browne			
	By the remainder part of his wages on board said sloop <i>Mary</i> too and from Guinea as per portledge bill	64	16	0
	By his Acct. of Charges and disbursements as per his Acct. in his Book	113	6	6
	By 1/8th Interest of £26. 5. 0d. for 15 months at 2s. per annum per pound for Sundries before he saild for Guinea	2	17	2
	By his 8th part of the freight of a Slave being 60	7	6	
	By his 8th part of 74 Tearses of Rhum qt 4168 gall's at 6s. per gal. amounting to £1250 8s. 6d.	156	6	
	By his 8th part of 25 barrels of powder at 12 per bb amounting to £300	37	10	
July	By Cash he recd. of Peleg Browne not good that he said he recd of me, and gave him good money for it.	2		
the 12th	By pork to Solomon Rutenbarger	3	4	6
	By his Guinea Commissions on three Slaves that he brought home being £120 ⁴	4	11	8
	By two days work about said Sloop since she came home at 8s. per	16		
	By his 8th part of £8. 16 for 44 lbs of Coffee, he bot himselve	1	2	
	By five Week more Work at £5 per month of Jacob Nete £6. 26 the one half	3	1	3
	By his Wages on board the Schooner <i>Ann Sam</i> : Gorton Master £17. 2. 10 the one halfe,	8	1	
		589	15	5
Sept. 8th	By ballance due to James Browne ⁵	67	6	3
		£765	19	1

⁴These were not the only negroes brought into Rhode Island about this time. "To be Sold by Jonah Bayley of Newport on Rhode Island, several Negros, viz. Men, Women and Boys, who have been in the Country Three Years, and us'd to the Country Business." *News Letter*, Mar. 20, 1740.

⁵In a letter of Nov. 22, 1736, James Brown referred to his "Guineaman's Doctor's bill" as £18 5 21. R. I. Hist. Soc., Letter-Book of James Brown.

102. DAVID CHESEBROUGH TO ABRAHAM REDWOOD (?), 1738.¹

NEWPORT Feb. 27th 1737/8.

My dear friend, I have wrote you Several letters lately and very largely about all your affairs so have now but little to add especially since I have wrote you and Colo Tesselissour [?] in Company relating your Snow *Martha and Jane* and Inclosed all her accounts in said letter. I have to the Utmost of my power Endeavoured to fit her in the best and Cheapest manner I Could but her Charge notwithstanding Runs high. I must as a Sincere friend tell you I wish you were Clear of her She is an Unlucky Changable Beast She has never got you any thing and I am afraid She never will and if my advice is worthy of your Notice I would not Send her another Guinea Voyage for by frequent advices from thence there is no prospect of makeing a Voyage I Should much reather if I might have my Choice that you would Load her of your Plantation and Com home in her your Self. I firmly believe it would be to your advantage. . . .

103. FRANCIS WILKS AND ZACHARIAH BOURRYAU TO ABRAHAM REDWOOD, 1740.¹

LONDON, 25th Jany 1739/40.

Sir, . . . The foregoing is Copy of our last, since which we had your favour of the 22d Augt. pursuant to which we made 1000 Insurance for your Accot on the Snow *Martha and Jane*, Francis Pope, at and from Rhode Isl'd to Africa West Indies and Rhode Island as £13 pCt. which was the best terms I could get it done.² . . .

104. ABRAHAM REDWOOD (?) TO JAMES WOODCOCK, 1740.¹

NEWPORT on RHODE ISLAND April 4th 1740.

Dear Friend, . . . I took some pains in the Affair, shewd the goods to several Persons, one of whom was Capt: Mallbone, the most considerable Trader of any here to the Coast of Guinea . . . the highest he offered for them was 430 per Ct, [?] he said it

[102] ¹Newport Hist. Soc., Lopez Letter-Book, no. 621, p. 1. The presence of this letter in the Lopez Letter-Book would indicate that it was written to Aaron Lopez, and it is thus listed in the index, yet this can hardly be the case. Lopez did not come to Newport until 1752, which makes it highly improbable that any Newport merchant should in 1738 urge him to "come home." The fact that Redwood owned a West Indian plantation, the produce of which could be loaded for Rhode Island, and that he possessed a *Martha and Jane* makes it reasonable to surmise that the letter was written to him, though its presence in the Lopez Letter-Book goes unexplained.

[103] ²Newport Hist. Soc., Redwood Letter-Book, no. 644, p. 66. Francis Wilks was the London agent for Massachusetts; Bourryau was a London merchant whose family had settled in St. Christopher. Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy*, pp. 449, 450 n.

²On May 14, 1741, the *Martha and Jane* was sold to Coleman and Sparhawk of Boston for £1000. Redwood Letter-Book, no. 645.

[104] ¹Redwood Letter-Book, no. 644, p. 68. An unsigned letter, probably from Redwood.

was not a proper Sortment, and that some of the Goods were charged too high 15 per Ct. I tried our other Traders to Guinea, who made the same Objections that Capt. Mallbone had done and some of them said the Goods looked as if they had been already on the Coast.

. . .

105. CAPTAIN FRANCIS POPE TO ABRAHAM REDWOOD, 1740.¹

ANTIGUA May 24 day 1740.

D'r Sir, I wrote to these few Lines that I have discharged the most Part of my People and the second mate being sick I discharged him to come home and paid Sum of them hear and Sir I have drawe orders upon you to Pay the Second mate sixty five pounds four shillings and the Carpenter seventeen pounds thirteen shilling and eigh[t] pence Rhoad island Currancy² which I hope you will except the order and Pay them for I think to keep as few men as Possable for tis to your advantage and wee have nineteen slaves unsold but hope to sell them in a very Little time.³ . . .

106. CAPTAIN GEORGE SCOTT TO —, 1740.¹

June the 13th 1740 At Sea Latt. 8 30 N.,
Long. 39 30 W.

Gentlemen, Meeting with this oppertunity I was very glad to acquaint you of our Miserable voyage. We left Anamabo the 8th of May, with most of our people and Slaves Sick, we have Lost 29 Slaves, our purchase was 129. My Negro Bonner is Deed, the Slaves we have Left is now I think all recovered. We have five that's Swell'd and how it will be with them I cant tell, we have one-third of dry Cargo Left, and two hhgs. rum, if I had Staid there to a sold I believe we should [have] Lost all our Slaves. I think to

[105] ¹Redwood Letter-Book, no. 644, p. 71. On Feb. 7, 1739, William Byam, either cousin or nephew of Edward, wrote to Redwood that Gold Coast negroes were in demand and that if Captain Pope should arrive before long he would do very well with his cargo. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²At the beginning of the century the equivalent of one ounce of silver was about 8 s., by 1730 it was about 20 s., and by 1740, 27 s. Redwood was one of the group of Rhode Island merchants who had in 1732 opposed further currency issues. Richman, *Rhode Island*, pp. 71-72.

³On June 8 and 29 there are letters to Redwood, apparently from Pope, in which there is mention of various misfortunes connected with his arrival in Antigua, but no reference to his cargo. On July 14 he wrote that he had taken on a cargo of rum and sugar, probably from Redwood's own plantation, and was about to sail for Newport.

[106] ¹R. I. Hist. Soc., G. C. Mason, *Reminiscences*, III. 218. The letter bears no endorsement of any kind. With some changes it was printed in Mason's "African Slave Trade" (*Am. Hist. Rec.*, I. 317). On Apr. 9, 1740, Captain Scott had written to his brother Daniel from Anamabo that he had on board 60 men, 20 women, and some boys and girls. He had not yet decided whether to carry the cargo to Jamaica or Virginia. *Ibid.*, I. 342-343.

proceed for Antigo and fitt the Sloop and take the other trial on the coast, it will not doe to give out for one bad bout. If i goe directly back I'll sell the rum for gold if i gitt but twenty pence a gallon for it before i'll by slaves, the slaves thats Died I blieve there was none above twenty two years old and none under fourteen. I have sent by Capt. Lindsey Sixteen Ounces of gold, wich is all. I wrote you by Capt. Kinecutt who saild the 10th April, I have repented a hundred times the bying of them dry goods, had we Layed out two Thousand pound in rum bread and flower, it would purchased more in value then all our dry goods. I have paid a great part of the wages. My Serviss to all Freinds, pray Excuse all blunders for I am now aboard Capt. Lindsey and in haste to gitt aboard.

P. S. If I cant sell at Antego, so as I think is a good price I'll go to Jamico. G. S.

Capt. Eldred Shipt by me four Ounces gold wich I have sent by Capt. Lindsey to Mr. Ayrault. G. S.²

107. JOHN GUNTHORP TO ABRAHAM REDWOOD, 1740.¹

ANTIGUA July the 22th 1740.²

Deare Abraham, . . . I am heartilly sorry Pope has againe made you so bad a Voyage too and from the Coast of Guinea, Especially as I am given to understand, you have made a considerable purchase of lands in Rhoad Island and depend in a greate measure upon the returns of your Guinee cargoes to fullfill your engadgments therein wch faling short so greatly of yr expectations, must be a very greate disapointment to you; I hoape there is no occasion for a Friends advice to you, to pursue the Guinea trade no further, under the direction of Capt. Poape, who experience may teache you from your severe sufferings therein, has not the qualifications necessary to carry on that trade to advantage, surely he must think himself well rewarded and recompensd for any merit or claime he is intitld too, if you keepe him imployed in a small sloop, carrying your effects backwards and forward from your Towne to this place.³ . . . ,

² On July 14, 1740, Henry Bonnin of Antigua wrote, probably to Redwood, that he had heard from Captain Scott, who was then at St. Eustatius, with forty slaves still to be disposed of. He hoped there to obtain rum for his next voyage to Africa. Redwood Letter-Book, no. 644, p. 33.

[107] ¹ Redwood Letter-Book, no. 644, p. 74.

² One of the characteristics of the slave trade in the 'forties was the increase in the number of colonial vessels engaged in it. David Crichton of Cape Coast Castle, writing in 1744 of the arrival of a French man-of-war, stated that at that time there were one Bristol vessel and five from Boston and Rhode Island anchored under the Castle guns. Public Record Office, Admiralty Papers, 1, Aug. 25, 1744.

³ Captain Pope had been master of vessels in which Redwood was interested at least since 1731. Eight years before this Gunthorp had written a very different estimate of his ability: Apr. 23, 1732, "I should not doe Captain Pope justice if I did not acquaint you of his Diligence in your bussiness, and singular care and regard to your interest, and take my word for itt, that whenever you part with him, you will scarce meet with his equal for fidelity to serve you." *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 29.

108. JOSEPH MANESTY TO JOHN BANNISTER, 1745.¹

LIVERPOOL Augt. 2d 1745.

Sir, I desire you will order Two Vessels built with the best white Oak Timber at Rhode Island, both to be Square stern'd with $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 Inch plank with good substantial bends or Whales. they are for the Affrican Trade to have middling bottoms to have a full Harpin and to carry their Bodies well forward and in the upper work not so much tumbled in as common for the more commodious stowing Negroes twixt Decks. To have snug heads without Rails, plain sterns, firm Quarter pieces no Quarter Windows nor Joiners work in the Cabbin (except so much as to sit in the Cabbin Windows) to Stern with a Tiller over the Round house to be sheath'd on the Stocks.

58 feet long in the Keel	}	Main Mast 60 feet long, Main Yard 44
22 feet beam		feet long, Main Top Mast 30 feet long
10 feet hold		all the other Masts and Yards in propor-
5 feet twixt Decks		tion, each Yard Arm 2 feet a Rising
		on the Quarter Deck and fore Castle
		10 inches, bulk heads to be a Solid

beam a half Round house 12 feet long on the sheets, the Gun Wall on the Main Deck 14 Inches Solid, on the Quarter Deck and fore-castle 4 Inches, but the Timbers left high enough to Support Rails all round the Vessel for Guns $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the Gunell, the Round house to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet higher than the Quarter Deck $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high in the inside under the Beams, to have the same rounding on the Top as the other Decks, for messing Negroes on lower deck laid fore and aft. let them be ready for Launching in August next, to be Coated with Pitch and Tarr and I will send over Cordage, Sails, Anchors, Nails, and such a Cargoe as you shall order and will send a Master if required to go hence about April next.

[P. S.] 2 Gun Ports Stern

109. JOSEPH MANESTY TO JOSEPH HARRISON, 1745.¹

LIVERPOOL Septem'r 10th 1745.

Sir, Above you have a Copy of an order which I gave to Mr. John Banister and inclos'd you have Invoice of a parcel of Goods ship'd

[108] ¹ Newport Hist. Soc., John Bannister Letter-Book, no. 66, p. 2. Joseph Manesty, a Liverpool merchant, is best known as the friend and employer of John Newton during his slaving career (this work, II. 496). Gomer Williams occasionally refers to him as connected with the commercial ventures of Liverpool (*History of the Liverpool Privateers*, 1897, pp. 82, 149, 496, 518). John Bannister (or Banister), whose grandfather and father had been Boston merchants, came to Newport sometime after 1733. In 1739 he was in London, probably to arrange connections for the business which he was establishing in Rhode Island. Not only merchant but privateer, he was at one time concerned in three privateering vessels. Darius Baker, in his sketch of the "Newport Banisters," describes him as of "marked business ability, active, alert, shrewd, bold and masterful." Newport Hist. Soc., *Bulletin*, no. 43, p. 5.

[109] ² Bannister Letter-Book, no. 66, pp. 2-3. Joseph Harrison, a brother of the

on the *Queen Elizabeth* Capt. James Neal which I desire you will make the most of for my Account and take all opportunities of causing the Carpenters etc to take Goods on acco't of these Vessels. . . . You will find some Nails in my Goods which I intend to be used in my Two Vessels and Expect you will manage so as to make the Sheating Nails and single Spikes do for Sheating them and if any more is wanting we can easily mend it here. I wou'd not have any Bolts in the Butts I think it quite needless for double Vessels. as you said Iron was as cheap with you as here I have not sent any so leave that part to your discretion but as Insurance is very high wou'd have as little money laid out on the Vessels as possible and if heads to them will be any Charge above £4 Sterling a Ship don't put any more than a piece before the Stern for Securing Gamaning of Bow-sprit. as both Ships are design'd for Guinea a great regard must be had to the goodness of their Masts on the whole. the good opinion of your knowledge and integrity has put me on this Scheme so I make no doubt of your Executing it in a frugal Suitable manner. . . . shou'd it happen that a Vessel of or near the Dimentions of one of these order'd can immediately be bought Cheap² with you or of any other Size suitable for Affrica I shou'd choose to do it and build only one if that can be done. . . .

110. INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN POLLIPUS HAMMOND, 1746.¹

You being Master of our Sloop *Anstis* and ready to Sail our orders are that you imbrace the first oppertunity and make the best of your way for the Coast of Africa when please God you arrive there dispose of our Cargoe to the best advantage, make us returns in Negroes, Gold Dust and whatever you think will answer. If you have a good Trade for Negroes may purchase forty or Fifty Negroes. get most of them mere Boys and Girl, some Men, let them be Young, No very small Children. make all possable Dispatch, take care of your Vessells Bottom. If you meet with disapointment in your Trade

architect Peter Harrison, was at this time a Newport merchant. He later became collector of customs in Boston.

² G. C. Mason cites one Rhode Island vessel which was to cost £24 old tenor per ton in 1747. Five years later a sloop could be built in Newport for £27 per ton, a "double decker" for £34 per ton, while in Swansea, in the upper part of the province, the prices were one-fifth less. "African Slave Trade," *Am. Hist. Rec.*, I. 313.

[110] ¹ Newport Hist. Soc., Ellery Letter-Book, no. 82. Endorsed: "The above is a true Coppy. Pollipus Hammond." William Ellery, the owner of the *Anstis* and the signer of this letter, was a graduate of Harvard College, a successful Newport merchant, judge, and lieutenant governor, and the father of the signer of the Declaration of Independence. The sloop here mentioned may have been named after his daughter Anstis. The invoice of its cargo, consisting of rum, pork, beef, tar, flour, tobacco, and sugar, amounted to £7064 8, of which £6421 7 was in rum.

and cannot get home some time in October next may go to Barbados and Dispose of your Negroes, reserving Eight likely boyes to bring home. We intend a Letter for you in Barbados for further directions. Let us hear from you by all oppertunities. We wish you a good Voyage and are your Friends and owners. Notwithstanding the above we leave all to your prudent management relateing our slaves ²

NEWPORT January 7: 1746

III. NEWPORT CUSTOM-HOUSE ENTRIES, 1747-1755.¹

Date	Master	Voyage
1747, Nov. 3	Hammond	Entered in from Africa
Nov. 9	Wilson	Cleared out for Africa
1748, Aug. 22	Eldrid	" " " "
1749, July 31	Wanton	" " " "
Aug. 14	Barstow	" " " "
" 28	Carr ²	" " " "
1750, Nov. 26	Keith	" " " "
Dec. 10	Jepson	" " " "
1751, Feb. 25	Brown	" " " "
Sept. 16	James	" " " "
Oct. 7	Stoddard	" " " "
Dec. 16	Brown	Entered in from Africa
1752, Apr. 20	Brown	Cleared out for Africa
May 4	Thurston	Entered in from Barbados
" "	Knowles	Cleared out for Africa
" 18	Pinnegar	" " " "
June 8	James	Entered in from Africa
" 15	Stoddard	" " " "
" 29	Grey	Outward bound for " "
July 20	Hamlet	Cleared out " "
Aug. 28	James	" " " "
Sept. 18	Lindsay ³	" " " "
Sept. 25	Ferguson	" " " "
Oct. 23	Carpenter	" " " "
1753, Feb. 12	Keith	" " " "
Feb. 26	Stoddard	" " " "
Mar. 5	Eldred	" " " "
June 25	Johnson	" " " "
Aug. 6	Hathaway	" " " "
1754, Feb. 4	Taylor	" " " "
July 8	Taylor and Godfrey	" " " "
" 22	Gardner	" " " "
" 29	Ferguson	Entered in from " "
Nov. 4	Wanton	Cleared out for " "
" 25	Nolten and Champlin	" " " "
Dec. 23	Brown	Entered in from Surinam
1755, Feb. 6	Thurston and Malbone ⁴	Cleared out for Africa

² Similar instructions were given to Captain Hammond for the brig *Success*, three years later: "if you can manage your business so as to come home to us in a suitable time of Year than return home to us and bring as many Slaves as you think proper, if you think it will be most to our advantage than proceed to the West Indies and try your market and dispose of our Slaves to the best advantage. if you think proper bring us home some likely Boy Slaves" (William Ellery and Co. to Pollipus Hammond, Jan. 4, 1749, Ellery Letter-Book, no. 82). The *Success* had for some years been trading to Surinam and Jamaica. This is the first evidence of a voyage to Africa. Captain Hammond however had been sailing to Guinea since 1732.

[III] ¹ *Boston Post Boy*, for the dates given.

112. ACCOUNTS OF ABRAHAM REDWOOD, 1747-1748.¹

Redwood and Pardon Tillinghast	Cr.
1747, Nov. 16. By Ditto [Cash] from Jonathan Mash in full for 1 Negro man Namd Bristo	80
. . .	
1748, Sept. 20. By Ditto from Capt. William Stoddard for 1 Negro woman Named meriah and her Daughter a Gl. Named Jenny	250
. . .	
To 1 Bond of Thomas Cranston for Negro man Payable unto James Pernin Dated November 9: 1747	250
By 1 Negro man sold to Thomas Cranston omitted	250
NEWPORT December 1748	

113. JOHN BANNISTER TO JAMES PARDOE, 1747.¹

NEWPORT April 9th 1747.

Sir, The above is Copy of my last Since is come to hand Your favour of the 23d. Your Orders came just in Time to make your ship 24 feet Beam, she'll be launch'd in Septem'r and I am well assured the Compleatest Guinea Man that was ever built she'll Mess at least a fourth more Negroes on the Deck than any one I ever yet met with. the Person that builds her the most faithfulest of any in the Country that I have met with. I hope your Stores will be here Early in the fall I have Sold about $\frac{3}{4}$ of your goods at the Advance formerly advised and am delivering the others daily to your Trades-

² Perhaps the Capt. S. Carr who was wrecked in his return voyage from Africa in 1745. His crew and slaves were rescued by Capt. J. Dennis of the *Defiance*, and were sent in to St. Kitts. *Boston Evening Post*, Mar. 18, 1745.

³ The following charges probably refer to the preparation for this voyage:

"1752 Dr. The Brig'e <i>Sanderson</i> David Lynsey [Lindsay or Lindsey] m'r	
To Wharfage of 75 hhds	£ 3 15
To heaving down	1
To Loading at the Wharfe	5
To Wharfage from the 25 of July to the 1st Septemb'r 38 days 7/	13 6
	£23 1

NEWPORT RHODE ISLAND Novemb 13, 1752.
Errors Excepted pr ABRAM. REDWOOD."

N. Y. Public Library, Mason, *Reminiscences*, II. 99.

⁴ *News Letter*.

[112] ¹ Mass. Hist. Soc., Wetmore Papers, vol. I.

[113] ¹ Bannister Letter-Book, no. 66, p. 31. Pardoe was a Liverpool merchant, one of the correspondents of Henry Laurens of Charleston. For his venture in whaling see Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, p. 82.

men which Method I take in Order to make the most of 'em for your Advantage and your Sales will Turnout beyond any heretofore sent to this part of the World. in a word Sir I shan't leave any thing undone that may be Serviceable²

P. S. Pray send no Cockade or Scarlet Waistcoat Captains

114. JOSEPH MANESTY TO JOHN BANNISTER, 1747.¹

LIVERPOOL, June 14, 1747.

. . . no trade push'd with so much spirit as the Affrican and with great Reason. a Vessel I sent from hence in June last is arriv'd at St. Kitts makes £13,000 Sales out of a Cargoe £1800. Exchange at St. Kitts 60 per Ct. and is now daily expected with every Farthing remitted in Sugar which will more then make that Money Sterling. Our Advises from Jamaica inform that Gold Coast Negroes sells from 48 to £55 a head . . . as all our Guinea Effects for next Crops are Order'd hom in Sugar freight will be 10 to 12 per Ct. which will be a noble thing.² . . .

115. JOHN BANNISTER TO HUBERT LASCELLES, 1747.¹

1747 Nov. 14.

. . . You have undoubtedly heard the Merchants of Jamaica have agreed to supply the Royal Company of the Havannah with Negroes and provisions, upon which acco't they sent to Kingston Don Pedro de Estrada² a Spanish Gentleman to reside there and manage

²Later in the summer Bannister wrote: "Capt. Edward Lewis of your Town thinks her a fine Roomly Vessel for the Guinea Trade and I am satisfied she'll carry more Negroes of her Burthen than any Vessel built in these parts for the Trade" (Bannister to Pardoe, July 23, 1747, Bannister Letter-Book, no. 66, p. 32). The builder of the ship was Goddard.

[114] ¹Bannister Letter-Book, no. 66.

²Over a year before (Feb. 7, 1746) Manesty had written: "Ships are so scarce here that none is to be had at any rate or I should have engaged one this spring, but the price of negroes in the West Indies has made ships unfit for the business to be made use of so that I fear it will not be in my power to get one, but I will if I can." Some months later he added, "I have had returns for cargoes to Affrica and several parts of the West Indies in the course of 12 months at great profit". On Apr. 3, 1747, "Negroes at Jamaica 50 to £55 a head bought on the Coast of Affrica at from £4 to £6 a head" (Baker, "Newport Banisters," *Bulletin*, no. 43, p. 4; Bannister Letter-Book, no. 66). It was no wonder that Bannister, in receipt of such letters, himself entered the Guinea trade about this time: "I have this season a large navigation to the West Indies on my own account, which will enable me the next year to enter upon the Guinea trade with advantage." Bannister to Scott, June 19, 1747, *Bulletin*, no. 43.

[115] ¹Bannister Letter-Book, no. 66. Lascelles had just gone from London, where Bannister had known him, to Jamaica.

²Don Pedro de Estrada had been known a few years before as the daring commander of a privateer (Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy*, p. 399 n.). The privileges of the assiento were formally surrendered by the South Sea Company in 1750. They had not been exercised for some years before that. For a brief account of the Cuban slave supply see this work, II. xlv-xlvi.

the Affair for the Company. at present they only receive Negroes from Jamaica and procure the provisions from the northern Colonies, for which purpose a Commission with Blanks for the Names of the Vessels and Captains etc. is sent signed per the Governour and Countersign'd by Don Pedro de Estrada from whom such a Commission may be obtain'd by a person that is well acquainted with him, which Commission must be sent here by a safe hand. a Blank must likewise be left for either Snow, ship, Brigantine, or Sloop etc., also the Person who is to manage the business with Don Pedro De Estrada must agree with him the Price of Flower, Beef, Pork, Butter, Cheese. . . . mayn't be amiss to recommend to your consideration, namely the Importation of Negroes directly from the Coast of Guinea to the Havannah and upon the present View I am of the opinion it will be advisable to interest some Spanish Gentlemen of Interest in the Scheme. . . .

116. JOHN BANNISTER TO PHILIP HOUGHTON, 1748.¹

NEWPORT January 28 [1748].

Sir, . . . as there [is] now a Confirm'd peace I shall be glad of your further direction Concerning the Guinea Vessell, if it be agreeable I shall be willing you have halfe of either Capt. Stanton or Godfrey ['s?'] Brigg for that Purpose, to be Sent out on their Return to this port. Cap Godfrey is as good a Master and Sutable for Such a voyage, being well acquainted as any man In the Country. I would allso further Propose to Keepe a Double Deck Vessell of about 150 Tons full built Continually Running from this port to Lucea.² She may Conveniently make Two Voyages yearly, and in which Cace the business must be very Proffitable not only on Acco't of her making Two Voyages in a Season as our vessells make but one, but such a vessell as I propose full built will Cary upwards of 300 hhd besides the peoples Previledge and Sail with less hands then Some of our Sloops that wont cary more than halfe and into the bargain the ware and Tare not more than halfe what a Sloops is. Further if at any Time molasses want to be had She might take afreight home and Return here with a load of Coal or Salt. I . . . propose at Jamaica you have the Consignment so that the master will have Nothing to doe but to Navigate backwards and forwards and such a man I can Procure that will Serve our purpose. I also propose a Laden Shall be allwayes Ready on the Vessells Arrival that she might with safe[ty] make Two voyages as aforesaid. this

[116] ¹Bannister Letter-Book, no. 68, p. 203.

²In Jamaica.

also would enable us to enter more leargely into the Guinea Trade etc.

This is Supmitted to your Judgment. I in my part Stand ready and I doubt not but we may cary this buisness on to greater advantage then its hithertoo been.³

117. INVOICE OF THE CARGO OF THE *SUCCESS*, 1749.¹

An Invoice of Sundries Shiped by William Ellery and Company Owners of the Brigg "Success" Pollipus Hammond master for Africa and to him consigned viz.

January
4th 1749

	£	s.	d.
To 130 Hhds of Rum Qt. 14,147 Galls at 17 s	12,024	19	
To 100 Guinny Hhds for which allowed 20 s. per hh: more per common Hhds	100		
To 5 barrls of Sugar at 12.4.7 at £19 as per Invoice	233	18	9
To 14 barrl of Pork at £24 per barrl	336		
To 5 half barrl of Pork at £12	60		
To 31 barrl of Beef at £13 10 s.	418	10	
To 19 barrls of Flower at £14 per barrl	266		
To 30 barrl of Tarr at 100 s. Each	150		
To 2 barrl Monhaiden at 80 s	8		
To 156 [roll ?] Tobacco at 2 s	15	12	
	£13,612	9	9

118. NOTICES OF SALES, 1750-1752.

NEWPORT, June 30, 1750.¹

Just imported in the Snow *Elizabeth* Capt. Cahoone from Africa, a Parcel of likely Negro Men, Women, Boys and Girls, to be Sold by Channing and Chaloner, cheap for ready Money or Short Credit.

³ The next month Bannister wrote to Linzey George Wallis: "The Vessel Hollowell Treats of for the Liverpool Capt. was Sett up for a Liverpool Genl: fully bult Snug but Roomly. Quarterdeck Rising to the Comings of the Main Hatch and is 5 feet 8 Inches So that on Occasion She'll Answer for a Guinea man I Engage. She'll bare Viewing being a very handsome Wellbuilt Vessell and should be glad to part with her" (Feb. 3, 1748, Bannister Letter-Book, no. 68, p. 210). Of the ship *African*, 200 tons, Bannister wrote: "the Ship is a Roomly Ship in all Regard and suitable for a Guinea Man therefore of Course will sell to advantage. I built her for about Twenty pounds per Ton, such a Ship now can't be built under forty." Bannister to John Radburn, Oct. 27, 1748, *ibid.*, no. 66.

[117] ¹ Ellery Letter-Book, no. 82. See *ante*, no. 110, n. 2.

[118] ¹ *Boston Weekly Post Boy*, July 2, 1750.

May 11, 1752.²

To be Sold by John Banister at his House in Newport, also at Middleton on Connecticut-River, A fine Parcel of Negro Men, Women, Boys and Girls, imported directly from the Gold Coast, and they are esteemed to be the finest Cargo of Slaves ever brought into New England.

119. CAPTAIN DAVID LINDSAY TO STEPHEN AYRAULT (?), 1753.¹

BARBADOSS, June 17th N. S. 1753.

Gentle'n, These are to acqt: you of my arivel heare the Day before yesterday in 10 weeks from Anamaboe. I meet on my passage 22 Days of very [severe ?] winds and continuel Rains So that it beat my Sails alto peceses Soe that I was Oblige Several Days to have the Sails onbent to mend them. The vesiel Likewise is all Open Round her bows under Deck for these Reasons am oblige to Inter my vesiel heare and have valued my Self on Mr. Elias meriveal² who is to Dispatch me in three or four weeks Time. My Slaves is not Landed as yet, they are 56 in number for owners, all in helth and fatt. I lost one Small Gall. I've gott 40 oz Gould Dust and Eight or Nine hundred wt: maligata peper for Owners.

Not to Inlarge Shall Rite in a Day or 2. We are all well a bord. Mr. Sanford Died the 3d Day of March, and one John Wood [?] who went in the boat with him Died the 3d of April at Sea. I Left Capt. Hamblet at Cape Coast Sick. his Slaves had Rose and they Lost the best of what they had. heare is noe Slaves at market now.³

² *Post-Boy*, May 11, 18, 25, 1752.

[119] ¹ R. I. Hist. Soc., Mason, *Reminiscences*, II. 80. Lindsay, master of the *Sanderson*, had written a melancholy letter from Anamabo in February. Trade was dull, his men were ill, his small cable was worn out. He then had on board sixty-one slaves. At that time there were at Anamabo Captains Hamlet, James, Jepson, Carpenter, and Butler; Gardner was due; Ferguson had gone to leeward (*Commerce of R. I.*, I. 59-60). His letter of June 17, with some changes, was printed by Mason in the *American Historical Record* (I. 339), where Mason uses the names William Johnston and Peter Brown in place of those of Wilkinson, Ayrault, and any other owners of the *Sanderson*.

² Susanna and Elias Meriville had written to Lindsay's Rhode Island owners, Mar. 16 and Apr. 27, giving the prices prevailing in Barbados. Not long after the second letter, Susanna, the senior partner, died, leaving her son to continue the business. Mason, *Am. Hist. Rec.*, I. 339.

³ Elias Meriville reported to Wilkinson and Ayrault the sale of 47 negroes from the *Sanderson*—14 men, 9 women, 11 men boys, 8 small boys, 2 girls, 3 small girls, amounting to £1432 12 6. The prices ranged from £35 to £21. The charges included payment for permission to land the slaves, a duty of 5s. per head, payment to the drummer who attended the sales, for liquor at the sales, for carrying notes into the country, for the captain's commission of £55 2 2, and the commission on the sales, the total being £142 15 3. Lindsay took on board 55 hhd. rum, 3 hhd. and 27 bbl. sugar, amounting to £911 17 2½; the remainder he took in bills. On his return to Rhode Island he was placed in command of the schooner *Sierra Leone*, 40 tons, owned by Newport and Boston merchants. *Am. Hist. Rec.*, I. 339-340.

120. SALE OF THE CARGO OF THE *ELIZABETH*, 1754.¹

Sales of 70 Negroes Imported in the Snow "Elizabeth" James Carpenter Master from Africa on account and Risque of Messrs John Channing and Co. Owners of Said Snow Mercht in Rhode Island.

		To Whom Sold	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	Price			
								£	s.	d.	
Feby	11	By Milbe Johnson				1	1	32	0		
		By John Lorrain[?]			1		1	24			
	13	By Thomas Burch			1		1	37	0		
		By William Needam			1		1	40	0		
		By Hubert Lasscell			1		1	40	0		
		By Hugh Russell	2				2	88	0		
		By Hugh Bethune				1	1	35	0		
	22	By Lawrence Halleran	1				1	45			
		By Henry Kinkaed			1		1	32	0		
		By Dias and Gutteres	11	14	11	8	44	M and W at £35		1255	0
		By Zachary Bayly			1	1	2	B and G at £20		75	
		By Cash	1				1	42			
			15	19 ²	17	11	62			£1821	5
							8 Dead				
							70				

Charges Vizt.	£	s.	d.
To Cash paid for Plantins, Yams, Bread fish and C'as for the Slaves when on Shore	2	17	6
To 4 teirces Rice for ditto use	16	11	11½
To Cash paid Import duty on 70 Slaves a 10/ ea	35	0	
To Captn. Thomas Carpenter for his Coast Commission of 4 in 104 on 1821. 5. 0 the Gross Amount Sales	70	0	11½
To My Commission on do. 5 pr Ct	91	1	3
To Mr. John Channings a/c for his 1/3 part of 1605. 13. 4 the whole Nt proceeds	535	4	5½
To Mr. Walter Challoner for his 1/3 ditto	535	4	5¼
To Mr. Peleg Thurston for his ditto	535	4	5¼
	1821	5	

KINGSTON, JAMAICA 7th July 1754
Errors Excepted HENRY LIVINGSTON ³

[120] ¹R. I. Hist. Soc., Mason, *Reminiscences*, II. 70, 96 . A most interesting comparison can be made between the slave trade of a New England city and of a French port by a study of Gaston Martin's *Nantes au XVIII^e Siècle: l'Ère des Négriers* (Paris, 1931) with the Newport material here printed.
²The five missing women make it impossible to check the account.
³On July 13 Livingston wrote to Messrs. Peleg Thurston and Company, owners of the *Elizabeth*, lamenting the meagre proceeds of this sale, which he attributed to the fact that the slaves were "no better than refuse". He had loaded on the *Elizabeth* 90 casks of molasses and had paid Captain Carpenter £464 10 5½ for the use of the snow. N. Y. Pub. Lib., Mason, *Reminiscences*, I. 62.

A Portage Bill of mens Names Quality time of Entry Wages per Month and when Discharged Belonging to Sloop "Hare" Caleb Godfrey Master from the Coast of Affrica

Mens Names	Quality	time of entry	Wages per Month	Advance Wages	When Discharged	time of servis	Greenwich Hospital	Advanced on the Voiage	whole Wages	Wages due	Remains to pay
Caleb Godfrey	Master	May 10th	£ 20	£ s. d.	April 30th	Mo. Days	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
John Arnold Hamond	Mate	May 13	20	20	April 30th	11 20	4 12	8 12	233 6 8	233 6 8	233 6 8
Richd. Cole	Second Mate and Cooper	June 24	25	129 18	Febr 3d	7 10	2 18	7 5	113 6 8	43 5	193 2 2
Wm. Jones	Seaman	do. 11	16	16	Decr 11d	6	2 8	1 32 8	96	45 4 2	Jackett 38 6 2
Wm. White	do	do 28	17	51 19	Octo 28d	4	1 12	20	68		
Wm. Baggott	do	do 19	17	33 9	Janr. 28d	7 9	2 18	8 45	124 2	44 14 4 pd	
Wm. Burling	do	do 22	17	34 8	March 24d	8 16	3 8	64 9	135 1 4	32 15 10	32 15 10
John Batty	do	do 29	17	30 14	April 24d	9 25	3 18	62 14	167 3 4	69 16 4	69 16 4
Wm. Ball	do	do 26	16	16	April 24d	10 2	4	15 16	171 6 8	135 6 2	135 6 2
Barnb Harlwick	do	Sept. 21	17		Janr. 28	4 7	1 13	8 31 1	71 19 4	39 4 4 pd.	5 for Boat
Wm. Movony	do	Febr. 17	18		April 23d	2 5	17 4	25 2 9	39	12 19 11	12 19 11
John Bloodsworth	Cook	March 15	12	11 3 Barbados	April 23d	1 8	10 8	7 4	15 4	7 1 4	7 1 4
Robert Harvey	Seaman	April 3	18		April 23	22	6 2	7 18	13 4	4 19 2	4 19 2
Wm. Harvey	do	do 2d	18		do 24	22	6 2	6 4	13 4	6 13 4	6 13 4
Franciss Welch	do	Octo 31	17		Janr. 26d	2 26	1 2	8	48 14 8	39 12 0 pd	

[121] ¹ New York Historical Society, Slavery MSS., box VI. We know that the *Hare* was preparing for an African voyage on June 1, 1754; by September, 1754, the vessel had reached the West Coast. There Captain Godfrey traded until some time in February, 1755, in which month he sailed for South Carolina. His trade here was completed in April and he returned to Newport. By October, 1755, he was making ready to obtain a second cargo from Africa, which he sold in Charleston in June and July, 1756. This portage bill may have been for the voyage of 1754. It is undated and is endorsed, "Recd. of Mr. Robt. Stevens, Sixteen pounds In part of the within Portage Bill." Three coats, 4 jackets, and 10 shirts had been advanced to these men, charged at £105. 10. The following merchants sold rum to the *Hare* for her Guinea voyage: George Gardner, Richardson, Jonathan Thurston, Thomas Cranston, David Earl on Cranston's account, Benjamin Green(?), and Nathaniel Coggeshall (*ibid*). The scrap of paper which contains this information also lists the provisions carried by the *Hare*—beef, pork, bread, flour, hams, tobacco, and sugar. Students of the slave trade may profitably examine the account of the voyage of the *Perle*, which traded on the West Coast about the same time that the *Hare* trafficked. See M. Léon Vignols, "La Campagne Négrière de la *Perle* (1755-1757)," *Revue Historique*, CLXIII. 51-78.

122. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO THOMLINSON,
TRECOTHICK, AND COMPANY, 1754.¹

NEWP'T June 1st 1754.

. . . We allso Disire you to Insure for us £475 on the Sloop *Hare*, Caleb Godfrey M'r, £125 on Sloop,² £350 on Cargo, from this Port to the Coast of Africa and During her Trade on the Coast, To the Island of Jamaica³ with Liberty to touch at the Windward Islands Or Shoud he make his Trade to Windward then Insurd to So. Carolina, in which Case Expect the Preem'o will be the Easier, A double bottom'd Vessel in this Port and expect will Sail in a fortnight. Capt. Godfrey is an Experienced commander on the Coast.⁴

123. BILL OF LADING OF THE *SIERRA LEONE*, 1754.¹

Shipped by the Grace of God, in good Order and well-conditioned, by Philip Wilkinson and Compy., Owners of the Schooner *Sira loone*, in and upon the said Schooner, called the *Siraloone*, whereof is Master under God for this present Voyage, David Lindsey, and now riding at Anchor in Harbour of Newport and by God's Grace, bound for the Coast of Africa. To say, Thirty four hogsheads, Tenn Terces, Eight barrils and six halfe barrils Rum, one barril Sugar, Sixty Musketts, Six halfe barrils Powder, one box beads, Three boxes Snuff, Two barrils Tallow, Twenty One barrils Beefe Pork and Mut-

[122] ¹William Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 91. Thomlinson, Trecothick, and Company were London merchants. For the career of William Vernon see G. C. Mason's *Annals of Trinity Church*, first ser., p. 153 n.

²In 1754 Evan Malbone and Ebenezer Flagg appraised the sloop *Sherbro*, William Brown late captain, just back from Africa, at £2100 old tenor. This was the property of Jacob Rodriguez Rivera and William Vernon. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

³Obadiah Brown's Insurance Book (R. I. Hist. Soc.) contains a record, Feb. 29, 1753, of insurance on the "*Cumberbus*, 500 at 10 pr Ct from the cost of Africa to Jamaica".

⁴The connection between Captain Godfrey and the Vernons had existed for ten years when this was written. On June 10, 1744, when the Vernons were looking about for a captain for one of their ventures, William wrote to Samuel, "I think Caleb Godfrey is a very good man" (Vernon Letter-Book, no. 652, p. 4). Letters written by Laurens to the Vernons indicate that he did not think highly of Godfrey's ability to select a cargo. The *Hare* had completed this voyage and was in Newport preparing to sail again on Oct. 17, 1755, when the Vernons once more requested insurance, for Africa, and from thence to Charleston, £200 on Vessel and £400 on cargo, "covered free of the Premo". This they apparently did not receive because of the war rates (*post*, no. 140).

It is somewhat surprising that up to this time there is little evidence that South Carolina was regarded by the Rhode Island merchants as a desirable market for their slave cargoes, since there is ample indication that there was commercial intercourse between the two colonies. The Bannisters had consigned a cargo (not a Guinea cargo) to George Austin in 1740. In that year they had also delivered a "negro man Ruby," to Capt. William Barnes for sale in South Carolina, at £35, the proceeds to be invested in whatever would be advantageous (Bannister Letter-Book). William Vernon had been in South Carolina in 1746. Vernon Letter-Book, no. 78.

[123] ¹R. I. Hist. Soc., Mason, *Reminiscences*, IV. 278.

ton, 14 cwt. 1. qr. 22 lbs. bread, One barril mackrell, Six Shirts, five Jacketts, one peice blew Callico, one peice Chex, one mill, shackles, and Hand Cuffs etc.

Being marked and numbered as in the Margent; and are to be delivered in like good Order and well-condition, at the aforesaid Port of the Coast of Affrica (the Danger of the Seas only excepted) unto the Said David Lindsey or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Goods, Nothing, with Primage and Average accustomed. In Witness whereof, the Master or Purser of the said Schooner hath Affirmed unto three Bills of Lading: all of this Tenor and Date; One of which Three Bills of Lading being accomplished, the other two stand Void. And so God send the good Schooner to her desired Port in Safety; Amen.

Dated in NEWPORT ON RHD ISLAND, June 19th 1754.²

124. WILKINSON AND AYRAULT TO CAPTAIN DAVID LINDSAY, 1754.¹

NEWPORT June 19th 1754.

S'r, you being Master of our Schooner *Siralone* and ready to sail, our orders are that you Imbrace the first oppertunity of wind and weather and Proceed for the Coast of Africa, when plese God you arrive there Dispose of your cargoe on the best terms you Can for Gold, Good Slaves etc when you have finished your trade on the Coast (wch we desire may be with all Convenient Dispatch) Proceed for the Island of Barbadoes where you will find Letters Lodged for you in the hands of Mr. Elias Merivelle with whom Consult in regard to the Sale of your Slaves and if they will fetch Twenty Six pounds Sterling p head round you may dispose of them there and Invest the Produce as pr your orders you will find Lodged there, but If you cannot sell at the above price, Proceed without Loss of time to St. Vincents there dispose of your Slaves. If they will fetch five hundred Livres round in Money, and In case you sell there you may purchase as much Cocoa as you can Carry Under your halfe Deck and proceed to St Eustatia their Load with Molasses and If

²Lindsay wrote to his owners from Cape Coast Road on Jan. 8, 1755, that he had on board 57 slaves and was leaving the coast, as were Buffam and Wanton. From this voyage he returned to New England in April, 1755, and sailed for Africa again in August, instructed by Wilkinson and Ayrault to sell at Barbados or St. Christopher, whichever promised a better return (*Commerce of R. I.*, I. 64; Mason, "African Slave Trade," *Am. Hist. Rec.*, I. 341). In April, 1756, 44 slaves from the *Sierra Leone* were sold at St. Christopher, at prices ranging from £20 for boys and girls to £34 for men and £30 for women. After paying the commissions due on this cargo the bill in favor of the owners was £1082 18 2. To this £54 13 7 was shortly after added for the sale of three "refuse slaves" from the cargo. Captain Lindsay carried back to Rhode Island sugar, rum, and molasses amounting to £635 14 10. The owners recorded the receipt of these returns on June 24. *Ibid.*, I. 342.

[124] ¹N. Y. Pub. Lib., Mason, *Reminiscences*, III. 148.

any opportunity of Freight ship the remainder of the nett proceeds in Molasses to this Port or to Boston If to Boston Consign it to Messrs Steyh[?] and Wm. Greenleafe. Should you find it will detain you long at St. Eustatia to accomplish this send the Schooner home as soone as Possible after She is Loaded and Come Passinger after you have finished your business but If they will not fetch the above Price Proceed directly for the Island of Jamaica, there you will find orders Lodged for you and dispose of your Slaves on the best terms you can and Invest amount of the Produce in Good Muscovado sugar or will load you in such Cask as you can stow with most Conveniency and proceed home with all Possible Dispatch. you are to have four of 104 for your Coast Commission and five pr Cent for Sales of your Cargoe in the West Indies and five pr Cent for the Goods you purchase for return. we desire you will omit no opportunity of Letting us hear from you we wish you a good Voyage and are your Loving owners,

WILKINSON and D'AYRAULT Jr.

You are to have five Slaves Priviledge your Chief Mate two and he Can purchase them and your Second Mate two.

Above is a Copy of order recd wch I promise to follow

DAVD: LINDSAY

125. ACCOUNTS OF THE *HARE*, 1754.¹

	Francis Mountain	Dr.		Contra	Cr.
1754 Sept,	To a ham 11 pd 1 4 2		Novb 8th	By 1/2 ps red Plains 4	
	To 14 pd Bread 1		I de loses	By 3 high Cloaths 9	
	To 5 pd white Sugar 1 3 4		Cut for	By a Cag Powder 2	
	To a bar broom of wine 4 2 6		Slaves	By 6 Cargo Shirts 4	
	To 25 pd Pork 2			By a Cag of Powder 2 2 6	
	To 6 pd Brown Sugar 1			By 5 Cutlasses 3 1 8	
	To a bar'l Pork dl'd			By 600 Chrestall 6	
	Capt. Stephins 16			By a ps Chilloe 6	
					36 4 2
	To freight 4 negroes		Sere lone	By a short nickenee 4	
	at 20 Bars 80		cut for	By 3 Caggs Powder 7 2 6	
	To his Passage 20		Slaves	By a 3 pd. Bason 3 9	
	To freight of a Chest 3			By 2 ps Blew Bafts 12	
	Bars 131			By 2 3pd Basons 1 2 6	
				By 3 bottles Snuf 2	
	To 1/2 ps red Plains 4 \Deducted			By 4 red Caps 1	
	a short nicknee 4 \ 8			By 2 pat'n red and	
	Cut for Slaves			white callicoe 1 1 8	30 5
	Cloaths	123		By Cash recd in Barbados	56 5
				Bars	123

[125] ¹N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. Though these accounts nowhere carry the name of the *Hare*, it is probable that they relate to Captain Godfrey's trade on the West Coast.

126. WILLIAM VERNON TO GABRIEL MANIGAULT, 1755.¹

NEWP'T 9th Janry 1755.

S'r, This Advises you that we have a Sloop upon the Coast of Africa, Caleb Godfrey Com'dr who have ordered to your Place with his Slaves, and have taken the Freedom to recommend to your Address for Sales and Returns, Rec'd a Letter from him of 7th Sept'r and may reasonably expect he will be with you in March (no Accident happening to him). For the Proceeds of his Slaves wou'd have good Ster'g Bills of Excha., reserving sufficient to load him with Rice Home. Shou'd there be a few small Slaves that will not sell for much with you choose he shou'd bring them here if he has any Screvelios Teeth or Camwood wou'd not have them sold. Our Agreem't with Capt. Godfrey for his Comm. and Priviledge are in these Words, "It is Agreed that your Priviledge be six Slaves, if you think proper to purchase them, to be shipd and purchasd in common with the Cargo, and to bear an equal Proportion of Loss, by mortality or otherwise " etc . . . agreeable to which he'l conform, As we are convincd nothing on your Part will be wanting for our Int.

127. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO CAPTAIN CALEB GODFREY, 1735.¹

NEWP'T, 10th Jan. 1755.

S'r, This will be d'd you by Mr. Gabriel Manigault to whom have wrote and advis'd of our recommend'g You to his Address, we have omitted saying anything to him of your expectations of draw'g part of the Comm. for Sales of your Slaves. But as you'l find him a Gent'n of the utmost Generosity and Goodness you'l meet with no Difficulty with him on that or any other Account. We recommend to you the utmost frugality in your Expences upon the Vessel during your stay there and that you'l make all the Dispatch in your Power.² . . .

[126] ¹William Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 51. This letter, with those of Apr. 15, 1756 (*post*, nos. 131, 132), disproves the statement that Gabriel Manigault of Charleston, S. C., never traded in slaves. D. D. Wallace, *Life of Henry Laurens* (1915), p. 74.

[127] ¹Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 52.

²The writers then repeat the instructions concerning small slaves and other commodities. On the same day a second letter directed that Godfrey take on at least six weeks' provisions, and assured him that he would find letters in South Carolina awaiting him.

An Acco't of Slaves Purchas'd of Whom and Cargo Disposed of Caleb Godfrey master on the Coast of Africa

of Whome Purchas't	Men	Women	Girls	Boys	59 hds Rum 6222 gall. 537 6759	Beef bbl. 46½	Pork 1515 bbl.	4 Cags Bread	22 bbl Flower	217 bbl Hams	Tobacco wt. 1241	Tarr 6 bbl.	1 bbl. Brown Sugar wt. 2.48	Wine 29 Cask	12 Loaves Loaf Sugar wt. 109 3pd	Boats Ordrs	Great Coat	Ship Bread	60 Ells Ticklin- burg	Boards 700 feet	Snuff in Bottles 93	Long Boat	Gang Cask	Boom Tackel etc	Cor dage	Candles	Small Shot
Alex'r Ross	1			1	54⅔	1		2		21	36		18	1	9	2		1									
Wm Harriss					46⅔		50	1		6	36		12	2	9				14								
Andrew Morrison	2	1	1	1	209⅔		25		1						5			14									
John Holeman		3			510⅔		50			14	36		6		6			14									
Robert Simson			2	1	89	50			1	15			12			1				5	107						
Geo Dowdall	3				483	1			2	34½	60				21						63						
Wm. Ord	2	1	1		347		1				102										40						
James Tweed	2	1			277				1	18																	
Wm. Norie	1		2	1	306⅔	1			1																		
Baillie and Key	4	2			721⅓				1																		
Jo'n Langston		2			217	2			1	24	180		7½		9						57						
Wm Skinner	4	3	3	1	799⅓		1		1	22			6								36						
John Wallis	1	2			254⅔		25		1	14½	48		12														
Padre Levis		2			142⅓		1		1				1														
Andr Gomar	1	1			213⅓								2														
Geo Tomson					93⅔				1																		
James Potter	1				98		50						6		5												
Geo Hall	2		1	1	208⅔	6	1				60		6														
Capt Millitring[?]		1			93⅓																						
Rich Hall		1			96																						
Mr. Wright	1	1			213⅓																						
Patrick Clow	2	1	1	4	416				1																		
James Ordreich					94⅔						60																
Rich'd Boardwell	1		1		306⅔				1		48																
Pistuel[?] a Black		3			11																						
	28	25	12	7	6313⅔	12¼ 50w.	4 200wt.	3	11	169	666	4	97½	1 qr. 21 gall.	64			65	200						54	1	

[128] ^a N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

Sundry Disburstments on Sloop "Hare" at Barbados

					Contra				
1755		£	s.	d.	1755		£	s.	d.
Janr 29 d	To 400 Plantins	16	8		Febr	By order in fa-			
Feb'r 7d	To potatoes	1	3			vour of Charles	36	9	8¾
	To 7 Gall and ¼ of Rum					Bolton			
	at twice	1	4¾			By recd. of			
	To 6 pd. Sugar	3				Francess Moun-	19	12	6
	To Wm. Collier for 6					tain			
	Scains Twine	3	9				£56	2	2¾
	To pd for Water	10							
	To 12 bottles ground								
	Peper	15							
	To do. for 2 red Caps			7½					
15	To 40 Gall rum and 7	5	2	2¼					
	Pints				8	12	10	½	
	To 2 Bushells Pease	6	3						
	To Paul Bedfords Acco't	10	8						
	To Capt. Housmans for								
	Butter Had on the								
	Coast	1	8						
16	To 50 wt. Sugar	1	10						
	To 250 Plantins	10	5						
	To a pd. thred and nedles	4	4½						
	To 127½ yds. Purpits at								
	9d.	4	15	7½					
	To 4 doz red Caps	1	12	6					
	To fresh Stock	1	15		11	3	8		
	To a quarter Pork	7							
	To pd. Wm. Baggot	3	17	2					
	To pd. Barns Hartwick	3	8	3					
	To pd Francis Welch	3	9	6					
	To pd. Rich'd Cole	4	11	6					
	To a cask of Bread as pr								
	Rect	1	19	2½					
	To 2 man of wars men 5/	5							
	To do to a man 5 Days	5							
	To reporting the Vesel	15							
	To boat the Day Sail'd	5							
	To wheree hire at Sundr.								
	times	12	6						
	To Limes	3	9						
	To fort night Signal	5							
	To my Expences 20 Days	5							
	To pd a Doctor	1	10						
	To pd Mr. Hammond	10	7½		27	4	6		
					47	11	1½		
					9	11	2½		
					56	2	2½		2
	Ballance Due								

² Many of the accounts here printed show discrepancies which may be due to the inaccuracies of the original record or to mistaken transcriptions. It will be seen that the denominations below the bar were figured at shillings and pence.

The Sloop "Hare" Caleb Godfrey Commander to Gabriel Manigault Dr.

			£	s.	d.
1755		To Cash paid for 6 Bushels Potatoes at 7/6	2	5	
March	6th	To ditto paid for a quarter Beef wt 136 lb at 13d.	7	7	4
		To ditto paid for a Boat and hands to carry down Proviss'ns	1		
	10th	To ditto paid Thomas Legard for a Barrel Tar	2	7	6
		To ditto paid for 15 lb White Bread	1	10	
		To ditto paid for 4 Heads[?]	1		
	11th	To ditto paid for a Hogg wt 83 lb a 10d.	3	9	2
	15th	To ditto paid for grinding 2 Razors		10	
	20th	To 1 Barrel Ship Bread	5	10	
	22d	To Cash paid for a Quarter Beef wt 113 lb at 9d.	4	4	9
April	5th	To Cash paid for a Cord Wood	2	10	
	7	To 1 Barrel Ship Bread wt 124 lb Neat at £5 bl	6	16	4
	10th	To Cash paid at the Naval Office	£21	10	
		To ditto paid at the Custom house	9	15	
		To ditto paid at the Comptroller's	1	10	
		To ditto paid at the Treasurer's	1		
		To ditto paid at the powder Receivers	9		
		To ditto paid at the Secretary's office	3		
			45	15	
		To ditto paid for 6 Bushels Potatoes the 11th March	1	10	
	12th	To ditto paid for pilotage in and out	12		
		To Cash paid Capt. Godfrey the amount of his Account of Disboursments	126	19	11
			£224	15	

Received April 12th 1755 from Gabriel Manigault Two Hundred Twenty four pounds fifteen Shillings Current Money as pr the within Account being for the Use and Disbursements of the Sloop *Hare* whereof I am Master. Witness my hand to two Receipts of the Same tenor and date

£224 15

CALEB GODFREY

Account Sales of Fifty Four Negroes received pr the Sloop "Hare" Caleb Godfrey Commander from Affrica on Account of Messrs Samuel and William Vernon and Company Merchants in Rhode Island Vizt.

To whom sold	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	When payable	
March 19, 1755						
Alexander Chisolme	1				in three Months without Interest	£ 280
Lachlan Mckintosh	1				Ditto	280
Susannah Wedderburn			1		Ready Money	140
Samuel Simons		1	2		£176 ready money and £304 in three months without Interest	480
Horry and Lassenne	5	1	1		in fourteen days	1750
John Williams				1	ready money	220
Susannah Wedderburn	2				19th March 1756 with Interest at 8 pr Cent pr annum	475
Mrs. David		1				220
Thomas Mell	1				in One Month without Interest	245

To whom sold	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	When payable	
Charles Lorimer	2				1st March 1756 with Interest	490
Thomas Bell	1				19th March 1756 with Interest	245
Christian Minnick	1	1			three months without Interest	470
Hance McCulloch	1	1			£200 ready money and £265 the 1st January 1756	465
Mch 20th						
Peter Taylor		2			in three Months without Interest	298
Peter Peguine		1			£90 ready Money and £90 in three Months no Interest	180
William Lloyd		2			in Three Months without Interest	400
James Parsons		1			Ditto	200
William Bready	1				Ditto	200
Francis Smith	2				1st January 1756 with Interest	420
Henry Laurens ³	8	1			ready money	1560
James Moore	1				in three Months without Interest	200
Alexander Chisolme	1				Ditto	193
Paul Smyser	1				Ditto	180
Ditto		1			Ditto	200
William Stone		1			Ditto	176
Ditto		1			Ditto	161
Ditto		1			Ditto	130
Charles Lorimer		1			Ditto	161
George Ducatt		1 and child			Ditto	177
William Lloyd		1			Ditto	192
Paul Douxsaint		1			Ditto	195
Alexander Fraser		1			Ditto	161
	29	21	4	1	Sold for	£ 11144
Charges <i>Vizt.</i> Deduct 1 negroe man of the 7 negroes sold together being Capt: Godfrey's property and would have yielded had he been sold by him- self £280 and was an advantage to the Sale of the rest by selling him with them						280
						£ 10864

To Duty on 53 Negroes above 4 feet 2 Inches a £10 each	£530
1 Ditto under	5
To the Officers fees	17 6
To Wine and Punch at the Sale cost	7
To the Vendue Master for selling 12 Negroes at Vendue	12
To the Doctor for Visiting the Sloop on Arrival	7 7
To Discount for prompt payment on the following Sums having taken the Debts to myself and remitted the same <i>Vizt.</i> Alexander Chisolme on 2 Sums <i>vizt.</i> £280 and £193 is	£473
Lachlan McIntosh	280
Samuel Simons	304
Christopher Minnick	470
Peter Taylor	298

³The remainder were sold at vendue.

Brought forward		£562.	4.	6	£10864
	Peter Peguine	90			
	William Lloyd on 2 Sums Vizt				
	£400 and £192	592			
	William Breedy	200			
	James Moore	200			
	Paul Smyser on 2 Sums vizt. £180				
	and £200	380			
	William Stone on 3 Sums vizt.				
	£176, £161 and £130	467			
	Charles Lorimer	161			
	George Duckatt	177			
	Paul Douxsaint	195			
	Alexander Fraser	161			
		£4448			
	at 8 pr Cent pr annum is 2 pr				
	Cent for three Months	88.	19		
	To Capt Godfrey's coast Commission on				
	£10864 at £4 per 104	417.	17		
	To my Commissions on £10864 at 5 pr Cent	543.	4		
					1612. 4. 6
					£9251. 15. 6
	Neat Proceeds				

SOUTH CAROLINA April 4th 1755
Errors Excepted
pr GABRIEL MANIGAULT

Sund. Disburstments on Sloop "Hare" at Charlestown So Carolina

1755		£	s.	d.			
March 22nd	To Brooms and Tarr brushes		17	6			
25	To greens at Sund times	1	5				
	To pd a Negro for Labour		2	6			
29th	To a qt [illegible] Beef 133 lb at 1/1	7	4	1			
April 1st	To a Scrubin Brush		12	6			
5th	To a quarter Beef 130 pd at 10 d.	5	8	4			
	To Cordage as pr Receipt	9	15				
	To Do as Pr Do	3	10				
11th	To Warfage the Sloop	5					
	To 1½ bushl pease		18	9			
	To 4 Blankits for Slaves	9					
12th	To 12 pd Candles	2	17				
	To a qt Beef 118 wt at 9 d.	4	8	6			
	To Nails for boat		15				
	To pd Twine		10				
					52	4	2
	To pd the People	36	13	9			
	To my Expences from the 14th of March to						
	the 13 of April is 28 days at 25/per Day	35					
	To the Cap of the Fort ommited above	3	2				
					74	15	9
					£126	19	11

Errors Excepted
CALEB GODFREY
CHARLESTOWN SO CAROLINA April the 12th 1755

*Capt. Caleb Godfrey to Sam. and Wm. Vernon for Deficiency on
Sloop "Hare's" Cargo to Africa*

	£	s.	d.
To your proportion of 2 Slaves Drowned on the Coast cost 160			
Barrs is 19½ Barrs equal to £4 16 Sterling Excha. at 2200...is	105	12	0
To 6½ l. Bees Wax 1 Barr is 5/ Sterling	5	10	0
To 13 Bottles Snuff Barrs 8. 3			
20C Loaf Sugar 6. 3			
15. 1 is equal £3 15 6 Sterling	83	1	0
To 1 Great Coat	16		
To Sund. to Wm. Cleveland Barrs 81			
to Geo. Dowdal 71			
152 Barrs is £38 Sterling	830	0	0
To 1 Negro Girl lost her Life on the Passage	350		
	£1390	3	0

*Sunds. Expended and Wastage out of the Sloop "Hare's" Cargo
in a Voyage to the Coast of Africa.*

Rum for Slaves Provisions wt people had etc.	357½ gall and 88 gallons used	
Beef for Butts Rice and returnd and Expended etc.	31½ barls	
Pork Expended	9	
Caggs Bread Eat by the mice	1	
flower Expended for Slaves rice not to be had	11	
Hams Expended and Lose of Weight on	107	
Tobacco Damified when Shipt, used for Slaves and lose	525	
Tarr Used in Graveing etc.	2	
Sugar Expended and Sold the People etc.	134½	
Wine Expended and wants	5 gall	
Loaf Sugar Damage took of the papers, Wants	40¾	
Ticklenbourg for Boats Sail 2 Hammocks and sold people	60 Ells	
Some returned or Used on Sails at Carolina		
Boards used for Bulkheads and Platforms	290 feet	
Beans Expended Bread Do. and Sold		
4 White Oake Cask used for water Cask		
8 flower barrils Burnt and 8 water hogds bad stove at So Carolina	Rum Shipt as pr Invoice 6759 gall	
Hoops Used	for Slaves Rum	6313⅔
Staves do	for provisions and	
Shackles and Handcufs returnd	for do	334
	for the people	23½
		6671
	Expended and wants	88
		6759

Messrs Samuel and William Vernon Owners of the Sloop "Hare"
Dr.

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1755 April	To 129 Barrels and 25 half Barrels Rice Shipt On board the Sloop Hare Caleb Godfrey Mas'r as pr Invoice				1797	11	7
	To Cash paid Capt. Godfrey for the use and disbursements of Said Sloop pr Receipt	224	15				
	To Cash paid the printer for Ad- vertisements of the Sale of the negroes and to the post Boy for carry'g some of them into the Country omitted in account Sales	4					
		228	15				
	To Commission thereon at 5 pr Cent	11	8	9	240.	3.	9
R.S.	To Sundry Bills of Exchange re- mitted you by Capt. Godfrey Vizt. Smith and Gordon's bill payable to John Smith and drawn on Will'm Thomson Merch't in London	150					
R.S.	Charles Mayne to George Sea- man on John Bristow Esqr. Merch't in London	172	7	1			
	Charles Mayne to George Sea- man on William Mayne in Lon- don	52	12	11			
	Benjamin Stead's to Gab: Mani- gault on William Stead Merch't in London	300					
R.S.	Ditto to ditto on Ditto	100					
	Ditto to ditto on Ditto	100					
	Str'g	875					
	at 7 for 1 is	6125					
	To 14 ps $\frac{8}{8}$ deliver'd Capt. God- frey at 31/	21	14				
		6146	14				
	To Commission at 5 pr Cent	307		7	6453	14	7
					8491	9	11

Messrs Samuel and William Vernon Owners of the Sloop "Hare"
Cr.

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1755 April 4th	By neat proceeds of 54 Negroes rece'd pr the Sloop Hare Caleb Godfrey Mas'r pr amount Sales	9251.	15	6			
	Deduct Capt. Godfrey's 1/12th part of the neat proceeds of the above negroes	770	19	7			
					8480	15	11
	By 3 Months Credit allowed for the payment of Duty on negroes amount'g to £535 a 2 pr Cent				10.	14	
					8491	9	11

129. ACCOUNTS OF THE *HARE*, 1756-1758.¹

		<i>Doll.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>Sterl</i>
St. Jago	anchorage	3	0	13	6	
	Present to the Gov.			12	6	
	Sheep Goats etc.		3	0	0	
Isle May	Presents to Officers	10	2	5	0	
	Stock, Grass and Corn	6	1	7	0	
Isle Delos	Kings Custom		3	Barrs		
	Wood		15			
	Plantins etc.		7			
	Turtle		12			
	Pilots Wages		10			
Bance Island	Kings Custom		6			
	Pilotage		16			
Sierreleon River	Kings Custom		15			
	Rice		23			
	Wood		12			
	Plantins Pepper etc.		9			
Cape Mount	Rice		184			
	Plantins etc.		10			
	Oil		5			
Grand Bassam	Wood		6			
	Oil and Plantins		2			
	Custom		3			
Grand Curra	Rice		66			
	Oil and Pepper		3			
Limpo	Rice		56			
	Oil Fowls etc.		4			
Lahou	Plantins		2			
	Corn		4			
		<i>oz.</i>	<i>a.</i>			
Cape Coast	Canoe hire	1.	8			
	Wood		6			
Anamaboe	Canoe and Customs	2.	8			
	2 Cankey Stone		4			
	Wood		6			
	Oil Plantins etc.		6			
	Black Sailors Wages	2.	8			
	Wood		9			
	Wood		31			

[129] ¹N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. Among the papers of the *Hare* are loose sheets, containing jottings of the trade on the African coast. Much of this is too scattered to be intelligible, but the items here printed seem to follow the trade of the *Hare* down the coast in fairly orderly fashion.

[Accounts of the "Hare"—continued:] oz. a.

	Corn	0.	12
	Yams, Pepp' etc.		6
Accra	Butter etc.	14	
Popo	Custom	6	
	Canoe hire	3	
	Water	1.	2
	Corn and Calavance ²	1.	4
	Palm oil etc.	1.	12
Quitter	Corn	3.	12
	Shoats Sheep etc.	2.	10
Lagou	Corn	1.	14
	Oils	1.	8
	Plantins		2

Caleb Godfrey in Acctt. with Sam'l and Wm. Vernon Dr.

		£	s.	d.
1756	To Ball'ce as pr Acc'tt settled Novr. 7th 1755	29	3	
Apr 1st	To 4 lb Tea at 60/	12		
July 8th	To 2 lb ditto	6		
Augt	To Sund. of Rich'd Ward Esq. and Son as pr their acc'tt	38	4	
	To so much you recd. of Messrs. Austin and Laurens South Carolina Currency £426. 8. 7 as pr Rect			
	£426. 8. 7 is Sterling at 700 pr Ct. £60. 18. 4			
	£60. 18. 4 at 2200 pr Ct is Rhod Island Money	1340	3	4
	To Frt. of 2 Negro's from the Coast of Africa to South Carolina at £5 Sterling each is £10 Sterling at 2200 pr Ct	220		
	To Frt. of the two Negro from So. Carolina to this Port	40		
	To Cash pd. you in Bills of Credit	16		
		£1701	10	4
	To Case Lancets 80/ Pewter hand pump £15. 0. 0 Gaging Rod 30/ sold on the Coast and not credited for	20	10	
		1722		4
1756 Cr. By	3½ Days work his Negro on bd			
July	the sloop <i>Hare</i>	£ 4.	7.	6
	By his Wages as pr Portledge Bill	216.	13.	4
	By so much Carolina Currency being for the use of the Sloop <i>Hare</i>			
	£203. 7. 7			
	£203. 7. 7 is Sterling at 700 pr. Ct. 29. 1. 1			
	£29. 1. 1 Sterling is this Curr'cy at 2200 is	639.	3.	9
	By 2 Certificates to Cancel Bonds	4		
	By pd the Naval Officer	1		
		865	4	7
Ball'ce due	S. and W Vernon	£856	15	9

NEWPORT 3d Octr. 1758

E E SAM'L and WM. VERNON

² A variety of peas or beans.

Dr. Account Sales of Six Negro Slaves receiv'd pr the Sloop "Hare" Caleb Godfrey Comdr from Africa Cr.

	£	s.		£	s.
1756 May			To pd Doct'r Eben'r Gray for Medicines and Attendance of two Girls	37	18
			To Board, Nursing etc 1 Negro Girl that Dyed from the 1st May 1755 to May 1756 is 12 months at £16 pr month	192	
			To Clothing 6 Negros	20	
			To Coffin etc the Girl that Dy'd	8	
				257	18
			To Commissions on £1880 at 5 pr Ct.	94	
			To Nt Proceeds being	1528	2
				1880	

NEWPORT 3d Octr 1758
Errors Excepted

ROBT. STEVENS and SAM'L and WM. VERNON

Dr. Caleb Godfrey in Acc'tt with Robt. Stevens Sam'l Vernon and Wm. Vernon Cr.

	£	s.		£	s.
1756	To Coast Commissions on six Slaves wch he recd. at the value of £2000 to which agreed if sold for more or less to be added or deducted, as per his Acc'tt of Novr 8th, 1755	76	18	By his Coast Commissions on six Slaves Nt. Proceeds being but £1528. 2. 0 as pr Acctt Sales is after deducting his Priviledge of six slaves	54 18
	To so much he recd for his proportion of sd. 6 slaves at the above value of £2000	162	4	By his Proportion of six Slaves	114 16
		239	2	is in Average of 80 the number purchased is but 72	169 14
				Ballance Due to R. Stevens and Vernons	69 8
					239 2

NEWPORT 3d Octr 1758

Errors Excepted .

NEWPORT 3d Octr 1758
Errors Excepted .

ROBT. STEVENS, SAM'L and WM. VERNON

Acco't of Sale, Charges and Net Proceed of 63 new Negro Slaves, Receivd of the Sloop "Hare" Caleb Godfrey Commander from Sierra Leon on the proper Account of Messrs. Samuel and William Vernon Merchants In Rhode Island

Purchases		Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Terms of payment	Amount £ s. d.		
1756									
June 29	James Kean			1		paid	130		
"	John Donnavan			1	1	£180 paid Remainder next Janry	340		
"	Nicholas Harleston	2				paid	500		
"	John Ernest Poyas			1	1	next January	300		
"	Samuel Burrows	1				ditto	260		
"	John Liviston			1		ditto	125		
"	Robert Nesmith	1				next March	250		
"	Thomas Cooper		1			next January	240		
"	John Scott	2				ditto	440		
"	John Waldon		1			paid	200		
"	Benjamin Hurst	1			1	next February	400		
"	Charles Minors		1			next January	200		
"	James Cooper	1		1		ditto	415		
"	James Brenard	1				next February	250		
"	Michael Geigar	2	1			£270 pd Rem'r next March	615		
30th	Elias (St. John's) Ball			3	2	paid	460		
"	Nicholas Harleston	1				paid	180		
"	Sarah Hext	2				Next January	430		
July 1	Mary Russell	2				next May	450		
"	William Jamison	1	1			next Jan'y (the Man very meagre)	330		
"	Warham and Prioleau	1				very much swell'd and bursthend Netted pr Vendue	15	12	
"	Solomon Milner	1				extreamly sick	20		
2d	Robert Panley	2		1		next January	580		
"	Mr. Wilson			1		paid	145		
6th	Warham and Prioleau	2				being old and meagre Netted pr Vendue	151	12	3
8th	Rev'd Alexr Garden Junr				1	next January	160		
"	Henry Laurens			1	1	paid	200		
9th	John Cahusac				1	next January	100		
July 13	Daniel Horry			1		next January	100		
"	Thomas Rose		1			ditto	180		
"	Warham and Prioleau	5	7	1		sold at publick Vendue Payb. next Janr'y	1425	19	
"	Benja Yarnold				1	Sold for £180 but she being very ill with the fould disease we have agreed to pay for her care which may be £30	150		
Men		28	13	13	9		9823	3	3
Women		13							
Boys		13							
Girls		9							
		63							

Charges hereon *Vizt.*³ . . .

³ The charges are those contained in the "Abstract of Accot Sale". Endorsed: "July 1756, Austin and Laurens Sales of *Hare's* Cargo from Africa".

Dr. *Messrs Samuel and William Vernon on Acco't Currt with Austin and Laurens* Cr.

		£ s. d.	
1756 July 17th	To Cash Paid Capt Godfrey for Eight privilage Slaves (Six on his own Account and two for his mate) in Avarage of 80 the Number purchasd of which 63 arrived here and sold for £8706 17 8 Nt Proceed pr Rect	870	13 4
	" paid ditto for Coast Commission he demanded of us £4 per £104 on £8952. 9. 11 the Amot. of the Gross Sale of said 63 Slaves after deducting the above privilage pr Receipt	344	7 3
	" also for the Sloops disbursemts pr Receipt	426	8 7
	Commission thereon 5 pr Ct	770	15 10
		38	10 9
		809	6 7
	To Amount pr Invoices herewith of 150 Barrels 10 half Barrels Rice and 500 Spanish mill'd Dollars Shipd pr said Sloop <i>Hare</i> for Rhode Island	2612	12 11
	To Ballance due hereon Carried to your Credit in a new Account	4414	6 10
		8706	17 8

1756 July 17th By Net Proceed pr Acco't Sale herewith of 63 new Negroes Receivd pr the Sloop *Hare* Capt Godfrey from Sierra Leon on your Account (Copy)

£8706 17 8

CHARLES TOWN SOUTH CAROLINA 17th July 1756.
Errors Excepted
AUSTIN and LAURENS

NOTE. There is now outstanding on the Acco't Sale of Negroes none of which will be due untill next Jan'y

£7320 19
4412 6 10
£2906 12 12
654 1 11
£2252 10 3

Balance of this Account
which leaves us in advance
from this deduct our Commission
Sum we advance exclusive of our Commission on which we shall charge the customary Interest till we are reimbursed

Abstract of Acco't Sale, Charges and Net Proceeds of 63 new Negro Slaves Receiv'd pr the Sloop "Hare" Caleb Godfrey Com-mander from Sierra Leon on Account of Messrs. Samuel and William Vernon Merchants In Rhode Island

	£	s.	d.
By Amo't of the Sale of said Sixty three Slaves			9823. 3. 3
Charges thereon vizt.			
To Doctor Oliphant visiting the Sloop on arrival	£10		
and for Medicines to the Negroes	4. 10.	14. 10	
" Duty of 52 Slaves at £10 ps	520.		
11 do undersize at £5	55	575	
" Printed Advertisements, hire of a Man and Horse to disperse them thro' the Country and Expences at the Sale		14	
" Permit and Fees to the Measurer Comptroller and Treasurer		4 3. 6	
" paid Middleton and Brailsford			
4 pss blue Bafts 43½ yds a 5/	10. 17. 6		
2 ps striped Cotton 17 Yds at 4/6	3. 16. 6		
1 Durfus Blankett for a Woman big with child	2. 15	17. 9.	
Commission on £9823 3 3 at 5 pr Ct		491. 3. 1	
Net Proceed being Eight thousand seven hundred and six Pounds seventeen Shillings and eight pence we pass to the Credit of Messrs Samuel and William Vernon in Acco't Currt		1116. 5. 7	
		8706 . 17. 8	
			<u>9823. 3. 3</u>

CHARLES TOWN SOUTH CAROLINA

17th July 1756

Errors Excepted

AUSTIN and LAURENS ⁴

[Receipt from Captain Caleb Godfrey.]⁵

CHARLES TOWN SOUTH CAROLINA 17th July 1756.

Received of Austin and Laurens Eight hundred and Seventy Pounds thirteen Shillings and four pence Current money for the produce of Eight privilidge Slaves (six of them on my own Account and two for my chief Mate) in Avarage of Eighty Slaves purchasd at Sierra Leon in the Sloop *Hare* of which Sixty three arrivd here and are sold by them for £8706 17 8 Net Proceed

Also Three hundred and forty four Pounds seven Shillings and three pence Currt Money for my Coast Commission of £4 pr £104 on £8952 9 11 the Gross Amount of the Sale of said Slaves after deducting the abovementiond Sum for Privilidge.

⁴ Addressed "To Messrs Sam'l and William Vernon Merchts in Rhode Island, pr Cap'n Robbins." For the correspondence which preceded this settlement see *post*, nos. 131-138.

⁵ Endorsed, "C. Godfrey's Rects of mony pd him by Austin and Laurence."

Also Four hundred twenty six pounds eight Shillings and seven pence Current Money to pay Mens Wages and other disbursements for the said Sloop *Hare* at this Port being in the whole, One thousand six hundred forty one pounds nine shillings and two pence Currnt money for which I sign four Receipts of this Invoice and sale ⁶

£870.	13.	4	Priviledge
344.	7.	3	Coast Commission
426.	8.	7	Disbursements
£1641.	9.	2	

130. ACCOUNTS OF THE *TITT BITT*, 1756.¹

Copy of Portage Bill for Sloop "Titt Bitt," Thos. Roggers Mast'r for Affrica

<i>Time of Entry</i>	<i>Men's Names</i>	<i>Quality</i>	<i>Advance Wages</i>	<i>Wages pr Month</i>
1756				
Janry 12th	Thos. Roggers	Mast'r	£30	£25 per mo.
March 26	Thos. Underwood	1st Mate	£70	£23
June 7th	Wm. Heffeton	2nd Do	£22	£22
May 27	Anthony Kesser	Sailor	£30	£20
May 27	Thos. Mitchell	Do	£27	£18
June 21	John Simmons	Do	£18	£18
June 2nd	Tobie Arnold	Do	£20	£20
May 1	John Sadler	Boy	£10	£ 8

⁶ On July 17 Laurens also sent to the Vernons the final account of the sale of the *Hare's* cargo, £8706 17 8 currency, minus various charges, which left a balance in favor of the Newport firm of £4414 6 10. Here he repeated the account, which he had already written, of Benjamin Yarnold's purchase: "You'll please to observe in the Sale a Negro Girl was sold to Benj Yarnold for £180 and we credit you £150 retaining by guess £30 to cure her of a shocking disorder. It was so managed that the Girl had not the least appearance of any disorder in the Yard and the very next day was unable to stir with the foul disease, the purchaser sends her back to us and we refusd to receive her but thought ourselves obliged to consent to refer the matter to two or three Impartial Judges, these ordered that she should be cured at the expense and Risque of the Owners." The Vernons are mistaken in thinking that the girl is dead when they write on June 18, for on July 24 she is still living, and Laurens is hopeful of her recovery (Laurens Letter-Book, II. 271, 275). On Aug. 31 Laurens reported the net proceeds of the sale of 46 negroes as £5436 4 2; against this he charged £234 19 for coast commission, £1968 10 1 for two bills of exchange, and £230 3 stg., leaving a balance in favor of Messrs. Thompson of £1467 19 1. *Ibid.*, II. 303.

[130] ¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

Invoice of Cargo on Bord the Sloop "Titt Bitt" Thos. Rogers Mast'r for Affraica on Account Wm. Vernon on[e] half Jonas L. Redwood One quarter and Wm. Redwood Jnr. one quarter and goes Consign'd to Capt. Thos. Teakle Taylor, Mast'r of Our Ship "Cas-sader Garding" at Annamaboe Or in his Absence to sd Mast'r.

NEWPORT June 18th 1756.

		£	s.	d.
[Details of rum cargo follow, total 5682 gallons at 25/ pr. gal.]				
		7102	10	
Difference in 64 Cask for 60/				
		192		
10 bbl. Light Flower wt. Ntt. 15 cw.				
2 qt. 21l.	at £11 pr Cw.	172	11	3
1 Firkin Butter wt. 2½	at £8	25		
3 bbl. Tarr	at £7	21		
2 Do. Pitch	at £11/	22		
2 Do. Sugar wt. Ntt. 5 cw. 0 qt. 10l.	at £33	167	19	
1 hhd. Tobacco wt. Ntt. 901l.	at 1/6	167	11	6
4 bbl. Do. wt. Ntt. 519	at 2/2	51	18	
		£7822	9	9
10 bbl. Beef				
	at £24	£ 240		
2 bbl. Pork				
	at £40/	80		
4 bbl. Do				
	at £36/	144		
13 cw. 1 qt. 10 l. Bread				
	at £13	173	9	
1 bbl. Beens				
		7	1	
1 bbl. Salt				
		6		
3 Bush. Corn				
		5	2	
		656	1	
Invoice of Cargo Brought over				
		£7822	9	9
Provisions Brought over				
		656	1	
Charges Their on Vizt.				
Trucking	at £20			
Warfage Cooperage Portage	15			
Hire of hands on Land and on board and provisions	100			
		135		
Commissions on £8478. 10 s. 9 d.				
	at 5 pr Ct.	423	18	9
		£9037	9	6
4 hhd. For Warter				
	at £5/	£20		
3 Terces For Do				
	at £4	12		
4 Gang Cask Iron Bound				
	at £6/	24		
Cask For Bread and Tobacco				
		20		
		76		
		£9113	9	6

Errors and Omissions Excepted
NEWPORT June 18 Day 1756²

[Receipts for Sloop and Cargo.]³

Know all Men by these Presents that We Charles Bell of Cape Coast Castle and Richard Brew of Annamboe Esqrs do Owe and are

² This bears the note, "Memo pd. John Sadler £36", and on the back "Recd 6 Octobr 1757 of Jonas Lang Redwood Thirty two Pounds Old Tenor in part for Wages due on Board the Sloop Titt Bitt Cap Rogers. £32. Wm. Hefferman", probably the Heffeton above. Endorsed: "Invoice of Capt Rogers Cargo".
³ H. W. Preston, *Rhode Island and the Sea* (State of Rhode Island, Historical Publication No. 4), pp. 77-78, from MS. Notarial Protests, VI. 543, 544.

Indebted to Messrs William Vernon, Jonas and William Redwood Merchants in Rhode Island four thousand three hundred and fifty and three Gallons of Rum payable in Good Men and Women Slaves *Vizt* Men at One hundred and fifteen Gallons each or Women at Ninety five Gallons each To Capt Thomas Tickle Taylor of the Ship *Cassada Garden* now lying in the Road of Anamaboe on or before the eighteenth Day of February next ensuing the Date hereof in Witness whereof we have hereunto set our Hands and Seals this 18th Day of Novr 1756 ⁴

Know all Men by these Presents that We Charles Bell of Cape Coast Castle and Richard Brew of Annamaboe Esqrs do owe and are Indebted to Messrs William Vernon, Jonas and William Redwood Merchants in Rhode Island thirty five good young Men Slaves in payment for the Sloop *Titbitt* bo't from Capt Thomas Tickell Taylor of the Ship *Cassada Garden* of Rhode Island aforesaid and now lying in this Road, which Slaves we hereby promise to pay to the said Capt. Thomas Tickell Taylor his Executors Administrators or Assigns on or before the eighteenth Day of February next ensuing the Date hereof in Witness whereof We have hereunto set our Hands and Seals this 18th Day of November 1756.

131. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO GEORGE AUSTIN, 1756.¹

NEWP'T 15th April 1756.

S'r, By the Time this may reach you we have Reason to expect Caleb Godfrey Master of our Sloop *Hare* will be arrivd at Charlestown from the Windward Coast of Africa (no Misfortune happen'g to him). The last year he went to the Address of Gabriel Manigault Esq but that Gent. declining Business has determind us now to recommend him to yours, in the disposal of his Slaves. The knowledge our W. V. hath of your integrity, joind with the strong inclination Capt. Godfrey expressed of going to your Address, convinces that nothing on your Part will be wanting that can prevent giving us intire Satisfaction. We beg leave to remark that it has ever been the Custom from this Place, when a Cargo of Slaves are sold in any of the West India Islands, that the Master has a part of the Comm. which Mr. Manigault declind allowing to Godfrey, which we was really sorry to find, as his repeated misfortunes had reducd him to low Circumstances, for which he was the more to be pityed as he had a Wife and a numerous Ofspring depending on him for thair Support, which had that Gent. been apprizd of we are

⁴ Signed, Charles Bell and Richard Brew. The witnesses were Richard Cook and Thomas Rogers. For further information concerning Brew see *post*, nos. 193, 223.

[131] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 57. The superscription is, "To Mr. Geo. Austin Merch't Charles Town So. Carolina".

convinced his humane and benevolent Disposition woud have extended to his relief in a good degree, and make no doubt of finding the same inclination in you. Mr. Manigault remitted the Nt. Proceeds of the above Cargo in good Bills of Excha. except the Sloops Load of Rice,² what Slaves he Sold on Credit he deducted 6 PCt per Annum Intr't and advancd the Money, which we was content with. And now desire if possible to have the Nt. Proceeds of this Cargo remitted immediately to Messrs. Thomlinson Trecothick and Co. Merch'ts in London for our Acc'ts in good Bills reserving a sufficient to load her with Rice and about 20 bbs. good Pork if to be had reasonable; desire you to take four Bills of each sette two Bills to be forwarded by you to the above Gent. the other two forward to us here, beg all unnecessary Expences may be carefully avoided and that you'll give him all possible Dispatch. Please advise us per all Opp'tntys of your Market for Slaves etc. As [we] have several Vessels gone to Africa whom we have orderd to Barbados, for Instructions where to Proceed, and if your Market will Answer shall Order them thither, its probable one may be with you this Fall and two early in the Spring all from the Gold Coast, be pleasd therefore to be particular and frequent in your Advices. The inclosd Paper is Copy of our Agreement with C. Godfrey for his Comm. and Privilege to which he will conform, We also inclose a Letter to him which on his Arrival please deliver thus you will Oblige³

132. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO GABRIEL
MANIGAULT, 1756.¹

NEWP'T 15th April 1756.

Sir, Your highly esteemd Favour of 12th April Ult. we duly recd. with a particular Account of the Sales of the Sloop *Hare's* Cargo of Slaves also your Remittance for Nt. Proceeds in Bills Rice etc, which gave intire Satisfaction. We have not been so Complaisant in writing to you as might reasonably be expected for which neglect beg your Pardon. Are sorry it is not agreable to you to continue in Business any longer, as we deem it a public Loss. We expect Capt. Godfrey will be at Carolina by the Time this meets you or not long after with another Cargo of Slaves, have recommended him to the Address of Mr. Geo. Austin, hope you will not be backward in affording him your Advice and Assistance, so far as you may think

²The invoice of the rice shipped by Manigault on Apr. 10, 1755, amounted to £1599 5 6. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

³The letter to which reference is here made informed Captain Godfrey that Austin had been told that it was customary for him to receive part of the commission, then added, "let the whole of your Slaves be disposed of for we desire no more to be brought here". Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 58.

[132] ¹Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 58.

necessary, for our Interest, shou'd [it] be in our Power to render you any Services by any Commands you may be pleas'd to lay on us shall gladly embrace every Oppertunity.

133. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO THOMLINSON,
TRECOTHICK, AND COMPANY, 1756.¹

NEWP'T 20th April, 1756.

Sirs, We recd. your Fav. of 10th Dec. per Capt. Warner *via* Boston advising us of your not having made any Insurance on the *Hare* Capt. Godfrey, owing to the extravagant Preemio demanded per the Underwriters. The great length of Time between his Sailing and the receipt of your L[ett]re would not admit of risqueing our Interest any longer without Insurance, as there was a great uncertainty whether you would be able to get it done even at 20 Guineas should we desire it, therefore omitted answering your Letter concluding it would be safer and more for our Interest to get it done here. We this day had Advice of his being safe arriv'd upon the Windward part of the Coast, and that he is likely to do well and make good Dispatch, and dont expect he will be obligd to proceed down to the Gold Coast on which Account imagine the Risque is not so great. Have now to request of you to get Insurd on him £600 (free of the Preemio) at and from the Coast to Charlestown in So. Carolina on as easy Terms as possible. If the Underwriters make any Difference between Slaving to Windward and proceeding down to the Gold Coast it will be best to make the Insurance conditionally altho we are pretty certain he made his Trade to Windward, and suppose he is off the Coast before now.

134. HENRY LAURENS TO SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON, 1756.¹

12th June 1756.

Samuel and William Vernon, Rhode Island
per Boardman

Gent'n, Your kind favr. of the 15th of April to our G. Austin did not reach us till the 24th Ult and to which we have not had an opportunity of replying before this which goes for New England. We hope you must have had information long before this how much the price of Slaves has been affected here since People no longer doubt that the present contests between us and France must come

[133] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 59. The superscription is "To Messrs. Thomlinson Trecothick and Co. London, via N. York Capt. Wm. Richards." The insurance to be placed was £200 on vessel, £400 on cargo.

[134] ¹ South Carolina Historical Society, Laurens Letter-Book, II. 245. This letter could with equal appropriateness be placed in volume IV. of this work, "South Carolina", but it has seemed best to combine the material relating to the trade of the *Hare*.

suddenly to an open Rupture, the Rice planter in such case must act with great care and prudence to defray the unavoidable expences of his Family and the Indigo Planter has not any motive now to give a price for Slaves because a War Freight and Insurance must greatly reduce the price of that Commodity and its not at all improbable but that such Quantities of it will be made in time of War that the European Markets will be reduced to a lower Ebb than has been the case for many Years past. From viewing things in this light, which every considerate person must do, We may without the spirit of Prophecy pronounce that the Sales with us this Summer must become wretchedly bad and we could not wish to see your Vessell the *Hare* with us or one of any of our Friends on any consideration whatever. this we foresaw many months ago and took the most effectual method to stop all the Ships we usually had but it unfortunately happens for us that we have 8 or 900 Slaves absolutely ordered down to us that we did not at all expect and so near at hand that We may every day reasonably look for them all and this at a time when our Planters are so discouraged that there was not Twenty appeared at a Sale of 350 Slaves ten days ago,² a large part of which are unsold and another Cargo to be shewn next Week.³ last Summer they would almost go to Loggerheads for the first choice and let them have such as they liked we might almost fix our own price. but 'tis all at an End and must remain so till the Storm that hangs over us shall be quite dispelled wherefore We say—We hope you would get tidings of this great alteration of things in time to reach Capt Godfrey with a Letter to shape his course for some more promising Market as it would be of great service to yourselves and infinitely more agreeable to us than to see him now here on the Terms we have fixed as the Standard'd of our Engagements for African Consignments—that is—to give the Vessell a Load of such produce as can be obtained, to pay the Cpts. Coast Commission, Mens half Wages, Disbursements and etc. and to remit the residue as the time of payment shall grow due, tis our Interest to sell for the quickest payment we can without prejudice to the Sale, as the shorter the Term the less risque of bad debts. Mr. Manigault is a Gentleman can at all times advance Sums of Money without any inconvenience to himself, but it cannot be done by those who are professedly African Factors. We experimentally know that a large Capital is requisite to negotiate a Trade in this Country for 7 or 800 Negroes a Year in the way we take them but a more material consideration

² Probably this was the cargo of the *Benn*, sold by Middleton and Brailsford of Charleston.

³ That of the *Hope*, William Lugen, to be sold by Inglis and Pickering of Charleston.

with the Factor is this, the probabillity of War affecting the Exchange. Last Year and for many preceeding Exchange was 700 per Ct. in last January it jumpd to £712.10/. suppose it had come to 800 which was not impossible from such an Event, what had he gaind who had sold a Cargo of Slaves and remitted at 7 when perhaps $\frac{2}{3}$ of his money was not due before Exchange was 8. As to Mr Manigault refusing to allow Capt Godfrey a Share in his Commission, you must highly commend him for it, he is a Gentleman that does as many Acts of benevolence as any one in this Country and therefore would be the last rather than the first to introduce a Custom bad in its consequencys. It often proves a Bribe of great prejudice to Owners of Ships. We will venture to say some Ships intended for this place have stopd in the West Indias for that perquisite to the Captain to the loss of Thousands to the Concerned. This we know so clearly that no Man should sell a second Cargo for us who should tempt a Master to betray that great trust we reposd in him by that or any such like method.

If Capt Godfrey should touch in the West Indias he must hear that our Markets are over and we hope he will find himself at liberty to embrace that Market that shall promise most for your Interest, every thing would be against him was he now to come here, Rice grown very scarce, most of it of a very ordinary Quality the price 35 and rising daily. If he should come We shall do for you the very best We can and put you on the footing of our old and fast Friends.

135. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO THOMLINSON,
TRECOTHICK, AND COMPANY, 1756.¹

NEWPORT RHDE. ISLAND 12th June 1756.

Sirs, We just now Recd. a Letter from Caleb Godfrey of our Sloop *Hare* Dated at Sierralon on the Coast of Affrica the 8th of April Informing us of his being Slav'd his Vessel in good order and Clean Tallowd and that he expected to Sail the next for Carles Town So. Carolina therefore Shou'd this Reach you before any Insurance is made by you on S'd Vessel we desire the Sum of £600, *Vizt.* £200 on Vessel and £400 on Cargo may be made for us from Sierralon to Charles Town Free of the Preemio.²

P. S. As the Risq. to So. Carolina in Case of a War with France is not so great as to any part of the West Indies we Imagine the Prem'm Will be the easier.

[135] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 97.

² On p. 60 of the Letter-Book is another letter of the same date which duplicates this, save that the order is for £800 insurance, £600 of which was on the cargo.

136. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO AUSTIN AND LAURENS, 1756.¹

NEWP'T 18th June 1756.

Gentlemen, Your Favour of the 22d Jan'ry Ult. wth two Bills Excha. amounting to £568 7 5 Sterling or £3978 11 11 Curr'cy wth your Comm. amount'g to £198 18 7 is £4177 10 6. we recd. and make no doubt of their being duly Honourd 'ere this. You observe to us that the Girl sold Benja. Yarnold is since Dead, that you had prevaild on him to submit the Matter to Arbitration, that is whether he shoud pay for her or not. We dont imagine whether he bought the Girl at a Public or private Sale that you warranted her to be perfectly sound and well—wch is not customary for new Slaves, and whether we are not intitled to as much compassion as he is—or whether he cant afford to bear such a Loss as well as we are we cant say. These things we think are quite foreign from the Dispute. We conceive it in this Light, if you wch we dont suppose, contrary to all Custom of the Sale of New Slaves, Warranted the Girl to be sound and well and she provd to be otherwise in Justice he ought not to pay for her, on the contrary, we are not to lose her for it is beyond all doubt if Slaves were thus warranted, they [would] yeild a Trice in proportion. Upon the whole therefore we expect that he is held obligd to pay for the Negro, and as you was so kind as to consent to pay the Doctor and stopd £30 for that end we willingly consent to it, tho' at the same Time think it unprecedented. Shoud be glad to have the Accots closd and the Ball'ce remitted in Rice if any oppertunity shoud present imediately, otherwise in Dollars.²

137. HENRY LAURENS TO SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON, 1756.¹

5th July 1756.

Samuel and William Vernon Rhode Island
per Edgecomb

Gentlemen, . . . We are now to inform you that on the 29th Ult. the day appointed for the Sale of your Slaves We had as many Purchasers appeard as we could have wishd for had we had three times the number for Sale but on taking a transient view of them before they were landed many of them became extreamly angry that we should invite them down from 80 or 90 Miles distance

[136] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 62, "To Austin and Laurens in So. Carolina."

² On June 18 Laurens wrote that the *Hare* had arrived in ten weeks from Sierra Leone, with 70 negroes, and that the sale was advertised for the 29th, the earliest date at which the quarantine law would allow it (Laurens Letter-Book, II. 249). The advertisement for this sale adds to the usual notice, "To be sold upon easy Terms". *South Carolina Gazette*, June 17, 1756.

[137] ¹ S. C. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book, II. 259.

to look at a parcell of refuse Slaves as they call'd them and with some difficulty were prevail'd on to wait the Sale. They really were not much out for when Ten or fifteen were drawn out they deserved no better a Character. We were willing to believe Capt Godfrey obtained the best he could but really they were a wretched Cargo, such a one as we would not have touchd could we have been excusd from it for three times our Com'n.

We have this day sold 42 to the Amt. of £7455.12/. Currency, in which two are included that sold at Vendue for only £35.12/. They seemd past all hopes of Recovery. God knows what we shall do with that remain, they are a most scabby Flock all of them full of the Crockeraws—several have extream sore Eyes, three very puny Children and add to this the worst infirmity of all others with which 6 or 8 are attended (*vizt.*) Old Age—those the Vessell brought last Year were very indifferent but these much worse. Poor Godfrey seems greatly distressed that he should not have been able to do better, his People have all left him except his Mates, they were going to put him into the Admiralty for some treatment that appeard to us a little too rough therefore We recommended that he would give them their discharge as the only thing would pacify them, are in hopes Capt Godfrey will be able to pick up hands in their stead on moderate terms. We laid in a Cargo of our best Rice for the Sloop at 40/ per Ct. as soon as we found it would be higher. This lies ready for him so that he may load away as quick as he pleases and we should wish he may do it soon as we have advice by a Ship in six Weeks from Bristol that War was declared in London the 18th May. We had a Sloop arrivd with 150 prime Slaves from the Factorys at Gambia and Bance Island the Evening before the Sale of your Negroes which would not at all have injurd your Sale had they been good, for we did not discover what a prime parcell they were till the first days Sale was over. We are not much afraid of making a pretty good Sale of this Cargo notwithstanding we are engaged in War if we can but draw down but half the number of Buyers we had on the Twenty ninth Ultimo, 'tho should not wish to receive any more Cargoes the present Year as a few more would make them move very Slowly. All that we can further say is, that every thing has been done for your Interest that was in our power and that we shall continue so to act untill the business is compleated. We hope we shall be able to address you soon per Capt Godfrey who this day takes in 40 Barrels of Rice for a beginning.

138. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO AUSTIN AND LAURENS,
1756.¹

NEWP'T 8th Decr 1756.

Sirs, We have before us you Fav'rs of the 17th and 24th July to which don't know of any oppertunity we have had of Answering until now unless it had been *via* N. York, or Boston. We are not in the least Jealous but that your best endeavours were us'd in the Sale of Capt. Godfreys Cargo of Slaves notwithstanding they were sold so extreme low as renderd it a very bad Voyage to us, therefore we are and ought to be content. Discovered no error in your Acc'tts unless it be 50 s overcast in Invo. of Rice. The Ball'ce remaining in our Fav. have wrote Messrs. Thomlinson and Trecothick and Co. of London woud be remitted to them by you in good Bills of Excha. in Jan'ry or Feb. without fail which make no doubt will be punctually executed. The Sum of £30, retaind by you on Acc'tts of a Girl sold Benja. Yarnold, if there be any saving you'll please to add to the Ball'ce. We already desird you to take 4 Bills of each Sett and forward two to London and the other two to us which will be comply'd with by you

If any prospects appears of Slaves being in Demand with you in the Spring pray advis us. . . .

139. LIST OF CAPTURED SLAVE VESSELS, 1757-1758.¹

The *Success*, Seth Harvey, master, was captured with 96 slaves, May 30, 1757, and carried into Martinico.²

The *Marygold*, William Taylor, master, having on board 80 slaves, was captured June 19, 1756, within twelve miles of Antigua. The captain wrote his owners that he left captains James, Hammond (Palsgrave), Pinnegar, Rodman, and Clarke on the Coast of Africa; that Clarke, when he left, had 40 slaves.

The *Sirre Leone*, David Lindsey, master, belonging to Philip Wilkinson, on May 27, 1756, on her voyage from the Coast of Africa

[138] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 61.

[139] ¹ W. P. Sheffield, *Privateersmen of Newport* (1883), pp. 55-56. During the Seven Years' War Newport sent out more than sixty privateers. The French retaliated by attacks on the slave traders, who were in danger both on the African coast and in the West Indian waters. Owing to the nature of the trade, the convoy system was of little service to the slavers. So great became the risks that in January, 1759, the Browns of Providence were asked a 25-per-cent. premium on the *Wheel of Fortune*, Capt. William Earl, which they sent to Guinea (Kimball, *Corr. Col. Govs. of R. I.*, I. xxxvii; *Providence in Colonial Times*, p. 270). For an excellent discussion of the difficulties which the British encountered in protecting the West Indian and North American commerce, see Sir Julian Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War* (1907), I. 351-370.

² The manifest of this vessel will be found in Preston's *Rhode Island and the Sea* (p. 74), taken from MS. Notarial Prottests, VI. 404. The owner was Benjamin Mason.

to St. Christopher's, was captured and carried into Guadaloupe.³

The *Hawke*, Owen Morris, master, on a voyage from the Coast of Africa with 75 slaves, April 4, 1756, was captured and carried into Martinico.

The *Dolphin*, George Nichols, master, was captured on the Coast of Africa, Dec. 3, 1756, carried into Goree, and condemned.

The *Industry*, Thomas Underwood, master, with a cargo of 107 slaves, bound from the Coast of Africa to St. Christopher's, was captured April 10, 1758.

The *Prince George*, John Peck, master, was captured and plundered on the Coast of Africa, Jan. 30, 1761; voyage broken up.

The ship *Caesar*, of Newport, Jeremiah Clarke, master, left the Coast of Africa, Sept. 22, 1761; had on board 116 slaves bound to the West Indies; was captured by a French cruiser, Oct. 30, off Cape St. John.

The *Success*, Nehemiah Rhodes, master, was captured on the Coast of Africa, July 8, 1761, having on board 43 slaves.⁴

The *Two Friends*, Polypus Hammond, master, with 130 slaves and 28 elephants' tusks, was captured June 20, 1727 [1757].

Annamaboo, Walter Buffum, master, with half cargo of slaves, was captured July 23, 1758.

The *Fox*, William Taylor, master, was captured at the same time and near the same place as the *Annamaboo*.

The *King of Prussia*, Joseph Wanton, master, with 54 slaves, 20 ounces gold dust, and 66 hogsheads of rum, was captured July 23, 1758.

The *Young Batchelor*, Samuel Johnston, with 60 slaves, captured Jan. 27, 1757.⁵

Casada Garden, T. Taylor, with 175 slaves, captured about the same time.⁶

³ Lindsay gives the date as May 27, 1757, in his protest. He was carrying 58 slaves and ten ounces of gold dust. Preston, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83, from MS. Notarial Protests, VI. 454.

⁴ Captain Rhodes's statement was that he sailed from Newport on July 8, 1760, and traded on the coast till Mar. 1, 1761. He was at that time driven on shore by a storm and his vessel plundered by natives. He reached Sierra Leone and embarked for Rhode Island with Captain Peck. Preston, *op. cit.*, p. 82, from MS. Notarial Protests, VII. 340.

⁵ The account of the capture of this vessel with 72 slaves on board is to be found *ibid.*, pp. 80-81 (MS. Notarial Protests, VI. 413).

⁶ The last two, not in Sheffield's list, are added from the *Boston News Letter*, June 23, 1757. For further references to the *Casada Garden* see *post*, no. 140. Captain Thurston, arriving in Newport late in April, 1757, had with him part of the crews of three English vessels captured by French men-of-war on their way to the Guinea coast. These captures may have been the work of the fleet under M. de Kersaint, which demoralized the African coast for a time (*News Letter*, May 5, 1757; Corbett, *op. cit.*, I. 366). Preston (pp. 83-84) adds an account of the loss of the *Camelion*, Capt. Michael Molten.

140. ACCOUNTS OF THE *MARIGOLD* AND THE
CASADA GARDEN, 1758-1760.¹

[*Portage Bill of the "Marigold."*]

Port of NEWPORT RHODE ISLAND.

It is agreed between the Master, Seamen, and Mariners, of the Brig'tn *Marigold* now bound from the Port of aforesaid to the Coast of Guinea from thence to the West Indies or to Som parts of North America and Back to the Abovesd port of Rhoad Island

That in Consideration of the Monthly Wages against each respective Seamen and Mariners Name set, they severally shall and will perform the above-mentioned Voyage: And the said Thos. Teackle Taylor Master, doth hereby agree with and hire the said Seamen and Mariners, for the said Voyage, at such Monthly Wages; to be paid pursuant to an Act of Parliament, made in the second Year of the Reign of King George the Second, entituled, An Act for the better Regulation and Government of Seamen in Merchants Service. In Witness whereof, they have hereunto severally set their Hands:

[Continuation of *Portage Bill* on p. 176.]

Invoice of sundry Merchandize Shipt on Board the Brig' "Marigold" Thomas Teackle Taylor, Comr. for Africa, three fourths on Account of Samuel and William Vernon and one fourth on Acco't of said Taylor and to him consigned Viz.

[Details of rum cargo omitted]				£	s.	d.
103 hhds Rum—9900 gals,	at 60/			29970		
2 Barrels Sugar wt. 4 C. 11 li.	at £34 pr C.			139	6	9
2 Do Turpentine	at £16			32		
6 Do Tarr	at £12			72		
6 Casks Tobacco [details] at 5/		199.	5			
The Hhd. £6. Pack'g and Frt. £7. 10		13.	10	212.	15	
1 Barrel Coffee wt. 161 li	at 13/			104	13	
1 Hhd Molasses 109 Galls.	at 50/			272	10	
10 Barrels Flour wt. 13C 2 qr. 7 li. Neat	at £16. 10/			223	15	7
13 do Pork	at £64			832		
10 do Beef	at £38. 6/6			383	5	
2 do Flour wt. 3 C. 3 qr. 3 li. Nt.	at 16			60	8	
800 feet Pine Boards	at £ 6			48		
1 Bolt Ozenbrigs 99 Ells	at 24/			118	16	
18 C. Bread amounts to		£268.	4			
9 Casks for Bread do.		45		313	4	
10 Iron bound Puncheons for Water	at £21	£210				
8 Iron bound Gang Casks	at £18 7/6	147		357		
Difference in 102 Rum Hhds	at 100/			510		
				£33649	13	4
Trucking 106 Hhds.	at 12/	£ 63	12			
Wharfage	at 2/	10	12	74	4	
Errors and Omissions Excepted				£33723	17	4
NEWPORT June 18 Day 1756						

[140] ¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

[Portage Bill of the "Marigold"—continued:]

	Time of Entry	Mens Names	Quality	Advance Wages before sailing	G. Hos- pital	Wages per Month, or by the Run of the Voyage	Whole Wages	Adv'd on the Voyage in old Tenor
20 months months 15 Days 13 16	September 28 1758 Febr. 26 1759 April 11th 1759	Thos. Teakle Taylor James Searing John Taylor his	Master C. Mate Sd Mate	£45 £45 £60	7/6 7/6 6/9	£45 per Month oald Tenner £60 per Month oald Tenner	£ 675 812	£ s. d. 10 7
1 month lost 15½	Febr. 12th 1759	John X Hermitage mark	Raw Sailor	£35	7/9	£35 per Month oald Tenner	542 10	43 13 4
5 Days lost M d 15 5	Febr. 22d 1759	Joseph Heath	Sailer	£42	7/6	£42 per Month oald Tenner	630	59 7 0
5 Days lost 15 5 m D	Febr. 22d 1759	John Brown	Sailer	£42	7/6	£42 per Month oald Tenner	630	97 13 0
15 5	Febr. the 8th 1759	John Stanton and his mother	Boy	£42	7/9	£30 per Month oald Tenner	469	18
	April the 24th 1759 May the 2d 1759	John Welford John Gaezette	Sailer Sailer	£88 10		£60 per Month oald Tenner	612 637	paid off St. Croix
m d 18 6	Novr. 21st, 1758 May the 5th 1759 May the 12th 1759	Edward Taylor Richard Plumer Benja. Deofyl[?] Nath'l Parkens May 1760.	Raw Sailer Sailer Sailer Sailer	£35 £50 £60	9/ 6/3	£35 per Month oald Tenner £50 p Month ould Tenner £60 per Month Oald Tenner	637 533 750 21	paid off 83 4 0 paid off by T. T.
12½	Discharged the 28th							

NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND:

Recd. 22d July 1760 of Saml. and Wm. Vernon One hundred forty seven Pounds eleven shillings Ball'ce in full for my Wages on board the Brigantine *Marigold* Thos T. Taylor. JOHN TAYLOR.

[Sundry Accounts.]

			Gold	Rum
1759 from August 14th To Novemb'r the 11th	Nausau Senior Esqr. ² To the Owners To 15 Hhds. of Rum at Sundry Times To 4 Barlls. of flower at 14 ac: Gold To Hhd. Molasses 93 Galls. at 3/ Gold	Dr. Oz.	3. 8 3. 8	1464 Gs.
Sep'br 14 to Novr. 7th	John Baugh Esqr. To 1590 Galls. Rum at Sundry Times	Dr.	7.	1590
Septembr. the 4th to Novr. the 5th	Richard Brew Esqr. ³ To 806 Galls. Rum at Sundry Times To 2 Barlls. flower at 14 ac. Gold To 1 Hhd. Tobbaco 520 lb. at 6d. Gold	Dr. oz.	1. 12 3. 4	806
Septr. 16	Capt. Wm. Ayre To 131 Galls. Rum at 5/ To 60 lb. Sugar at 6 lb. for 5/	Dr. Oz.	8. 3 10	131
1759 August the 21st	Mr. Simeon Ellin Chief of Cormenteen To 2 Hhds of Rum 194 Galls. To 1 Barll. Flower 14 Ac: Gold To 28 lb. Caffey 3 lb. for 1 Ac.	Dr. Oz. Oz.	14 8 1. 6	194

To Sundry Ould Debts Collected on the Coast of Guinea Cr.

1759 Octr. 3d Novr. 27	By One Manboy of Quanoë I allow for him By One Do. of Jepsons Quannoë By 5 accies Gold of John Crantea ⁴ in Trade By 2 Do. of Wm. Ansha By 4 Do. of My Lord ⁵ By 10 Do. of Quanoë By Your part of a Woman paid By My Lord I allow Oz. 6 in Your part $\frac{3}{8}$ is	Oz.	7. 8 6. 8 10 4 9 1. 4 2. 4	
		Oz.	18. 15	
1759	To Thos. Teackle Taylor at Annamaboe By 4 Small Casks of Rum as pr Invoice	Cr. Galls.		166

² Nassau Senior was acting governor at Cape Coast Castle from 1757 to 1761. The accounts of the *Marigold* are on scattered sheets and have been brought together by the editor. Most of the sheets seem to be taken from the trade-book used on the coast, others are perhaps items set down in preparation for the accounting with the

[Sundry Accounts—continued:]

	Of the Brigtn. <i>Marigold</i>	Gold	Rum Galls.
1759 from Octr. the 11th to Novr. 13th	Cr. By 11 Men and 2 Men boys at 90 Galls. Each By 1 Woman at 70: 2 Men boyes at 90 By 12 Hhds. for Water at 2 Galls. Each By Gold to Ball'n the Rum	I. 4	1170
			250
			24
			20
Octob'r 21 to Novem'r the 7th	By a Corn Mill at 12 ac. By Gold of Mr. Grant	6. 12 4	1464
	Oz. Pr. Contr By 4 Men Slaves at 90 Galls. Each By 14 Women and Women Garlls at 70 Gs. By 5 Garles at 50 Galls. Rum Each	7.	360
			980
			250
	Pr. Contra By 5 Men Slaves at 90 Galls. Each By 2 Women and 2 Women Garles at 70 Galls. By 6 Hhds. 12 Galls. Rum 12 pr Sheckles for 6 Gs. By Gold to Ballance the Rum	Oz. 3. 10	450
			280
			18
	By Gold to Ball'n	Oz. 5.	58
Septbr. the 14th	Pr. Contra By Gold Recd. By 1 Bar'll Beef at £4	Oz. 7. 13 1.	
	Oz.	8. 13	
Septbr. the 14th	By one Man Slave at 90 Gs. Rum		90
	Due to Ball'ce 104 Galls. Rum and Oz. 1. 6 ac. Gold		
The Ball'n of the Above Acco't I have Desier'd Mr. John Grant to Receive and Ship to the Owners of the Brig <i>Marigold</i> and have Left him a copy of Said Accot Which he promises to Do the 28th Novemb'r 1759			

owners. It is possible that, misled by date, form, or paper, the editor has included here items which belong to the trade of the *Casada Garden* or to some other vessel owned by the Vernons.

³For some knowledge of the career of Richard Brew on the African coast see this work, II. 537 n., and *post*, nos. 193, 223.

⁴Possibly the John Currantee referred to in this work, II. 489-490 n.

⁵Fragments of a trade-book found among these papers refer frequently to trade with "My Lord Augustus Fitzroy", possibly the same native trader as the one here meant.

Accot. Current for Sundrys Dispos'd of on the Coast of Affrica.⁶ Cr.

1759	By Rum as pr. Invoice from Rhode Island	9999 Gall.
ANNAMABOE	By Rum for Wm. Vernons family	124 Do.
	Rum Made out more than Invoice	693 Do.
		Galls. of 10816 Rum
	By 2 Casks of Tobb'o Waite as pr. Invoice	777 bbl.
		Tobacco 777 bbl.
1759	By 2 Barlls. Sugar Waite as pr. Invoice	459 lb.
		459 lb. Sugar
1759	By flower as pr. Invoice from Rhode Island	12 Barlls.
		Barlls 12 flower
1759	By 1 Barll. Coffee as pr. Invoice	161 lb.
		161 lb.
	By 1 Hhd. Molasses Contents as pr. Invoice	114 Galls.
		114 Gs. Molasses
	By Six Barlls. Tar and 2 Do. Turpentine as pr. Invoice	

THOS. TEAKLE TAYLOR

in ANNAMABOE RHODE the 28th Novr. 1759

		Dr. the Owners of the Ship <i>Casada Gardin</i> with Sundry Debts paid for them etc.		
1759				
Augst		To 7 Galls. Rum to the Water Canoe men	Oz.	7
Octr.	2d	To 13 Galls. Neat Rum and 9 lb. Tobb to the Cabosears	1.	7
	3	To 33 Galls. Neat Do. Oold Debts	2.	12
		To 24 Galls. Trade oold Do.	1.	8
Novr.	25	To 31 Galls. Do.	1.	15
	28	To 4 Galls. Do.		4
		To 15 Galls. Neat Do.	1.	4
		To 14 Galls. Trade Do.		14½
		To Gold paid My Lord	Oz. 1.	1
		To Do. Jepsons Quanno	1.	12
		To Quow aboard for <i>Tittbitt</i>		3
		To Mr. Hipsley ⁷		12
		To Gold to Ball'n	3.	12
		To Gold to Ball'n		7¾
		Gold	4.	3¾
		In Trade	Cr.	18. 15
1759		Dr. Mr. Wm. Vernon for Acco't of his family		
		To 1 boy Slave paid Rum	Galls.	42
		To Oz. 6. 5 ac. Gold for		101
		To Wants of Your Rum		15
		To the Docters for Cuting off Your Boys Toe and Curing		8
			Galls.	166

⁶ This account is not with other accounts of the *Marigold* but follows an enumeration of the cargo of Captain Rogers.

¹ Possibly John Hippisley who was later governor at Cape Coast Castle. See this work, II. 502 n.

[Sundry Accounts—continued:]

	Dr. the Owners of the Brig'tn "Marigold" Their [Acco't Current]	
1759 ANNAMABO	To Neat Rum Dispos'd of for Gold Slaves and Sundrys as pr. Acco't	9613 Galls.
	To 1 Hhd. Delivered the Second mate pr. yr order	100 Do.
	To 1216 Galls. in Trade as pr. Acco't ct. is	608
	To 5 pr ct. Leakage	495
		Galls. 10816 Rum
	To 120 lb. Tobb'o Dispos'd of for Sundrys as pr Acco't	
	To 520 lb. Do. Sold Mr. Brew for Gold	
	To 137 Do. Exspended amongst the Slaves and Traders	
	777 lb. Tobbaco	
	Sugar Dispos of for Sundrys as pr. Acco't	260 lb.
	To Do. Leakeage Waistage and Exspended on bd.	199
		459 lb. Sugar
	To Flower Sold for Gold	10 Bar'ls
	To Do. Exspended on board the Brig	2 Do.
		12 Barlls. flower
	Coffee Sold for Gold and to the Sailers	118 lb.
	To Do. Exspended On board	43
		161 lb. Coffee
	To Molasses Sold for Gold and Sundrys	101 Galls.
	To Leakage and waistage	13 Do.
		114 Gs. Molasses
	3 Barlls. Tar and 1 Do. Turpentine Sold for Gold	
	2 Do. Exspended on bd.	
	1 Do. Tar and 1 Do. Turpentine Remains on board	

Errors Excepted

1759	Gold Dispos'd of for Sundrys Vizt.	Gold
	for Slaves	Oz. 56.
	for 3 Chests Corn 3 Empty Hhds. and 100 Yams	1. 1
	To my Lord for his Wages cr. 4 and Trade in Gold	2.
	To my Lord for Ship <i>Casada Garding</i> ⁸	1. 1
	To Jepsons Qunna for Do.	1. 12
	To Mr. Rissley for Do.	12
	To Mr. Vernons family for 101 Galls. Rum	6. 5
	for 133 lb. Cork at 7 lb. for ac. oz. [illegible]	
	the One half for Mr. Isaacks	9½
	My Comisions for the Neats proceeds	3. 11
		Oz. 73. 3½
	for T T T his part of a Woman Slave	2. 8
	for <i>Casadagardings</i> Acco't	9¼
		76. 4¾

⁸ The *Casada Garden*, also belonging to the Vernons, had apparently been trading on the coast before the *Marigold* arrived.

Sales 112 Negroes.⁹

Dr.

To 112 Negroes sold at £30 Stg. Coast Com'n 5 per Ct.	£3360. 168.	0.	0.
	3192.	0.	0.
Com'n on Sales 5 per Ct.	159.	12.	0.
	3032.	8.	0.
To Com'n on £1516. 4 at 2½ per Ct.	£ 37.	18.	0
To Vernon's for Bills of Exchange	1108.	14.	6
To T. Taylor Do	369.	11.	6
	1516.	4.	0
To 100 hhds Rum	£ 1886.	5.	0
15 Do	280.	1	0
19 hhds. Molasses	175.	0.	9
	2341.	6.	9
Com'n 5 per Ct.	117.	1.	4
Com'n on Cask and Boat	5.	2.	0
	2463.	10	1
Bill Disbursements	226.	13.	7
	2690.	3.	8
Ball'ce	17.	13.	9
	£ 2707.	17.	5

Cr.

By 1 moiety of £3032. 8 0 Stg.	£1516.	4.	0
By Nt. Proceeds of half the Sales Amounting to Excha. at 71 1/5 per Ct. is	£2595.	12.	0
60 old Cask £72			
Long Boat 30			
Frts. of a Negro	102.		
	10.	5	5
	2707.	17.	5
Vernons proportion of Sterling Money is recd. in Bills of Excha.	£1108.	14.	6 ¹⁰
	1105.	13.	0
due to S. and W. V.	3.	1.	6 sterg.
¾ of £17. 13. 9 Sta. Croix Curr'cy is	£13.	5.	3¾

⁹ On the sheet containing these accounts a pencilled note adds, "1760 at St. Croix". While this sheet bears no indication that the 112 negroes constituted the cargo of the *Marigold*, it seems likely that such is the case.

¹⁰ This is added in a different handwriting from what precedes it.

Dr. Mr. Wm. Vernon and Company of the "Casada Gardin" their
Acco't Current Cr.

1760	To my Coast Comitions		1760	March 7th	By a Negro man boy	} £60
	at 5 pC	£3			Sold Brabner and	
	To my Do. for Sailes				Gow in St Croix for	
	at 5 pr. Do.	3			200 ps $\frac{8}{8}$	
	To Dutyes of Two					
	Slaves 4 ps. $\frac{8}{8}$	1. 4				
	To freight of one Slave					
	£6 St.	10. 5. 5				
	To my Comitions for					
	Neat proceeds	1. 1 3				
	To ps. $\frac{8}{8}$ 138. 1. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in			St. CROIX April 22d 1760		
	Gold is cwt. 6/			Errors and Omissions Excepted		
	pr. ps	41. 9. 4		pr THOS. T. TAYLOR. ¹¹		
		£60				

141. DEPOSITION OF JOSEPH WANTON, 1758.¹

I, Joseph Wanton, being one of the people called Quakers, and conscientiously scrupulous about taking an oath, upon solemn affirmation say that on the first day of the month commonly called April, A.D. 1758, I sailed from Newport in the Snow, *King of Prussia*, with a cargo of 124 hogsheads of rum, twenty barrels of rum, and other cargo; that on the twentieth day of the month called May, I made Cape Mount on the west coast of Africa; that I ran down the coast and traded until I arrived at Annamibo, where, while at anchor, on the twenty-third day of the month called July, when I had on board fifty-four slaves, twenty ounces of gold-dust, and sixty-five hogsheads of rum, I was taken by a French privateer of sixty guns, fitted out in Bordeaux, called *Le Compte of St. Florentine*, having on board between 500 and 600 men, while my vessel had but three small pieces and eleven men.²

142. CAPTAIN DAVID LINDSAY TO HIS OWNERS, 1758.¹

BARBADOSS Aug't 19th 1758.

Gentlemen, thank God I have the pleasure once more to Give you a Line or Two in Regard to the Proceedings of my present voyage

¹¹ Endorsed: "Acct for the Owners of Ship *Casada Gardin*."

[141] ¹ Kimball, *Corr. Col. Govs.*, I. xxxvii-xxxviii. Joseph Wanton, the fourth Rhode Island governor to be drawn from the Wanton family, served in that office from 1769 to November, 1775. The date here given is that of the capture of the *King of Prussia*, not that of Wanton's deposition. It appears from an item in the *News Letter* of Aug. 4, 1757, that Wanton narrowly escaped seizure in 1757. Five Liverpool traders were seized while he was on the African coast.

² Sheffield (*Privateersmen*, pp. 28-29) says that Wanton "was left destitute on the coast of Africa, and soon after two other Newport vessels with their cargoes were captured at the same place. One of the vessels was given to a native African prince, and was by him turned over to the three crews, who, after a time returned home in her". See *post*, no. 143.

[142] ¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Mason, *Reminiscences*, II. 125.

I hope these will find you and both yours in Good helth as they Leave me. I Sailed from Anamaboe the 28 May[June?] and arrived heare in 51 Days. I Purc'ost 151 Slaves and I have Shipt from heare a bill of Exc'g for £103 Ster'g I sold [*illegible*] Gould for and Ive got Sum Gould Dust the Jest Sum I cant Tell for I Carryed Nith'r Scails or waits I lost 18 Slaves and Sold 133 Slaves I applied mySelf to Messrs. Mirvile Wood and Simmons the Conditions of our Bargin is that I am to be paid a bill Exc'g one Thousand pound Ster'g and the Rest in produce I sail the of Septemb'r pray my Love to my famely and all frends While I am Gentle'm your Humblest Servt at Command.

143. NEWS ITEMS RELATING TO SLAVE TRADE, 1758, 1760.¹

NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, October 16 [1758].

On Saturday last came into this Port, from the Gold Coast of Africa, the *Snow Fox*. Capt. Wanton, who came in her, gave us the following Account: That the *Count St. Florentine*, designed for a Man of War, but purchas'd by some Merchants in Bourdeaux, commissioned for a Privateer, mounted with 60 Guns, mann'd with 550 Men, and commanded by Monsieur Montvit, took Capt. Earle of Providence on the 23d of June, and soon after drove on Shore, at Cape Mount, a ship of 200 Tons which immediately went to Pieces. She proceeded down the Coast to Annamaboa, where she arrived the 23d of June, and took Capt. Wanton in the Sloop *King of Prussia*; Capt. Buffum, in the *Snow Annamaboa* of this Port, and Capt. Taylor of New-London. On the 28th, the *Harwich* of 50 Guns, commanded by Commodore Marsh, in Company with the *Rye*, of 20 Guns, came down, when the Privateer was at an Anchor. . . . We cannot omit the following singular Instance of Benevolence and Humanity in Mr. Brew, Chief of Annamaboa Castle. The *Snow Fox* was purchas'd of the Captain of the Privateer, by the Dutch Chief of Coromantine Castle, of whom Mr. Brew bought her, and after supplying her with Provisions, generously made a Present of her to Capt. Taylor, in order to bring him Home, and the rest, who were taken by the Privateer; all of which, after this Misfortune, were treated with great Hospitality by the Gentlemen of the Coast, particularly by the Governor of the Cape Coast Castle.

[143] ¹ *News Letter*, Oct. 26, 1758, June 5, July 3, 1760.

June 5, 1760.

To be Sold By Peleg Thurston, at his Wharf in Newport: A Cargo of choice Gold Coast Slaves, Men, Women, Boys, and Girls.

[Boston], July 3, 1760.

We hear from Newport, Rhode Island, that Capt. Carpenter was arrived there from the Coast of Guinea having had 104 Days Passage, ten Days whereof they were without Meat, but had a sufficiency of Rice and Corn: They lost but 6 slaves out of 69 they brought out with them.

144. BILL OF LADING OF THE *LITTLE BECKEY*, 1760.¹

Shipped by the grace of god in good order well conditioned By Peter James in and upon the good Schooner Called the *Little Beckey*, whereof is Master under God for this present Voyage Peter James; And now Riding at anchor in the Road of Cape Coast on the Coast of Affrica, and by gods grace bound for Newport on Rohade Island To say Ninety Six Slaves on the Proper account and resque of Peleg Thurston² merchant in Newport being marked and numbered As in the margin³ and are to be Deliver'd in Like good order and well Conditioned at the aforesaid port of Newport, the Dangers, Seas, Enemyes, and Mortality Excepted unto the Shipper he or they paying freight for Said Goods, nothing being owners goods with primage and average Accustomed In witness whereof the master or purser of the said Schooner Hath affirmed unto Two Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date: One of which Two Bills being accomplished, the other One to stand Void. And so God send the good Schooner to her desired Port in Safety. Amen

Dated in CAPE COST ROAD Fabruary 16 1760

145. NEWS ITEMS RELATING TO SLAVE TRADE, 1762-1763.

NEW YORK, Sept. 2 [1762].¹

Last week John Howard, arrived here from Virginia, having come Passenger in a Vessel to that Place from the Coast of Africa; and says, that he belonged to the Schooner *Success*, Capt. Nathaniel Roads, of Rhode Island; which Vessel was cast ashore on the Coast.² He came from thence the first of May and informs us, that the fol-

[144] ¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Mason, *Reminiscences*, IV. 249. Signed by Peter James.

² Savannah correspondents wrote to Peleg Thurston on Feb. 14, 1759, "likely young Slaves will fetch from £37 to £40 pr head." N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

³ The marginal notation is "P T from 1 to 96."[145] ¹ *News Letter*, Sept. 9, 1762.² See *News Letter*, June 3, 1762.

lowing Vessels belonging to Rhode Island, were at Annamaboa, *viz.*, Capt. Pinnegar, with 50 Slaves on board, Capt. Gardner, with 150 Slaves on board, Capt. Heffernan, with 24 Slaves on board, Capt. Caleb Gardner, with 10 Slaves on board, Capt. Carpenter with 20 Slaves on board, Capt. Peter Allan, in a Brig, just arrived.

John Harwood [Howard] also informs us, That Capt. Congrell [Congdon?],³ the Capts. Castle and Davis, from Liverpool, and a Brig belonging to Whitehaven, were lately taken on the Coast by a French Frigate; and that he heard a French Privateer had taken 10 Sail to Windward.

NEWPORT, December 13 [1762].⁴

Captain John Gardner, in the Ship *Friendship*, belonging to this Port, arrived at Guadaloupe the 2d of last Month, in 74 Days from the Coast of Africa, with 153 Slaves; he lost 38 on his Passage

NEWPORT, January 10 [1763].

By Letters from Santa Cruz, we are informed of the Arrival of the Brig *Molly*, Capt. John Allen, of this Port, at that Island, from the Coast of Africa. She was bound to Virginia, and arrived on that Coast in the Month of October last; and after beating near a Fortnight, was obliged to bear away for the West-Indies. We hear he has lost 24 Slaves.

NEWPORT, Rhode Island January 31 [1763].⁵

Since our last Capt. Arnold arrived here from South Carolina. The Brig *Greyhound* Captain William Pinnegar, of this Port was arrived there from Africa; also the Captains Freeman, Miller, Dolliver, and Davis from Boston; and Captains Larsher, Durfee, and Carpenter from this Port.

NEWPORT, Feb. 14 [1763].

The Captains Eliot and Carpenter, also of this Port, are arrived on the Windward Coast of Africa.

NEWPORT, September 5 [1763].

By a Gentleman who arrived here a few Days ago from the Coast of Africa, we are inform'd of the Arrival of the Capts. Morris, Ferguson, and Wickham, belonging to this port, who write very discouraging Accounts of the Trade upon the Coast, and that upwards of

³ In 1762 Captain Congdon of a Newport schooner and Captain Peck of a sloop reached Newport with tales of their capture on the African coast. This same year Captain Wanton successfully carried a cargo into Guadeloupe. *Ibid.*, June 3, Aug. 12, Sept. 2, 1762.

⁴ *News Letter*, Dec. 23, 1762, Jan. 27, 1763.

⁵ *Newport Mercury*, Jan. 31, 1763; *News Letter*, Feb. 10, Mar. 3, Sept. 12, 1763.

200 Gallons of neat Rum had been given per Head for Slaves, and scarcely to be got at any Rate for that Commodity. This must be sensibly felt by this poor and distress'd Government, the Inhabitants whereof being at this time very large Adventurers in that trade, having sent, and about sending, upwards of 20 Sail of Vessels, computed to carry, in the whole, about Nine Thousand Hogsheads of Rum, a quantity much too large for the Places on the Coast where that Commodity has generally been vended. We hear many Vessels are also gone and going, from the neighbouring Governments, likewise from Barbados, from which Place a large Cargo of Rum had arrived before our Informant left the Coast, of which they gave 270 Gallons for a prime Slave.

146. BILL OF LADING OF THE *FRIENDSHIP*, 1762.¹

NEWPORT, April 24th 1762.

Received on Board the Sloop *Friendship*, one Hogg'hd Rum, Marked W. G. No. 2 which on my arrival on the Coast of Africa I promise to Dispose off on the Best Terms and Invest the proceeds in Negro man Slave, and Ship Back the First Convenient opportunity, on the proper Acc't and Risk of William Hunter per me.²

147. SAMUEL VERNON TO SAMUEL PHILLIPS SAVAGE, 1762.¹

NEWP'T 22nd Septr 1762.

Sirs, I fully intended before I left you to have inform'd myself at your office, what the Gent'n would write a Policy for upon a new Brig't at and from the Coast of Africa to Rhode Island, or what from the Coast only to Rh'de Island which as I omitted making enquiry Concerning, be pleas'd to do for me and if it is a Reasonable Prem'o Shall order a Policy for £—— Sterling otherwise Shall apply to Some Other Office. Have also to Propose to the Gent'n who wrote Dordins Policy whether provided he Should be so unfortunate as to be taken in his Passage to Guinea by the enemy and Should Ransom

[146] ¹ R. I. Hist. Soc., Mason, *Reminiscences*, I. 54. In 1759 Joseph Brown had shipped on the *Charming Polly* 1 hhd. (94 galls.) of New England rum, which was to be exchanged for a negro boy and gold dust. Mason, *Am. Hist. Rec.*, I. 344.

² This is signed by William Grant, called by Mason, "Hudson", a young man of Newport, who went to the coast intending to set up a business. There he found seven Rhode Island vessels and "the times very indifferent." After a brief period he secured work with Richard Brew and Company at £60 per annum. Three months later he died of coast fever at Gaboone. Mason states that the hogshead shipped contained 95 gals., while a slave cost 110 gals. The difference was charged to Hunter. Grant's slaves were sold after his death. Written on the bottom of Grant's original receipt is: "Newport July 5, 1764. Received from Mrs. Temperance Grant Eighty Eight Dollars as the full amount and produce of the Above Adventure. Wm. Hunter."

[147] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, pp. 101-102. Samuel Phillips Savage was the Boston merchant who, it may be remembered, presided at the meeting at Old South Church which decided that the taxed tea should not be landed in Boston. Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, II. 536, 542.

his Vessel and Cargo for a Moderate Sum that they will Consent to his doing it on their Acc't as Suppose he Should be taken and Ransom his Vessel for £500 Sterl'g or eny Sum the[y] Should Limit him to and Should Proceed to the Coast, and during his Trade on the Coast or on his homeward bound Passage Shou'd be again Taken Will they Consent to pay his first Ransom Bill with the money Insured; please to let me know their Resolves in as explicit a manner as Possible so that if Such a Thing Shou'd happen there might be no Reason for any dispute; the Intent of this Proposition is that it is highly Probable that if he Shoud fall into the Hands of the Enemy on his outward Bound Passage he may have an oppertunity Of Ransoming on easy Terms and are willing the office Shou'd reap the Benefits of it if they obligate themselves to pay the money She is Ransomed for, otherwise Shall be Content to take it on our Selves, their relinquishing any Benefits that may arise therefrom. Your answer to these particulars without Delay of Time will Extreably Oblige

148. BILL OF LADING OF THE *WHYDAH*, 1762.¹

Shipped by the grace of God in good order, and well conditioned, by William Vernon in and upon the good sloop, called the *Wydan*² where of is Master under God for this present voyage Thomas Rogers and now riding at anchor in the Harbour of Newport and by Gods grace bound for the Coast of Africa to say Thirty five Hogsheads and Tierces New England Rum Barrels Ditto, five Quarter Casks Wine, three Barrels Coffee, two Barrels Sugar, One Hogshead and one Tierce Tobacco Six Barrels Turpentine, Six Barrels Tarr, Eight hundred Bunches Onions, Two Barrels Flour, Twelve pounds Bohea Tea, Four pounds Superfine Hyson Do. Four pounds superfine Chouçon Do Twelve Barrels Beef, Five Barrels Pork, Eleven Barrels Bread, Six Shaken Hogsheads and Eleven Water Casks on Account and Risque of the Shipper being marked and numbred as in margent,³ and are to be delivered in the like good order, and wel conditioned at the aforesaid Coast of Africa (the danger of the sea only excepted) unto said Master or to his assignes, he or they paying freight for the said goods Nothing, they being the Property of the Owner of said Sloop with primage and avarage accustomed

In witness whereof of the Master or purser of the said Ship hath affirmed this and more Bils of Loading, al of this tenor and date one being accomplished, the other to stand void. And so God send the good Ship to her desired Port in safety. Dated in NEWPORT Decr 29 1762

[148] ¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. A printed form with the specific items written in. Signed by Thomas Rogers.

² Probably the *Whydah*.

³ The marginal symbol is "S. W."

149. NEWPORT CUSTOM-HOUSE ENTRIES, 1763.¹

Date	Vessel	Master	Voyage
Jan. 31	<i>Three Friends</i>	Carpenter	Cleared for Africa
Feb. 14	<i>Diamond</i>	Wickham	" " "
Feb. 28	<i>Kitty</i>	Carr	" " "
May 2	<i>Newport Pacquet</i>	Hicks ²	" " "
" 23	<i>Dove</i>	Croswell	" " "
July 13	<i>Rainbow</i>	Earle	" " "
Aug. 1	<i>Elizabeth</i> ³	Gardner	" " "
" 22	<i>Friendship</i> ⁴	Morris	" " "
Sept. 5	<i>Polly</i>	Knowles	" " "
" 26	<i>Polly</i> ⁵	Wanton	" " "
" 26	<i>Endeavour</i> ⁶	Elliot	" " "
Oct. 24	<i>Betsey</i>	Remmington	" " "
Dec. 12		Peck	" " "
" 19	<i>Nancy</i>	Jenny ⁷	" " "

150. ISAAC ELIZER AND SAMUEL MOSES TO
CHRISTOPHER CHAMPLIN, 1763.¹

RHODE ISLAND, NEWPORT february 9, 1763.

S'r, As we the Subscribers, being equally Concern'd in the Sloop *prince George* Jno Peck Mas'r from hence to the Coast of Affrica and from thence to New Providence sometime in March; and as we Immagining since Sessation of armes has taken place, it would be to

[149] ¹ *Newport Mercury* for the dates given.

² In April, 1762, it was reported in Newport that Captain Hicks had reached Virginia, after being captured by the French. *News Letter*, Apr. 23, 1762.

³ "The Sloop *Elizabeth*, Capt. Gardner, arrived here last Tuesday from the Coast of Africa, in 55 Days, with a Cargo of Slaves. Before he sailed, a Boat belonging to Capt. Remmington, of this Port, with the Mate and 3 Men on board, was overset in going into a River to the Windward of Cape Mount, by which Accident the 3 Men were drowned; but the Mate happily saved himself by swimming. Capt. Elliott, of this Port, sailed before Capt. Gardner, with 160 Slaves, for the West Indies." *Newport Mercury*, July 9, 1764.

⁴ The *Mercury*, Aug. 20, 1764, reported the death of Captain Morris on the coast. It is possible that the following item refers to the end of this voyage: "By Capt. Walker who arrived here a few Days ago from Surrinam, we are informed, that he left Capt. James Warner in the Ship *Friendship* belonging to Newport, Rhode-Island, at Brams Point, from the Coast of Guinea, with 104 Slaves on board, and 'tis said the *Friendship* would be there condemn'd, not being fit to proceed [on] her Voyage." *Mass. Gaz. and News Letter*, Apr. 4, 1765.

⁵ "Captain Croswell arrived here last Tuesday from the Coast of Africa, but last from Barbados, in 22 Days." Edward Wanton, *Polly*, came with Croswell as a passenger.

⁶ "Captain Elliot arrived here last Saturday from the Coast of Africa, but last from Barbados in 30 Days." *Newport Mercury*, Sept. 24, 1764.

⁷ "Captains Earl, Carpenter, Edward Wanton, Peter Wanton, and Gardner, from this Port, and Capt. Gardner, from Piscataqua, are arrived upon the Coast of Africa. *Ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1764.

[150] ¹ R. I. Hist. Soc., Champlin Letter-Book, I. 125. The letter is superscribed, "Mr. Christopher Champlin, Mercht In New Providence" (Bahamas). Instructions to Captain Peck, Oct. 29, 1762, had directed that he first attempt to dispose of his slaves for cash in New Providence. If this failed, he was to bring them to Newport (*Commerce of R. I.*, I. 96-97). Peck had been seized by the French in his previous voyage to Africa (*News Letter*, Aug. 12, 1762). The Champlins—Christopher, senior, Christopher, junior, and George—continue to appear in Rhode Island slave trade until the nineteenth century.

our Interest to Consign her to some Person upon the Spot and we hereby Consign her to you, and make no Doubt it will be Agreeable therefore we desire you will Immediately on her Arrival Dispose of the Slaves (or her Cargo Consisting of what kind soever) for as much as can Possible be got, and Load the sloop with sugar, molasses, or any produce you shall think best for our Advantage and the Remainder of the Neat produce Remit us in cash or Good Bills of Exchange Unless you Should Receive any further Instructions (how to Lay our mony out;) from Either of us seperately, wch Shall be the same for your Safety as if we had both Sign'd it,² But please to observe if Slaves should be in no Demand in Providence but at a very low Rate We therefore should be glad you would order the Vessel Immediately to Charles Town South Carolina and address her to Messrs. Bacot and Far Merchts. there, with a Copy of the afore-going orders; and if you Should receive no further Instructions from both or Either of us, we hereby Desire you will make all the Dispatch you Possibly can, as the Expence and portage bill will amount to Considerable, and as you are not acquainted with the Expence on such Tedious Voyages or any other Business, we flatter ourselves you will Exert your Self for our Interest, and for yours Accommodating matters with the Capt. we here Inclose you a Copy of his orders, and also a power to Execute the Same.

151. ACCOUNTS OF THE *LITTLE SALLY*, 1763.¹

Sales of 52 Negro's Imported in the Schooner "little Sally" Capt. William Taylor and sold on acct. of Messrs. Sam'l and Wm. Vernon and Co. Merchts Newport Rhode Island.

<i>When sold</i>	<i>To Whom sold</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>B.</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Sterling</i>	<i>Currency</i> ²
July 4	Peter Lyon	Hanover	1				£36	£58 10
8	William Furbush	Albemarle		1			36	58 10
8	John Ashley	Ditto	1				36	58 10
8	Thomas Watkins	Henrico				1	31	50 7 6
9	William Massie	New Kent	2				72	117
9	Wm. Allen Barton	Henrico	2				72	117
11	Jos. Woollen	Albemarle	1				36	58 10
11	Wm. Stone	Henrico		2			71	115 7 6
11	Sam'l Mitchell	Ditto	1				36	58 10
12	John Martin	New Kent		1			36	58 10
13	William Wills	Henrico		1			35	57 2 9
13	Harwood Bacon	Ditto		1			35	56 17 6
15	Obediah Moore	Albemarle			2		70	113 15

² Despite this stipulation, Elizer wrote on Mar. 10 warning Champlin not to allow Moses to change the instructions which had been sent. On Mar 23 Moses wrote that his half of the proceeds, in commodities or bills of exchange, was to be sent to his attorney in Rhode Island, and also reminded Champlin that he was to have a slave for his private venture. Moses seems at this time to have left Rhode Island for New Providence. Champlin Letter-Book, pp. 125, 127.

[151] ¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. Richard Adams, who sold this cargo, was a Virginia merchant with whom the Vernons dealt for a number of years.

When sold		To Whom sold	County	Men	Women	B.	Girls	Sterling	Currency ²	
August	15	Robt. Poor	Goochland			I		36	58	10
	16	John Strange	Albemarle				I	32	52	
	18	Nathl Francis	Hanover				I	28	45	10
	18	John Holmes	Henrico		I			35	56	17 6
	18	Sam'l Price	Ditto		I and Child			38	61	15
	18	John Harwood Junr.	Do.		I and Child			36	58	10
	20	Chas. Smith and Garland Anderson	Hanover	4	8	4		544	870	8
	23	John Hopper	Goochland	I				35	56	17 6
	23	Robt. Gordon	Chesterfield	I				34	55	5
	1	Chas. Colley	Hanover			I		32	52	
	1	Robert Spears	Henrico			I		32	52	
	1	Jacob Faris	Ditto		I			34	55	5
	3	Thos. Harper	Hanover		I			35	56	17 6
	4	Benj. [illegible]	Carolina		I			34	55	5
Sept.	4	Jacob Hundley	Hanover			2		64	104	
	6	Thos. Scrugs	Albemarle	2				68	110	10
	6	John Wood	Henrico			2		58	93	10
	12	To my Commissions at 5 pr. Ct							1777 3	2870 16 9
		To their Acct. for Nett Proceeds								143 10 9
								2737 6 0		

Sales of 8 Slaves remains of a Cargo Imported in the "little Sally" Capt. Wm Taylor July 1763 and sold by Rich'd Adams on Acct. Messrs. Saml and Wm Vernon and Co. R. Island.³

When sold		To whom sold	County	Men	W	B	G	Sterlg	Currency		
Sepr	28	John Fry	Albemarle	1				£32	£52.		
Oct	3	Ditto	Ditto		1			£32	52.		
	3	Robt. Hancock	Chesterfield		1			34	55.	5	
		William Martin	Henrico	1				34	55.	5	
	27	Benja. Clopton	Goochland	1				32	52.		
Novr	1	William Taylor	Augustine		1			33	53.	12.	6
	23	Benja. Clarke	Lunenburg	1				26	42.	5	
	23	Ditto	Ditto		1			26	42.	5	
									my Commissions at 5 pr Ct deducted		
									404.	12.	6
									20.	4.	7½
									£384.	7.	10½

Errors Excepted per RICHD ADAMS

²“N. B. he writes us of the 4th July he had sold 4 men at £36.”
³In a later statement of the account of the Vernons with Richard Adams, there appears, “To Provisions etc. furnish’d for 8 Slaves remains of Cargo for the little Sally from 12th Sept. last til Sold, 4. 5. 3” (N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI). This sale is not included in the account which follows.

Messrs. Saml and William Vernon and Co. in Acct. with

Richard Adams

Cr.

1763 Sepr. 12	By Nett Proceeds of 52 Negro's two [?] pr the <i>little Sally</i> Capt Taylor				£2737. 6
	By the above Ballance				2737. 6 £1395. 13

Errors excepted Pr RICH'D ADAMS

152. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO RICHARD ADAMS, 1763.¹
NEWPORT 4th August 1763.

Sir, Have before us your Favor of the 4th Ulto. acquainting Us of your having recd. the Slaves per the *Sally* Capt. Taylor in good order, that you had Sold 4 Men at £36 Ster'g and Shoud be able to turn them of[f] on Average at about £34. 10—which is not so good a Price as we expected considering the Quality of them however doubt [not] you will get the most possible for them and for good Pay but are not without hopes of your obtaining a better Price than you expect. your Letter Came to hand but this Day Week and by Capt. Tayler's Letter to us by the Same Vessel he has now been out 18 Days and not arived we are and have been for some time in hourly expectation of him What detains him cant concieve have about 30 young Slaves which Shoud have Sent you per this Vessel, but as Capt. Tayler must if he is well be here in 1 or 2 Days choose to wait some little Time longer altho' we join with you that it is Time they were with you.

153. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO RICHARD ADAMS, 1763.¹
NEWP'T 16th August 1763.

Sir, Recd. yours of the 25th Ulto. per *Sally* Capt. Tayler with the Inclosed Bills Amount'g to £467. 10. 2 Sterling Passed to your Credit. Bills are so high and the Loss on them So great that we beg you to remit us as much as Possibly you Can in Dollars or Joannes,² as Probably Gold is not so hard to be got as Silver. Capt. Taylers being detained so long and his Passages so tedious that before he

[152] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 109. On pages 102-103 of the Letter-Book is a duplicate of this letter, directed to Messrs. Champion and Hayley of London, apparently a mistaken inscription. Letters had been written to Adams on Apr. 2 and June 15.

[153] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, pp. 109-110.

² The Johannes was a gold coin of Portugal, worth about 36 s. stg.; "Joes" and "half-Joes" were in common circulation in the West Indies and were frequently brought to the continental colonies.

Arived the number of Slaves wch we Proposed to Send being So much reduced that think it not worth while to Trouble you with the few that remain Which you will not Take Amiss hope you have finished the Sales of What we sent you before and that you will not elapse the Time for Payment as limited by you. Shoud we want any of your Country Produce Shall acquaint you in Season. at Present have no occasion for any thing. you may write us as frequently as you Please by the Post but let your Letters to us Come under Cover directed to Mr. Thos. Vernon Post Master in Newpor[t].³

154. NICHOLAS BROWN AND COMPANY TO CARTER BRAXTON, 1763.¹
September, 1763.

. . . You Mention of being Concern'd in the Guine Trade and that the Vessels Return with the negrows to your place. As We Shall be Largely Concern'd in Navigation this Fall wich will bring mello. [molasses] in the Spring and we Liveing in a place wair we Can procure a Large Quantity of Rum Distilled Amediately, its Very Likely if it's Agreeable to you to be Concerned that we May Fitt a proper Vessill for Guiney in the Spring. . . .

155. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO CHAMPION
AND HAYLEY, 1763.¹

. . . We now inclose you three Bills Drawn by Mr. Val Jones on Messrs. Allen and Marlar for £1590 Ster'g which we make no doubt Will be punctually paid but what ever may be their fate you will be Pleas'd to give us the earliest advice of. Shou'd they or either of them Meet with nonpayment, we must inform you that this Money arose from a Bill Drawn by Rich'd Brew and Co. on Messrs. Burton and Smith and Co. in London, Which was for a Vessel and Cargo sold on the Coast of Africa to Sd Brew and Co. and Mr. Brew Ship'd a large number of Slaves in Sd Vessel to Barbadoes on his own Acct. to the Address of Mr. Valentine Jones Desiring him to take Sd Slaves and to Cancell his Bills drawn on Burton and Smith, and give his own Bills for the Amo't of the Others, which he did, Messrs. Burton

³ Thomas was a brother of Samuel and William Vernon. On Sept. 17 the Vernons again wrote to Adams, this time to say that they were sending him a number of fine young and healthy slaves by the *Royal Charlotte*, Captain Taylor (Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, pp. 110-111). This vessel cleared from Newport for Virginia on Sept. 19. In Virginia it was apparently loaded with wheat and lumber amounting to £737 4 10 and despatched to Cadiz. See bill dated Nov. 12, 1763, in N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

[154] ¹ Kimball, *Providence in Colonial Times*, p. 271. Carter Braxton was collector on the Pamunkey River, Va. Brown went on to ask whether the collector could send a quantity of tobacco clear of duty, and at what price. This was to be sent to the African coast.

[155] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 113.

and Smith took Security in London for any Bills Mr. Jones Shou'd Draw for in payment of Slaves Sold for their Accts. therefore Shou'd those Bills be Protested pleas to Apply to Messrs. Burton and Smith and know if the Security taken by them for are not Obliged to discharge them. as we do not know When we Shall have Occasion to Call this Money out of yr Hands whether in Three, Four, or Six Months should be glad to have it employ'd in some safe Hands so as to be gaining some thing but in Such a Manner as to have it When we Call'd for

Oct 4, 1763

156. CARTER BRAXTON TO NICHOLAS BROWN AND COMPANY, 1763.¹

VIRGINIA October 16th, 1763.

Sirs: . . . I shall be very glad to be concern'd in the Affrican Trade and will be a $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Voyage if you Choose it, Tobacco I can send any quan. at 20/ per hund. and I believe free of duty if yr. Skiper will take it. I shou'd choose to be Insur'd, and what ever Ex-pence came to my Share more than the Slaves sent I wou'd remit by the Return of the Vessell that bro't the Slaves. The Whole of the Voyage I shou'd leave to you to Conduct and you may begin to prepare if you please, But you will let me know the Terms and every thing relating to the Voyage before the Vessill Sails. It ought to be forw'ded, so as to have the Vessill here in May, bec'se the Negroes will sell better then, than later. Gold Coast Slaves are Esteemed the most Valuable and Sell best. The Prices of Negroes keep up amazingly. They have Sold from £30 to £35 Sterling a head Clear of duty all this summer and I should not doubt of rendering Such a Sale if the Negroes were well and Come early. I find two or three Vessills have been here this summer from the Nw'd [Northward] and I suppose the Trade will be Carried on with more vigour for the future. If you will undertake to befriend me in soliciting the Con-signment of some of them I will give you for your Trouble $\frac{1}{3}$ of my Commission which will be a Pritty thing if the Vessill is Con-sign'd wholly to me. But if she is only half to me, I will give you $\frac{1}{3}$ of my Commission's for all that you get and will make my re-mittance in any manner they desire.

[156] ¹R. I. Hist. Soc., Gertrude Kimball, Note-Book, II. 40. Since the letters of Brown and Company were not accessible the editor has made use of Miss Kimball's copies. These are greatly abbreviated and it is quite possible that at times her abbreviations have been confused with those of the writers of the letters.

157. ACCOUNTS OF CAPTAIN THOMAS ROGERS, 1763.¹

Mr. William Vernon acct. with Thomas Rogers

Dr.

		£	s.	d.
1763 Novr 10th	To 60 hhd. Rum 6584 Gal at 20d. and Cask 40/ ea.	£668	13	4
	To Duty 60 hhd. Rum	20	5	
	To freight and Permit 50 hhd. from Speikes at 4/3 Ea.	10	12	6
	To 1 hhd. Sugar 1460 wt. nt. at 25/ Cask 30/	19	13	6
	To 2 hhd. Sugar 2462 wt. Nt. at 23/9 Cask 30/ ea.	32	4	7½
	To Duty 3 hhd. Sugar	4	2	1½
	To Duty and Permit for Landing 29 Slaves	7	10	
	To Cash paid Wages	68	15	
	To Powder and Hospital money	4	14	7
	To Sundry Provition for People and Slaves	6	8	3
	To my Coast Commssn	33	14	
	To my Comms'n hear on Sales and Returns	63	10	
	To Cash in full	2	1	7
		£942	4	6

Cr.

		£	s.	d.
1763 Nov'r 10th	By 28 Slaves at £30 pr head	£840		
	By 1 Ditto	2	10	
	By the Sloop <i>Whydah</i> and Stores	75		
	By 169 wt Coffe at 12d.	8	9	
	By 1 Cord fire wood	1	2	6
	By 11 Water Cask	1	13	
	By the freight 2 Slaves from the Coast at 5 Ster'g pr head at 35 pr Ct. is	13	10	
		942	4	6

BARBADOES Novr 10th 1763
E. Excepted pr THO ROGERS

[157] ¹N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. Captain Rogers not only sold his negroes but his sloop in Barbados. See also *ante*, no. 148.

158. PAPERS OF THE *OTHELLO*, 1764-1766.¹

*Book Containing What the men have Taken upon the Voyage on board the Brig. "Othello" Thos. Rogers, Comdr.*²

1764	John Hains	Dr.		Contra	Cr.
		To advance wages before Sail-		By your wages on Board the	
		ing brought into Starling	£ 2. 10. 7	Brigg'tn <i>Othello</i> from the	
May 19		To 15 wt. Tobacco at 10 d.	12. 6	8th May 1764 to the 25	
1765		To 4 yds Cks	10.	Sept. 1765 being 16 months	
Apr. 19		To 2 Pint Tankards	2. 6	and 16 Days at 33/6 ster-	
		To 19 Galln. Rum at 5/	4. 15.	ling pr. month	
Barbadoes		To Cash pd for you	1. 5		
Sept. 26		To Hospital Money	7. 9	BARBADOES Sept. 26, 1765	
		To Cash in full	17. 7 2	Settled and Paid	
					27. 10. 6
			£27. 10. 6		

1764	John Thomas	Dr.		Contra	Cr.
		To advance wages before Sail-		By your wages on Board the	
		ing brought into Starling	£3. 13	Brigg'tn <i>Othello</i> from the	
May 16		To 7½ wt. Cheese	7. 6	3 April 1764 to the 25 Sept.	
June 4		To a frock and 2 pr Trowsers	10	1765 being 17 month and 21	
Augst 1		To a jacket	15	Days at 31/6 pr month.	
		To a pair Check Trowsers	10		
Sept. 4		To 2 yd. Tecklingburgh	5	BARBADOES Sept. 26th 1765	
		To a pair Cks Trowsers	10	Settled and Paid	
					£27. 18. 3
Octbr 12		To a Hatt	7. 6		
Decr 7th		To Cash pd Capt Reads Doctr	2.		
		To 18 wt. Sugar	15		
1765					
Feby 10		To Cash pd for you	1		
Mar. 12		To 4 yds Checks	10		
April 19		To 4 yds Do. and a knife	10. 6		
June 23		To 4 yds Do.	10		
July 19		To 3 wt. Tobacco	2. 6		
		To 21 Gall. and 1 Quart			
		Rum at 5/	5. 6. 3		
Barbadoes		To Hospital money	8 4		
Sept. 26		To Cash in full	9. 5 2		
			£27. 18. 3		

[158] ¹N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

²The names are Thomas Rogers, James Lewis, Jno. Hammon, Jno. Thomas, John Hains, Wm. Clarke, Ed. Strenthfeild, Geo. Harvey, Wm. Strange, Dick Holmes, Wm. Bourk, John Mason, Thos. Penrigh, Wm. Bonnel. Of these but two are here printed. A note states that William Strange died on the coast. On Mar. 11, 1766, Thomas Brownell, whose apprentice Strange was, signed a receipt for £64 14 4, old tenor, for his wages. He had been paid £6 10 4 before his death. A small manuscript book containing a rough account of the wages paid the seamen on this voyage records the death of James Lewis at Sierra Leone: "Paid the King of Serilion for ground for a grave 2½ gallons. Paid for Digging the grave 1 gallon." *Ibid.*

Thos. Rogers in Cash Acctt. Sterling

Dr.

Cr.

1764			Sterl'g			Sterl'g					
To 100 Dollars pd him	22.	10.	0	St Jago	£10.	16.	0	Bro't up	£18.	10.	8
To Gold and Silvr. at St.				Do 48				4 ps Dimity			
Jago	19.	5.	10	Dollars	10	16		Bandanas 4			
To do. at Do.	4.	12.	10	Isle de Los	6.	6		for six Pun-			
								cheons	1		
To Gold Dust	oz.	a.		Anamaboe				6 check			
at Lahou	1.			6 achs.				Shirts	1.	10.	0
To do at do.	6.	10									
To do. at								Sterling	£25.		8
Commendo	1.	4		Lagou oz. 2.	0 ³						
To do. Cape								deficient			
Coast	5.	10						1 dn Linen			
To do Anamaboe	2.	8						Hank's 12			
Popo		15						Dolls.	£2.	14	
Anamaboe	6.	8						5 bbl white			
Do.		9						Bread at			
Do.	1.	1						30/ pCw.	9.	2	
								2 Nickannees at			
	26.	1						5 Barrs			
Ball'ce	27.	18.	0					1 Ream Paper			
Sterling	18.	10.	8					3 Barrs			
								1 Plain 4 Barrs			
								1 Danish Gun			
								6 Barrs ⁴			
	£46.	8.	8	£46.	8.	8					

³ Here follows a list of expenditures at Lagou, amounting to 26 oz. 1 ac. Of this 9 ac. was spent for wood, 30 ac. 2 for corn, 26 ac. for yams and plantins, 8 for canoe hire. The remainder of the items are undesignated.

⁴ To these fragmentary accounts is added the following, described as "Remarks to be made acco. of in the Action for Breach of Orders."

"By his Letter of 6th Septr. he writes us had then on board 21 Slaves, by the Book he has dd us he gives an Acctt. of but 16 purchased out of which Number he had Bartered away one Man Slave for a Boat wch reduces the Number to 6 less than he had on Board

6 slaves at 80 Barrs is 480 at £28 Ster'g	£168
11 men Slaves lost killed and Drown'd }	28= 308
4 do. he says died with a Flux }	as you think just
these 15 after he left Barbados bound to St Christophers contrary to Orders to Loss on the Sales of 41 Slaves he sold in Antigua wch sold upon an Average at £17 wch is a loss at least of £7 Sterl'g each by his not proceeding to Georgia or So. Carolina according to Orders, wch is	

287

£763

To Sundrys ch'gd in his Bill Disbursm'ts at Antigua wch we require Vouchers for the Pa'mt of Noted thus ◇ amounting to —"

ANTIGUA Novem'r 1765.

Sales of 9 new Negroe men 6 Women 13 Boys and 13 Girls Imported in the Briggantine "Othello" Thomas Rogers master to put into my hands for Sale by said Rogers on Accompt of his owners Messrs. Samuel and William Vernon Merchants in Rhode Island Viz.

1765		Purchasers	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Price	£	Stg. s.	d.
October	10	William Young	3		2	2	£14	174	0	0
	14	Christian Barnes				1		23	10	7
	17	Robert Christian			6	4		140	0	0
	19	William George		1				27	0	0
	22	Richard Page			1			22	0	0
Novem'r		John Finnie				1		22	0	0
		Johanna Slainey				1		25	0	0
	9	Elizabeth Gray		1				22	7	0
		William Brackenridge	1					24	0	0
		Cash Accompt		1				17	13	0
		Ceasare Roach vendue master	2	3	4	2		112	3	4¾
		Thomas Marnan	3					55	17	8
		Cash Accompt				2		11	15	3½
			9	6	13	13		£677	6	11¼
		Charges on the Above Sales								
		To Store to sell the Negroes in	£ 6	12	0					
		To Bonds and Ticketts	1	0	0					
		To Drummers Advertisements and Victuals at sundry times	1	10	0					
			9	2	0					
		Exchange at 70 pr Ct is Sterling	5	6	8					
		To my Commissions 677. 6. 11¼ at 5/pr Ct	33	17	4				39.	4.
									638.	2. 11¼

ANTIGUA, Errors Excepted Nov. 23, 1765
ALEX WILLOCK

Messrs. Samuel and William Vernon in Acco't Curr't with

Alexander Willock

Dr.

		£	s.	d.
1765 Novem'r 23	To Captain Rogers for his Commissions £677. 6. 11¼ at 4 pr £104	26	1	2½
	To Cash paid Captain Rogers to pay the Charges and disbursments on the vessell	87	1	8¾
	To my draft on Messrs. James Keating and Co. at 6 Months sight	500	0	0
	To my Commissions on ditto at 5 pr Ct.	25	0	0
		£638	2	11¼

Cr.

1765 Novem'r 23	By neet proceeds of the within Sales	638	2	11¼
		£638	2	11¼

Errors Excepted

ANTIGUA Novemr 23d 1765

ALEX WILLOCK

Deposition of Captain Peter Dordin.

Peter Dordin doth upon Oath declare That he was in Georgia the latter End of January last when he fell in Company with a Captain of a Snow who arrived there from Antigua (whose name he can't remember) who told him that Capt. Rogers had met with a shocking Misfortune in going down to Antigua in losing Part of his Slaves etc. and that he had bought half a Dozen of his Slaves and (pointing to a Woman Slave then in the House where they were) said there is one of his Slaves which I have sold to the Master of the House: That he the Dept. enquired of the Master of the House what he gave for that Slave who told him fifty Pounds Sterling. And the said Peter Dordin doth further declare that Slaves during the last Winter bore a very high Price in Georgia And that he saw Five Slaves sold there who were picked prime Slaves for Fifty five Pounds Sterling and that good Slaves (Men and Women,) would sell from Thirty five to Forty five Pounds Sterling a Piece.

COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND etc.

NEWPORT Septemb 3d 1766

Personally appeared Capt. Peter Dordin and made solemn Oath to the Truth of this Declaration by him subscribed (Capt. Rogers notified and present)

Before HENRY WARD Just Peace

Cost £. 0. 0. 10 d.

Deposition of Capt. Robert Stoddard.

Robert Stoddard doth upon Oath declare That some Time in December or January last he had some Conversation with Mr. Valentine Jones of Barbados Merch't at Barbados when the said Jones informed him that Capt. Thomas Rogers had been at Barbados a little while before with a Cargo of Slaves and that he the said Jones had advised the said Rogers to sell his Slaves at Barbados and that he told the said Rogers that he thought he would do better with them there than to carry them anywhere else and that he did not give him that Advice from any sinister Views but purely for the Benefit of his Owners. And the said Robert Stoddard doth further say That it was generally thought by the Masters upon the Coast that Capt. Rogers's Slaves were a very good Cargo of Slaves and that the said Jones told him that Capt. Rogers' Slaves were in bad Order when he arrived at Barbados.

COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND etc. NEWPORT Novem'r 3d 1766

Personally appeared Capt. Robert Stoddard and made solemn Oath to the Truth of the foregoing Deposition by him subscribed (Capt. Rogers notified and present)

Before HENRY WARD, Just. Peace

Cost £0. 0. 10

Messrs. William and Samuel Vernon to ———.

Gentlemen, You will observe our positive Orders to T. Rogers, after stopping at Barbados to recruit his Slaves were to proceed to Georgia or So. Carolina unless he should meet with counter Orders at Barbados but as it was our fix'd determination that he should proceed to one or other of those Ports his Orders remaind in full force.

By his Letter of the 25th Septr. he arrivd at Barbados on that Day and by his Protest in Antigua he sail'd from Barbados on the 28th bound to the Island of St Christophers that on the first Day of Octr. an Insurrection of the Slaves happend (being let out of their Irons) by which he lost eleven Men Slaves⁶ and four Slaves afterwards with the Flux as usual in such cases. he then proceeded to Antigua and gave the remd. of his Slaves away for a Trifling Sum—the Nt proceeds of his Cargo amounting to but £500 Ster'g in Bills paya. at 6 months sight whereas had he followed his Orders his Cargo of Slaves in Georgia would have neated us Eighteen hundred Pounds Sterling or more as some part of his Cargo arrivd there during Capt. Dordins lying there some of which sold at fifty Pounds Sterling per head as he informs us. You will be pleased farther to

⁵ This letter bears no date, nor is there any clue as to the person addressed.

⁶ Mention is made in the Lopez correspondence of a rebellion of the slaves under Captain Rogers in which thirteen jumped overboard, one was killed, and several wounded. See also *Newport Mercury*, Nov. 25, 1765.

observe that we gave him One hundred Dollars to lay out in high Cloths at the Cape DeVerd Islands, what Cloths he purchasd there he purchasd with Goods and the Ball'ce of his Cash Trade there was in our Favor so that the whole of that 100 Dollars and more also he has traded on to his own Benefit, without the least Advantage to his Owners, and indeed is indebted for the Money to this Day.

his Letter Isle de los 5th Sept. he writes he had then on board 21 Slaves bo't at 80 Barrs. By his Book he gives an account of but 16 Slaves purchas'd out of wch Number he had exchanged one Man Slave for a Boat wch is 6 less than he had then on board, and all his Letters to us from the Coast convince us that this Book of Trade he has dd us is not Genuine but a patched up, counterfeit thing

Please to Observe by his Letter Dated at Barbadoes Sepr. 25th 1765 he says had call'd upon Mr. Jones for Letters that he expected we shoud Lodge with him and found our Letter, wherein we persist in his proceeding to Carolina, but he says he will go to the Leeward Islands, Implying that we had no right to direct him, his saying his Vessel was Low [?] and his slaves weakly is no excuse. If that was really the case he might possibly have been justified, but he protested against those Articles at Barbados, but then certainly he could not have proceeded to any other Port but must have sold his Cargo at Barbados.⁷

159. NEWPORT CUSTOM-HOUSE ENTRIES, 1764.¹

Date	Vessel	Master	Voyage
Jan. 23	<i>Shiprah</i>	Peck	Cleared for Africa
Mar. 26	<i>Ospray</i>	Potter ²	Outward bound for "
Apr. 2	<i>Othello</i>	Rogers ³	" " " "
" "	<i>Fanny</i>	Morris	" " " "
" 30	<i>Jolly Robin</i>	Heath	" " " "
May 21	<i>Speedwell</i>	Congdon	" " " "
June 11	<i>Spry</i>	Pinniger ⁴	" " " "
July 2	<i>Three Friends</i>	Carpenter	" " " "
Aug. 13	<i>Two Friends</i>	Carr	" " " "
" 20	<i>Joanna</i>	Rodman ⁵	" " " "
" "	<i>Diamond</i>	Wickham	" " " "
" 27	<i>Sarah</i>	Tillinghast	" " " "
Sept. 3	<i>King George</i>	Earl	" " " "
" 10	<i>Sally</i>	Hopkins ⁶	Cleared " "
" 17	<i>Dove</i>	Coddington ⁷	Outward bound " "
Oct. 15	<i>Harlequin</i>	Hallet	Cleared " "
" 29		Stoddard ⁸	Outward bound " "
Nov. 12	<i>Hope</i>	Mumford ⁹	Cleared " "
" 19		Wickham	" " "
" 26		Stockford	" " "
Dec. 24		Carpenter	Outward bound for "
" "		Hanners	Cleared " "

⁷ A scrap among these papers contains the following: "7 men, 2 women, 1 girl, 8 Boys, the number of Slaves Thos. Rogers had Bought when I came away as above and had 1000 gal. of Rum left on hand." The other side of the scrap bears the signature, John Fleming, but it is not certain that this note was written by Fleming.

[159] ¹ *Newport Mercury*, of dates given.

160. REMONSTRANCE OF THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND TO THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1764.¹

[January 24, 1764.]

. . . It is this quantity of molasses² which serves as an engine in the hands of the merchant to effect the great purpose of paying for British manufactures; for part of it is exported to the Massachusetts Bay, to New York and Pennsylvania, to pay for British goods, for provisions and for many articles which compose our West India cargoes and part to the other colonies, southward of these last mentioned, for such commodities as serve for a remittance immediately to Europe; such as rice, naval stores, etc., or such as are necessary to enable us to carry on our commerce; the remainder (besides what is consumed by the inhabitants,) is distilled into rum, and exported to the coast of Africa; nor will this trade to Africa appear to be of little consequence, if the following account of it be considered.

Formerly, the negroes upon the coast were supplied with large quantities of French brandies; but in the year 1723, some merchants

² "Capt. Nathaniel Potter, commander of a vessel from this Port, lately died on the Coast of Africa". *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1765.

³ See *ante*, no. 158.

⁴ "Capt. William Pinniger, of this Town, in the Sloop *Spry*, died on the 14th of December, within 6 Hours Sail of Barbados, from the Coast of Africa" (*Newport Mercury*, Feb. 10, 1766). "To be sold at Public Vendue $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sloop *Spry*, William Pinniger late master, with all her Guinea Stores, as she came from Sea. . . . There will be sold also at the same Place, a likely young Negro Girl, lately come from the Coast of Africa." *Ibid.*, June 2, 1766.

⁵ "Newport, Rhode Island, Dec. 30. We hear that Captain Thomas Rodman and Mr. Daniel Duncan, of this place, lately died on the coast of Africa." *Mass. Gaz. and News Letter*, Jan. 9, 1766.

⁶ "William Earl was offered command of the *Sally* but refused being engaged to Potter" (R. I. Hist. Soc., Kimball, Note-Book, II. 42). The *Sally* was owned one-half by Nicholas Brown, and one-fourth each by James and Moses Brown. For references to her voyage see *post*, no. 163 n. The *King George* was owned by Simeon Potter.

⁷ When this sloop "cleared for departure" two months later, Captain Tuell was in command.

⁸ "The Ship —, Capt. Robert Stoddard, of this Port, is arrived at Antigua from Africa, with a fine Cargo of Slaves." *Newport Mercury*, Mar. 17, 1766.

⁹ "Just imported from Africa, And to be Sold, By Nathaniel Mumford, Very cheap for Cash, A few fine Slaves, All young and healthy." *Ibid.*, June 31, July 8, 1765.

[160] ¹ "Proceedings of the General Assembly, at South Kingston, the 24th day of January, 1764", *R. I. Col. Recs.*, VI. 378-383. This remonstrance against the renewal of the Sugar Act the General Assembly voted to transmit to the colonial agent, Joseph Sherwood, who was to present it to the Board of Trade provided any three agents from the other northern colonies would join in the protest. The early paragraphs point out that Rhode Island, a small colony of barren soil, depends entirely on her commerce for subsistence, that she buys from Great Britain yearly in manufactured goods £120,000, and that all but £5000 of that sum must come from her molasses trade.

² Fourteen thousand hogsheads, 2500 of which came from the English islands. In the Moses Brown Papers, Misc. (R. I. Hist. Soc., I. 12), is a long paper on Rhode Island commerce, of nature similar to this, in which the author speaks of an importation of 6000 hhds. of molasses from foreign ports. See also F. B. Wiener, "Rhode Island Merchants and the Sugar Act", *New England Quarterly*, III. 488.

in this colony first introduced the use of rum there, which, from small beginnings soon increased to the consumption of several thousand hogsheads yearly; by which the French are deprived of the sale of an equal quantity of brandy; and as the demand for rum is annually increasing upon the coast, there is the greatest reason to think, that in a few years, if this trade be not discouraged, the sale of French brandies there will be entirely destroyed. This little colony, only, for more than thirty years past, have annually sent about eighteen sail of vessels to the coast, which have carried about eighteen hundred hogsheads of rum, together with a small quantity of provisions and some other articles, which have been sold for slaves, gold dust, elephants' teeth, camwood, etc. The slaves have been sold in the English islands, in Carolina and Virginia, for bills of exchange, and the other articles have been sent to Europe; and by this trade alone, remittances have been made from this colony to Great Britain, to the value of about £40,000, yearly; and this rum, carried to the coast, is so far from prejudicing the British trade thither, that it may be said rather to promote it; for as soon as our rum vessels arrive, they exchange away some of the rum with the traders from Britain, for a quantity of dry goods, with which each of them sort their cargoes to their mutual advantage.

Besides this method of remittance by the African trade, we often get bills of exchange from the Dutch colonies of Surinam, Barbice, etc., and this happens when the sales of our cargoes amount to more than a sufficiency to load with molasses; so that, in this particular, a considerable benefit arises from the molasses trade, for these bills being paid in Holland, are the means of drawing from that republic so much cash yearly, into Great Britain, as these bills amount to.

From this deduction of the course of our trade, which is founded in exact truth, it appears that the whole trading stock of this colony, in its beginning, progress and end is uniformly directed to the payment of the debt contracted by the importation of British goods; and it also clearly appears, that without this trade, it would have been and always will be, utterly impossible for the inhabitants of this colony to subsist themselves, or to pay for any considerable quantity of British goods.

[Of the fourteen thousand hogsheads of molasses annually imported, eleven thousand five hundred are brought from foreign plantations.]

The present price of molasses is about twelve pence, sterling, per gallon; at which rate, only, it can be distilled into rum for exportation; wherefore, if a duty should be laid on this article, the enhanced price may amount to a prohibition; and it may with truth be said, that

there is not so large a sum of silver and gold circulating in the colony, as the duty imposed by the aforesaid act upon foreign molasses, would amount to in one year, which makes it absolutely impossible for the importers to pay it. . . .

There are upwards of thirty distil houses, (erected at a vast expense; the principal materials of which, are imported from Great Britain,) constantly employed in making rum from molasses. This distillery is the main hinge upon which the trade of the colony turns, and many hundreds of persons depend immediately upon it for a subsistence. These distil houses, for want of molasses, must be shut up, to the ruin of many families, and of our trade in general; particularly, of that to the coast of Africa, where the French will supply the natives with brandy, as they formerly did. Two-thirds of our vessels will become useless, and perish upon our hands; our mechanics, and those who depend upon the merchant for employment, must seek for subsistence elsewhere; and what must very sensibly affect the present and future naval power and commerce of Great Britain, a nursery of seamen, at this time consisting of twenty-two hundred, in this colony only, will be in a manner destroyed; and as an end will be put to our commerce, the merchants cannot import any more British manufactures, nor will the people be able to pay for those they have already received.³ . . .

Jamaica is the only English island that now supplies us with molasses (excepting the new acquisition of the Grenades, which affords a small quantity of an inferior quality); and it can be proved by undoubted testimony, that even from thence our vessels have been frequently obliged to bring back money, because molasses was not to be had; and this has happened in the course of a few years, while the trade from the northern colonies to foreign plantations was at the highest.⁴ . . .

161. WILLIAM STEAD TO AARON LOPEZ, 1764.¹

LONDON the 22 June 1764.

. . . accord'g to your directions have got Insur'd for You £1050

³ Here follows an ingenious argument proving the trade an advantage to Great Britain and to the British West Indies.

⁴ By the time this protest reached England the Sugar Act had been passed.

[161] ¹ Lopez Letter-Book, no. 622, p. 26, also on p. 29. The importance of the Jews to the early commercial life of Newport has frequently been remarked. Prominent among them for many years was Aaron Lopez, who came to Rhode Island in 1752 and remained there until the time of the Revolution, when he removed to Leicester, Mass. "He was a merchant of eminence, of polite and amiable manners. Hospitality and benevolence were his true characteristics, an ornament and a valuable pillar in the Jewish society of which he was a member. His knowledge in commerce was unbounded; and his integrity irreproachable. Thus he lived and thus he died; much regretted, esteemed and loved by all." E. Washburn, *Historical Sketches of the Town of Leicester*, pp. 121-124, quoted in *Commerce of R. I.*, II. 52; see also B. M. Bigelow, "Aaron Lopez, Colonial Merchant of Newport", *New England Quarterly*, IV. 757-776.

on the Sloop *Spry* and Cargoe, Piniger Master from New Port to the Coast of Africa and Jamaica for wch Debitt You £82.13. . . .

Dr. Mr Aaron Lopez to William Steade

1764

June 8th	To Premium on £1050 on Ship and Goods in the <i>Spry</i>	}	77.	3.	6
	Wm Pinniger from New Port in Rhode Island to the				
	Coast of Africa, during her Stay there and from				
	thence to Jamaica at 7 Gs. per Ct. to pay £100 per Ct.				
	in case of Loss				
£100 Gildart	} on the Ship	£ 50 Gildart	}	on Goods	
100 Jebb		100 Scott			
100 Pole		200 Russell			
		100 Hake			
	100 Clerk	Policy			
		Comm ½ per Ct	5.	5.	
			82.	13.	

162. JOSEPH AND WILLIAM WANTON TO NICHOLAS
BROWN AND COMPANY, 1764.¹

NEWPORT Aug. 13 1764.

I have Talkt the Matter over with Mr. Underwood and his Terms are 60 pr. Mo. 4 Slaves Priviledge and you to Board him while fitting out, if these Proposals are agreable he will wait on you immed., it is my Opinion he will suit you from what little Knowledge I have of him. . . . if Esek is willing to Quit, don't believe you can Better yourselves then by taking Croswell which was it my Case should do, for depend upon it such Times as will be when your Vessel gets there, never were before and having a stranger won't make it worse.²

163. NICHOLAS BROWN TO JOSEPH, JOHN, AND MOSES BROWN, 1764.¹

PROVIDENCE Sep. 12th 1764.

Gentl., This Serves to Inclose Capt. Whipples Permit and Manifest of Cargo we had ented a large Quy [Quantity] Candles as it might prevent others from Supplying that Markets. Jno. Jenckes asks 6/

[162] ¹ Kimball, Note-Book, II. 42.

² On Sept. 12, 1763, the *Boston Gazette* published a description of the conditions upon the coast, the dearth of slaves, the surfeit of rum, and the resulting price—270 gallons for a prime slave. This has been reprinted in the *R. I. Hist. Magazine* (V. 76) and in *Commerce of R. I.* (I. 96, n. 2). The *Mercury* of July 10, 1765, printed a long account of the state of the trade on the West Coast, taken from a letter from Anamabo to a London correspondent. See this work, II. 526-528.

[163] ¹ Moses Brown Papers, I. 60. The three brothers were in Newport, where Esek Hopkins was fitting the brig *Sally* for an African voyage. This vessel in 1757 was the property of Hopkins, George Corlis, and the Browns. Kimball, Note-Book, vol. I.

for his Tobacco perhaps it might be got of the Judge ² at less, tho' mak'g him an offer while at Newport may put him in mind of sell'g it in Newport where it's much wanted for the Guineamen . . . Inquire of Malbone whither there Brigg Caried Any Qy. Onions—if they did not it may be worth while to get 100 bshl. more at Bristol.

I beleave that if a Stroke was put in the Newport paper Truly giveing a State of the Rum Trade upon the Coast of Guinea it may prevent Meny Vessels from push'g that way this fall, this is a Subject worth our Attention. A Small matter as 2 Dols. will get it from the Newport into the Boston and York Papers or Phila.³

164. NEWS ITEM RELATING TO SLAVE TRADE, 1764.¹

CHARLESTON, Oct. 5 [1764].

In June last, a sloop named the *Adventure*, Millar, master belonging to Rhode-Island or New-London, was trading at Sierra-leon, on the coast of Africa, and the master, with all the crew except one, being carried off by sickness, a gentleman who lived there sent two white men to assist in taking care of sloop and cargo, till a King's ship should arrive and claim them. While the sloop lay at anchor with her slaves, and these three men on board, the natives came off, hauled the vessel ashore, and barbarously murdered the white men and plundered the whole cargo except two slaves. The sloop was claimed by the factory at Bance Island,² and being delivered up to them was valued for the benefit of the owners and taken into service.

² Daniel Jenckes.

³ One would think the discouraging article in the *Boston Gazette*, to which reference has been made, would have accomplished this purpose.

[164] ¹ *Georgia Gazette*, Oct. 25, 1764.

² The factory on Bence or Bance Island, in the mouth of the Sierra Leone River, was at this time owned by Alexander Grant, Richard Oswald, and Company. See this work, II. 565n.

165. ACCOUNTS OF THE BETSEY, 1765-1766.¹
Portage Bill for Sloop "Betsey" Nath Briggs Master on a Voya to Africa and back again.

When shipt	Mens Names	Quality	Wages pr Month	Adva. Wages before Sailing	Adva. on Voya	When disch'd		Time aboard	Whole wages	Wages due
1765, May 15 June 10 July 19 June 18 July 12	Nathl. Briggs William English James Gould William West Philip Altimus	Master Mate Sailor do do	£60 60 60 45 40	£ s. d. 56 16 1½ 170 92 15 132 17 4 74 19 10	£38 56 10	May 21, 1766 do May 1st, 1766 Jany 31, 1766 Nov. 19, 1765 Died and Wages yet in our Hands only pd Briggs £24 May 19, 1766 Do 20, 1766	is is is is	12 Mo 6 days 11 " 11 10 " 2 7 " 13 4 " 7	£732 £682 £604 £334 10	£ s. d. 675 3 10½ 512 473 5 145 12 8 24 pd Captn. Briggs his Adva.
July 19 July 22 Shipt at Jama	Benjamin Shearman John Dickens Thomas Wallas James Hartley	do do do do	45 30	90 30	48 104			10 " 28 9 " "	£450 £298	312 164 61 14 pd him here
				647 8 3½					2367 15 6½ 18 pd by Captn. Briggs	
									2385 15 6½	

[165] ¹Mass. Hist. Soc., Wetmore Papers, vol. II.

The Sloop "Betsey" Nath'l Briggs Master, Aaron Lopez and Jacob Rod. Rivera owners for the Coast of Africa.²

			Dr.		
			£	s.	d.
To Jacob Rod. Rivera					
1765	To 11 Barrels pork a 60/		33		
June 19	To 200 li. of cheese a 10/ OT. ³ per li.		4	5	8½
	To Cash for fish for the people 40/		0	1	8½
	To 1389 Galls. Rumm of Wyatt a 2/ L. Mo.		138	18	
	To Differ'ce between Com: and Guinea hhd. 3/5¼		2	16	
	To Cash for 10 li. Mutton at 8/		0	3	5¼
	To Phil: Wanton bils for Medicines £140 5/		6	0	2½
	To Joseph Boss's Bill for a Boat		14	10	11
	To 2 Doz. Razors	No. 50 at 5/ 5	0	10	10
	To 2 Doz. Do.	51 5/10	0	11	8
	To 2 Doz. Do.	52 7/ 6	0	15	
	To 2 Doz. Do.	53 8/ 9	0	17	6
	To 12 Doz. uncap't penk'ns	22 2/11	1	15	
	To 6 Doz. Capt. Do.	23 6/10½	2	1	3
	To Constant Wilbour's bill for packing 10½ bb pork		0	6	5½
Lawfull Mo			£206	13	8¼
206.	13.	8¼			
21.	2.	8¾			
185.	10.	11			

166. NEWPORT CUSTOM-HOUSE ENTRIES, 1765.¹

Date	Vessel	Master	Voyage
Jan. 14	Three Friends	Toman ²	Outward bound for Africa
" 28	—	Kain ³	" " " "
" "	—	Bardin	Cleared " "
Feb. 4	—	Carpenter ⁴	" " "
Apr. 8	Endeavour	Crosswell	Outward bound " "
" "	Africa	All ⁵	" " " "
" 15	Polly	Wanton ⁶	" " " "
" "	Kingston	Kean	Cleared " "
May 6	Betty [Betsey]	Briggs	Outward bound " "
June 24	Fanny	Morris ⁷	Inward from " "
July 15	Sally	Bull	Outward bound for " "
" 29	Peggy	Moore	Cleared " "
Aug. 26	Fanny	Morris	Outward bound " "
Oct. 28	Queen of Barra	Elliot ⁸	" " " "
" "	Greyhound	Thurston	" " " "
Nov. 4	Polly	Tillinghast	Cleared " "

² The endorsement reads: "Mr. Rivera's Acco't Supplies against Sloop *Betsey* Capt. Briggs £206. 13. 8¼." Rivera was the father-in-law of Lopez.

³ Old Tenor, of which 10 s. are reckoned as equal to 5.1425 d. sterling.

[166] ¹ *Newport Mercury*, for the dates given.

² "Newport, August 11. The Sloop *Three Friends*, Capt. Toman, arrived here last Saturday in 87 Days from Sierraleone. One Mr. Dunfield came Passenger, who was Mate of a Schooner belonging to Bristol, and informs, that last Winter her whole Company, except himself, was killed by the Slaves on board. He escaped by being out in the Boat." *Mass. Gaz. and News Letter*, Aug. 22, 1765, *Ext.*

³ Doubtless Captain Kean of the *Kingston*, whose clearing appears below.

⁴ This is the voyage for which the "outward bound" entry was dated Dec. 24, 1764. Captain Carpenter sailed Feb. 17 (*Newport Mercury*, Feb. 18, 1765). Newport possessed two captains Carpenter, one of whom, Captain Willet Carpenter, died on the coast of Africa sometime in the early spring of 1765. *Ibid.*, June 24, 1765.

⁵ "Capt. Abraham All, of the Brig —, from this Port, in a Letter wrote in September last, at Cape Mount, on the Coast of Africa, says, That the Captains Scofield, Bardine, and Moore, from this Port and Capt. Bowen of Boston were then at that Place. The two last were about sailing for Annamaboa." *Ibid.*, Feb. 10, 1766.

⁶ This was possibly Capt. Edward Wanton, since Capt. Peter could scarcely

167. BENJAMIN GARDNER TO MOSES BROWN, 1765.¹

NEWPORT May the 15 D 1765.

Sir, I Saw a Letter from Capt. Gardiner to Day and informs us of Capt. Hopkins arrivell on the Coast. His Letter was Dated the 25 December from the baneas and that Capt. Hopkins was up the River gamby and Deserd Capt. Gardner to write word of his arivel the first opertunity and that thear All well on board. I have No other News to write.

Sir be so good as to inquire of Capt Bucklin thats from Suranam wat Guineaman that was he Spoke with bound to South Carliner for it is Reported in Newport that my Brother Carpenter is Ded and I shuld be glad you would inquire into it and Lett me know. . . .

168. JOSEPH AND WILLIAM WANTON TO BROWN BROTHERS, 1765.¹

NEWPORT, June 26th, 1765.

Gentlemen, . . . We heartily Condole with you over the bad News from Hopkins,² had he proceeded down to Anamaboe it would have been no better with Regard to Trade, there was the 6th April 17 Sail there of Europeans and Rum men and the latter could not

have been ready for a return voyage to Africa by April. "Capt. Peter Wanton, in a Ship belonging to this Port, with a Cargo of Slaves was also arrived at St. Kitts." *Newport Mercury*, Feb. 11, 1765; *Mass. Gaz. and News Letter*, Feb. 21, 1765.

¹"Newport, June 17. Capt. Owen Morris, who arrived here Yesterday from the Windward Coast of Africa, sailed from thence the 10th of April. A very great Mortality prevailed among the Shipping on the Coast; Capt. Morris was told, that Capt. Spear of Boston, and Capt. Hopkins of Providence, had lost near or quite all their Men, which reduced them to great Distress. Mr. Bennet, Capt. Heath's Mate, of this Place, also died on the Coast. And about 3 Weeks ago, Mr. Edward Belcher, Mate to Capt. Morris, likewise died" (*Mass. Gaz. and News Letter*, June 27, 1765, *Supp.*). That another Captain Morris from Rhode Island was trading in Africa is evident from a letter of Oct. 12, 1765, from Nicholas Brown and Company to Joseph Wanton: "we have Capt. Woodbury Morris's Receipt for 12 Boxes Sp'r Cand. wt. 2/8/4 which he Carried to Guinea on our Acct. Capt. Warner tells us that Capt. Morris' Sold the Cand. at 2/6 Ster'g per C and that he Warner Recd. the pay for the Same in Goold towards purchasing Slaves and was all Accounted together without Aney Distinct'n for the Cargo and that the Whole Effects is in Your Hands You May Either give Us the Money at What Cands. Sold for or we will take our proport'n of what the Slaves Sold for Deducting Freight etc." Kimball, Note-Book, vol. I.

²"Capt. Robert Elliot, *Queen of Barra*, arrived here last Friday from Jamaica, out 78 days." *Newport Mercury*, Nov. 9, 1767.

[167] ¹Moses Brown Papers, I. 62.

[168] ¹Moses Brown Papers, II. 63.

²Benjamin Mason had just reported to the Browns that near the beginning of March Hopkins, with forty slaves on board, had lost all his hands and had been obliged to send to the governor of Gambia for aid. He was at that time trading in Portuguese territory, where he was not allowed to land without the payment of exorbitant customs. It is difficult to reconcile this report with a letter written by the Browns to Capt. Abraham Whipple in July, in which they say that on May 17 Captain Hopkins wrote from the Gambia River that he had lost one man and three others sick (Kimball, *Providence in Colonial Times*, pp. 272-273). On Sept. 24 the owners wrote to a Mr. Relfe that they expected the brigantine to bring off about 140 slaves, for which they hoped to be in cash or bills by January. Hopkins actually lost a portion of his rum cargo from leakage, his mortality on the Middle Passage was heavy (*post*, no. 171), and he was obliged to sell for a low price in Antigua. Years later Moses Brown stated that this firm, as long as he was concerned in it, had lost rather than made money in the slave trade. Kimball, Note-Book, vol. II.

get a Slave at any Price, 750 Hhds. Rum in the Road and the Castles³ full besides.

169. AARON LOPEZ TO CAPTAIN NATHANIEL BRIGGS, 1765.¹

NEWPORT RHODE ISL'D July 22. 1765

Capt. Nath'l Briggs, You being at present Master of our Sloop the *Betsey* wch is now ready loaded and fitted for the seas, our orders to you are, that you Embrace the first fair wind wch God Shall Send, and proceed with her to Sea and there make the best of your way to the Coast of Africa, When please God you arrive there, Endeavour to dispose of your Vessel and Cargo,² provided you Can obtain at Least One Thousand and one hundred Pounds Ster'g for Both, in Good Bills of Exchange, on England, in wch Case you are to remit (if any oppertunity directly from there to any part of England) the first and Second bills of Each Sett to William Stead Esqr. Merch't in London and advice him that Two Thirds thereof are on Acco't of Mr. Aaron Lopez and the Other one Third on Acct. of Mr. Jacob Rod. Rivera, and git the Bill Drawn Conformable thereto, and the Third Bills of Each Sett bring home with you; But if you Cannot Sell her for Bills, and you Can do it for Slaves to good advantage, and you have a prospect of Shipping Said Slaves on Freight to any port of the West Indias (to wch we would give Jamaica the prefferances,) or Should you on the Coast meat with Capt. Ab'm All in our Brig and he Can after he is Slaved Conveniently take any of those you may receive in pay for your Vessel and Cargo, you may put on board of them as many as you may Judge prudent, on our Acco't and we Shall write to Capt. All to that purpose, and as Several Circumstances may present that we Cannot now provide for, we Leave the whole of this Last Transaction to your Judicious Management as being upon the Spot you may be able to act for the most of our advantage. If you Cannot dispose of your Vessel and Cargo on Either of the foregoing Terms, then you are to dispose of her Cargo at any part of the Coast you may think most to our advantage, and as we have a very high Opinion of your Capacity and Experience in that Trade, we Leave the whole Management on the Coast to you, being persuaded you'll have the greatest regard to our Interest, and we beg it may be done in Such a manner as may Enable you to Quit the Coast as Soon as posible, and When you have finished your Trade on the Coast, proceed with your Vessel and Slaves and what

³ *I. e.*, the English forts.

[169] ¹ Newport Hist. Soc., package no. 183.

² On Nov. 11, 1765, Rivera wrote to Captain Briggs: "By a Late Intelligence from the Coast We are in hopes that you have not disposed there of yr Vessel as We had the pleasure to be informed times had alter'd greatly in favr of the Trade at Anamaboa therefore We flater ourselves with soon hearing of your safe arrival to Jamaica." Wetmore Papers, vol. II.

other Effect you may have purchaced, with your Cargo, to Kingston in the Island of Jamaica and there deliver Whatever Slaves you may Carry in, on Acc't of the owners to Mr. Phillip Livingston Jun'r Merch't there, to whom we Shall give our Necessary orders for the disposal of them, and in whose hands we Shall Lodge for you whatever farther orders we may hereafter find Necessary, and we Shall give Mr. Livingston orders to account with you for your Coast Comm's wch is to be four out of Every one hundred and Four, or in the Like proportion from the Neet Sales of the Slaves at Jamaica that you may put in his hands on our Acct.; at Jamaica you are to follow Whatever orders we may Lodge there to Said Mr. Livingston and yourself, that is to Say respecting the dispatching of our Vessel back to this port. We would in the Strongest Manner recommend to you in Case you Sell the Vessel and Cargo, on the Coast for Bills of Exchange, that you take none but what Can be relyd upon as Good, and that the Drawers or Indorsers are good and responsible Men, and that you Leave us no outstanding Debts behind if posible, in your Way from the Coast to Jama. we would not have you put into any port in the West Indias if it Can be avoided; We have no need of recommending to you that in the persuit of your Voyages, you use the greatest dispatch, as Such a Small Vessel cannot Support any great Expen[ce] and that you are Watchfull of the Security of the Slaves; the Priviledge Slaves we have agreed to give in this Sloop is Four and one half to your Self and one and one half to your Chief mate, Mr. Will'm English, and no more, unless you Should purchase any thing with our Nephew Abraham Lopez's Venture for wch he has our Concent, we desier yould not Slip any oppertunity of advising us with the State of your Affairs as well from the Coast as from any other port you may be at, Specially if you Should Sell your Vessel and Cargo for Slaves and Ship the Slaves in Either Capt. All or any other Vessel with the name of Vessel and Master and the port She is bound to in Case we Should think proper to Insure.

170. AARON LOPEZ TO CAPTAIN ABRAHAM ALL, 1765.¹

NEWPORT July 22d 1765.

Capt. Abraham All, We hope you are before this Safe arrived on the Coast and that you may have found a favourable prospect of making a Quick and advantagious Voyage; Reflecting on the orders we gave you, find we Stated the price of Molasses at Jama. at 13 *d.* wch we find is higher then it will answer to bring it to this Market, we therefore refer you to What orders we Shall Lodge in the hands of Mr. Livingston at Jama. hereafter for that purpose. We have ordered Capt. Nath'l Brig in our Sloop, that in Case he Should dis-

[170] ¹ Newport Hist. Soc., package no. 183.

pose of his Vessel and Cargo for Slaves, and you Should not have disposed of our Brig to put on board of your Vessel as many Slaves as you Can Conveniently take unboard, over and above What you may purchase with your Cargo on our Acct. wch in that Case we desier youll take them on board and Deliver them to Said Mr. Livingston on our Accto't Seperate from those that may belong to your Cargoe, your wife is well.

171. NEWS ITEMS RELATING TO SLAVE TRADE, 1765.¹

Capt. Henry Tilinghast from the Coast of Africa, but last from South Carolina, arrived here last Friday. He sailed from Annamaboa the first of May, and left there the Captains Thomas Wickham, Robert Stoddard, William Pinniger, John Coddington, and William Earle of this Port; Caleb Gardner, and Samuel James of Piscataqua, Capt. John Perry, from New York, arrived three Weeks before he sailed. Trade extreme dull upon the Coast.

By Letters from Capt. Hopkins in a Brig belonging to Providence arrived here from Antigua from the Coast of Africa we learn That soon after he left the Coast, the Number of his Men being reduced by Sickness, he was obliged to permit some of the Slaves to come upon Deck to assist the People: These Slaves contrived to release the others, and the whole rose upon the People, and endeavoured to get Possession of the Vessel; but was happily prevented by the Captain and his Men, who killed, wounded and forced overboard, Eighty of them, which obliged the rest to submit.

We hear that Capt. Rogers, of this Place, who lately arrived in the West-Indies from Africa, with a Number of Slaves, being bound from Barbados, to Antigua, the Blacks made an Attempt to overcome the Vessel's Company, but were subdued and twelve of them killed.

172. NEWPORT CUSTOM-HOUSE ENTRIES, 1766.¹

Date	Vessel	'Master	Voyage
May 26	<i>Hope</i>	Mumford	Outward bound for Africa
July 7	<i>Rabbit</i> ²	Briggs	" " " "
" 14	<i>Nelly</i>	Bull	" " " "
" 21	<i>Three Friends</i>	Toman	" " " "
Aug. 25	<i>Sally</i>	Briggs	Cleared " "
Sept. 22	<i>Polly</i>	Child	Outward bound " "
Oct. 20	<i>Africa</i> (brig)	All	Cleared " "
Nov. 10	<i>Fanny</i>	Rogers	Outward bound " "
" "	<i>Polly</i>	Wanton	" " " "
" "	<i>Betsey</i>	Remmington	" " " "
" "	<i>Africa</i> (sch.)	Warner	" " " "
" "	<i>Ruth</i>	Fowler	" " " "

[171] ¹ *Newport Mercury*, Sept. 16, Nov. 18, 1765; *Mass. Gaz. and News Letter*, Nov. 28, 1765.

[172] ¹ *Newport Mercury*, of dates given.

² Probably a mistake for the *Sally*.

173. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO RICHARD ADAMS, 1766.¹

NEWPORT 4th Feb. 1766.

Sir, . . . We beg you Wou'd favor us Without any loss of Time with your Acc't Curr't and the Ball'ce due to us including Interest and damages on the Protested Bills Returned you, it is Now upwards of two years and half Since First and largest Parcel of This Cargo of Slaves Was Consign'd you Which is, you are Sensible much too long to Remain u[n]settled and Unfinished more Especially Considering our haveing taken your Produce for So large a proportion of the Money. we beg you Woud not force us to write again for your Acct and the Ball'ce due.

174. WILLIAM STEAD TO AARON LOPEZ, 1766.¹

LONDON the 14th Feby 1766.

Sir, . . . niether do I hear any thing of the *Spry* Pinneger or the other Vessells You dispatch'd to the Coast of Africa.² . . .

I Observe you had a Letter from Capt Pinneger dated at the Coast the 11th July, that He wou'd proceed to Jamaica as soon as he had taken in his Wood and Water, as yet hear nothing of him. I observe your orders to procure Insurance on £1500 on the Brigg *Africa* Abraham All and £1200 the Sloop *Bettsy* Nat. Brigs, both at and from the Coast of Africa to Kingston in Jamaica all wch shall get done and advise you thereof but cannot by this Opportunity as have just rec'd your Letter, Observe that Mr. Jacob Rod. Riviera holds one third Concern in each of those Vessells, therefore as there are 2 Interests must be done on different policies. . . .

[173] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 214.

[174] ¹ Lopez Letter-Book, no. 629, p. 2. The letter is repeated on p. 6. Stead had written in the preceding September that he had received no request for insurance on the *Betsey* and the *Africa*, and thought possibly Lopez had placed the insurance at home (Letter-Book, no. 622, p. 68). Between writing the first and second paragraphs of this letter he received a letter from Lopez.

² On June 20 Stead wrote: "I see with pleasure that the *Spry*, Pinneger, was arriv'd at Barbadoes and was to proceed to Jamaica; the Underwriters have made frequent Enquiry about Her, as they have now taken the Risque upon them near 2 Years" (Lopez Letter-Book, no. 629, pp. 15, 20). Captain Pinniger had died before this was written but the word had not yet reached London.

175. WILLIAM STEAD TO AARON LOPEZ, 1766.¹

LONDON the 7th March 1766.

Sir, . . . As yet hear nothing of the Guineamen, therefore expected before this You wou'd have Remitted Me some Bills. . . . at foot Hereof You have an account of what Insurance have done on your Guineaman wch was with great difficulty got any thing done as your order is given very loosely for You do not tell Me when your Ship was at the Coast or when to sail, niether at what Valuation to put the Negroes wch when put down in the Policy there is no occasion for a Proof of Interest wch occasions much delay, there are many Underwriters who will not write these Adventures, as they do not look upon them to be the most Eligible, therefore it is necessary you give as full an Explanation, as also how We are to Value the Cargoe on Board. You never can be too particular in giving your Description of the Quality of the Ships for it cannot be suppos'd Gentlemen will take upon them a Risque wch they can get no Information about, as also what time they are like to leave the Coast,² . . .

LONDON the 20th Feby 1766.

Dr. Mr. Aaron Lopez to William Stead

	£	s.	d.
To Insurance on £700. at Four Guineas pr Ct in the <i>Africa</i> Abm All at and from the Coast of Guinea to Kingston in Jamaica	29	8	
To Commission on £700 . . . at ½ pr Ct Policy	3	10	5
			9
£ 100 Davies	£100 Tempner	£33	3
100 Boehm	100 Nash		9
100 Crokatt	100 Muelman		
100 Rooke			
To Insurance on £400 at Four Guineas p Ct in the <i>Betsey</i> Nathl Briggs at and from the Coast of Guinea to Kingston in Jamaica	16	16	
Agreed to return two Pounds pr Ct in Case this Ship be sold upon the Coast of Guinea.			

[175] ¹Lopez Letter-Book, no. 629, p. 6. In a letter of Mar. 28 Stead repeats the substance of this letter. He places the account of the insurance here mentioned with the later letter. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²Again on June 6 Stead urged Lopez to give the fullest possible information when asking for insurance, since many underwriters refused to meddle with Guinea ventures. On Aug. 8 he wrote: "observe the Guinea Adventures will not answer your Expectations, as they will not produce near what you had reason to expect, observe you are fitting out 2 Guinea Men, the Proceeds of wch You intend for Me when you give your order for Insurance please to be particular therein." *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 20.

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	16	16	
To Commission on £400 $\frac{1}{2}$ pr Ct Policy	2		
		5	9
£ 100 Davies	£100 Crokatt	£19	1 9
100 Boehm	100 Rooke		

176. JOSEPH (?) WANTON TO JOHN BROWN, 1766.¹

June 20, 1766.

. . . P. S. Shall be obliged if you would ask the Favour of Capt. Esek Hopkins for a Sight of his Trade Book at the Coast of Guinea, if not Inconsistant with his and your Interest, with a few Directions with regard to the Customs and the Government of the Captain with such observations as his Inspectious Eye has made, shall Send a Vessel there to Touch at the Cape De Verde first, if his Mate is out of Employ and is a Man you would Recommend to us, please to let us know whether he is willing to go the Voyage again in the same Capacity.²

177. WILLIAM STEAD TO AARON LOPEZ, 1766.¹

LONDON the 8th Octor 1766.

Mr. Aaron Lopez Dr. to William Stead

	£	s.	d.
To Insurance on £1000 at 8 Guineas pr Ct in the Sally Capt N Briggs at and from Newport in Rhode Island to the Coast of Africa during her stay and Trade there and back to Barbadoes with Liberty to Proceed to any of the West India Islands			
			84

[176] ¹ Kimball, Note-Book, vol. I. This was one of those rare periods in Rhode Island history when a Wanton was not governor. Joseph came to that office in 1769.

² In the earlier portion of this letter a question was asked about the making of Guinea casks in Providence. Nicholas Brown replied on June 28, offering to allow the Wantons to use the trade-book at any time, and stating that no Providence cooper would deliver Guinea hogsheads for less than £15, since to answer their purpose they must be made of the very "best stuff." Captain Hopkins's first mate was at sea, but the Browns were able to recommend his second mate heartily (*ibid.*). This correspondence presents an interesting picture of the relations between Newport and Providence, as well as between one commercial firm and another. The same month in which this letter was written Samuel Nightingale of Providence wrote to Lopez concerning the Guinea casks made by the Providence cooper Mr. Hacker. Lopez Letter-Book, no. 629, p. 18.

[177] ¹ Lopez Letter-Book, no. 629, p. 26. This is an enclosure in a letter of Oct. 11: "agreeable to yr Direction have made £1000 Insurance on the Brigg Sally and Cargoe Nat. Briggs Master from New Port to the Coast of Africa during Her Stay there and from thence to any of the West India Islands for wch have Debitted your Account £89. 5. 6."

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	84		
Commission 1/2 pCt	5.		
Policy	5.	6	
	5	5	6
Warranted Free of Damage by Insurrection of Negroes under 5 pr Ct	£89.	5	6
100 A Flake	100	Jno LeBreton	
100 E Flake Junr.	100	T A Lempriere	
100 G Hayley	100	H Mudman [Muelman?]	
100 Jos Readshaw	100	G Harrison	
100 G Olive	100	A Champion	

178. NEWPORT CUSTOM-HOUSE ENTRIES, 1767, 1769.¹

Date	Vessel	Master	Voyage
1767, July 20	Tryton	Paul	Cleared for Africa
Aug. 17	Katy	Carpenter	Outward bound for Africa
" 31	Patty	Peleg Clarke ²	" " " "
Sept. 21	Peggy	Charles Moore	Cleared " "
Nov. 30	Polly	Thomas Child	Outward bound " "
1769, Jan. 26	Charlotte	Taylor	Outward bound for Africa
Apr. 20	Prosperity	Martindale	Cleared " "
" 27	Polly	Ferguson	Outward bound " "
June 1	Africa	Champlin	" " " "
" 8	"	David Waldron	" " " "

179. ACCOUNTS OF THE ROYAL CHARLOTTE, 1767-1768.¹

Sales of a Cargo Slaves recd. pr Briga. "Royall Charlotte" William Pinniger Master there being 95 in Number priviledge Slaves Included Vizt. 1767.

	£	s.
1767		
Decr. 28 By Chrs McEvoy Esqr 20 Slaves at £31 Sterl'g Exch'g at 87¼ pr Ct payable in Rum and Cash	1160	19
By Johannes Sobothan [?] Esqr. 6 Small Boys at 130 ps	234	0
By Cornel Kortwright Esqr. 3 Boys at 200 ps } 1 Small Ditto 100 ps }	210	0
By Peter Wood Esqr. 1 Boy 200	60	0
By Thomas Berry 1 Small Ditto 110	33	
29 By Cornel. Hendrickson Esqr. 6 Slaves at 200 ps	360	0

[178] ¹ *Newport Mercury*, for dates given. The *Mercury*, Oct. 6, 1766, published a "Letter from Castle Brew, at Annamaboa," warning Rhode Island captains that the West Coast was infested with pirates. This letter may have lessened the number of captains sailing for the Guinea coast. See this work, II. 528-529.

² In the notices of clearings the *Katy's* master is given as Owen Morris; that of the *Patty* as Samuel Holloway. *Mercury*, Sept. 14, Oct. 12, 1767.

[179] ¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. Among these papers are also accounts relating to the trade of this vessel in Virginia in 1763 and 1764.

[Sales of Cargo of "Royal Charlotte"—continued:]

			£	s.
[1768]	By Loren Bagge Esqr. 8 ditto	200 ps	480	0
Jany. 2	By Rapsot Hylegar 4 ditto	200 ps	240	0
5	By Terence McDonald 2 Men Do.	at 210 ps	126	0
6	By Faugny Farrell 2 wo. Do.	at £62. 10 ps	125	0
7	By John OGarra 1 Ditto	199 ps	59	14
	By Charles Aitken Esqr. 1 Boy WP	210 ps	63	0
	By Charles Thalbetyer 28	at 145 ps	1218	0
	By Cornel. Durant 1 man	160 ps	48	0
	1 winch	145 ps	43	10
	By Cash 1 Boy WP	195 ps	58	10
18	By Doc'r Heren 1 Woman with Dropsy etc.	40 ps	12	0
20	By Doc'r Mears 1 Ditto Do.	40 ps	12	0
21	By Joshua Whitehead 1 Winch	180 ps	54	0
Feby 10	By Jonathan Lord 2 Small Girls } 1 Do Boy }	at 125 ps	112	10
93 sold			£4710	3
1 man left unsold				
1 Girl goes in the Brig				

95 Slaves

Deduct 605 ps $\frac{8}{8}$ being the Amount of 3 Slaves sold belonging to Capt. Wm. Pinniger Included in the Above

188 10

£4528 13

To my Commissions on £4528. 13/
at 5 pr Ct

£ 226 8 6

Ballance Carried to Wm. Pinnigers
Accot Currant

4302 4 6

£4528 13

Errors Excepted
pr CORNEL DURANTMessrs Sam'l and William Vernon and Comp'y Acct.
Current with Will'm Pinniger

Dr.

		£	s.	d.
1768				
March 20th	To the Amount of 40 Hhds Rum Shipt on Board the Schooner <i>Adventure</i> , Joseph Tillinghast On your Acct.	553	0	1
May 5th	To the amount of 17 Hhd Shipt on Board the Schooner <i>Eagle</i> James Easton on your Acct.	217	4	
12	To the amount of 142 Hhds Sugar on Board the <i>Royall Charlotte</i> on your Acct. As pr Invoices	2447	6	11
	to the amount of Mr. Durants Charge for Comisions on £4528. 13s. at 5/c	226	8	6
	To the amount of my Comisions on £4226. 5s. 3 at 5/c.	211	6	0
	To the Amount of the Bill of Dursburments as pr Acc. Rendered In	346	13	3
	To the Ballance of Acct. Setteled and Left with Mr. Corn'l Durant at St. Croix to be Shipt on your Acct In Sugars	733	9	
		4735	7	9
		4567	16	
	Ballance [due] W. Pinniger	167	11	9

1768				
12 May	By the amount of 90 Slaves Capt. William Taylor privi- lodge Slave Included	£ 4528	13	
	By 15 Bushell Corn at 3/3 and 1 Hhd. Rice at 25	9	15	
	By 206 empty Hhds. Sold Edward Beach at 2½ ps 8	15		
	By Cash Recd. of Charles Henry Talbeze Esq. for the Dutys of 12 Slaves which he Shipt of[f] the Island which we Lost the permission for so much Sugar as he agreed to pay the duty at 4 ps 8 pr head	14	8	
		4567	16	
	Ball. Due Will'm Pinniger	167	11	9
		£ 4735	7	9
	By 1 Man Left with Mr. Durant to Sell for your Acct.			

Errors Excepted pr me WILL PINNIGER
May the 12th 1768

Capt. William Pinniger his Acco't Currant with Cornelius Durant
Dr.

		£	s.	d.
1768				
March 25	To Sundrys as pr Acco't Render'd on Another Sheet	312	0	10
30	To Cash to pay the people that Listed in the fort and Charges	25	10	
April 1	To Cash when going to the West End 30/ ditto 3/	1	13	
	To Cash paid Nicholas Welch pr Verball order	3	0	
2	To 1 bbl. Bread 48/ 1 bundle Hoops 12/	3	0	
8	To Cash paid you	3	0	
	To 4 hhds Sugar you shiped pr Champlin on your Own Acco't 3651 Neat at 33/ Duty, and [illegible] 71/4	63	16	2
15	To Cash paid you	3	0	
18	To Cash paid Andrew Burr Your Order	2	16	9
20	To Cash paid you when going to the West End To the Amount of Invoice of 40 hhds Rum shipd for Acco't of the owners of Brig <i>Royal Charlotte</i> pr Schooner <i>Adventure</i> Joseph Tillinghurst Mas'r	3	2	
		553	0	1
30	To 1 bbl port £6 1 bbl. Bread 42/	8	2	
May 5	To Thomas Berry paid him his Acco't dld you To 17 hhds Rum Dld you Shiped by Capt Easton at the West End 1866 Gals at 2/ hhds at 36/ [illegible]	8	13	3
		217	4	
12	To 1 Bbl pork £6 1 bbl Beef 4. 4/ 2 bbls Bread at 42/	14	8	
	To the Amount of 142 hhds Sugar ship'd on board the Brig <i>Royall Charlotte</i> on yr Owners Acco't pr Invo.	2447	6	11
	To the Amount of 5 hhds. ship'd pr Do on yr Own Acco't	77	0	9
	To Cash paid the Pilots Bill for Pilotage heav'g Down etc.	10	19	

[Capt. William Pinniger his Acct. with Cornelius Durant, Dr.—
continued:]

	£.	s.	d.
To Ditto pd for Clear'g out the Brig vizt. the Collector 10 ps Comptroller 10 ps Searcher 10 ps	9	0	
To Cash paid James Cradock your Bills of Expencc	9	3	9
To pd Sam'll Stillman yr Order for 2 bbls pork	9	12	
	£3785	8	6
14th To Ballance due being Seven hundred and thirty Seven pounds 9/ Currency of St Croix which I hereby promise to Ship in produce to Messrs. Sam'll and Wm Vernons and Thos T. Taylor Merchts in Newport they being owners of the Brig <i>Royal Charlotte</i>	737	9	
	£4522	17	6

Cr.

	£	s.	d.
1768 ay 12 By Neat Sales of 90 Negros recd. pr Brig <i>Royall Charlotte</i> as pr Accot Annexed for the Owners	4302	4	6
By the Amount of 3 negro's belonging to Yr self 1 sold for 200 ps 1 Do. 210 ps and 1 Do. 195 ps is 605 ps	181	10	
By 15 bushels Corn at 3/ 1 Cask Rice 25 ps sold to Mr. Thos. Durant sold from Brig <i>Charlotte</i>	9	15	
By Edward Beach for 20 Empty hhds sold him for	15	0	
By Cash recd of Charles Henry Hoxbetzer for the Dutys of 12 Slaves which he shipped of the Island by wch means we lost permission of so much sugar and he agreed to pay said Dutys 4 ps pr head	14	8	
	£4522	17	6

ST. CROIX May 14, 1768
Errors Excepted
pr CORNL DURANT

This Acco't being adjusted and the Ballance due to Capt. Wm. Pinniger on Acco't of the Owners of the Brig *Royall Charlotte* being Seven hundred and thirty Seven pounds Nine Shillings Currency I hereby Engage to ship in produce (Agreeable to his said Pinnigers Orders to me) to Newport Rhode Island on Acco't and Risque of Messrs Sam'll and Wm. Vernon and T T Taylor Merchant, there together with the Neat proceeds of one negro man Slave Left in my hands to sell, when Sold Given under my hand this 14th May 1768
pr. CORNL. DURANT

Error of £4 short Cask in Invoice of Sugar makes the ballance only 733. 9/.

180. AARON LOPEZ TO HENRY CRUGER, JR., 1767.¹

NEWPORT RHODE ISLAND Feby 9th 1767.

p. va. Boston.

Sir, Since my Last respects to you Under the 17th Novr per Capt Osborne, your kind favr of the 9th Octor Came safe to hand via Philada advising your having agreeable to my request, Caused Insurance of £500 Strg to be made for my Acct on the brig *Sally*, Nathl Briggs Master to the Coast of Africa, etc. agreeable to the Bill you sent me, Amo[untin]g with Charges to £55.8. which is passed to your Credit. I Cannot Entertain the Least tho't but you used your greatest Influence to get the Premoio on the Easiest terms, but Permit me Sir to tell you the underwriters of your place give us no manner of Encouragemt to order our Insurance in Bristol, unless we Can have it done as low there as in London for when I inform you That Several Insurances were made in London at the Same time on Like voyages and Even on this Same Vessel and voyage at 8 per ct. that 10 Guineas at Bristol you will Certainly think the odds too great. Hope the Insurance on the *Affrica* Capt All has been done on more Moderate terms, wch am in daily Expectations to hear you have Effectuated.² . . . We have Lately reced Letters from Capt Briggs from the Coast of Africa advising his Safe arrival there, and Had begun to trade with tolerable success for the time he had been there wch gives me great reason to hope his stay on the Coast will not be great and that the Voyage if no Great Mortality may prove advantagious. . . .

181. WILLIAM STEAD TO AARON LOPEZ, 1767.¹

LONDON 14th Feby: 1767.

Sir, . . . herewith you have an Accot of £800 Insurance on the *Africa*, All, for wch have Debitted you £71.10/wch effected soon after I wrote my last, but Policy being Mislaid cou'd not sooner send you the Particulars wch you have Herewith²

[180] ¹Lopez Letter-Book, no. 81. Cruger, a brother of John Harris Cruger, the New York Loyalist, was a merchant in Bristol, Eng.

²On July 7 Lopez wrote again to Cruger, having in the meanwhile heard that the *Africa's* insurance amounted to £41 13, the premium being the same as that paid on the *Sally*. Cruger had also informed him that the Bristol merchants were indignant that their rate should be considered too high. Lopez Letter-Book, no. 81.

[181] ¹Lopez Letter-Book, no. 629.

²On Nov. 15, 1766, Stead wrote: "Agreeable to your Orders have got Insur'd £750 Ship and Goods in the *Africa*, All, from Rhode Island to Africa during her stay there and from there to the West Indies for wch have Db you £ [blank]." *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 32.

1766	Dr. Mr. Aaron Lopez		
Novr. 21	To Insurance on £800 at 8 Gs. pr Ct. in the		
	<i>Africa</i> Abm All at and from Rhode		
	Island to all or on any Parts and Places		
	whatsoever upon the Coast of Africa		
	forward and backward, during her stay		
	and trade there and from thence to her		
	Ports of Discharge in British America.		
	Waranted free from Damage by Insur-		
	rection of Negroes under 5 perCt and		
	free of Damage that may arise by trading		
	in boats	£67	4
	To Commo $\frac{1}{2}$ per Ct	4.	
	Policy		6
		£71.	10
100 Pole	100 Scott	100 Braunell	
100 Freeman	100 Corbett	100 Miulman	
100 Berncke	100 Berncke		

182. SAMUEL VERNON AND OTHERS TO GEORGE HAYLEY, 1767.¹

NEWPORT 24th Ap'l 1767.

Sir, Rec'd your Esteem'd Fav. of the 3d Jany. 1766 informing us of the dissolution of your Partnership With Mr. Champion and your determining to carry on business your self as usual in your own name which Ask Pardon for our Remissness in not Answering your Letter more seasonably.² We now request you to get Insured for us on Brig't *Royal Charlotte* Wm. Tayler Mas'r £1000 Sterling on Cargo and £600 on Vissel from Hence to the Coast of Africa and during her Trade There covering the Prem'm a double bottom'd Vissel and an experienced Capt'n. one Moity on Acct. Sam'l and Wm. Vernon and the other Moity on Acct. Thos. Teakle Tayler and Wm. Tayler. The Vissel now in this Port and ready to sail.³

183. AARON LOPEZ (?) TO HENRY WHITE, 1767.¹

NEWPORT July 15 1767 per ST. CROIX

Sir, . . . Wish I knew if you intend to send your Vessel for the Rum so that I might have time to Collect it for as I have said that many distil houses ay [are] Engaged for Sundry Guineamen

[182] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 130.² This partnership had come to an end at the close of 1765. *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 136.³ The letter is signed by Samuel and William Vernon, and Thomas Teakle and William Taylor. See *post*, nos. 191, 192.[183] ¹ Lopez Letter-Book, no. 81.

fitting out and the Drought has been so severe here that some distillers I am told will be obliged to Stop for want of Water.

184. TRADE ON THE AFRICAN COAST, 1767.¹
[Sundry Accounts.]

Recd from Mr. Brew 25 Cags Soap and one Quire paper.
Sept. 19 Trusted my Lord Augustus Fitzroy five Ounces Gold and has put his Son On board as a pawn and is to pay me a fine young Woman and one Ounce gold
Sept. 21st Sent Old Peter Qua 1 Oz gold and he is to put his Son On board as a pawn and is to pay me gold in One Weak Or a fine young Woman

July 13	Bonny Wanton To 3 gallons Neate Rum [illegible] on your head from Addoe 1 accy.	Oz. 2
July 14	Quomino off Annamaboe To 3 gallns Neate Rum	Dr. oz. 2
July 14	Little Annimer gold Taker To 2 gallns Neate Rum	Dr.
July 14	Baddoe Saltponds To 3 gallns neate Rum Paid 2 accts.	Dr. Octr. 26th 2
July 14	Ankinney Gold Taker To 1 galln Neate Rum	Dr.
Sept. 3d	To 1 galln Neate Rum	
July 15	Cabbashire Quomino Annamaboe To 6 lb. Sugar To 1 hhd of Rum 89 gallns to pa prime Woman Slave ²	Dr. Oz. 1

Delivered by Mr. Thos. James to the Seccond off Appam On Acct of Wm. Taylor by Wm. Pinnegar Orders as by his Acct.³

1767			
Sept. 30th	For the Salvage off the Longboate oz. 1. 10	Oz. 3	4
	For Attendance on the boate by Canoes 1½ galls. Liquor		
	For Salvage of the Whiteman 5. 4		11
		3	15

[184] ¹N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. These items come from a badly torn trade-book of 1767 and from loose papers in the box. There is no reason to think they all relate to the trade of the same vessel.
²Similar items follow. On Aug. 20 there is another to "My Lord Augustus Fitzroy," possibly one of the native traders (*ante*, no. 140, n. 5). After several pages recording such trade as this there follows a list of provisions purchased, including fish, plantins, potatoes, limes, eggs, greens. There is also a careful list of other expenses on the West Coast, but no clue to the name of the vessel or the captain whose trade is recorded. The probability is that the vessel belonged to the Vernons, as the bulk of the papers in this box are Vernon papers.
³Endorsed, "Thos. James's Acctt. of Sundrys dd."

[Sundry Accounts—continued:]

Recovering the Longboate after parting 2 gall.			
Delivered Wm. Pinnegars private Acco't		Trade ⁴	
1/2 a guiney Stufs			1
3 1/2 Rum			1
a Case of gin			4
1/2 galls Liquor		Oz.	6
Delivered Thos Taylor and John Faulkner		Trade	
Two blankits			4
1 Chillo			8
1/2 galln. Liquor going up and 1 accy gold			2 4
Gold for their Lodging etc. to Addo Coma and			
maintanance 1 month			10
		Oz. 1	8 4
			3 15
			6
			5 13 4
1 half say ⁵	Oz. 10	1 half say	10
1 Blew Roma	6	1 Romal	6
1 Neg'pot	10	1 paeth	6
1 Red paeth [?]	6	1 Tapseil	8
2 Accey basons	2	1 chello	10
1 pan	1	1 Negan'pot	10
Gold 10 acceys	Oz. 1 1	1/2 guiney Stufs	1
		2 Blankets	4
		1 Brass pan	1
		2 Accy basons	2
		1 Case gin	4
		3/4 galls. Rum	1 4
		4 1/2 galls Liquor	6
		Oz. 1 gold	2

Dr. Capt. Will'm Taylor with Rich'd Brew and Co.

	G. Rum	Gal. R.	Oz.	A.	Tac.
1767					
Octob. 16 To 43 Men Slaves	130	5590			
To 27 Women Do.	110	2970			
To 4 Boys Do.	110	440			
To 2 Do. Do.	100	200			
To 4 Girls Do.	80	320			
To Ballce Gold Acco't 5 at		8			
To 28 Empty hheads		56			
		9584			
To Sundrys pd pr Mr. James for the Redemption of your Boat			3	2	6
To 2 hundred wood pr Mr. James					4
To 25 Kegs Soap 5 ac Gold 1 a				6	
To 1 Iron Barr				1	
To 2 Tons Rice			10	0	6
			13	10	2
To 2 Boys 4 feet 2 Ea. for					
6 quarter Cask Wine					

⁴ Fourteen tackies made an accy, sixteen accies an oz.
⁵ The following items may have been memoranda for the account above.

Cr.

1767				
October	By 93 hhds. Rum [?]	8605		
	By 41 Rolls Tobo. at 24 G.	984		
		9589		
	By 800 lb. Tobo. at 11 lb. pr 1a.	4	8	4
	By 85 Gall. rum on Mr. Wortman			
	Acct. at 24 Gall. pr oz. 1	3	8	4
	By 7 Blls. flour 10	4	6	
	By 2 C. 1. 18 lb. Bread		14	2
	By Ball'ce		5	
		13	10	2
	By 6 quarter Cask Wine			

Errors E pr RICHARD BREW AND CO.
ANNAMABOE 26 October 1767

185. ABRAHAM PEREIRA MENDES TO AARON LOPEZ, 1767.¹

KINGSTON, 1st November, 1767.

Hon'd Sir, . . . I shipped on board Capt. Newdigate 2 prime Slaves, a Man and Wench, which costed me £72 for both. they are young Negroes and very able. . . .

I must now give you a Narrative of my Transactions with Capt. All. At my arrival in this place I heard of Capt. All being here, which gave me great Satisfaction, more so as I heard Negroes was in great demand. he paid me a visit the first day, but being very weak and obliged to receive company could not talk over matters. at the third day, I waited on Capt. All on board his Brig and to my great Surprise, I found the Negroes nothing to what I expected. However I laid down to Capt. All the consequence of his being detain'd, the great Expence his Negroes must be att, his portlage bill running up, and the Vessell receiving damage every day and the approaching Winter, and desired he would deliver the Negroes in my hands and would use all means to procure him 20 or 30 punch (eon)s Rum. He absolutely told me he could not answer the

[185] ¹ *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 209-210. Mendes, who had gone to Jamaica, probably from Newport, was Lopez's son-in-law. He went with power of attorney to receive some £600 due to Lopez from Philip Livingston for slave cargoes (Lopez Letter-Book, no. 81). His first letter, of Sept. 28, was written before he had seen Captain All's cargo, at which time he hoped to procure £25 stg. for the negroes. The next day he inspected the *Africa*, and as a result wrote a most discouraging account to Lopez. *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 203, 205.

same as it was against his Orders. I made for answer that nothing but Mr. Lopez and Mr. Rivera's Interest which I have so much at Heart would have prompt(ed) me to purpose that Question. I dare say had he delivered the Negroes to me I could have sold them to good planters for a very good prise. All my means was not wanting in helping to dispose the Negroes but as his orders mentions Cash or Rum could not obtain it. I imagine he must att last yield to my proposition and you may rest yourself contented, that my utmost endeavours shall not be wanting, and hope very soon to give you good Tidings on this head. upon the whole I cannot totally blame Capt. All as his Instructions was so particular. . . .

186. AARON LOPEZ TO ABRAHAM PEREIRA MENDES, 1767.¹

NEWPORT Nov. 6th 1767.

Dear Mr. Abra Pera Mendes, . . . it also gives me no Small Pleasure to find you arrived in Season to Assist Capt. All, in the disposal of his Small Cargo, by what he had wrote us from Barbados and on his arrival at Jama we Expect he had brought off a parcel of Suitable Slaves for that Market, which am sorry to understand by you is Much to the Contrary, I am afraid by the sale of the 11² he had made and the Mortality he had met with Since he arrived there, that his refusing the first offer he had will turn to our disadvantage, however hope that will be made up by your Assiduous Endeavour to promote our Interest wch am well Convinced you allways will have at heart: We approve Much your Resolution of sending her away soon with a Load of Rum and hope by Next week to See him safe arrived here. Capt. Briggs is not yet returned nor have we had any other News then to see by prints he was arrived at Antigua, wish to see him home [*torn and illegible*].

187. ABRAHAM PEREIRA MENDES TO AARON LOPEZ, 1767.¹

KINGSTON, November 29, 1767.

Dear Sir, The above was wrote 11 days agoe² was the time appointed for Cap'n All sailing, but his indisposition has caused his delay. The negroes which All deliverd me was in such poor order, occasioned by their being consignd on board his small Brig, that I was oblige to sell 8 boy and girls at £27, 2 do. at £45, 2 Women £35 each. I gott the Cash for the Boys; but the Vessell having poor

[186] ¹ Lopez Letter-Book, no. 81.

² Immediately on Captain All's arrival he had sold eleven negroes, pronounced by him to be refuse, for £15 stg. *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 203.

[187] ¹ *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 213-214.

² On Nov. 18 Mendes had written that Captain All was leaving in his hands several negroes for sale.

Rigging and going on the Winter's Coast would not venture to rimitt by him the money, but shall wait for your forther Orders. Could I got Insurance made here would have rimitted.³ . . .

188. ACCOUNTS OF THE OTHELLO, 1768-1769.¹

Brigg "Othellos" Book of Trade On the Coast Africa for Acct. of the Owners of Said Brigg

Othello ² Commencing at Dick's Cove Decem'r 23th 1768

		Galls.	Oz.	Ackies
Dec'r 25th	Sold Mr. Willson			
	Viz. 4 Keggs Biscuit at 2 Ackeys Each			8
	2 Ditto Sturgeon at Do. Do.			4
	20 lb. Coffee at 5 lb. pr Ackey			4
	18 lb. Onions at 6 lb. Do.			3
	Recd. in Pay Gold Dust		1	3
26th	Sold at Elmina Castle			
	Viz: 192 lb. Onions at 6 lb. pr Ackey		2	
	40 lb. Coffee at 5 lb. Do.			8
	2 Firkins Butter at 12 Ackeys Each		1	8
	4 Keggs Biscuit at 2 Do. Do.			8
	4 Barrells Flour at 10 Do. Do.		2	8
	Recd. in Pay 14 half Johanneses which is Equal to Seven Ounces Gold		7	
26th	A Man Slave Nt. Paid for him	110		
	Trusted Wm. Archer a hhd. Rum which he is to Pay a fine Girl Recd. the Girl No. 67	95		
	A Woman Slave No. 8	84		
	4 Keggs Biscuit at 2 Ackeys Each			8
Jan. 14th	Sold Capt. Peter Dordin			
	Viz. 25 lb. Butter at 5 lb. pr Ackey			5
	18 lb. Tobacco at 9 lb. Do.			2
	Recd. in Pay Gold dust			7
	Quantity of Rum Sold Carried over ³	289		

³ On Feb. 9, 1768, Mendes wrote that he had lost four of the negroes left by Captain All, that four he had sold for £25 each, and two he still had on his hands (Wetmore Papers, 1768-9). This captain was still in the Guinea trade in 1772, when news reached Boston by way of Philadelphia that his vessel and cargo were shipwrecked though he and his crew had escaped. *Mass. Gaz. and News Letter*, July 30, 1772.

[188] ¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. A small and greatly defaced book contains the accounts of the sailors on the *Othello*: William Duer, Goodman Halverston, George Lambert, John Chace, Michael Keable, George Harvey, and Ezekiel Mitchel.

² On Sept. 8, 1768, William Vernon wrote to George Hayley for insurance on the *Othello*, from "hence to Africa while there and to Market." The vessel he valued at £400, the cargo at £1000. He wished to be free to sell the cargo at Barbados, the Leeward Islands, or South Carolina, or to sell the vessel itself on the African coast. Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 144.

³ The leaves of the trade-book of the *Othello* are not in the order in which the

		Coast Africa	Gall.	Oz.	Ackies
Dr. Decem'r 26th		Governor of Moree Castle ⁴			Dr.
		To 6 Cask Rum Cont'g	564		
	30th	Bought Capt. Codingtons Long Boat Paid for Her a Woman Slave			
		David Mills Esqr. ⁵			Dr.
	26th	To 3 Hogsheads Rum Cont'g	260		
		John Woortman Esqr. ⁶			Dr.
Jan'r	4th	To 8 Cask Rum Landed him Cont'g	745		
	6th	To 8 Do. Do.	73 ¹		
	7th	To 8 Do. Do.	719		
	8	To 4 Do. Do. To 2 Firkins Butter at 12 Ackies Each To 200 lb. Onions at 12 lb. pr Accy. To 2 Pair Shoes Belo'g to W. W. Vernon	37 ¹	1 1	8 0.4 4
Jan'r	14th	To 1 Firkin Butter at			12
	17	To Rum Sent him on Shore	29		
			2595 289	3	8.4
		Quantity of Rum bro't from the Other Side and Carried Forward	3708		
Janr.	10th	To Cask Rum Cont'd To Rum for Gold	78 18		12
	12th	To Cask Rum Cont'd	88		
	14th	To Cask Rum Cont'd To Rum for Gold	80 1½		1
	15th	To Cask Rum Cont'd	98		
		To 2½ Ounces Gold Dust To Rum	60	2	8
	17	To Cask Rum Cont'd To 12 Galls Rum at 1½ Galls pr Ac	88 12		8
	18th	To Cask Rum Cont'd	73		

trading was carried on and the editor has attempted, not with entire success, to present the items in chronological order. It is obvious that the accounts are not complete and that in some places the order is questionable.

⁴ Moree or Mouree was a Dutch settlement and fort east of Cape Coast Castle.

⁵ David Mill was the governor at Cape Coast Castle from Aug. 11, 1770, to Jan. 20, 1777.

⁶ The Dutch governor at Cormantine.

		Annamaboe Road	Galls.	Oz.	Ackies
					Cr.
Decr	26th	By 2 Men Slaves N. 2 and 3 at 110 Gall. By 1 Man Boy N. 4 at Ditto By 2 Girls N. 5 and 6 at 70 Gall. By 1 Boy N. 7 at Do. By 1 Oz. Gold Dust Equal	220 110 140 70 24		
			564		
Ma	10th	By 2 Men Slaves No. 77 and 78	260		
Jan'r	4th	By 7 Men Slaves N. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15 at 130 Gallons By 2 Men Boys No. 16 and 17 at Do. By 5 Small Boys N. 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22 at 85 Galls. Each By 2 Girls No. 23 and 24 at ditto By 1 Woman N. 25 at By 1 Man N. 26 at By 1 Woman and Child No. 27 at By 1 Man N. 48 at By 1 Woman N. 49 at By 1 Man N. 79 at By 1 Woman No. 80 at By 1 Kegg Powder By 1 Box Pipes for the Slaves By 6 Empty hhds. By Gold dust	910 260 425 170 110 130 110 130 110 130 110 5 4 12.6 2.6		
Ma	6th 9th 22th 24th 10th 17th			2	
			2595	3	8.4
Janr.	18th	By 1 Boy Slave N. 28 By Gold dust for Rum	78 18		Cr. 12
	12th	By 1 Boy Slave N. 29	88		
	14th	By 1 Woman and Child N. 30 By Gold Dust for Rum	80 1½		1
	15th	By 1 Man Slave N. 31 By 1 Man Slave N. 32	98 60	2	8
	17th	By 1 Fine Boy Slave No. 33 By Gold dust	88		8
	18th	By a Fine Girl N. 34	73		

	Coast Africa	Galls.	Oz.	Ack.
	Thomas Drew Esqr. of Tantum ⁷			Dr
Janr. 23th	To 40 Cask Rum Cont. To 3 Keggs Sturgeon at 3 Acy Each To 2 Ditto Biscuit at 2 Do. Do.	880		9 4
Feb. 16th	To 4 Cask Rum Cont'g To 2 Keggs Biscuit at 2 Ac. To 1 Barrell Flour To 60 lb. Onions at 12 lb. pr Ackey Recd. 1 oz. 8 Acs. Gold for 36 Galls Rum	277		4 8 5 8
		1157	3	6
	Quantity of Rum bro't from the Other Side and Carried Forward	3708		
		5461¼		
Janr. 21th	To a Cask Rum Cont'g Mr. Willson	72		Dr.
	To 1 Hogshead Rum Cont'g at 1½ Gall. pr Ackey To 1 Keg Biscuit at	87	3	10 2
			3	12
22th	To 1 Cask Rum Cont'g Mr. James Lane	50		Dr.
23th	To 9 Cask Rum Cont'g To 1 Barrell Flour at To 2 Keg Biscuit at	797		8 4
		797		12
	Mr. Robt. Johnston			Dr.
Febr. 1th	To 9 Cask Rum Cont'g To 1 Keg Biscuit To 40 lb. Onions at 10 lb. pr Ackey	725		2 4
		725		6
	Quantity of Rum bro't from Other Side and Carried Forward	5461½		
		7192½		

⁷ Drew was the English chief at Tantumquerry.

	Annamaboe Road	Galls.	Oz.	Ack.
Janr. 23th	By 3 Men Slaves No. 35, 36, and 37 at 130 By 1 Woman N. 38 By 1 Man Lost Out the Boat No. 41 By 1 Woman and Child N. 42 By 1 Man Boy N. 43	390 110 130 110 110		
Feb. 16th	By 2 Men Slaves No. 70 and 71 By 5 Empty hhd. By Gold Dust for Rum By Ditto	260 11 36	1 1	8 14
	Galls.	1157	3	6
Janr 21th	By 1 Woman Slave N. 39	72		Cr.
	By Gold Dust for hhd Rum By Do. Do. for Biscuit	87	3	10 2
			3	12
22th	By 1 Boy Slave N. 40	50		Cr.
23th	By 2 Men Slaves N. 44 and 45 By 1 Man Boy N. 46 By 1 Woman N. 47	260 130 110		
Febr 1th	By 2 Ditto N. 50 and 51	220		
16th	By 1 Girl B. 69 By Gold Dust	77		12
		797		12 Cr.
Feb. 1	By 4 Men Slaves No. 52, 53, 54, and 55 at 130 Gall.	520		
	By 1 Boy N. 56	86		
Mar'h 24th	By 1 Woman Girl N. 81 at By 2 Empty Hogsheads By Gold Dust	110 9		6
		725		6

1769	Coast Africa	Gallons	oz.	ac.
Dr. Feby 3th	To 2 Cask Rum Cont'g	162		
4th	To 1 Cask Rum Cont'g	50		
5	To Gold Dust To 2 Galls Rum House Custom	2	4	
7th	To 1 Cask Rum Cont'g Cornelius Venhorgen Esqr	45		
	To 4 Cask Rum Cont'g Sent in Our Long Boat	413		
11th	To 1 Cask Rum Cont'g	66		
14th	To 1 Cask Rum Cont'g	70		
16th	To 1 Cask Rum Cont'g To Rum	71 16		
		87		
22th	To Cask Rum Cont'g	72		
Mar. 1th	To Gold Dust To House Customs	2	4	1
5th	To Rum sent to Moree in the Boat	110		
	To Rum for Gold	96		
	Quantity of Rum brot from the Other Side and Carried Forward	7192½		
	Galls. Rum	8367½		
	Richard Brew Esq.			Dr.
Jan'r 26th	To 1 Barrell Tar ddr Capt. Chalmers pr Your Order Which I have his Receipt for			8
Feb. 21th	To 13 Barrells Flour at 6 Ackeys Each		4	14
	To 18 Keggs Biscuit at 1 Do. Do.		1	2
22th	To 3 Barrells Turpentins at 4 Ackeys			12
	To 2 Ditto Pitch at Do.			8
	To 1 Hogsheads Loaf Sugar 423 lb. at 6 lb. pr Ackey		4	6
	To 1 Barrell Brown Sugar 312 lb. at 12 lb. Do.		1	10
	To 6 Casks Tennireff Wine at 1 Oz. pr Cask		6	
	To 4 Firken Butter			12
Mar. 24th	To 4 Barrells Beef at 1 oz. pr bbl.		4	
	To Gold Dust for Palm Oil			13.3
			25	5.3

	Annamaboe Road	Gallons	Oz.	Ackies
				Cr.
Febr. 3th	By 1 Woman Girl N. 57 at By 1 Small Do. N. 58 at	86 76		
		162		
4th	By 1 Girl Slave N. 59 at	50		
5th	By 1 Fine Woman No. 60 at By 2 Galls. Pd. House Customs	2	4	
7th	By 1 Boy Slave N. 61 at	45		
	Contra			
	By 3 Women Slaves N. 62, 63, and 64 By 1 Woman Girl N. 65	330 83		
		413		
11th	By 1 Woman Slave N. 66 at	66		
14th	By 1 Girl Slave N. 68	70		
16th	By 1 Woman N. 72 at By 8 Empty Hogsheads	71 16		
		87		
Ma 2th	By 1 Girl Slave No. 73 at	72		
1th	By 1 Woman Slave No. 74 at By House Custom Pd.	2	4	1
5th	By 1 Woman Slave No. 75 at By 5 Empty Hogsheads	100 10		
		110		
	By Gold Dust for Rum	96	4	
				Cr.
Mar. 24th	By 4 Men Boys at 5 oz. N. 82, 83, 84 and 85 By 1 Do. Do. at By 1 Cask Palm Oil Cont'g	20	20 4	18 13.3
			25	13.3

	Coast Africa	Galls.	Oz.	Ack.
25th	To Rum To 3 Ounces Gold Dust	24	1 3	
	Charles Bell Esqr.		4	Dr.
	To 1 Barrell Flour at To 50 lb. Onions at 10 lb. pr Ackey To 2 Keggs Biscuits at 2 Do.			10 5 4
	Gilbert Petrie Esq. ⁸		1	3 Dr.
Dec'r 25th	To 96 lb. Onions at 8 lb. pr. Ackey To 8 lb. Coffee at 4 lb. Do. Do.			12 2
Mar. 24th	To 26 Galln Rum at 1½ Galls. pr Ackey	26	1	1.3
			1	15.3
	Quantity Rum bo't from the Other Side Gall. Rum	8367½ 8417½		

Account Gold Dust Recd. and Paid on Slaves and Provisions as pr Acct. of Barters

		Oz.	Ack.	Tackies
	To Gold Dust Paid on 4 Slaves	13	9	
	To Ditto for Palm Oil		13	3
	To Ditto for Provisions	6	9	5
	To Ditto On Board		8	7
	Oz	21	8	7
	Account Provisions Bo't wt Gold Dust			
Febr 4th	By 16 Baskets Corn		4	
6th	By 22 Do. Do.		7	2
7th	By 24 Do. Do.		6	
12th	By 6 Do. Do.		1	6
13th	By 6 Do. Do.		1	4
14th	By 14 Do. Do.		12	6
	By Kenkeys for the Slaves			5
22th	By 83 Baskets Corn	1	4	6
	By 27 Do. Do.		6	6
	By 2½ C. Yams		3	6
	By 2 Goats		1	
	By 4 l. Yams Gobbagobs and Kenkeys		7	5
	By 58 Baskets Corn	1	1	6
	By 241 Yams		3	6
	Oz	6	9	5

⁸ Petrie governor of Cape Coast Castle from 1766 to 1769; Bell, in 1756 and 1761.

	Annamabo Road	Galls.	Oz.	Ackey's
Mar. 25	By 1 Woman Girl N. 76		4	
	By Gold Dust		1	3
24th	By Canoe hire to goe to Annamboe			2
	By fill'g and Bringing off 816 Casks Water			10
	By 1000 Billets Wood			10
	By Gold Dust			9.3
			1	15.3

Memorandum of the Mortality of Slaves on Board the "Othello" while on the Coast of Africa and On Her Passage to the West Indies.

Febr. 6th	A Man Jumpt Over Board Out the Long Boat and Was Drowned	No. 1
Mar. 18th	Two Women Lost Over Board Out the Vessell in the Nit By Neglect of Sd. Mate Not Locking them up a bad Wach kept	No. 2 and 3
April 6th	A Man Slave Died With the Flux	No. 4
13th	A Woman Slave Died With the Flux	No. 5
17th	A Boy Slave Died wt. the Flux and Swelling	No. 6
May 4th	A Man Slave Died wt. the Flux	No. 7
7th	A Man and Boy Slave Died wt. a Flux	No. 8 and 9
June 16th	A Man Slave Died at Cape Henry	No. 10
21th	A Man Slave Died in James River wt a Swelling	No. 11
July 5th	A Woman Slave Died with a Fever and Swelling	No. 12
6th	A Girl Slave Died been Sick two Months wt. the Flux	No. 13

Coast Africa

Trade

	Brigg <i>Othello</i>	Dr.	Galls.
Decm. 28th	To Paid Customs at Annamaboe 12 lb. Tobacco etc.		86
	To Ditto Agar Custom 12 lb. Do. etc.		44
	To Ditto Annashan 6 lb. Do.		4
	To Ditto Little Cormintine		4
	To Ditto Great Cormintine 12 lb. Tobacco		9
	To Ditto Salt Pond 12 lb. Do. and 6 lb. Sugar		16
	To 1½ C. Plantins		1½
	To C. Yams 3 Gall. and Fish for the Slaves		3½
Jan. 30th	To 2 C. Plantins 1 Jar Palm Oil 1½ Galls. Pepper 1 Quart		3¾
4th	To C. ½ Plantins 1½ Galls. Limes and Pepper 1 Gallon		2½
	To Carriing a Letter to Lagoe 10 Leag's 2 Galls.		2
	To 2 Trips Water 2 Galls, Each		4
5th	To Paid Custom for the Water Pond		24
	To 6½ C. Plantins 6½ Galls. Pepper ½ Galls.		7
6	To 1 Trip Water 2 Galls. Canoe hire 1 Galls.		3
7th	To 2 C. Plantins 2 Galls, 1 Iron Part [Bar] 1½ Galls. Neat		5
9th	To 1 Trip Water 2 Galln. C. ½ Plantins 1½ Gall.		3½
10th	To 1 Tortoise 2 Galls. nt. Limes ½ Gallon		4½
	To 1 Trip Water 2 Galls. 1 Empty Hogshead 2 Gall. Nt.		6
14th	To C. Yams 3 Galln. 2½ C. Plantins 1 hhd. 2 Gall. Nt.		9½
15th	To 2 Empty hhd. 4 Gall. Nt. Limes and Plantins 1½ Gal.		9½
17th	To 1 Do. Do. 2 Do. 2 C. Herrings 2 Galls.		6
21th	To Cloth for the Slaves 1½ Galls. Pepper ½ Galls.		2
23th	To 1 Trip Water 2 Galls. 1 Goat 1½ Galln. 6½ C. Plantins		10
24th	To 2 Jars Palm Oil 5 Galls. 1 C. Yams 3 Galln.		8
26th	To 1 Trip Water 2 Galln. 2 Jars Palm Oil 4 Galls.		6
	To 1 Empty hhd. 2 Galls. Nt. Pepper and Limes 1½ Galls.		5½
Jan. 27th	To C. Pepper 1 Galln. Pepper and Plantins 4½ Galls.		5½
28th	To Pepper ½ Galln. 3 C. Plantins 3 Galln. C. Wood 2 Galln.		5½
30th	To Cloth for the Slaves 3½ Galls. Nt. Yams ½ Galln.		7½
	To 2 C. Plantins 2 Galls. 2 Jars Palm Oil 4 Galls.		6
31	To Pepper and Limes 1½ Galls. 4½ C. Plantins		6
	To 1½ C. Wood 3 Gallns. Pepper ½ Galls. C. Wood 2 Galls.		5½
Feb. 3th	To 4 Jars Palm Oil 8 Galls. Pepper ½ Galls. C. Plantin 1 Gal.		9½
	To 5 Trips Water 10 Gals. 4 Baskets 2 Gals.		12
	To Fish for the Slaves 2 Gals. 2 Jars Palm Oil 2½		4½
4th	To 2 Jars Palm Oil 3 Gals. Fowls and Fish 1½ Gals.		4½
5th	To 1 Kegg Tallow 3 Galls. 2 pr. Irons 3 Gals. Eggs ½ Gal.		6½
6th	To C. Wood 2 Gals. 2 M. Fromfrys[?] 8 Gals. Peppers ½ G.		10½
9th	To 1 Jar Palm Oil 1½ Gals. 2½ C. Plantins Pepper ½ G.		4½
10th	To 5 C. Plantins 5 Gals. 4 hhd. 8 Gals. Neat Rum		21
	To 4 Jars Palm Oil 6½ Galls. Limes 1 Gallon		7½
	To 2 Jars Palm Oil 2½ Galls. and Limes ½ Gallon		3
11th	To Fowls and Eggs ½ Galln. 10 Baskets Corn 6 Galln.		6½
13th	To 3 Trips Water 6 Galln. Yams 5½ Galls. Corn 6 Galls.		17½
14th	To 2 C. Wood 4 Galls. C. Plantins 1 Galls. 1 hhd. 4 Galls.		9
15th	To C. Wood 2 Galls. Pepper and Plantins 1½ Galls.		3½
18th	To 4 Baskets Corn 3 Galls. Trip Water 2 Galln.		5
	To 2 C. Wood 4 Galls. 3 C. Plantins and Yams 4½ Gals.		8½
	To 4 Baskets 1½ Gals. ½ C. Plantins C. Wood 2 Galls.		4
Feb'y 22th	To 8 Baskets Corn 6 Galln. 2 hhd. 8 Gallons		14
Mar. 2th	To 1 hhd. 4 Galln. C. Wood 2 Galls. Fish ½ Galln.		6½
	To Sending a Letter to Lagoe 2 Galls. Canoe hire 2 Galls.		4
	To 6 pr Irons 4 Galls. Grains and Fishhooks 4 Galln.		8
	To C. Yams 3 Galls. 2 C. Plantins 2 Galls. Pepper 4 Galls.		9
8th	To 1½ C. Wood 3 Galls. Building the Caboose ⁹ 6½ Galls.		9½

⁹ The camboose or caboose was a wooden cook-house erected on the deck, or a wooden house to cover the chimney.

[Coast Africa Trade—continued:]

	Brigg <i>Othello</i>	Dr.	Galls.
10th	To 46 Baskets Gobbagobs 23 Galls. Nt. C. Yams 2 Galls. Nt.		50
	To Palm Oil 4 Galls. 6 Empty hhds. $\frac{1}{2}$ Galls. Nt.		28
	To Pepper 2 Galls. Palm Oil 3 Galls. Wood and Plantins 3 Galls.		8
15th	To C. Wood 2 Gals. Pepper and Fish 3 Gallons		5
	To 5 Trips Water C. Coast wt Long Boat 24 Gal. Nt.		48
	To Rum Bro't off the Coast for the Slaves Galls. 33 neat		66
	To Ditto Expended in the Cabin while on the Coast About 45 Gallons Nt. Rum		90
18th	To Paid the Gold taker their Wages in full 34 Galls Neat Rum		68
	Gallons trade Rum		877 $\frac{1}{2}$

Coast Africa

Brigg "*Othellos*" Voyage to Africa John Duncan Master
Dr.

		Galls. Rum
Mar. 25th	To 115 Cask Rum Shiped at Rhode Island q'tis as pr Invoice	9411 $\frac{1}{2}$

Annamabo Road

		Cr.
Mar. 24th	By Rum Paid on 86 Slaves Amount to As pr Account of Barters	8417 $\frac{1}{4}$
	By Gold Acct. for	22
	By Acct. of Disbursements	438 $\frac{3}{4}$
	By Rum Advanced to the People on the Voyage	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
	By Cask Rum adv. Mr. Halverson pr Yr Order	69
	By Ullages of Cargoe Rum as pr Ullages Amount	459 $\frac{3}{4}$
	Galls. Rum	9411 $\frac{1}{2}$

*Brigg "Othello" to Sundrys Disboursments at Barbados.*¹⁰

Dr.

		£	s.	d.
May 17th	To 21 Yds. Blew Cloth for Slaves at 1/10½ per Yd.	1	19	4½
	To 8 Yds. Green Do. at Do.	0	15	
19th	To Warie hire for Gentlemen to Come off View the Slaves	0	2	6
	To a Jacket for Geo: Lambert			
	Which was due him	0	12	
20th	To Fresh Meat for the People	0	12	
	To Potatoes for the Slaves	0	18	9
29th	To 3 Tierces Rice 1748 C. at 18/9 pr. C.	16	15	3
	To Cash Pd. Ent'g and Clearing the <i>Othello</i>	1	8	1½
	To Taking Out a Protest	1	15	
	To hhd. Guinea Rice 7 C.	5		
	To 1 lb. Sewing Twine	0	5	
	To Passes at the Forts	0	5	
	To the Disboursments at Virginia £1. 9. 9	£ 30	8	0
	Equal Barbados Currency	1	12	1½
		32	0	1½
	Ball's Due the Owners On 14 half Johanness	2	19	10½
	In Page 1th which is Just £35 Barbados Curr'y	£ 35	0	0

*Brigg "Othello" to Sundry Disboursements at Virginia*¹¹ Dr.

1769		£	s.	d.
June 16th	To Fish for the Slaves		2	6
	To Cash for the Pilot Pd. Magain [McGain?]		4	
19th	To My Board at Williamsbourg and Horse hire		11	
Augt. 8th	To 2 Ounces Blue Stone for use of the Slaves		1	3
15th	To Horse Hire		5	
Sept. 14th	To 1 lb. Sewing twine		2	6
	To My Board at Williamsbourg two Days Wait'g for Mr. Adams		7	6
		£ 1	9	9

¹⁰ The items which follow are from scattered papers in the box.¹¹ On Sept. 20 the Vernons wrote to Messrs. Adams and Griffin of Virginia: "Recd. your Fav'r of 18th June advising the arrival of our Brig *Othello*, and of your having appointed the 29th of the same to begin the Sale soon after which Time we might expect to see the Brig at Newport.

"We also have your Favour of 31 July informing us of the Sale of 50 Slaves wch average about £39 Stg. and the rem'dr wou'd soon be disposed of, that you had purchasd a Load of Corn and hoped to dispatch her by the last of the next Week. As she is not yet Arrivd you may believe gives us some concern, as we cannot conceive the Reason of her being detain'd. We make great dependance on your remitting us a considerable Sum in Octr. agreeable to what you wrote us with a farther remittance in Decr. but flatter our Selves you will then be able to remit the whol." Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 171.

[Sundry Accounts]

Dr.	Mr. Richd Adams	£	s.	d.
1769	June To 11 Negro's sold for Ster'g	456	10	0
	July To 31 do. do.	1148	3	10
	Augt To 24 do.	731	0	10
	2d Sept To 6 do.	183	5	6
		2519		2
	Excha. 25 pr Ct.	629	15	0
		3148	15	2
	Deduct Comms. 5 pr Ct.	157	8	9
		2991	6	5
	Ft. 1 Negro	6	5	
	Virginia Curr'y	£2997	11	5
	To New Acctt.	£ 708	19	3
	Intr. from June 1770 to June 1774, 4 year at 6 pr Ct	171	3	
	simple Int Currency	£ 880	2	3
				Cr.
	By Sundry pr the <i>Othello</i> with Bill of Disbursem'ts	£ 230	12	2
	By Cash pd Capt. Duncan Coast Comm's	115		
	Commis's on the £115 he charges the Owners with	3	9	
	By Sundry After Charges	37	3	10
	By 6 Bills Excha. with Commiss's 10th Jan'ry 1770	1114	15	10½
	By a Remitt'ce in Hemp and Corn in May 1770	247	1	
	By a Bill Excha. 200 Stg. in June 1770	239	9	9
	By do. £100 Stg. in Augt. 1770	121		6
	By so much pd. to Capt. Tanner	180		
		2288	12	2
	Ball'ce remain'g	708	19	3
		£2997	11	5
				Dr.
1769	Capt. Jno. Duncan to Brig " <i>Othello</i> "			
Octr.	To Hosp'l Mo.	£ 13.		10
	To your proportion 3 Slaves lost Ster'g 6. 9. 2.	230.		
		£243.		10
	G. Halverson			Dr.
	To Adv'd at Sailing To Ball'ce former acc'tt.	£ 10.		8
	Hosp'l mo.	11.		4
	To proportion 3 Slaves Stg. £7. 15. 3	276.		
		297.		12
	Ball'ce due	£388.		8
		£686.		0
	Jno. Bant			Dr.
	To adv'ce Wages	£ 63.		
	To Cash	4.		
	To Mr. March't 11 Dollars	88.		
	Hosp'l Money	12.		12
	To proportion 3 Slaves £7. 2. 1	252.		
		419.		12

[Brigg "Othello," Sundry Accounts—continued:]

		Dr.	
Wages		£764.	10
		419.	12
		344.	18
		To Cash	£200.
Wm. Duers		Dr.	
To Cash Adv'ce Wages		£ 40.	
To Mr. King 7 yds. Chex		17.	10
To Mrs. Kings Order		40.	
To Hosp'l Money		12.	
To proportion 3 Slaves Ster 4. 2. 8		147.	
		256.	10
1/4 l. Sugar £11			
Hank'r 8		19.	
1 lb Tea		6.	
Geo. Lambert		Dr.	
To Adv'ce Wages		£127.	6
To Eliza Preston pr Order		100.	
To Advc'd on the Voya.		140.	2
Hosp'l Money		11.	8
To proportion 3 Slaves £6. 4		220.	9
		599.	5

Messrs. Sam'l and Wm. Vernon in Acct. with Adams and Griffin
Dr.

		£	s.	d.
1769	To Sundry's pr Invoice Shipt pr their Brigg <i>Othello</i> and her disbursements per acct. render'd	230	12	2
	To Cash pd Capt. Duncan's for Coast Commissions	115		
	Our Commissions on Do. 3 pr. Ct	3	9	
		349	1	2
		2642	5	3
	Ball'ce due	£2991	6	5

Cr.

		£	s.	d.
1769 Sep'r 1	By Ntt Proceeds 66 Negro's rend pr their Brigg <i>Othello</i> Capt. Jno. Duncan	2773	13	8
	2 By Ntt Proceeds 6 Negro's remainder Brigg <i>Othello</i> 's Cargo	217	12	9
		2991	6	5
	By the above Balla.	£2642	5	3
	By Jno Boul[?] freight 1 negro	6	5	

189. JOSEPH WANTON TO MOSES BROWN, 1768.¹

NEWPORT Jan'ry 13th 1768.

. . . We hear a Ship of Smith and Sabins's arrived yesterday from Barbadoes or Grenada, if from either, she may possibly bring some Tidings of our Guineamen, after whom please to Enquire, particularly, the Masters names and Vessels as below. . . .

Peter Want[on], Ship *Polly*

Benja. Bennington [Remington ?], Brig't *Betsey*

Schoon'r *Africa*, James Warner

Sloop *Ruth*, Gideon Fowler

190. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO
ALEXANDER BRABNER, 1768.¹

NEWPORT 10th Feby. 1768.

Dear Sir, We Wrote you under Cover to Mr. Alex'r Hume at St. Kitts Respect'g our Brig *Charlotte* Wm. Taylor whom We Orderd to Stop at your Island from Africa to try your Markits; we the Last Evening heard the Unhappy News of his Death on the Passage, and that the Vessel was Arrived at your Island under the Care of his Mate Mr. Wm. Pinniger, this Is Oral News per Via St. Kitts and fear its but too True. as we Recommended Capt. Taylor to Make Application to you make No Doubt the Mate hath Done the Same and that the Whole Management of our affairs have Naturally fall'n into your hands which makes us Perfectly Easy. we Wrote to Mr. Alex'r Hume at St. Kitts Desiring him to Lodge a Letter with you for Capt. Tayler, and therein Make the Utmost Offer he wou'd Give for a Cargo of Slaves, which if he thought it worth his While to Proceed up to St. Kitts Rather than Sell at St. Croix Indeed if it was more for our Interest he was order'd to go up, if he hath been Kind Enough to make an offer, and you have Judged it for our Benefit make No Doubt but you have advised Mr. Pinnigar to Proceed up, Otherwise to Sell with you or Proceed to Jamaica as you Thought Best. We have heard the Dutys of Slaves with you is Near 20 PCt. Certainly it Cant be Expected it falls upon the Seller, that Sum out of £30 St'g will not Do which was Near about the Price we Limited at your Island. Neither Did we think it wou'd answer to take Produce as the Sugars are too high and Ordinary for our Markits, Dutys being 5/ St'g P. C. Rum Prohibited and the Risque therefore Very Great more than Equal to the Advantage which

[189] ¹Moses Brown Papers, II. 63.

[190] ¹Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, pp. 138-139. The letter is signed "Sam. and Wm. Vernon for Selves and Thos T Taylor."

almost Confindd Capt. Tayler to Sell for Bills Ex'a Only however if Either you or Mr. Pinnegar, hath Sold for part Produce we must Intreat of you to Take but few Sugars and those Very Good, and fill the Vessel up with Rum on which Subject we have fully wrote the Capt. and Pray be Carefull that he Observes his directions which he will Communicate to you.

If this young Man Mr. Pinnegar has been so indiscreet as to Take the sole and Intire disposition of his Cargo and Affairs, we Beg and Intreat Sir upon the Rec't of this youd Just do for us, as the Affair was your own, not Doubting of your Candour we Submit Everything to your Better Judgment.

We only Beg Leave to Mention That the 2nd Mate Mr. Edward Taylor is Son to yr Old Fr'd T. T. Taylor your Best Advice to him will Be Acceptable, we wis[h] you mor Perfect helth Than our above Friend who is Now Confined with the Gout.

191. WILLIAM VERNON AND COMPANY TO WILLIAM PINNIGER,
1768.¹

NEWPORT 10th Feby. 1768.

Sir, Last Evening we heard the Malancholy News of Cap Wm. Taylors Death by way of St. Christopher. We make No Doubt but that he had Rec'd our Orders upon the Coast, to stop at St. Croix and try the Markets and that you have Rec'd our Letters which we Lodged there for him in the hands of Mr. Alex'r Brabnor and also a Letter from Mr. Alex'r Humes from St. Kitts, to whom We Wrote desireing him to Lodge for Capt. Taylor at St. Croix, to Care of Mr. Brabner, Saying What he Wou'd Give for his Cargo of Slaves, if he wou'd Proceed Up to St. Kitts, which offer we Expected woud be Near £30 St'g per head, by this Meens Capt. Tayler woud be Informd at which of Those Places it wou'd be most Advantagious to Sell at. We Flatter ourselves that you have Rec'd all Those Letters directed to Capt. Tayler, and Made the Best Advantage of Them For our Interest and your own Reputation, we further Wrote Mr. Brabner Requesting him to Assist Capt. Tayler in All Things Respecting his Sale or Proceeding further which he was to do if the Markits did not Suit him *vizt.* To Jamaica Stopping at the Mount in his Way Down, where Perhaps he might get about £30 St'g per hea[d]. We are Rather Inclined to think that you have Contracted for your Slaves at St. Croix, and must Naturally Conclude you have Put yr Business into the hands of Mr. Brabner our Friend, in which we Shall be best Satisfyed, and that yr Slaves

[191] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, pp. 136-137. This was signed by "Wm. Vernon For Self and Comp'y."

ar sold free from Dutys to the Seller, as we are Informd the Dutys are 20 PCt. which you well Know will by No Means do upon a Sale of £28 or £30 St'g. We further have Said in Our Letter to Capt Tayler that it wou'd not do to Sell for Produce As the Dutys of Sugar is Very high,² and an Utter Prohibition On Rum in Any of the English Colonys. however if your Slaves are Sold for Produce its best to fill your Lower hold with Rum Take a few Cask of Very good Sugars, (as Ordinary will not Sell) in your hatch way and Proceed here, go in the Backside of the Island at Either End and Give us Intelligence there of as soon and Privately as Possible, if you Meet with any Man of Warr or Cutters as there is two In this Port at Present, you must say you Put in in Distress, for Want of Provisions, Water or Some thing Absolutely Necessary, and that you are bound to Fyal one of the Western Islands, for Which Place your Invoices and Bills Lading must Absolutely be made out for and your People Shipt to Proceed there, for which Purpose we have Given you Orders to Proceed There, and Inclosed herewith which you are to Produce and Insist upon if Met with, concealing Every Paper, that may give the Least Intimation of your Stopping here, these Measures if you Take Rum on Board you are Strictly to Observe. we shall send a Small Vessel from hence in a few Days to St. Croix that will want about 40 hhds. Rum, if you meet with her she may be supply'd out of your Cargo. we Cannot be More Particular than Above, but Must Trust to your Discretion, Fidelity and Candour, Advising and Consulting in Every thing with our good Friend Mr. Alex'r Brabner, making all Possible dispatch, be frugal of yr Expences on the Vessel, Preserve harmony and Agreement among Your Seamen.

192. WILLIAM VERNON TO CAPTAIN WILLIAM PINNIGER, 1768.¹

NEWPORT 10th Feby. 1768.

Sir, You are become Master of our Brig *Royal Charlotte* by the Death of Capt Wm. Taylor and hearing that you've Sold yr Cargo of Slaves at St. Croix, for which if you are to Take Produce you are Sensible it will not answer to Bring Sugars the Dutys are so very high, Neither Can you Bring Rum as there is an Utter Prohibition thereof in Any of the Colonys.

We Order you therefore to Load your Vessel in the Lower hold with Rum and Proceed to Fyal one of the Western Islands, where

² By the Sugar Act of 1764 the duty on sugar was raised to £1 7 s. per hundred weight. It will be seen by *ante*, no. 179, that Pinniger had not dealt with Alexander Brabner but with Cornelius Durant.

[192] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 140. The preceding letter, inscribed to Mr. Pinniger, was intended for his eyes alone; this one, addressed to Captain Pinniger, was for whatever cutters were encountered on the voyage home.

we have Lodged a Letter for you, its our Intentions that you there Ex'a Your Rum for Wines, and Either Bring them here or Proceed to Wind Ward Island with them, as you will Find by our Farthere Instructions at Fyal, make all Possible dispatch as the Markets Depend upon a few Months Only, we wish you a good Voyage and Safe Return and are your Friends and Owners

193. TRADE OF RICHARD BREW, 1769.¹

Dr. Richard Brew and Co. to Capt. Stockford				Cr.
To twelve loaves sugar	128 ll. 1/	£ 6.	8	
three Barrells flower	40/	6.		£20. 0
Sixty four pounds onions		2.		1. 18
To a Balance of 45 Gs.				
Rum at 3/4		7.	10	21. 18
		£21.	18	
			By 3 Men and 2 Women	610.
To 610 Gallons Rum		610.		

ANNAMABOE Feby. the 10th 1769
Errors Excepted pr RICHARD BREW and Co.

194. BROWN BROTHERS TO BENJAMIN MASON, 1769.¹
PROVIDENCE Decem. 12, 1769.

S'r, . . . Our Jno. Brown is Concernd in a Vessill bound for Guiney will Sail in 15 or 16 Days, he will want abt. 2000 Gallons of Rum more than Can be Got here Within time, please to Advise us, Lowest Price this Quan. May be had for with You Either with or without Guiney hhds. the pay to be Either Gallon for Gallon in Good Suranam Mells. and the Distillery in Sper. Cands.²

. . . Yr perticuler Answer as Soon as May be will Much obloige our Jno. B.

P. S. If it Sutes you to Recommend the Gentlemen in West Indes who Sold your Last Cargo of Slaves,³ plesse to Give us Their Names,

[193] ¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. This is from a loose leaf folded into the trade-book of the *Active*. On the same day John Grossle, governor at Cape Coast Castle from Apr. 21, 1769, to Aug. 11, 1770, signed a receipt for 210 gallons of rum received from "Mr. John Stockforth on Acct. of Mr. Thos. Drew Chief of Tantum-querry." *Ibid.*

[194] ¹ Kimball, Note-Book, II. 53. The *Polly*, Captain Malbone, made a voyage this year. Captain All and Captain Briggs both reached the West Indies early in 1770, so must have been on the African coast in 1769.

² Meaning apparently that the distillery charges for turning the molasses into rum might be paid in spermaceti candles. Newport at this time was said to have twenty-two distilleries (Field, *State of Rhode Island*, II. 400-402) and was called upon to supply rum to vessels from distant ports. On June 28, 1768, James Lucena of Savannah, Ga., wrote to Aaron Lopez that Capt. Nathaniel Waldron was about to come from Georgia to Rhode Island with molasses, sell this, and buy rum for an African voyage. *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 242.

³ Mason had written from Newport the year before that he had a brig in Barbados with 130 slaves who would average £27 per head. Kimball, Note-Book, II. 30.

as its probable, if Mr. Smith Who Goes in the Ship Should git Safe Round to the West Indias he may Value on Your Friends.

195. THOMAS LANWARN TO AARON LOPEZ, 1770.¹

CRUTCHED FRIARS, 12th January, 1770.

Sir, In consequence of the application of Mr. Robert Sorsbie to us for that purpose, we hereby engage that any Agreement that Messrs. Lovell Morson and Co. of Dominica may come to with any person, for Negroes consigned to them for sale by Messrs James Clark and Co., shall be punctually performed; and we hereby undertake also to accept and pay any and all Bills they may draw on us in pursuance of such Consignments, in all cases but that of the Island wherein such sale shall be made, or they reside, being invaded by an Enemy.

We are respectfully, Sir, Your Most Humble Servants,

KENDER, MASON AND CO.

Messrs. Lovell and Morson sell as well to the French and Spaniards, for whom they have large orders to execute, as to our Planters of B.Bs.² Antigua and Dominica; so that under these circumstances, Dominica seems to bid fairer to render you advantageous sales, than any other Island.

LONDON, 29th Aug., 1770.

We agree that the withinmentioned Guaranty shall subsist not only for such Negroes as may be consigned Messrs. Lovell Morson and Co. by Messrs. James Clark and Co., but also for such Negroes as may be consigned to them by Messrs. Butler and Brown or Robert Brown Esqr.

KENDER, MASON AND CO.

196. DAVID BEEKMAN TO AARON LOPEZ, 1770.¹

ST. CROIX, 12 July, 1770.

Sir, I arriv'd here after a tedious passage of 40 Days and found Times at present prety low owing to the Crops being near off. since last fall they have had two or three Guineamen in and they sold from

[195] ¹ *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 343. These guarantees were sent with the following letter: "Above I send you a Copy of the Guaranty for Messrs. Lovell Morson and Cos. House at Dominica which you will please pay proper attention to: You will immediately after the close of your sales remit to Mr. Brown an Account thereof, and all such Bills as you receive on Account of such Sales. I am (in Mr. Browne's Absence), Sir, Your Most Obedient Humble Servant, Thos. Lanwarn—Abingdon Street, 29th Aug., 1770." Endorsed: "To Captain Jno. Clark, Captain Saml Haycraft or Captain Mich'l Dove of the *Mary*, at Messrs. Lovell Morson and Co., Dominica. Memo. N. B. recd. from Capt. James Clark at Newport, March 6th, 1772."

² Barbados.

[196] ¹ *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 338-339.

£30 to £34 Ster'g per head.² the last Cargo sold at £33. they wil always I think fetch the prices above, provided the Negroes be good and Gold Cost slaves are taught (thought) to be best. you may depend that shou'd you or any of your friends have any Command this way no one will serve them on Better Terms then I shall, and take more care of their Interest. . . .

197. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO ———, 1770.¹

NEWPORT 17th Decr. 1770.

Sir, . . . we recd. a Line from our Capt. a few days past upon the Coast of Affrica, Times are dull, which will delay him a great while upon the Coast, our Orders are that if he gets off Coast so as to be at Virginia before the beginning of April, to Stop at some of the Windward Islands and recruit his Slaves, with fresh Provisions and even to lay Six or Eight Weeks rather then to attempt your Coast too soon and we were in hopes you wou'd keep us advised frequently of the State of your Markets.² . . .

198. DANIEL AND LYTCOTT TO JACOB RODRIGUEZ RIVERA AND AARON LOPEZ, 1771.¹

BARBADOS Jany 26: 1771.

Gentlemen: Your esteem'd favor of the 10th Decr came safe to hand the 21 Inst, and is now before us the Contents of which we only note. Our worthy and mutual friend Mr. Stocker [Hocker?], had 'ere receipt yours kindly advised us his interposition with you in our behalf, and your kind intentions to'ards us in the sale of Captain Briggs and Englishs Cargo of Slaves, for which you have our most

² "Gold Coast slaves sell from 35 to £38 Ster. and bring the Cash imediately, as mertinico, gordilupe, and grand Torre [Grand Turk], and many to the Leward french Islands are supply'd at that Isle, being a free port where numerous Cargoes of Slaves and superfine flour and salt fish is yearly sold." Isaac Werden to Aaron Lopez, Grenada, Sept. 12, 1770, *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 346.

[197] ¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. This is on the same sheet on which is written Captain Dordin's deposition (see *ante*, no. 158), with no signature and no address. It was in all probability written by the Vernons to Adams and Griffin, though it may have been sent to John Thornton.

² Trade was not flourishing on the African coast in 1770 and the material for that year is meagre, yet some Rhode Island vessels were trading or preparing to trade. Hayley and Hopkins insured the *Cleopatra*, Briggs; Captain All arrived in Philadelphia from an African voyage; and news came from Capt. Silas Cook of the death of Mr. Haywood Smith on the coast (Lopez Letter-Book, no. 631, pp. 26, 48; *Mass. Gaz. and News Letter*, Jan. 11, and Dec. 7, 1770). The Wetmore Papers and those in the Shepley Library (Providence) contain lists of stores for the sloop *Adventure*, bound for Africa under Capt. Thomas Rogers, now in the service of the Champlins. They heard on Feb. 16, 1771, by way of Messrs. Stevenson and Went, that on Nov. 28 Captain Rogers was trading at Anamabo. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

[198] ¹ Lopez Letter-Book, no. 631, p. 62. A letter of Feb. 19, 1771, from Captain Briggs of the *Cleopatra*, contains the same information. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

heartly thanks. Captain Briggs in the *Cleopatra*,² (quite unexpected so early) arrived here the 11th Curr. with a Cargo of 96 Slaves; as soon as his Vessell was safely anchor'd he waited on us, and informed us his intention was to value himself on us, and that we had the preference to dispose of his cargo provided we wou'd take him up, upon as good terms as any other good and safe house here would; and in consequence thereof, and from the advice of our good friend Mr. Stocker, we went off and viewed his slaves, which appear'd healthy, but rather a great proportion of privelege³ and male slaves; we however made Capt Briggs the offer of taking him up, to make the most we cou'd of his Cargo, and to sell his privelege free of Commission, but for such to take the Bills we might receive in payment without our guaranteeing them, this he objected to, tho seem'd desirous we shou'd sell him and thus circumstanced one or two days past, after which we recommended to him to try what Messrs. Jones and Moe wou'd do, and we make no doubt their terms were more agreeable, so he struck with them, tho' those gentn behaved very politely, and were tender of having anything to do with the Cargo untill we told Capn Briggs he had best try them, and that for the last Cargo of Slaves we sold, we had Bills to a considerable amount protested, that were taken in payment; and we assure you Gentn. we never knew so many bills protested in one year as was the last, that we think there is the greatest risk in trade we ever knew. We are truly sorry we could not in this second attempt commence a Correspondence with you, but are hopefull times will mend and a future day establish a lasting connexion between us. Capt. Briggs has no doubt wrote you [as] well as Messrs Jones and Moe.

P. S. We deliver'd your Letter to Capt. Briggs immediately on receipt of it.⁴

² For this voyage the *Cleopatra* was insured for £1500, at a cost of £133 15s 3d. (Hayley and Hopkins to Lopez, July 24, 1770, Letter-Book, no. 631, p. 26). "NEW PORT, March 11. The Captains Pease and Harrison arrived here last Week, from Barbadoes, and advise, that the Captains Clark, Briggs, and English, all of this Port, were arrived at Barbadoes, from the Coast of Africa; by all Accounts from the Coast, the Trade there was extremely dull, several Vessels having sold their Cargoes on 6 and 12 Months Credit, and then to take a Slave for 190 Gallons of Rum; while others were obliged to leave their Cargoes consigned to the Factors there, and run the Risk [of] getting Something or Nothing for them." *Mass. Gaz. and News Letter*, Apr. 4, 1771.

³ That is, slaves belonging to captain, doctor, and mates. The usual proportion for the captain was four out of every 104 carried.

⁴ Endorsed: "Messrs. Jacob Rods. Rivera and Aaron Lopez, Rhode Island. Philad. March 2d 1771 recd. under cover and forwarded by gent yr Servt Stocker and Wharton. Messrs Jacob Rods Rivera and Aaron Lopez. Merchts Newport Per Capt. Steele. Rhode Island."

199. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO CAPTAIN JOHN DUNCAN,
1771.¹

NEWPORT 8 Ap'l 1771.

Sir, We recd. yours of 13 Ult. from Barbados, and find that you had purchased 71 Slaves for Cargo and Bro't them all in, being in perfect Health and Shou'd Sail in 10 or 12 days for Virginia, as you well remark if cou'd possibly be there between the Months of March and Septr. it was our Possitive orders that you proceed to Virginia and therefore if you cou'd obtain our Limitt of £30 Stg. Round, it was not in your power to Sell at Barbados in which you was certainly right; therefore upon your Arrival at Rappahannock you'l address yourself to Col. Jno. Thornton to Whom we have Wrote on the Subject and desired him to dispatch your Vessel as Soon as Possible with about 150 bbs. of good fresh Flour and 2 or 3 Tons of good Hemp and fill her up with White Oak Staves and heading if to be had readily or you may even take 200 bbs. Flour if Cheap not to exceed 12 pr Ct. if you think it is absolutely necessary to tarry untill all your Slaves are Sold and your Vessel can be dispatch'd sometime Sooner its best to Send yr Cheif Mate Home with her, if you do not Load your Vessel bring as many of your Water Casts [casks] home as you can Stow, better than leaving them behind, without you can Sell them there.

If you have more hands than is necessary and can discharge them upon good Terms its best to do it and avoid all expences upon your Vessel that you can, we have Recommend to Col. Thornton to Sell part of your Slaves upon Credit provided it will make a material diff'ce in the Price of them taking care to have good Security and not a long Cr.² . . .

200. THRELFAL AND ANDERSON TO CHRISTOPHER AND GEORGE
CHAMPLIN, 1771.¹

GRENADA April 22nd 1771.

Gentlemen, Agreeable to promise of our R:T: when at Newport, we embrace this first Opportunity, (after his arrival here) of advising you of the State of our Markett for Slaves, which we are sorry to say is not quite so good as it has been or might reasonably be expected from the small number that has been sold lately, out of seven-

[199] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 203. Addressed "To Capt. Jno. Duncan, Virginia," who was one of the signers of a protest against the administration of the African Committee. Captains Silas Cook, Charles Moore, and Thomas Rogers of Rhode Island also signed this protest. See this work, II. 543 n.

² On the same day the Vernons wrote to Col. John Thornton of Fredericksburg, Va.: "We hear Virginia slaves sell for £45. We recommend our Friend Richard Brew Esq. at Annamaboe to your House who perhaps ships more slaves than any one man in the Kingdom." He added that Capt. John Duncan, then in Barbados, had 71 slaves on account of the Vernons and 19 on his own account. Letter-Book, no. 77.

[200] ¹ Newport Hist. Soc., *Reminiscences*, I. 62.

teen Cargoes, say abt 3750 Slaves, that came in full expectation of selling at this Market in the space of 5 Months last past, only six Cargoes say abo't 1320 Slaves, has been sold, all the rest gone to Jamaica or Carolina but believe mostly to the former place, those that sold here all averag'd a tolerable good price, say from £35 to £37, Slaves being still in demand, but the disappointments the Factors have met with from having the Planters Bills proteste[d] makes us cautious of drawing on our Correspondents besides having reduced many of them to the greatest difficulties and of course not in a Capacity to purchase Slaves, yet we can still with propriety say that this is the best Market of any of the windward Islands, and we are in great hopes we shall be able to keep up the Price of Gold Coast Slaves, especially when they come in small Cargo's. two days ago arriv'd here Mr. Mason's Brig *Polly*, Capt. Elliott with Ninety odd Slaves including Priviledge of which we have agreed to sell, altho' we have lately refus'd at least a dozen Cargo's that was offer'd us on any terms, being determined to strain every Nerve for the Interest and good Opinion of our Newport Friends.

Capt. Elliott tells us your Sloop arriv'd at Annamaboe about the first of February, had sold before Capt. Elliott left the Coast the 8th Febry and was gone down Widan to land his Rum, from which account we presum he will be in the West Indies sooner than you imagind. Capt. Elliotts Slaves are good we expect to turn them out abt £38, when any alteration in our Markett, (which we hope will be for the better) you may depend on being advised.

We sell Mr. Morson's Slaves on the same terms we sold Mr. Hazards say Bills at a Medium of 12 Months, and Shorter it will be impossible for us to give them this Year. If your Sloop calls on us you may depend on our acting in every respect as if the Cargo was our own, will lodge letters at Barbadoes for your Captain which may be some government to him if he calls there, will write you again pr Capt. Elliott who leaves this in about a fortnight, he tells us Slaves are very high on the Coast.

201. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO HAYLEY AND HOPKINS,
1771.¹

NEWPORT 24th Augt. 1771.

Sirs, . . . please to make Insurance on one half the Schooner *Active*² £150 and on Cargo £300, Robt. Elliot Master from hence

[201] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, pp. 207-208. For an account of the formation of the partnership of Hayley and Hopkins see *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 251-253. Hayley married the sister of John Wilkes, who after her husband's death is said to have purchased the frigate *Delaware*, taken from the Americans, and come to this country to collect his debts in Boston and Newport. She landed in Boston in the summer of 1784, and remained long enough to marry an American suitor, but soon after her marriage returned to England. *R. I. Hist. Mag.*, V. 71.

² A small trading-book of the *Active* is to be found in the New York Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. This relates to a voyage of 1769, in which year the vessel traded

to the Coast of Affrica, dueing her Trade there, and to Market with her Slaves wch may be at the Windward Islands, or to the Continent of North America—its the Same Schooner of Dordins wch Mr. Benja. Mason and our Selves have bot. She is a good one and well fitted for such a Voyage an old experienced Master, we Shou'd chuse to have provision made in the Policy for a return of Premium if Sold on the Coast, as we have given the Capt Orders to Sell her at Seregal [Senegal]—Serelion we chuse where. . . .

202. HAYLEY AND HOPKINS TO AARON LOPEZ, 1771.¹

LONDON 29th August 1771.

S'r, . . . The premium for a Winter Voyage from Jamaica is never less than 8 per Cent and upon Vessells not known in the Trade can Seldom be done under 10. . . .

first for the *Cleopatra's*, We have made £2150 on her for Your Acco't: the Cost of wch: being £144:7:3 as per particulars herewith is to Your Debit; This is Exactly Conformable to the orders rec't from Mr. Rivera. The return of p'mo on her last Voyage we have not been able to gett settled, Mr. Rivera has sent us an Accot of what She left behind on the Coast, but this is not what the underwriters will be satisfied wth; they think it not improbable that if she had Carried the whole of the Effects they would have amounted to more than the Sum wch was Insur'd and therefore they require an attested Invoice of what she had on board and whatever that amounts to less than the Sum Insured they will return the p'mo upon, wch Invoice You'll please forward us. We would just lay it before You for Your Consideration whether in your future Affrican Insurances it would not be better if the Slaves were valued in the Policy at some rate per Head; it would in case of Loss be of some use of facilitating wth the Insurers. the Alteration in the *Charlotte's* Ins'ce is done at the additional P'mo of 1 gn: Per Cent wch: is lower than we Expected when we last Mentioned it to You. We Debit You for this Alteration £12:12. . . .

203. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO JOHN THORNTON AND CHARLES YATES, 1771.¹

NEWPORT Octr., 1771.

Sirs, Your much esteemd favors we received in course, the last of wch advised of your having remitted Messrs. Hayley and Hopkins

with Gov. Thomas Drew of Tantumquerry, Capt. John Duncan, Captain Dordin, and Richard Brew.

[202] ¹ Lopez Letter-Book, no. 632, pp. 49, 52.

[203] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 210.

five hundred and Ten Pounds, Stg. the 9 ulto. for wch we are obledg'd. We are now to remark on our Account Curr't Transmitted to us. The Charges of Stanton, Fairbanks, W W. Vernon and S and W. Vernon In'rs.[?] are right, but we think that of Capt. Duncan is not, as we wrote you and Capt Duncan of the 8th Ap'l that we expected his Slaves to be averidged with Two Thirds of the Cargo, (or at least one half,) and its being a general Custom, his agreeing thereto when you made the proposal, as by yours of the 1st May, we think the adjustment of the averidge on the first 28 grown Slaves to be wrong; Please to Settle his Eight Slaves on the first half (being the least part proposed to him) and we are content, we Say Eight, as their appears to be a Small Boy of his Sold for £30, but if a proportion of our Boys are taken into the Averidge we also are content with, wch we Submit to you to adjust. . . .

Please to remitt to us, W W. Vernon's and S. and W Vernon In'rs Ballance in a good Bill of Exchange.

204. JOHN FLETCHER TO CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE, 1771.¹

LONDON 16th Octo'r 1771.

Sir, I Wrote the 7th June Acquainting You of My Safe Arrival in England; since Which I received Your Fav'r of the 12 June, and Observe what you menthion about the Times on the Coast of Guina, Which I find Continues still bad, Yet several of Your Merchants have fitted out again this Summer. I had likewise a letter of the 29 July from Mr. Malbone who enfirmes What you wrote and gives but poor encouragement about sending to Gunia At present, as by the last Acco'ts they was giving from 200 to 220 Gallons Of Rum for but indifferent Slaves so there is but little prospect of doing Any thing on the Coast till next Summer.

Mr. John Peatt came up with me from Hull a few days ago and since We have been in London We have taken some pains to get a Vessel to send You out as I proposed, but cou'd not meet with any thing for sale to Suit Our Purpose. What are sent Home for sale from New England, are not found and at presant are both scarce and Dear, therefore We have declinerd purchasing one here. And at this time of the year no Freight to be had for your port so that

[204] ¹ Newport Hist. Soc., Peleg Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A. There are two letter-books of Captain Clarke, covering the years 1771-1782. He and his London principal, John Fletcher, who had himself spent some time in Newport, were both given to long and frequent letters, in which they reported to each other many details of their trade. They had been considering a joint African venture since the beginning of June, 1771.

had we met with a Vessel it never wou'd have Answered at any rate to have sent her out in ballast as the Out fits And Port Charges are very high from hence.

Mr. Peatt and self have now come to this resolution to leave it to you to Purchase a proper Vessel either at Rhode Island or Providence, Boston Or the Eastward or any where in your Neighbourhood, *Viz.* A good Brig or Snow from 110 to 130 Tons Burthen but not to exceed the Latter, to Get her Sound and as well found as possible, and not above 3 or 4 years old, Mr. Peatt recommends you pay regard to a long floor, easy Draught Water, and Clean Run as likely to Sail Well which is very Meterial for a Gunia Man and We suppose such a Vessel well found with two Suits of sails may be purchased from £400 to £500 Sterling at most, as we wou'd not have you go much higher than that. I suppose the most likely place to get a Vessel at will be Boston, Salem or Nebury, as the winter is coming on may be met with there Cheap, but this I leave to your Self. If you can meet with one at Rhode Island desire you will take Mr. Fran's Malbone's Advice in that matter, Who I have wrote to by this Oppertunity, to give you his Assistance as well as to indorse Your Bills on Me for the Purchase of the Vessel. But if you are oblig'd to go to Boston, or the Eastward you must Apply to Mr. Ralph Hinman² of Boston on that Account, as I have likewise Wrote him a Letter on the Occasion by this Oppertunity to serve in Case of Need. You will have time enough to look about you for this Vessel between this Time and March next as it will be a good time to fit out in all the month of April and to sail for the Coast by the begining of May, which from the present Appearance of things will be early enough to follow those already gone to the Coast. I am willing to make this further trial to Gunia on yours as well as Messr. Peatts Aco't who at any rate must both be benifited by the Voyage. For my Own part I have no grat Expectation of Profits, If you are Succesful and lose but few Slaves may make a saving Voyage and do well for the Conserved. I need not hint to you if you purchase the fewor if but good Slaves they will always Command a price at Kingstown, and M'rs Peatts and Westmorland will have the most of them engag'd long before you get there to Good Men. As soon as you have Purchased this Vessel you will get Mess's Malbone to be purchasing about 15,000 gallons of Rum to be ready at the time I have mentioned or Sooner. if you have any Encouragement to do any Thing at Windward, the above Quant'y of Rum We think full enough for

²Ralph Inman, Boston merchant and Loyalist, was a brother-in-law of John Rowe, in whose diary he makes frequent appearance. On July 2, 1776, his name was returned to the Committee of Correspondence among those inimical to the United States. *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, XXX. 442.

you to get off those dull times as laying long on the Coast is what ruins every thing in small Vessels.

If you Purchase a Vessel at Boston or Eastward wou'd have you get her Insured round to Newport as there is some risque to come Cape Cod and so forth in the Winter. If you are not Acquainted with the Coast you will no doubt get some person with you that is. Also Write me as soon as you have a prospect of geting a Vessel as Above and any other late Acc'ts from the Coast. My Ship *Africa* Arrived at Hull the 26th July after 8 weeks passage from Jamaica, and made a pretty good Freight, and finding She wou'd want A great repair her Sheathing Rotten and Rudder bad thought it best to get quit of her and accordingly sold her for £370 Sterling Which was the most She wou'd fetch. Capt. Stocford³ was very Sickly and not able to come upon Deck most of the passage but is now hearty and as well as ever again, is still in London and says he is in some hopes of geting a Vessel if not returns home soon. It was very lucky that Mr. Peatt came Passenger in my Vessel as he was oblig'd to take the charge of her most of the voyage on Aco't of Stockfordes Illness also being better acquainted with the English Channel.

Your Bill on Mess's Allen Marlas and Co. for £400 Sterling will be Due next Month, and when paid will advise you. I suppose you will Want abt £150 Sterling more to make up your Third share of this proposed Vessel and Cargo etc. which no Doubt you'l be able to make you Up in Rum etc. amongst your Friends at Newport, as it will be best for You to hold a third as first proposed. But if not you must take Only A Quarter part and Mr. Peatt and self must hold the rest. But this I leave to your self as it may suit you, Mr. Malbone and you must fix that. I have purchased a Guinea Furnace and Hearth here, which shall be sent you by the first Vessel for Rhode Island which I suppose will be Capt. Gilbert. The Swivel Guns, Chains, Hand Cuffs and Sheckles etc. at Mr. Malbones must be valued when Delivered you, and shall send a Box of Midicenes from this with a Barrel of Gun Powder, some Beans etc. so that nothing of that sort will be wanted to be purchased at Newport. . . .

205. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO JOHN FLETCHER, 1771.¹

NEWPORT Decr. 8 1771.

Sir, By Capt'n Gilbert I have this Oppertunity to Acquaint you of our now latest accounts from the Coast, which was by Capt. Remington in Mess's Joseph and Wm. Wanton's Brig, Which is

³ Probably the Captain Stockford who traded with Richard Brew in 1769. See *ante*, no. 193.

[205] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

When he left Annamaboe there was only Capt. Hicks and Capt. Hanners and they were almost Slaved off and was a giving to the Gent'n of the Castles One Hundred and Sixty Gallons. I wrote you last by way of Boston, when I then made you Acquainted with what Vessels where a going and gone and I now further Inform you who are a going and will Sail soon, Capt. More, Capt. Rogers, Capt. Bordine from this port, from Boston a Snow belonging to So. Carolina. Mr. Hazzard and Capt. Champlain's Vessels Are lying by till next Spring, the above are all that I know or hear talked of are fitting out for Gunia. I should be excessive Glad to hear from you to know wether or not you had carried your plan into Execution which I do not doubt but you have for I assure you being out of Buisness so long makes me like A Fish out of Water, However I doubt not but in good time. I must beg that whatever Interest You send out, my part of the Vessel of Mine you will Insure, for Our Winter is set in very Cold, and it is a bad Season to come on the Coast. I saw Mr. Malbone yesterday and asked him if he would Write to you, and he said he could not tell you any more than he had Said before he heard from you. . . .

206. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO ADAMS AND GRIFFIN,
1771.¹

NEWPORT 16th Decr. 1771.

Sirs, We have now before us your two last fav'rs viz. 8 Feb'ry and 3d April, since wch we are intirely deprived of a single line from you. We are really at a loss to suggest a sufficient reason; but imagine you have taken umbrage at our adressing the Brigg't *Othello* Jno. Duncan to Mr. John Thornton at Rappahannock, its very true by our Letters you might reasonably expect her to your adress; but we had the greatest encouragement imaginable from the above Gentle'n of his making the Remittance in the bottom for the whole amount of the Cargo of Slaves, and the prospect appearing equally good to us of obtaining great prizes[prices] were strong motives to us, of Ordering her to Rappahannock, wch we had only just Time to countermand our Order, to the Master. When Gentle'n you reflect upon the remittance made us for the Two Cargos of Slaves that you sold you cannot but suppose we wou'd close with such an offer, as the difference of the advantage of having so large a sum to improve and of its laying dead for several years is very great and besides our being so vastly disappointed in your promise made us in Feb'ry of depending upon our Ballance, at the Riseing of your Genl. Court viz

[206] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, pp. 217-218. Addressed, "Messrs. Adams and Griffin per Capt. Martindale."

in April, and then say *no Time shall be lost in making the most speedy remittance* for your Ballance. To pass by every thing that has happened, without one more complaint, we must say in justice to your House that your sales have ever been satisfactory to us, as any we have received, and can truly wish your closing this Acct. may be a means of soon opening another.

207. JOHN FLETCHER TO CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE, 1772.¹

LONDON 24th February 1772.

Sir, . . . I cant say more than what I have before About Purchasing a Vessel, which have no doubt but you have Accomplished or[ere] this and is geting ready for the Voyage and if you can get your Cargo of Rum and every thing on Board to sail from Newport about the last of may to get on the Coast by the Time the Rainy Season is Over will be early enough to follow all those Vessels that gone before, and in Case you should think proper to call at windward as you go down to get a few Slaves before you come to Anamaboe shall leave that to your self to do as seems best. As your Cargo will be but small you'l the sooner get it off and if you can get Slaved in time to get down to Jamiaca in all the month of Jany. Will be a good Time for Sale of Slaves, of which I know you will be as particular in the Choise of as the Times will admit of. Good Slaves always sells high at Jamaica, they now Avarage £40 Ster'g pr head there at Least in Bills or Cash.

When you are ready to Sail from Newport Write Mess's Peatts and Westmorland of Kingston Jamiaca as also by every Oppertunity from the Coast that they may know when to expect you to be prepared accordingly, As I make no doubt of their engaging all the Cargo by Orders amongst their Friends in the Country long before you get there. I desire you may write Me as soon as you have got the Vessel ready and made a begining to take in your Cargo of Rum, by Boston or Newyork that I may get the Insurance made here on Vessel and Cargo from Newport to the Coast Guinea and Anchor to Jamaica and your part of the Consern I shall get done with my own. You will take a sufficciant Quantity of Rice from Rhode Island to serve the Voyage and not depend on getting it on the Coast as before, the fatal Consequence of that Disappointment We have experienced, also get some black Ey'd pease which may be had from Philidilphia or New york. On the other side I have given an Estimate of what provissions etc. I wou'd have you take, But as Mr. Malbone and you are better Judges than I of what is Nessary to

[207] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

Serve the Voyage may add or Deminish as you shall think best. I have now shipped by the *Tristram* Capt. Shand to Mess. Malbones Care a new Cable with 6 Coils of Cordage of Different Sizes which Mr. Peatt and self Judged wou'd in Course be wanted for the Vessel you may purchase, as those for Sale are seldom well found, I have also sent a Liverpool Guine Furnace with Hearth etc. with a Box Medicenes which was put up by order of a Doctor here, a Friend of Mine who has given a Little Directions (here inclosed) how to treat Negroes in the Flux, If you should ever be so Unluckey as to have it again Which I hope not and you know how to Use the Diff Medecines and Dressings the same as Doct'r Hunter Charged. I think you have some left in the Old Box which if good may be put Altogether, you'l Observe the Charge of those sent, does not Amount to a Third of what Doct'r Hunter Charged. . . .

Estimate of the provisions for Guinea Voyage

16 bls. Beef, 10 Do. Pork, 15 Ct. Weight Bread

2 Tons Rice at least. 1 hhd. Black Ey'd pease. 1 hd. Tobacco

Other Nessaries for Ditto

1 New long Boat, 20 bls. Flour and Naval Stores if you call at Windward, under the Care of Mess's E and F Malbones to be Valued and Charged the Owners

Bost } 6 Swivel Guns
150 hand Cuffs and Shackles, Chain etc. 12 d. Plank, O. T.

Arm Chest. rs

6 Guns and 2 Cutlashes, 1 Corn Mill

Some Coopers Tools

P.S. I shall not send any powder, you can get a little at Newport as its not worth while to send so small a quantity from here now nor Beans you must get Black Ey'd peas in room of them.

208. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO RALPH INMAN, 1772.¹

NEWPORT 29th April 1772.

S'r, Your Fav'r per Post I recd. Acknowledge my Neglect of not writing before, I intended as soon as I hd. Purchased a Vessel but since that time I have let the post slip throu'h hurry of buisness. I have shew'd your Letter to Mr. Malbone and he has given Mr. Fletcher Cr. for the £1.8.8 and now send you the Ball'e by Mr.

[208] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A. Inman had written to Clarke on Jan. 13 offering his assistance in finding a satisfactory vessel. Clarke replied on Jan. 16, and on the 27th Inman wrote recommending the *Bristol*, Boston-built, belonging to John Hancock, which could be had for £700. Clarke evidently went to Boston to see this vessel but nothing came of the negotiations. *Ibid.*

mumphord which is £2.7.4 L M.² and am much oblig'd to you for your favour. After several Tryals of Purchasing a Vessel since my return from Boston, I at last have taken an old Vessel of Mr. Malbones that was rebuilt about 2 years ago.³ She will carry the Cargo that Mr. Fletcher Ordered and is a good Sailor and is well found and will answer for the Voyage, But I am very Sure Mr. Fletcher cou'd have Suited himself and me much better in London or I cou'd have had I not been Limited. I gave Mr. Malbone £450 St'g for her and I expect it will cost £50 St'g more to fix her for a Guinea Voyage, as I am Oblig'd to make some Alterations in her, Mr. Fletcher very well knows her as she was rebuilding when he was here. I heare there are Several Guinea man fitting out of Boston, I shall take it a favour you'l let me know by the next post if it is so and in what forwardness they are. I write this day to Mr. Fletcher by way of Liverpool and if any Oppertunity presents from Boston and you write him I beg you will Acquaint him that I expect to Sail in a fortnight for the Coast, and shall transmit all the Acco'ts by Capt. Shand who will Sail in about three weeks. . . .

209. RALPH INMAN TO CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE, 1772.¹

BOSTON 11th May '72.

Sir. . . . Thos. Boylston has one Vessel bound to Guinea. She don't begin to load till the beginning of June and will take at least a month after that to get away. He has made a purchase this week of a Brig for Mr. Carty² about 180 Tons, he gave £1000 Stg. for her and going to make her into a Ship. She will not get to Sea as soon as the other, So you will have Six Weeks start. I hear there's one going from Newberry but cannot Learn what forwardness she is in. . . .

210. CHRISTOPHER AND GEORGE CHAMPLIN TO
CAPTAIN SAMUEL TUELL, 1772.¹

NEWPORT, May 12th, 1772.

Sir, We flatter our selves this will meet you in safety upon the Coast in a fair way of making us a Voyage, as from the accounts

² Lawful money.

³ Professor B. M. Bigelow in his "Colonial Merchants of Rhode Island" (unpublished manuscript) refers to Clarke's agreement of Feb. 6, 1772 (in the Lopez papers), for the purchase of the *Africa*.

[209] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

² Daniel McCarthy.

[210] ¹ *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 398-399. Captain Tuell's vessel was the sloop *Adventure*, insured by Hayley and Hopkins for £1400, at a premium of £125 2 s. 6 d. The terms of the insurance were "at and from Newport to the coast of Africa, during her stay and trade there, and from thence to her port of discharge in British America or the Island

up to January, and the price Capt. Gardner in Mr. Wickhams Ship obtained for his rum Slaves was much lowered, At the Castles with whom he traded. Colo. Wanton's Brig, Mowit Master, is arived here, cleared his owners £500 Stg. Capt. Brigs carried to Barbados 230 Slaves sold 210 of them at £33 Stg. round, left 40 on the Coast will make a good voyage. We don't doubt of your giting the same price if the Slaves are good in kind which without doubt you will endeavour to procure. Capt. Clark will deliver you this. Capt. Hicks in the Ship will not sale till June.² Mr. Hazards brig not till August. these are the only vessells we kno of that can follow you from Newport and before they git down flatter our selves you will be near finishing. Lin Martin is gone to Philadelphia to fit, cannot sale from thence 'till July. We have wrote to London for a Guarantee on a House at the Granados and St. Kitts,³ from both which places we shall be informed the price of Slaves before we lodge our orders at Barbados for you which will enable us to limit the price at Barbados. you'll write us by all occassions. keep your Business to your self. there is two vessells will leave Boston in (a) month for the Coast, that in June and July 3 or 4 vessells will sale near together.⁴ Capt. Gardner informs his owners after laying two months on the Coast alone he could not make any trade with the blacks, and finally sold to the Castles at 130 to 150 for women and 140 to 160 for prime men. Is likely to make a fine voyage. therefore we earnestly recomend to you as soon as you receive this to sell all the rum you may have on hand to the Castles on the best terms you can for prime Slaves, and make all dispatch of, for when those vessells I mention to you git down the Castles will be filled, which will be within a month after this letter or 6 weeks at most, and shoud you tarry 'till they git down the chaunce will be lost. in this you'll act as things appear as we cannot judge how the trade is at this distance,

of St. Croix. If the vessel is sold on the coast, the risk on cargo to be continued on such other vessel or vessels as may carry the slaves to market, and 4 per cent. in that case to be returned on the £400 insured on vessels and freight." The sums were £400 on vessel and "freight valud" and £1000 on cargo; the rate "eight guineas per cent." (*Com. of R. I.*, I. 397). The expenses incident to the outfit of this voyage of the *Adventure* are to be found in detail in the Wetmore Papers (vol. V.), along with the advances to the seamen and the sources of the cargo of rum carried. The captain had received when the vessel sailed £112 18, the first mate, Robert Champlin, £487 14 4, the total advances amounted to £1570 19 10. The total cargo of rum, amounting to 13,688 galls., came from Whitehorne, Cranston, Overing, Cooke, Coggeshall, Malbone, Mayson (Mason?), and Thurston. Champlin seems to have carried goods amounting to £591 15 for private trade.

² Word had reached Newport in February that the *Fanny*, Capt. Benjamin Hicks, had arrived at Barbados, where he had found an excellent market. He was evidently preparing for a prompt return to Africa. *News Letter*, Feb. 13, 1772.

³ *I. e.*, for papers similar to those received by Aaron Lopez. See *ante*, no. 195.

⁴ Six Boston vessels are recorded as sailing for Africa in 1772.

but to lay a long time on the Coast to piddle with blacks must be against the voyage. keep it an entire secret what vessells are coming down on the Coast, as it may make the Castles indifferent about buying if they kno it.

211. WILLIAM SNELL AND COMPANY TO CHRISTOPHER CHAMPLIN,
1772.¹

LONDON, 25 June 1772.

Sir, Our mutual good Friends Messrs. Hayley and Hopkins, Informs us you intend Sending your Vesell the *Adventure* Cap: Tuell with a Cargoe of Slaves to the Grenada Market. If you will please to address them for Sale to our friends Messrs. Threlfal and Anderson at St. Georges in that Isle, we hereby guarantee the performance of any agreement they may make with Captn. Tuell for the Sale, also to pay all Bills they Draw or Endorse for the Produce being confident they can serve you in this way as well as any House there.

Robt. Coningham and Jno. Tatham of St. Vincents and Richd. Milford of Dominica, are also in this way of Business as well as in Sale of North American Cargoes, should any of your Vesells go that way they are safe men.

212. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO JOHN FLETCHER, 1772.¹

D L'MINA CASTLE 25th July 1772.

S'r, This by Capt. Charles More will Acquaint you of My Arrival at this place after a passage of two Months all well. Since my Arrival have made but small progress in trade I have Disposed of twenty hog'ds Rum, part for Gold for 34 gallons for [an ounce?] and part for Slaves for 160 and 140, 2 Mo. Cr.² I find all the Vessels Which I expected was gone of the Coast Still on, at Annamaboe is Capt'ns Rogers, Barden, Jonhnson and Tawell [Tuell] all Rum Vessels. there Detention, is Occasioned by a Disturbance that broke out between the Fantines and Shantines which has Stop't the Slaves, as that Trade comes Chiefly threw their hands, And the Gentlemen that has taken Rum of them cannot gitt Slaves to pay them.

By what I can Learn from Capt. More of the preasent times is if there was any Slaves Stiring I believe it very Easy to Dispose of my

[211] ¹Wetmore Papers, vol. V.

[212] ¹Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A. On May 2 Clarke gave to Fletcher a detailed account of his search for a vessel and of his purchase. On May 19 he wrote that he was ready to sail from Newport and asked Fletcher to obtain £400 stg. insurance on one-fourth the vessel and cargo, in the same manner that he placed his own, and to advance the premium. It is evident that Clarke owned one-fourth the vessel.

²*I. e.*, two months' credit.

Rum, at what they gave, which was 170 for men and 150 for women, but as times is I Cannot tell how it will turn with me.

I shall leave this place for Cape Coast tomorrow and am Determin'd to Dispose of the Rum as Soon as possible, knowing of a large Quant'y on its passage from Rhode Island and Boston. . . .

213. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO RICHARD ADAMS, 1772.¹

NEWPORT 8th Aug't 1772.

S'r, We have your fav'r of the 30th June before us, owning the receipt of ours of the 16th Decr. last. We observe that the reason of our balla. not being remitted was the distress of the Country by the Floods in May 1771, and not to what we suggested. You may be Assured we did not adopt those sentiments so fully, but that we Ordered Capt. Robt. Elliot, in our schooner *Active*, who called at Barbadoes in May last from Affrica, where if he did not obtain our limitts for his Cargo of Slaves, to proceed directly to James River and adress himself to you. His slaves becoming sickly thought best to sell something under our directions, and, arrived here about four Weeks pass.

*We have a Vessil just ready to sail for the Coast and that of Elliots will soon follow, wch perhaps, may fall in with you, except the Price of Slaves are high at Barbadoes; and hope you'll keep us advised of your Markets. . . .

*we never made any doubt but that our Balla. wou'd be remitted, with full Interest thereon as the purchasers was to allow it by the conditions of Sale, agreeable to what you wrote us.

214. CAPTAIN SAMUEL TUELL TO CHRISTOPHER CHAMPLIN, 1772.¹

ANNAMABOE, Sept. 26th 1772.

Sir, I have wrote you by Capt. Boules the 16th June which wase the first opportunity, I had to right to you sence I left home,² which at the same Time I wrote This Letter, That is Enclosed in This, To

[213] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 229. Addressed, "Mr. Rich'd Adams at Virginia."

[214] ¹ Roderick Terry, "Some Old Papers relating to the Newport Slave Trade," Newport Hist. Soc., *Bulletin*, no. 62, pp. 29-30.

² On June 16, Tuell wrote: "I maid no stop to windard as I thought it best to perseed down the coast as soon as possable. We had six weeks passage from land to land Cape Verd. I sold 10 hhd. of Rum at the mines [Elmina] for gold; I maid no traid at Cape Coast. We arrived heare 24th day of May. Capt. Morse sold his cargo at the mines and Capt. Roggers sold his at Cape Coast. Capt. Bardine has sold all his cargo so that there is no Rum heare at preasant to sell but what I have. I have sold 45 hhd. I give but 160 for slaves as yet. I should due very well if there wase any black traid, but there is none and they are about going to war which makes it worse. I saw Mr. Brew But we had no talk about the sloop." This letter and that to which Tuell next refers are to be found in *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 401-402, 411-412.

send by This Same Man, Capt. Johnson of Boston who was to sail the 20th June and has ben Detained by the Castles By Reason of The Trade being Stopt Till now. I Wrote To you, Sir when I wase to Leward, by Capt. Brews, but had not Time to keep a cotype of the Letter, as The vessail wase under sail when I wrote It, I received yours Sir by Capt. Clarke the 4th August and By Capt. Hicks the 8th of this month, my Rum wase all Gone before Capt. Clarke Came Down, and have maid My Trade mostly with the Castles, as There wase no Black Trade going, I give 160 Gallons for men, and 140 for women as I cood not git Them for Less, I Have but 15 Slaves on board yet, and cant tell you Sir When I shall sail, but as soon as I can git my slaves From the Castles, if the Trade Groes better I shall git Them soon, if not I must Stay Longgar. I have seen Mr. Breese [Brew ?] but he says nothing To me about bying The Sloop, and I beleave it Dont Lie in his powers to buy Hur at preasent, I have met with Som misfortungs Sence I have ben on the Coast, I bought as Long boat and Lost hur, in a hard Squall of wind, She Drove a Shoare and when I wase to Léwerd, Capt Roggers boat came down and came on bord of me, and in the Night Two of his people and John Hardy and John Hammond,³ took his boat and runaway With hur, and They never have ben heard on sence, this hapned The 2nd August, people will Think I suppose it was for ill uasceg but I say not, for my own people. the 2nd of August I buried Mr. Whyet⁴ he died with the Feaver so That I am but Poorly mand at present. It has bene very sekly heare, I have bene sek my Self, and mr. Champlin has ben very ill, and is poorly now. I Shall Ship a hand or two if I Can Git Them.⁵ . . .

215. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO JOHN FLETCHER, 1772.¹

[CAPE COAST CASTLE, Oct. 3, 1772.]

Sir, . . .² I now further add, that, I Wrote you from D E L mina by Capt. More the 25 July where I acquaint'd you of my

³ John Hardy was Tuell's cooper, John Hammond a sailor. They had received before sailing £102 19 and £48 respectively (Wetmore Papers, vol. V.). Much of the matter of this letter is to be found in a letter of Aug. 7, probably the one of which Captain Tuell kept no copy. *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 411-412.

⁴ David Wiat was the second mate.

⁵ On Oct. 6 Tuell wrote from Anamabo: "I wrote you by Capt. Johnson the 26th Sept. and this comes by Capt. Roggers, the next that sails from heare will be Capt. Bardine . . . Trade never was none to be so dul as it is now, not heare. I have but 15 slaves on board yet, I got one hande out of Capt. Johnson before he sailed" (*Commerce of R. I.*, I. 419). On Nov. 6 Stevenson and Went wrote to the Champlins by Captain Moore, who was then in the Barbados and was soon to be in Newport, that Captain Tuell had sold his rum and might leave the coast early in October. Wetmore Papers, vol. V.

[215] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

² Clarke enclosed in this letter a letter of the same date to Messrs. Peatt and

safe Arrival on the Coast after a passage of 2 Months and that I had Sold about 20 Hhgd. Rum, and two or three Days after from Cape Coast I wrote a line over to Capt. more with a line or two for you Acquainting you I had Sold 50 hogd. to Mr. Mill and Bull [Bell] at 160 and 140 for 3 Months Cr. wich was all the trade I had then made. All the rest of the Rum I sold at the same price Except 35 Hogd. to Leward for 150 and 130. My purchase will Amount to 96 or 97 Slaves but as I have not got my provisions and water yet on board I cannot Justly tell, I am now at Cape Coast a filling up my water. When compleated, shall do my endeavour to Collect my Slaves as Soon as possible, and doubt not I shall be in Jamaica by the time I wrote Messr. Peatts and Westmorland, I have this further to add that the wants and Leakage of our Cargo Amounts but to 318 gallo's which I think we have been very Successful in, I cannot help adding that had it not been for this Unlucky P[a]laver I should not have been Six weeks on the Coast. . . .

216. JOHN FLETCHER TO CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE, 1772.¹

LONDON 24 Novr. 1772.

S'r, Your Fav'rs of the 2 and 19 May are now before Me, And note the Contents, and am well Satisfyed with Every thing done at Rhode Island About Purchasing the Brig *Fletcher* and her Cargo etc.

And hope this will meet you safe and well Arrived at Kingston, After a Successfull Voyage, on your Arrivel there you will deliver your Cargo of Slaves to Messrs. Peatts and Westmorland, Agreeable to Former Instructions, who will dispose of them to the best Advantages for Bills of Exchange only; at as Short a Sight as they can obtain them; And as this Voyage finishes at Jamaica, on Closing their Sales and paying your bills of Disbursments etc. they are then to remit each party their respective Share of the neat proseedes *Viz* to send me bills for my half and deliver you the same for your Quarter part, as it will be best for all Concerned to make as short work of it as possible, otherwise it will by no means answer to carry

Westmorland, in which he stated that his purchase was to be 96 slaves. These he had bargained to receive by Nov. 10 but since slaves were scarce on the coast he hardly expected to be slaved before the last of November. From Anamabo on Nov. 3 he sent a letter to the same firm by Captain Bardine, telling them that he had forty slaves and still hoped to complete his cargo in November, though trade was very dull. A copy of this letter he sent to Fletcher, adding: "I can assure you the Oldest Man on the Coast never new Such a Scarcity of Slaves as there is at Present, for there is Goodsmen here 6 Months and hass not got fifty Slaves on board, and are agiving 8 and 10 oz. for the blackmen and the Rum men 130 gal. to witemen. Our few Slaves is in good health and I hope will continew so." Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75A.

[216] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

on this Trade to any Advantage; And in regard to your as well as the people Priveledge Slaves I think it will be the fairest way for the Concerned to Avaredge them with the Majorety of the Cargo; this matter I have mentioned to Messrs. Peatts and Westmorland, And is Commonly what is done out of Liverpool. However shall leave it Intirely to your self to do what seems most agreable, as I want nothing but the Just thing. When the Slaves are sold and Vessel clear, you must pay off the people their wages, and Ship new hands as you want them, Or gitt as many of the old as will stay with you and come the Voyage to England.

After which you will in Course, heave down and clean your Vessel, and put her in Proper order for that purpose. And be as frugal as possible in your Disbursments, And not run us to any Unnecessary Expencc at Kingstown where every thing for Vessels Comes to Dear (which I Experienc'd with the *Affrica*) but As was so well found in every thing am in hopes little will be wanted new. I have desired Peatts and Westmorland to assist you to get a Freight, for London or Hull and to Dispatch you if possible in about Six weeks, with what they can get, Sugar, Rum, and a little mahogany. Being but a small Vessel I make no doubt they will do it in that time, as I would not have you lay longer even if you should get but $\frac{2}{3}$ full as the Sooner you get to England the better, that if this Voyage Answers another may be Struck out more Considerable (in a larger Vessel). I mentioned in my former Letters, to the house, not to take produce on Account of the Slaves but rather than not help the Vessel with a little Freight, I have now order'd them to Ship for my Account from 10 to 15 punchions of Rum and Suppose you'l have no objection to put 8 or 10 on board on your Account, which with as many of theirs, will be some help to fill her up! Rum has been lower here this year but must answer next year if can be purchaced lower at Jamaica, (Strong proof and good flavor'd). I have desired Peatts and Westmorland to forward the first Set of my bills, by the next Vesel that offers after Recieving them, and not to keep them, till you Sail that no time may be lost here in Recieving, and if you think proper may send the first Sett for your Share, by the Same Oppertunity, to me and shall do the Same with them as my Own to get them Excepted. And the Second Set of yours and mine you may bring along with you and the third Set to be put on bourd some other Vessel before you Sail; you will also write me what Insurence you would have get done for your Account and direct to me at Mr. Hodgsons as Usual. I have paid all the bills you have Drawn on me from Rhode island, and as you Desir'd I get £400 St'g Insured for your Acc't with my own, round to Jamaica, the Expencc of premium paid here etc was £35:17, which sum is all you debt. . . .

217. RIVERA AND LOPEZ TO CAPTAIN WILLIAM ENGLISH, 1772.¹

NEWPORT, November [27], 1772.

Sir, Our Brig'n the *Ann*,² of which you are at present the Master, being loaded and ready for the Seas, Our orders to you are, That you Embrace the first fair wind and make the best of your way to the Coast of Africa; and as we have no opinion of the windward Coast trade, we think it advisable, That as Soon as you procure the necessary rice that you proceed without delay to Anamaboe road; When please God you arrive there safe Convert your cargo into good Slaves; on the best terms you can; You are not insensible that lying any considerable time on the Coast, is not only attended with a very heavy expense, But also great risk of the Slaves you may have on board. We therefore would recommend to you dispatch, even if you are obliged to give a few gallons more or less on each slave. . . . We here inclose you David Mill Esq. of Cape coast Castle's receipt for twenty seven men and thirteen women Slaves, left in his hands by Capt. Briggs the last voyage on our accounts payable to his or our order, which we have made payable to you; When you have finished the sales of your Cargo, apply to the said Mr. Mill and receive from him the above mentioned slaves, which from his universal character, we are confident he will not only immediately comply but will also deliver you slaves to your satisfaction; To these slaves we desire you'll put some particular mark that may distinguish them from those of the Cargo, so that their sales in the West Indies may be kept by itself, for the Insurance on these is not blended with the Cargo.

You are to be particularly careful, that as soon as you have got your slaves on board, and before you leave the Coast you are to fill up two Sets of bills of lading; The one mentioning the number of Slaves you have on board, bought with your Cargo, which are two-thirds on acct. of Aaron Lopez, and the other third on account of Jacob Rod Rivera; And another set for the forty slaves you receive from Mr. Mill, those are one-half on each our Accts, and remit us by Two different Opp'ts, One of each of these bills of lading, and the third carry with you; for in case of accident (which God forbid) we have no other way of proving our Interest than by a bill of lading.

When thus you have finished your trade on the Coast, you are to proceed directly to the Island of Jamaica when if you arrive in any time between the first of December and the first of July, you

[217] ¹ Terry, "Newport Slave Trade," Newport Hist. Soc., *Bulletin*, no. 62, pp. 15-17.

² The Cargo of the *Ann*, a brigantine of 113 tons, consisted of: 98 hhd., 14 tierces New England rum, 8¼ casks Lisbon wine, 3½ bbl. Madeira wine, 19 kegs cordial, 2 tierces loaf sugar, 2 bbl. brown sugar, 1 bbl. molasses, 1 bbl. vinegar, 30 sheep, 39 turkeys, 28 geese, 21 ducks, "and provender." Terry, *Bulletin*, no. 62, pp. 13-14.

are to goe directly to Savanah La Mar, and there deliver your whole quantity of slaves on our Acco'tt to Capt. Benjamin Wright, in whose hands we shall lodge whatever future orders we may have occasion to give you; But if you arrive off of Jamaica in any time between the month of July and the first of December, then you are not to proceed to Savanah La Mar, but to Kingston in that Island, and there apply to Mr. Thomas Dolbeare merchant there, to whom you are to deliver your slaves on our Accts and in whoes hands we shall also lodge, whatever orders we may find necessary further to give you, and if on inquiry you find when you arrive at Kingston, that Capt'n Wright is in any part of the Island, you are desired to send him immediate intelligence of your arrival, But this is not to prevent the delivery of the Slaves to Mr. Dolbeare as aforesaid, and should Cap'n Wright not be at Savanah La Mar when you arrive there, nor in any part of Jamaica, in that case dispatch an express to Mr. Dolbeare at Kingston, and follow what orders you may receive from him. Either Capt. Wright or Mr. Dolbeare will have orders to load our Brig with the produce of the Island if the season of the year will permit it, Therefore as soon as you have delivered your slaves, and your vessel ready, proceed directly back to this port.³ . . .

217A CAPTAIN WILLIAM ENGLISH TO RIVERA AND LOPEZ, 1773.¹

ANAMABOE RD Mar. 10th, 1773.

Gentlemen: I arrived att Cape Corse Castle on the 12th of February, where on my arrival apply'd to Gov'r Mill and gave him the offer of my Cargo on Various Terms from one hundred and eighty gall'n to Two hundred for men and in proportion for women but would not take itt on any terms his answer was that he could not pay me Slaves in Eighteen Months he owing a great many Slaves and Every Ship to take their turn to be paid according to their Contract. I handed the Stock that I had for Mr. Mill being 27 Sheep 16 Geese 12 Ducks and five turkeys which was all that I had left. I also acquainted Mr. Mill that I had his obligation for forty Slaves Left by Capt'n Briggs in your favor. these Slaves Mr. Mill told me he would Deliver when I was ready to Sail. Here is very poor times for every fort and private house is stocked with Rum that

³ During 1772 the following vessels owned or loaded by Aaron Lopez cleared for Africa: *Royal Charlotte*, Benjamin Wright, *Cleopatra*, Briggs, *Ann*, English, *George*, Peleg Greene. In 1773, the *Charlotte*, Shearman, the *Africa*, Briggs, the *Active*, Taggart, the *Cleopatra*, Bourk, were apparently loaded for Africa by Lopez. (Lopez Bills of Lading.) For this item the editor is indebted to Professor B. M. Bigelow of Brown University.

[217 A] ¹ Terry, Newport Hist. Soc., *Bulletin*, no. 62, pp. 18-19. The first letter from English to his owners was written from "Deloes road," Jan. 14, 1773, after a voyage of forty days. He had already learned that the price of slaves on the coast was 150 iron bars, the equivalent of 200 gallons of rum. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

there is Noe Selling of Rum Nor anything else. I have Not Been five Nights on board since my arrival but Continually Cruising from one fort to another Striveing to Sell my Cargoe, after I had tryed the South of the Gold Coast and finding itt impossible to Sell to advantage, I struck with Mr. Henrick Woortman for four thousand Galln. att Two hundred Gall'n for man and one hundred and Eighty for women payable in Three months. I also sold Three Thousand Galln. more to Various Private Traders att 190 Gn. and 195 for men and in proportion for women. These are the only terms that I could sell any part of the Cargoe and I find that the Market grows worse instead of grown better for this day has been Given 210 Galln. to the Gentlemen where I Dine for men Slaves and three months Credit. Gentlemen, I have but five Slaves on board and God knows when I shall have five more for the Country Trade is so Dull and Slaves Scarce that itt puts Every Man to attend that has the Command of a Vessel here at present. What time to appoint that I should Gett off itt is nott in any power for there is noe man att present comes up to his engagement. But I have hopes of Gett my pay according to Contract as Henrich Woortman, Esq., has the most to pay and the Longest Credit, and he Reconed to be the Best pay and Least in Debt of any Governor on the Gold Coast at present, therefore I am in hopes of Getting off Sometime in June.²

218. ACCOUNTS OF THE *ADVENTURE*, 1773.¹

Sales of 81 Slaves received by Stevenson and Went from on Board the Sloop "Adventure" Samuell Tuell Commander from Affrica on Account and Risque of Messrs. Christopher and George Champlin Merchants In Rhode Island.

Dr.

1773		£	s.	d.
March 19	To Duty on 81 Slaves at 5/ ea and Permit 5/.....	20	10	
	To Captain Samuel Tuell for his Coast Com'ns on £3685. 10 at 4 in 104 pr. Cent.....	141	15	
	To our Commissions on £3685. 10 at 5 pr. Cent.....	184	5	6
	To Mess's Christopher and Geo. Champlin Account Current for Neat proceeds.....	3338	19	6
		3685	10	

² On Mar. 22 he wrote again. With but fifteen slaves on board he was much discouraged over the prospects for trade. His rum found no market as neither English nor Dutch governors would take it, and his Lisbon wine was unacceptable on the coast, where Madeira was preferred. A Boston ship recently arrived was offering 200 gallons of rum per slave with five months' credit. Terry, pp. 19-20.

[218] ¹Newport Hist. Soc., package no. 182. Another copy of these accounts is to be found in the collection of Mr. George Plimpton, who generously allowed the editor to

[Sales of 81 Slaves—continued:]

Cr.

	Purchasers	No. Slaves	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Price	£	s.	d.
1773 Feb'y 19	Philip Lytcott and Co.	81	32	24	23	2	at £35 St'g ea £2835 St'g at 30 PC	3685	10	

BARBADOES March 20th 1773²
Errors Excepted
STEVENSON and WENT

Messr. Christopher and George Champlin

Dr.

		£	s.	d.
1773 March 20	To Amount of Disbursments for the Sloop <i>Adventure</i>	100		
	To our drafts on Lascelles and Daling..... <i>Viz</i>			
	at 8 Months Sight.....£1581. 18. 4 Stg.			
	at 8 Months Sight.....395. 9. 8			
	at 8 Months Sight.....395. 9. 6			
	Exchange at 30 P C.....£2372. 17. 6 “	3084	14	9
	To our Commissions on Remitting Do. at 5 PC.....	154	4	9
	£	3338	19	6

Account Current with Stevenson and Went

Cr.

		£	s.	d.
1773 March 19	By Nt. Proceeds of 81 Slaves reced per the Sloop <i>Adventure</i> Samuel Tuell Commander as per the above Sales.....	3338	19	6

BARBADOS March 20th 1773
Errors Excepted STEVENSON and WENT

examine his manuscripts relating to the slave trade. Many of them pertain to the voyages of the *Adventure*, as do many of the papers in the Wetmore collection in the Massachusetts Historical Society and the manuscripts in the Shepley Library in Providence.

²On Jan. 7, 1773, Stevenson and Went wrote to the Champlins that Captain Tuell had not yet arrived. They had at that time just sold the cargo of Captain Rogers at £36 and £35 stg. Tuell reached Barbados Feb. 13 with 94 slaves, from a purchase of 95, which Stevenson and Went took at £35 per head. There are 13 slaves unaccounted for in the sale, part of whom may have been the privilege slaves of the captain and mate. *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 428, 429.

219. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO JOHN FLETCHER, 1773.¹

KINGSTON JAMAICA 24th March 73.

Sir, I omitted writing you on my first Arrival by the Oppertunity of the Manawar [man of war] by being at the Palasoids aheaving down the Brig. I now make you Acquainted that Every thing that is Nessesary of that Kind is done and we are a loading as fast as possible for Hull, And shall Sail in ten Days or a fortnight at which place or at London I hope I shall have the pleasure Of seeing you. As to our African Voyage Messrs. Peatts and Westmorland has mad you fully Acquainted with and likewise their Transactions at Kingston All of which I hope may meet you Approbations.

I am Excessive Sorry you have Order'd the Brig home as I must forego some Advantageous Ingagements I had made on the Coast, which where to be fulfild in August, or then Voy'd. It gives Me great Happiness to have my Transactions at Rhode Island meets your Approbations which I hope may be the fate of Every Other on this Voyage. I noted your paragraft in your letter where you intended going more largely into the trade I am ready to Join you as far as my ability will Allow, and shall be glad if you will make all the Preparations in Your power as I do not want to Stay longer in England.²

220. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO BREWTON AND SMITH, 1773.¹

NEWPORT 15 April, 1773.

Sirs, We have taken the Liberty to Order Cap John Duncan Master of our Brigg'n *Othello* who Sail'd from hence the 23 August last for the Coast Affrica, to purchase a Cargo of Slaves and to proceed from thence to Charlestown, and to address him Self to your House; we beg pardon in not giving you notice thereat before this Time, as we might probabilly have bin advised of the generall prices of Slaves at your market from time to time.

We have not heard of the *Othello* since she Sail'd yet we think it most likely she may be with you early in May.

We have been induced to Order this Vessil to Charles Town, from the high prices Slavès have Sold for there² we have been solicited

[219] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

² On June 19, 1773, Fletcher wrote, as he had probably written in some earlier letter also: "I do not in future propose to be conserved in a Copartnership in the guinea way but take the whole on my Self, Except such a part as you may chuse to hold yourself, say a Quarter part, the same you have at present." Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

[220] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 244. For further information concerning the trade of Brewton and Smith see this work, vol. IV.

² For the state of the South Carolina market in 1772 and 1773 see this work, vol. IV. Nathaniel Russell had written to Lopez on July 14, 1772, that negroes were selling in Charleston for £52 stg. on credit of three, six, nine, and twelve months.

by severall Houses for the Consignment of Affrican cargoes and by Some persons who have visited every Capitol Town in the Northern Colonys for the Same purpose, and whose Credit was guarranteed in London, but we have rather prefer'd your House, from the recommendation of Severall of our Friends, and make no doubt if our Slaves arrives of having Satisfactory Sales and return for the Cargo in good bills of Exchange upon Great Britain except Sixty bbls. of Rice and about Two or Three hund'd Pounds Ster'g in Cash. You will observe Cap'n Duncans Priveledge Slaves are to be Sold upon an averidge with the Cargo its what Every Cap'n complys with out of this Place and what we Expect, his Com'n is 4 on one hundred and four an establish'd Custom.

Please to dispatch the Vessil home as Soon as possible as we Shall want her Immediately.

Inclosed is a Letter for Cap'n John Duncan which Please to deliver him upon his arrival.

(pr Cap'n Earl)

221. MILES BREWTON TO SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON, 1773.¹

CHARLESTON SO CAROLINA May 3d 1773.

Gentlemen: I am favr'd with yours of the 15th April advising me that you have ord your Brig. *Othello* for Africa to my address for Sales, for which Confidence you'l please to accept of my Sincere thanks, and you may rest assur'd that every endeavor of mine shall be exerted to obtain you the best prices, and from my extensive Country acquaintance I think I have it in my power to do as well for you as any other House here. I wish she may appear in this month, as I am apprehensive we may have a large Number of Slaves imported here during the course of the summer, tho' I do not know that a very large quantity are expected; You may depend that every part of your directions respecting the trading, dispatching, and remiting for the *Othello's* Cargo shall be duly observed.

Two Cargoes of Slaves have been already sold and aver'e £42 and £44 Stg. from Gambia and Senegal. I have now a Small Cargo just arrived, and there is another from Gambia now for Sale.

222. BILL OF LADING OF THE *CLEOPATRA*, 1773.¹

Shipped by the Grace of God, in good Order and well conditioned, by Jacob Rods. Rivera and Aaron Lopez on their joint Acco't and

[221] ¹ Newport Hist. Soc., Letter-Book, no. 652, p. 52.

[222] ¹ Newport Hist. Soc., Misc. Bundle, 1770-1779, no. 155; a printed form with the matter pertaining to the vessel written in. Other material relating to this voyage is to be found in the Wetmore Papers, vol. VI. The signature of this bill has been transcribed as "James Bourn", but the master was probably James Bourk.

Risque in and upon good Ship called *Cleopatra* whereof is Master, under God, for the present Voyage, James Bourk [Bourne] and now riding at Anchor in the Harbour of Newport and by God's Grace bound for Africa To say, Two Hundred and Thirty four Hogsheads New England Rum, Two Barrels Wine, Six Barrels Tarr Six Barrels Pitch, Six Barrels Turpentine, Two Half Barrels Powder, Sixty-four Kegs Water Bread Six Casks Indian Corn One Tierce Gammons, One Thousand Hogshead Hoops, six hundred and seventy feet White Oak Boards, Three Hundred and Thirty feet Red Oak Boards, Eleven Hogsheads and One small cask Calavants, Two Hogsheads black ey'd Peas, Six Tierces and Two Hogsheads Rice, Twenty Barrels common Flour, Ten Barrels superfine Flour, Thirty Sheep and Provender, Eight Casks common Ship Bread, Six Hogsheads and Four Tierces hard baked Bread, Twenty-eight Barrels Beef, Twenty four Barrels Pork, One Firkin Butter, and Two Cases Window Frames and Shutters, Two Masts and Two pieces Timber, One bundle Sailors Cloaths, twelve pounds chocolate and half a hundred Weight Sugar Being marked and numbered as in the Margin;² and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well conditioned, at the aforesaid Port of Africa (the Danger of the Seas only excepted) unto Captn Nathl Briggs there or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Goods Nothing they being the property of the Owners of said ship with Primage and Average accustomed. In Witness whereof the Master or Purser of the said Ship hath affirmed unto Three Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date: One of which Three Bills being accomplished, the other Two to stand void And so God send the good Ship to her desired Port in Safety. Amen. Dated in NEWPORT June 30, 1773.³

223. COURT ORDER CONCERNING RICHARD BREW, 1773.¹

Rhode Island	} ss.	<i>George the Third by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc.</i>
Kings County		

To the Sheriff of our County of Bristol or Newport in our Colony of Rhode Island, etc. and to his Deputy Greeting.

² There is nothing in the margin.

³ During this month a somewhat questionable item appeared in the *Gazette*: "Newport, June 7. Capt. Dagget, who arrived last week from a whaling cruise upon the coast of Africa, informs that in March last, at the Island of St. Thomas, he met with the ship *Liberty*, Capt. Richard Crump, of this port, with between 3 and 400 slaves on board, bound to Barbados" (*Gaz. and News Letter*, June 17, 1773, *Supp.*). While the editor hesitates to make the positive assertion that no Rhode Island vessel of this period had such capacity as is here indicated, such vessels were certainly unusual.

[223] ¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. The editor has come upon nothing which would throw further light upon this order or its outcome. It is signed by D. Rodman, clerk.

Whereas Richard Brew of Anamaboa in Africa Merchant commenced an Action of the Case (*sur Assumset*) against Sion Martindale of Bristol in Our County of Bristol Mariner . . . at an Inferior Court of Common Pleas, held at South Kingston within and for our County of Kings County on the third Monday of February Last past where the said Sion recovered Judgment against the said Richard for his Cost Expended the same Being Taxed at Twenty nine Shillings and nine pence From which Judgment the said Richard appealed to our Superior Court of Judicature, held at South Kingston within and for our County aforesaid, on the first Monday of April Last past at which Court the Judgment of the Inferior Court Appealed From was Affirmed with Further Cost to the said Sion Taxed at thirty nine shillings and six pence half penny which sums amount to Three pounds Nine shillings and three pence half penny of which the said Richard is Convict as of Record of Said Superior Court Appears for which Execution Remains to be done.

Therefore we command, That of the Goods and Chattels of the said Richard Brew within your Precincts, you execute and levy the said Sum of Three pounds Nine shillings and three pence half penny Lawful current Money as the Law directs, together with eleven pence for this Execution and the Return hereof; as also the lawful Fees that shall be due for the Serving hereof, and therewith satisfy and pay the aforesaid Sion Martindale And for want of sufficient Estate of the said Richard Brew to be by you found to satisfy and pay the same as aforesaid, We further command, That you take the Body of the said Richard Brew into your Custody, and him safely secure in our Gaol in Bristol or Newport aforesaid, till that he satisfy and pay the aforesaid Sion Martindale the aforesaid Sums, or be by him therefore discharged. Hereof you are not to fail, but make true Return of this Writ, with your Doings thereon, to our next Superior Court of Judicature to be held at South Kingstown for our County aforesaid, on the first Monday of October next,

Witness Stephen Hopkins Esq; at South Kingston this Thirtieth Day of June in the Thirteenth Year of our Reign, Annoq Dom 1773

224. BILL OF LADING OF THE *ANN*, 1773.¹

Shipped in good Order and well conditioned, by William Einglish in and upon the good Brigantine, called the *Ann*, whereof is Master, for the present voyage, said Einglish, and now riding at anchor in the Road of Anamaboe, Africa, and bound for the port of Kingston in the Island of Jamaica;

[224] ¹ Terry, Newport Hist. Soc., *Bulletin*, no. 62, pp. 22-32. The *Bulletin* publishes letters from Captain English of May 16, June 6, and July 15, in the last of which were inclosed two bills of lading, one of which follows. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-24.

To say: 19 men slaves, marked "O" on the right thigh, also 11 women marked ditto. Being part of the ship *Cleopatra's* cargo left by Capt. Nath. Briggs the last voyage to Africa.²

Being marked and numbered as in the margin, and are to be delivered in the like good order and well conditioned at the aforesaid port of Kingston in Jamaica. (mortality, insurrection, and the danger of the seas only excepted) unto Mr. Thomas Dolbeare.

In Witness whereof the Master of the said Brigantine hath affirmed this Bill of Lading, dated in Anamaboe, Africa, July 14th, 1773.³

225. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO THORNTON AND YATES, 1773.¹

NEWPORT, 21 Sep, 1773.

Sirs, We this moment reciev'd a line from Cap'n Duncan of 6 Int. acquainting us, that from the commencement of the Sale of his Slaves to that day, an [one] only of the Cargo was sold, and that a small Boy for £38.10 Cur'y² that the Men you held up to £55. We are truly sorry to find your market so extream dull and indeed low, to what they are in almost all the West India Islands, and upon the Southern Continent of America. If the price woud be inhanc'd by giving some Cred't upon intrest with good security we have no objection, but as to taking Produce it will not answer our purpose—except it be for a few Tons of good Hemp if to be had at £35 pr Ton and twelve or fifeten hhds of good Mountain Tobacco, as we are well inform'd it can be bought from 10/ to 12/ P.C. Cap'n Duncan tells us his Corn is ready to take on board we in our first Letter inform'd you, it would not do to ship it, we have not more to add than to beg you'd dispatch the Vessil.

226. THOMAS DOLBEARE TO LOPEZ AND RIVERA, 1773.¹

KINGSTON, JAMAICA, 22d October, 1773.

Gentlemen, My last was under the 8th Current per Captain Forrester, acquainting you with the arrival of the Brigantine *Ann*, Captain Einglish from Annamaboe;² this will acquaint you with the

² Governor Mill had written to Rivera or Lopez on July 12, that he was at that time able to pay for but thirty of the forty slaves he owed. Terry, p. 22.

³ The bill of lading for the remainder of the cargo listed 33 men slaves, 2 boys, 27 women, and 3 girls. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[225] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, p. 264. Apparently Captain Duncan failed to reach the South Carolina market but instead attempted to dispose of his cargo in Virginia, with the results here described.

² In 1767 the rate of Virginia currency to sterling was 125.

[226] ¹ *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 457-458.

² The letter of Oct. 8 reported the arrival of Captain English with 104 slaves.

sale of her Cargo. 57 were sold the first day averaging £63 and 4 *d* ½, clear of duty, 14 the third day at £51, 22 the fifth day at £32, the remainder at £8 only. had there been five times as many, and the Negroes good, they would have sold at the price they did the first day. there were a number of old men, but the Boys went off very high. I find there are 14 Privelege Slaves which I think is large, and will take from the Cargo considerably. I shall conform to the terms accepted, tho' the decease of Mr. Winn and the uncertainty of the goodness of the Negroes laid me under some disadvantage. I have acted from principle, Gentlemen in the sale of this Cargo, and I hope it will be satisfactory, my intent has been that it should. I am now at Port Royal dispatching a Vessell, that I am much in haste, but hope in a few days to be at leisure when I shall write you.

We have this day accounts confirming the Negro Contract with the King of Spain, but we find the 27/6 is not to be taken off.³ . . .

227. CAPTAIN WILLIAM ENGLISH TO RIVERA AND LOPEZ, 1773.¹

KINGSTON JAMAICA, Nov. 14, 1773.

Gentlemen, . . . Gentlemen I buried one man slave since my Last and the Swelling Begin to Rang so Voilent among the Slaves that Nine of them was Sold for a mere trifel and had not the whole Being sold in a few Days I beleive I should Lost one half of the whole and yett when I arrived there was But Two Slaves that had the Least Sign of Swelling. This Disorder first Begun in their feet and worked upward when Gott as far as their Stomach they Dyed in a few hours. There has been Three ships cargoes of Slaves sold since my arrival and none of there Averages exceeded the Brgantine's not five shillings in a slave therefore I doe not think that this markett is as Good as the Merchants here says itt out to be.

Here is Lately arrived some Spanish Gentlemen which I am informed has brought one hundred Thousand Dollars to Buy Slaves

The sale was set for Oct. 13; the terms were credit at four, eight, and twelve months. *Ibid.*, I. 455-456.

³On Oct. 8 Dolbeare had written: "We have authentic enteligenge of a Contract being made between the Kings of Great Britain and Spain whereby it is settled that the Spaniards are to be supplied with Negroes, at Kingston in the Island of Jamaica for Cuba and the Main at £60 per head, to be continued for 5 years, that they are allowed 3 bbl. flour to every Negro, that the duty of 30/ Currency to be taken off and 2/6 only to be paid on importation, when it is to commence and other particulars is not yet transpired. The planters here are much disgusted" (*ibid.*, I. 456). This contract called forth from Bryan Edwards the suggestion that the navigation acts of Great Britain ought to be lightened in favor of Spain. He believed the increase in trade would require twenty more vessels to bring negroes from Africa to the West Indies.

[227] ¹Terry, Newport Hist. Soc., *Bulletin*, no 62, pp. 25-26. Captain English arrived at Jamaica on Oct. 7, after a passage of eighty-five days, during which he had buried five negroes from the cargo of the *Ann* and one from that of the *Cleopatra*. The remaining eighty-nine were in good health at the time of his arrival. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

and here is att present but one Vessell with Slaves and Yett they will not Give as Good a price as the planters Gives, For this Day I have bein informed by a Gentleman that belongs to the house that this Vessell is addressed to that they offered But a hund'd and fifty Dollars and have Refuse Thirty out of a hundred and thirty. Therefore any further particulars Relative to this Spanish Contract and the Average of the Brigantine Slaves I refer to Mr. Dolbeares Letters. Here is a King packett which will Sail for falmouth the 22d Inst. on board of which If Mr. Dolbeare fulfill's his agreement I will be able to Dispatch one Sett of Bills for the Cargoe on your acc'ts. Should Mr. Dolbeare fall short in his promise and the Packett should sail Before the Bill is Drawn the next opportunity will Be in the Ship *Nancy* Capt. Brown for London which is to Sail by the Last of this month.

As for the Cash to load the Brigintine, Mr. Dolbeare has told me he had Riddy, this Day we have Received News that Mollases in the Mole ² has fell from 26 Sous to 21 which if Mr. Dolbeare Dispatches me to the time agreed upon I may have a chance to Load the Brigin-tine on Reasonable terms.

228. THOMAS DOLBEARE TO RIVERA AND LOPEZ, 1773.¹

KINGSTON, JAMAICA, November 20, 1773.

Gentlemen, Since my last, I have yours covering a Letter to Captain Einglish, who I purpose dispatching for Mole Cape Nicola with the £800 about the 13th of next Month, as I told him when the Cargo was deliver'd me. I find the £800 on Cargo, with the nearly £800 privelidge, the Captains Coast Commissions, and the Duty of 30/ per head there will be £1900 at least, to pay Captain Einglish in Money. I think there are generous Priveliges allowed out of your port. The gross Sale of the 102 Negroes per the *Ann*, is £5187 this Currency; out of which the 14 Privelige are to be taken. Negroes continue in demand, the Spaniards are now here on purchase, one of them bro't 100,000 Dollars, but they appear to expect them at low rates, for they as yett, have offered but £38 Sterling, to have the first choice, which will never do, for if I recollect right, the *Ann's* Cargo averaged the first day, with the Duty £45.15/ Sterling. It appears by what I have been able to collect, that England and Spain's Monarchs have adjusted and concluded the Contract for a number of years; what number we have not yet understood. they are to send their ships to what of the English West Indies they may chuse, and not to be limited to this Island as was reported, that they can give from 270 to 290 Dollars per head, but about £25

² Mole St. Nicolas, Haiti.

[228] ¹ *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 461-462.

Currency per head. They will be obliged to pay their Priests for Baptising. They purchase them to sell per feet and inches, so many feet and inches making a piece, as they term it; how many, I have not yet learnt. they have 3 Barrells flour to every Negroe which will be a great cover to large quantitys of Contraband Goods. the Fac-tury at Port Rico is to be thrown up. the Spanish King has lent the Company £60 m.² Dollars on certain conditions, this is all I have yet been able to gather. as new matter arises I shall be informing you. prime Negroe Men £64 and Duty, Women £62 and duty.
 . . .

£3687.		74 Negroes of Brig. <i>Ann</i>
72.	for 8 refuge [refuse] at	28 do. of Ship <i>Cleopatra</i>
	£9.	—
		102
£3759	Brig. <i>Ann's</i> gross Sale	14 Privelige deducting
1428	Ship <i>Cleopatra's</i> do. one	—
	refuge of £9 included	88 Négros of the two Cargoes
£5187	the Gross Amount	

229. NATHANIEL RUSSELL TO AARON LOPEZ, 1773.¹

CHARLESTOWN 27th Novr. 1773.

Dear Sir, I Recd. your favr. of 2d Inst. wherein you acquaint me of your sending a Negro wench which upon Enquiry I find you was Disappointed in sending I have frequently Requested Capt. Durfee to Desire every person that Ships Negroes to address them to some other person as they are a very Disagreeable Commission they being Generally sent for some Capital Fault, which occasions the Purchasers to be very Cautious of Buying them, but if your wench is Honest and not adicted to strong Drink I Doubt not but I can obtain a Tolerable price for her, the duty is £60 Currency. . . .

Bills of Ex. 3-5 pr ct. above par.

230. NATHANIEL RUSSELL TO AARON LOPEZ, 1773.¹

CHARLESTOWN, 1st December, 1773.

Sir, You have herewith Account Sales of your Negro sent me by Earl, Nett Proceeds £296.15, which I would have sent you by this opportunity but cannot possibly get it chang'd into hard money. Bills

² £60,000.

[229] ¹ Newport Hist. Soc., Lopez Letter-Book, no. 636, p. 29.

[230] ¹ *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 466-467.

of Exchange has been so very scarce that all the Dollars and Heavy Gold has been sent to Great Britain for Remittance. if you can draw on me or order it in produce, if that will not suit you, I will desire Capt. Durfee to pay it you when he is in Cash on my Account.

Sales of a Negro man received per the *Nancy*, Capt. Earl, on Account of Mr. Christopher Champlin of Newport.

1773. August 1. By Wm. Johnson for 1 Negro man £325.

Charges

1773. To Cash paid his passage	£12.	
To my Commission 5 per Ct.	16.	5
Nett proceeds to your Acct. Currt.	296.	15

Errors Excepted

325.

NATH'L RUSSELL

Per Capt. Munro.

231. THOMAS DOLBEARE TO RIVERA AND LOPEZ, 1773.¹

KINGSTON, JAMAICA, 7 December, 1773.

Gentlemen, Here with you have the Account Sales of Brigantine *Ann's* Cargoe with the 29 of the Ship *Cleopatra's* Disbursements, etc. as I could not determine the proportion of Disbursements due from the Ship *Cleopatra* I have carried the whole to the Debit of the Brig *Ann*; leaving the Proportion to be settled by you. when I wrote you via Hispañola, my meaning of the Negroes averaging £63 the first Sale, clear of Duty, was, clear of the Sale Duty of 20/ the Import Duty of 10/ per head youll find debitted in the Account of Sales. the inclosed is Captain Eingleish's Receipt for the £800, and the Bills of Exchange for £1983.5.11 Sterling or £2776.12.4 Currency.² Your directions to me were to send Spanish Doubleloons of 13½ dwts and Johannes to the Mole, but, a few days since, receiving a letter from Mr. John Dupuy of Mole Cape Nichola that no Money but Johannes and Dollars would answer, there being Difficulty in passing Doubleloons, I concluded on sending Dollars, as 2½ Currency was to be gained, Dollars passing here at 6/8 and there at 11 Bitts or 6/10, which noncomplyence I hope youll not construe to an inattention to your Interest, but a disposition towards it.

The restriction under which you laid me with respect to the Security and which I cant but think any more than a prudent Act, obliged me to gett Messrs. Peatts and Westmoreland of the place to draw the Bills giving them half the advantage, which they did on

[231] ¹ *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 467-468.

² The summary of the transaction gives total receipts for the sale of slaves £3620. Newport Hist. Soc., *Bulletin*, no. 62, p. 26.

the Condition of this Cargo of Negroes being carried on under the Firme of T. D. and Co. which is the reason of the Accounts being under that Signature. Negroes continue at £64 and Duty for Men, Women at £62 and Duty of 20/. Two Ships have arrived this week with 700 Negroes from Annamaboe. endeavours on my part have been that this Voyage should be successfull. How far I have been an Instrument towards it doubtless youll form a Judgement.³ . . .

232. ACCOUNTS OF TRADE ON THE AFRICAN COAST, 1774-1775.¹

1774								
	GOREA	A Sinara	Dr.	Bars				
	Nov the 2d	To 50 Galls. Rum a 5/		50				
				£	s.	d.		
	GAMBIA	Mathias M. Lamara Esqr.	Dr.					
	Decem 2	To three bbls. Naval Stores at 50/		7	10			
	3d	To 220 Galls. Rum at 3/		33				
		To 2 half bbl. Flower at 30/		3				
		To 1 bbl. pork at 70/		3	10			
		To a boats Grapple 30/		1	10			
		To 28 lb. Onions at 7½			17	6		
			£	49	7	6		
	GAMBIA	Wm Stevens Esqr Collt James Fort	Dr.					
	Nov. 14	To 100 Galls. N Ed. Rum at 3/		15				
		To 60 Galls. Jamaica Rum 5/		15				
		To 50 lb. Brown Sugar at 10d.		2	1	8		
		To 100 lb. Onions at 7½d.		3	2	6		
			£	35	4	2		
1774	GAMBIA	Capt. Thomas Pratt	Dr.					
	Nov. 17	To 197 Galls. Rum at 2/		19	14			
		To 1028 lb. N. Ed. Tobaco at 3d.		14	19	7		
		To 30 lb. Brown Sugar at 10d.		1	5			
		To 6 Galls. Jamaica Rum at 5/		1	10			
		To 1 Kegg Crackers at 7/6			7	6		
		To 3000 Flints at 5/8 [per m.]			17			
		To 13 Ropes Onions		1	6			
			£	39	19	3		
	Nov. 18	Mr. Thomas Sharpless	Dr.					
		To 100 Galls. Rum at 3/		15				
		To 40 lb. Sugar at 10d.		1	13	4		
		To 12 lb. Onions at 7d.			7			
			£	17	0	4		

³ From the Mole Captain English wrote two letters before he completed his cargo of molasses (*ibid.*, pp. 27-28). These and other letters of the period bear witness to the fact that the British ports which received the negroes were often unable to supply return cargoes.

[232] ¹N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. The captain whose trade is here recorded is so far unidentified.

[*Accounts of Trade on the African Coast*—continued:]

			£	s.	d.
1774					
Nov. 22d	Capt James Sewell	Dr.			
	To 120 Galls Rum at 2/		12		
	To half bl. Flower at 30/		1	10	
	To 3 Keggs Conchons[?] at 7/6		1	2	6
	To 6 Ropes Onions at 2/			12	
	To 20 lb. Sugar at 10d.			16	8
	To 6 Do Coffee at 1/6			9	
	To 6 Galls Jamaica at 5/		1	10	
	To 320 lb. N Ed Tobacco at 3d.		4		
GOREA			£		
Nov 2	Contra	Cr.	22	0	2
	By Ten Gorea Cloths at 5/3				
GAMBIA			£	s.	d.
Decem 7th	Contra	Cr.			
	By a Bill of Exchange on Robert Brown Esqr. in				
	London Contractor for the Troops at Senegal and				
	Gambia at 60 days Sight		49	7	6
			49	7	6
GAMBIA					
Decem 7th	Contra	Cr.			
	By a Bill of Exchange on Robert Brown Esqr In				
	London Contractor for the Troops at Senegal and				
	Gambia at 30 Days Sight		22		
	By Custom house fees		7	2	6
	By Gold		6	1	8
			£		
			35	4	2
GAMBIA					
Nov. 17	Contra	Cr.			
	By Two Men Slaves N 1		20		
	N 2		20		
			£		
			40		
Nov. 18	Contra	Cr.			
	By four Ounces and one Quarter of Gold at £4 pr				
	ounce		17		
			17	0	0
Nov. 22d	Contra				
	By One Man Slave N 3		18		
	By One Kental Wax		4		
			£		
			22		

[Accounts of Trade on the African Coast—continued:]

1774	GAMBIA				£	s.	d.
Nov. 22		Contra	Cr.				
		By one Man Slave N 4			18		
		By one Woman 5			17		
					£		
					35	0	0
Nov. 23		Contra	Cr.				
		By One Woman Slave N 6			18		
					£		
					18		
Nov. 24		Contra	Cr.				
		By three men Slaves N 7a			19		
		8			19		
		9			19		
		By Two Women 10			19		
		11			16		
					£		
					92	0	0
GAMBIA		Contra	Cr.				
Nov. 26		By Two Woman Slaves N 12			16		
		13			16		
		By one Girl 14			12		
		By one Boy 15			12		
					£		
					56		
1775		Contra	Cr.				
ISLE DELOS		By one Boy Slave N 16			Bars		
Decem 25					55		
January 12th		Contra	Cr.				
		By one Girl N 17			Bars		
					150		
					Bars		
					149	2	6
15th		Contra	Cr.				
		By one Boy Slave N. 18			Bars		
					68		
					Bars		
					68		

[Accounts of Trade on the African Coast—continued:]

			£	s.	d.
1774	GAMBIA				
Nov. 22	Mr. James Mince	Dr.			
	To 230 Galls. Rum at 2/		23		
	To 48 lb. Sugar at 10d.		2		
	To 2 half bbls. Flour at 30/		3		
	To 4 Keggs Crackers at 7/6		1	10	
	To 10 lb. Coffee at 1/6			15	
	To 6 Galls. Jamaica Rum at 5/		1	10	
	To 2 Gorea Cloths at 30/ Each		3		
	To 3 Ropes Onions at 2/			6	
		£	35	1	
Nov. 23	Capt. John Ansley	Dr.			
	To 120 Galls. Rum at 2/		12		
	To 1 half bbl. Flower 30/		1	10	
	To 30 lb. Sugar at 10d.		1	5	
	To 10 lb. Coffee at 1/6			15	
	To 4 Keggs Crackers at 7/6		1	10	
	To 10 Ropes Onions at 2/		1		
			18	0	
Nov. 24	Mr. Thomas Parken	Dr.			
	To 810 Galls. Rum at 2/		81		
	To 4 Gorea Cloths at 30/		6		
	To 6 Keggs Crackers at 7/6		2	5	
	To 48 lb. Sugar at 10		2		
	To 8 Ropes Onions at 2/			16	
		£	92	1	
GAMBIA	Sinara Leaser	Dr.			
Nov. 26	To 560 Galls Rum at 2/		56		
			56		
1775	ISLE DELOSS				
Decem 25	Harry Pintard	Dr.	bars	s.	d.
	To 60 Galls Rum at 3/9		51		
	To 2 Keggs powder		4		
			55		
January the 12th	Mr. Lewiss Posson	Dr.	Bars		
	To 146 Galls Rum at 3/9		109	2	6
	To 4 Gorea Cloths at 10 Bars each		40		
		Bars	149	2	6
15th	Mungo Chico	Dr.	Bars		
	To 80 Galls Rum at 3/9		60		
	To 4 Keggs Powder		8		
		Bars	68		

[Accounts of Trade on the African Coast—continued:]

1775							
ISLE DELOSS		Mr. Thomas Hereford	Dr.	Bars			
January 19th		To 427 Galls. Rum at 3/9		320	1	3	
		To 4 half bbls. Flower at 6 Bars		24			
		To 106 lb. Sugar at 10d.		17	3	4	
25		To 1 half bbl. Flower		6			
		To 22 lb. Coffee at 1/3		5	2	6	
		To 16 lb. Onions		2			
Febry 6th		To 66 lb. Sugar at 10		11			
17th		To 528 Galls. Rum at 3/9		396			
		To 2 Hogsds. Tobacco Cont'g 2258 lb. at 10d.		376	1	8	
		To 71 Keggs powder		142			
		To 60 lb. Coffee at 1/3		15			
28th		To 3 half bbls. Flower		18			
		To 144 Galls. Rum at 3/9		108			
		To 48 lb. Sugar at 10		8			
		To 24 lb. Coffee at 1/3		6			
		To 48 lb. Onions		6			
			Bars	1461	3	9	
ISLE DELOSS		Mr. Richard Roberts	Dr.				
January 25th		To 118 Galls. Rum at 3/9		88	2	6	
		To 240 lb. Tobacco at 10d.		40			
		To 1 half bbl. Flower		6			
		To 3 Keggs powder		6			
		To 16 lb. Coffee at 1/3		4			
		To 24 lb. Sugar at 10d.		4			
		To 12 lb. onions		1	2	6	
			Bars	150			
Febry 3d		Capt Robert Champlin	Dr.				
		To 234 lb. Tobacco at 10d.		39			
			Bars	39			
Feb. 17th		Capt Thomas White	Dr.				
		To 105 Gallons Rum at 3/9		78	3	9	
		To 500 lb. Tobacco at 10d.		83	1	8	
		To 1 half bbl. Flower		6			
		To 6 Keggs powder		12			
			Bars	180		5	

[Accounts of Trade on the African Coast—continued:]

1775								
ISLE DELOSS		Contra		Cr.	Bars			
January 19th		By Six Slaves						
		5 Boys N	19		110			
			20		100			
			21		100			
			22		100			
			23		70			
March 19th		By one Girl	24		100			
		By one Boy	36		120			
Apr. 10		By Two Girls	48		120			
			49		100			
		By one Boy	50		120			
	19	By one Do	51		80			
		By one Girl	52		100			
		By one Do	53		70			
May 10th		By one man Boy	63		171	3	9	
				Bars	1461	3	9	
ISLE DELOSS		Contra		Cr.				
January 25th		By one Man Slave N	25		150			
Febry 3d		Contra		Cr.				
		By 1 Box Spermaceti Candles 30 lb. at 2/6			15			
		By 1 firkin Butter			10			
		By 72 lb. Brown Sugar at 10d.			12			
		By 1 Loafe white Do.			2			
				Bars	39			
Feb. 17		Contra		Cr.				
		By one Girl Slave N	26		120			
		By one Boy Do. Do.	27		60			
				Bars	180			

[Accounts of Trade on the African Coast—continued:]

1775								
ISLE DELOSS	Mr. John Hollman	Dr.	Bars	s.				
Febry 22d	To 1 box Spermaceti Candles 30 lb. at 2/6		15					
	To 60 lb. Sugar at 10		10					
	To 24 lb. Coffee at 1/3		6					
	To 32 lb. Onions		4					
	To 2 half Blls. Flower		12					
May 8th	To 1 Hogsd. Tobacco Cont'g 1068 at 10d.		178					
	To 3 Keggs powder		6					
		Bars	231					
I D	Mr James Mackmillin							
March 2d	To 1 Hogsd. Tobacco Cont'g 1175 at 10d.		196					
	To 1 1/2 Bll. pork		24					
	To 1 bll. Flower		6					
	To 60 Galls. Rum at 3/9		45					
		Bars	271					
REPONGO	Mr John Norman							
RIVER	To 528 Galls. Rum at 3/9		396					
March the 9th	To 4822 lb. Tobacco at 10d.		803	3	4			
	To 4 Keggs powder		8					
Is DELOS	To 492 Galls. Rum at 3/9		369					
27	To 244 Galls. Rum at 3/9		183					
April 17th	To 83 Galls. Rum 3/9		62	1	3			
	To 4 Hogds. Tobacco		400					
	To 80 lb. Coffee at 1/3		20					
	To 2 half blls. Flower		12					
	To 480 Galls. Rum at 3/9		360					
		Bars	2613	4	7			
March 12th	Mr. Lewiss Posson	Dr.						
	To 206 Galls. Rum at 3/9		154	2	6			
	To 1114 C. Tobacco at 10d.		185	2	6			
April 29th	To 87 Galls. Rum at 3/9		65	1	3			
April 17th	To 106 Galls. Rum at 3/9		79	2	6			
	To 1 half bll. Flower		6					
			490	3	9			
RIOPONGO	Mr. Stephen Hamond	Dr.						
March 15	To 1 Hogshead Tobacco Cont'g 1003 lb.		167		10			
	To 371 Galls. Rum at 3/9		278	1	3			
	To 1 Bll. pork		16					
DELOSS 24th	To half bll. Flower		6					
	To 200 Galls. Rum 3/9		150					
April 17	To 23 Galls. Rum at 3/9		17	1	3			
		Bars	634	3	4			

[Accounts of Trade on the African Coast—continued:]

1775								
ISLE DELOSS	May	8	Contra		Cr.	Bars		
			By one Girl No. 28			80		
			By one Woman Girl 60			150		
					Bars	230		
ISLE DELOSS	April	22	Contra					
			By one prime Girl N 54			150		
			By one Boy 55			120		
					Bars	270		
RISPONGO RIVER	March	9	Contra					
			By three Tuns and 14 Quintals Rice			370		
			By Two Girl Slaves N 29			80		
						70		
DELOSS	24th		By one man Do.	37		150		
			By Two men Boys	38		150		
				39		150		
			By one Woman	40		150		
			By one Girl	41		100		
			By one Boy	42		100		
	28th		By one man	43		150		
	30th		By one man boy	45		150		
April	22d		By 1 Boy	56		120		
			By one Do.	57		80		
May	11th		By one man	58		170		
			By one man boy	59		170		
			By one Woman	64		170		
			By one Girl	65		130		
			By one Boy	66		100		
			By an Order on Capt. Willding			54		
					Bars	2614		
					Cr.			
March	12th		Contra					
			By one prime Girl N 31			150		
	15th		By one Boy 32			90		
	29th		By one Woman 44			150		
May	9th		By one Girl 61			100		
					Bars	490		
RIOPONGO	March	21	By Two men Slaves N 33			167	10	
						150		
DELOSS	24		By one Woman Slave 35			150		
May	9th		By one Man Boy 62			167	2	6
					Bars	634	3	4

233. ACCOUNTS OF THE OTHELLO, 1774-1775.¹

Dr. Messrs. Samuel and William Vernon

			£	s.	d.
1774 April	28th	To Brigg <i>Othello</i> for Acco't of Disbursements	145	1	5¾
		Cargo pr the Schooner <i>Susanna</i> Capt. Obed. Buttler pr Invoice	644	9	9¾
		Capt. John Duncan for Coast Commission on £2020. 11. 0 Sales of 52 Slaves £4 on £104 is	77	14	3

Cr.

1774 April	21st	By Sales of 52 Slaves pr <i>Othello</i> Capt. John Duncan	2020	11	
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VIRG'A FRED'BURG April 30th 1774
E Excepted JNO. THORNTON and Co.

Messrs. Samuel and William Vernon To Samuel and James King
Went Dr per Disbursements supplied the Brig'e "*Othello*" Geo. Sweet
Commander from Affrica. Viz.

			£	s.	d.
1775 June 15		To Cash pd Clearing at the Powder Office			5
		pd Clearing at the Secretarys			10
		pd Clearing at the Treasurers			5
		To 2 bbls. of Bread 300 C. at 25/ pg and Ca.	3	17	6
		To Cash pd. Clearing at the Fort		6	3
		Coms. at 5 Pr Cent	5	3	9
				5	2¾
			5	8	11¾

BARBADOS June 15th 1775

I acknowledge the above Accounts to be Just and Right amounting
to Five Pounds Eight Shillings and Eleven pence farthing Curr'y
having reced the sd Sum for the Use of the Briga *Othello* whereof I
am Commr and Signed three receipts of this Date. G. D. SWEET

[233] ¹N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. These two items refer to two suc-
cessive voyages of the *Othello*. See *post*, no. 241.

234. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO JOHN FLETCHER, 1774.¹

NEWPORT 10th February, 1774.

Sir. . . . We have had no accounts from Affrica Since the 9 July then as Usual Complaints of bad times. There is Sailed Since I Arrived from the Coast two Schooners from Salem belonging to Capt. Darby And a brig Belonging to Jo' and Wm. Wanton and a Sloop belonging to John Collins from this place.² . . .

N B I saw a Guare[n]tee to Mr. Lopez wherein Gabriel H Ludlow, Nicholass Hoffman, and Charles Shaw of New York Guarentee The house of Alexr: Gillon and Co. of Charles Town South Carolina³ To him or his friends as far as one Thousand Slaves the Bill to be Pd. at 3, 6 and 9 ms. Slaves Averidging now there about £45.

Febry 24th 1774.

I now Add that Since I wrote the foregoing Capt: Sebury arriv'd from the Coast, Left Anamaboe the 16th October and says that they where giving from 210 to 220 Gallons at that time which I assure you is very Discouraging. . . .

235. JOHN FLETCHER TO CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE, 1774.¹

LONDON 22nd February, 1774.

Sir, If you Remember we had Some Conversation Before you left London Relative to a Dry Good Cargo for Guinea, and if your Stay on the Coast Should be so long as the Rum Men Now meet with, you will have Sufficient time to make your Self Acquaintd with that Trade and if you Should find you Could Engage with any of the Goveners or Factors to take from you on your Return there in about Nine Months after your Departure £2500 or £3000 Sterling worth of Dry goods properly assorted According To Memorandum and Pattern of the Sorts of Cloath Wanted, etc. You are well Assur'd that I could on your Arrival get you Such a Cargo put up in a Month or Six Weeks Time and most of the Guinea Goods on 12 Months Credit, which I think will be making the most of Time Provided you Can be Well Assur'd of Getting of the Cargo Without much Delay.

[234] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A. On Jan. 13, 1774, Clarke urged Peatt and Westmorland to hasten the despatch of the *Fletcher* under Captain Stockford, as he expected her to sail for Africa three weeks after her arrival in Newport. He added a caution concerning the money to be given the captain since doubloons and pistoles were difficult to pass in Rhode Island.

² Evan and Francis Malbone, of Newport, had asked Clarke to procure for them in Boston 14 bolts Russia duck and 8 or 10 pieces of "Ravens" duck for sails for a vessel which they were outfitting for Guinea. Nov. 5, 1773, Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

³ For Alexander Gillon (afterwards Commodore) see D. E. Huger Smith in *S. C. Mag. Hist.*, IX. 189-219, and C. O. Paullin, *The Navy of the American Revolution*, pp. 435-440.

[235] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

But this must Depent upon Circumstances and According as you may find Trade on the Coast, as Nothing Can be Determined on till your Arrival there and Shall leave it to your Self to make Such Engagements as Shall Seem most for our Mutual Advantage. But if the Rum Trade is like to Continue any thing Tollerable and you Can Engage another Cargo at your Return to the Coast, (as Mentiond in my former Letter), you must in Such case Keep on the old Track with Molasses from Jamaica or the Moles and Return to Rhode Island. Only as we have now Peaceable times, and Don't know how long they may Continue, I Shall be glad to make the most of the Time present As war will Frustrate all our Guinea Schemes. Upon Setling for the *Thames* and her Disbursments you will Send me Duplicates of the Several Accounts With Reciepts which may be put up In a parcel and Sent by Shand or Rogers to be Deliver'd by themselves, and keep Copyes of the same by you at Newport for your own Satisfaction, you will also give me timely advice when you Draw the Bills, and Mention in the Body of the Bills for what Account, and where you have a large Sum to Pay as may be the Cause at Messrs. Malbones you will Divide the Sum into Two or three lesser Bills not of the Same Date, to prevent Mistakes, which will be more Convenient for me here.

As to the *Fletchers* Disbursments, etc. you'll Observe the Directions given in the Joint Letter, the whole to be Divided into Fourths and a Bill on each owner for their Share to save Trouble and any further Account here. I have Requested the favour of Messrs. Malbones of a Creditt of £200 or £300 Sterling in part of the Rum you may take from them provided it is not Inconvenient, as I can with more ease pay it at the latter end of the year or Send them out Hemp in the fall.

Our Liverpool Tender *Andromack* not yet Arrived in the West Indias to Bring Round any Bills to Attest me from that Quarter will make things Rather heavy—so many Payments Coming about the Same time. This favour I have Some Right to Ask of Messrs. Malbones but if Should not Suit them I have no Doubt of Getting through it one way or an other, and Do not let them hinder you in the least in pursuing the Instructions Given. I am now making preparations for you by Lodging Money with my Friend P Hodgson and A Peatts to answer your Bills.

I have made no Insurance On the *Fletcher* from Jamacai to the Mole, and Rhode Island if you Chuse to get any thing done on her at Newport Can act in that Respect as you Please for your Share as you will have much earlyer Advices from Capt. Stockford and

when to expect Him than I can, which as Soon as you hear from him give me a Line.²

236. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO JOHN FLETCHER, 1774.¹

NEWPORT 22 April 1774.

Dear Sir, . . . Our Schooner *Nancy* has on Board for Cargo 5665 Gallons Rum, 6 Barrels Flour, 12 Barrels Pitch, 6 Barrels Tarr, Six Boxes Soap, Provisions and 2500 feet Boards. She and her Cargo and out fitt will stand in about 750 £ Sterling the nearest Calculations. . . .

Now for the Brigg *Thames* I have her Grav'd and Shall begin to load to Morrow or Monday having 150 Hhds Rum ready to take on Board, and hope to Sail in all May. Molasses is and has been very Scarce all this Spring But what I have purchas'd has been at 35 / per Gallon and I See no likelyhood of getting it Cheaper. . . . And I have purchased of Saml Johnson one hundred Hogshead of Rum. . . .

N.B. If you insure I Shall be obliged to you to Insure about 125 on Schooner *Nancy* on my account to the Coast and while there before Sold and 300 on Snow *Fletcher* enough to make you whole in case of Accident

237. JOHN FLETCHER TO CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE, 1774.¹

LONDON 30th April 1774.

D'r Sir, I have now before me Your Favours of the 10th and 20 Feby, with Copy's Inclosing Accot Sales of *Thames's* Cargo with Your Accot Currt, a Ballance due the Owners of £714. 4. 8 which Acco't I have not had time to examine, but make no doubt its wright.

I obsarve what You Say about the price of Molasses which I hope you have been able to purchase on Easier Tirmes and that You have finish'd all your Business at Rhode Island to Your mind and Sail'd from thence Long before this Letter reaches there, as well as the Snow *Fletcher*, Captn: Stockford who I hope came in time with his Molasses.

As I wrote you fully in my late Letters concarning the *Thames* and *Fletcher* have nothing new to add. I observe the advance of Slaves on the Coast per Latest Accounts from 210 to 230 Galls, which to be Sure is high, all I can Say is You can afford to give as much as an

² A postscript added on the 26th states that the balance in Clarke's favor is £316 7 1.

[236] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 75 A.

[237] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

other and my Desire is that when You Arive on the Coast You Strike immeditly for Your Cargo of Rum (for Dispach Sake) and not higgle about it too Long as generally the first offer most likely will be as much as You will gitt after from the Number of Rum Vessells going on the Coast. Am glad to find you have Declined thoughts of any further alterations in the *Thames* at preasant, as we have been at a deal of Expençe already without any Profit, I hope we shall be more able after this Voyage, to do anything to her may be thought Necessary.² . . .

238. AN ACT FOR PROHIBITING THE IMPORTATION OF NEGROES,
JUNE, 1774.¹

An Act prohibiting the importation of Negroes into this Colony.

Whereas, the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties, among which, that of personal freedom must be considered as the greatest; as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others;

Therefore, be it enacted by this General Assembly, and by the authority thereof it is enacted, that for the future, no negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free, so far as respects personal freedom, and the enjoyment of private property, in the same manner as the native Indians.

Provided, nevertheless, that this law shall not extend to servants of persons travelling through this colony, who are not inhabitants thereof, and who carry them out with them, when they leave the same.

Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave, belonging to any inhabitant of either of the British colonies, islands or plantations, who shall come into this colony, with an intention to settle or reside, for

² Endorsed: "Reciv'd at Annamaboe by Captn. Borden Brig *Hope*, October 10th, 1774."

[238] ¹ "Proceedings of the General Assembly," *R. I. Col. Recs.*, VII. 251-253. On May 17, at a town meeting in Providence, the following resolution was agreed upon: "we are of opinion that an universal stoppage of all trade with Great Britain, Ireland, Africa, and the West Indies, until such time as the port of Boston shall be reinstated in its former privileges, etc., will be the best expedient in the case; and that a proper time should be generally agreed on for the same universally to take place.

"Whereas the inhabitants of America are engaged in the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as personal liberty is an essential part of the natural rights of mankind, the Deputies of the town are directed to use their endeavours to obtain an act of the General Assembly, prohibiting the importation of negroe slaves in this Colony; and that all negroes born in the Colony should be free at attaining to a certain age." Peter Force, *Archives*, fourth ser., I. 334. See also Arnold, *Rhode Island*, II. 336-337.

a number of years, therein; but such negro or mulatto, so brought into this colony, by such person inclining to settle or reside therein, shall be, and remain, in the same situation, and subject in like manner to their master or mistress, as they were in the colony or plantation from whence they removed.

Provided, nevertheless, that if any person, so coming into this colony, to settle or reside, as aforesaid, shall afterwards remove out of the same, such person shall be obliged to carry all such negro or mulatto slaves, as also all such as shall be born from them, out of the colony with them.

Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave brought from the coast of Africa, into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this colony, and which negro or mulatto slave could not be disposed of in the West Indies, but shall be brought into this colony.

Provided, that the owner of such negro or mulatto slave give bond to the general treasurer of the said colony, within ten days after such arrival in the sum of £100, lawful money, for each and every such negro or mulatto slave so brought in, that such negro or mulatto slave shall be exported out of the colony, within one year from the date of such bond; if such negro or mulatto be alive, and in a condition to be removed.

Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave that may be on board any vessel belonging to this colony, now at sea, in her present voyage.

And to prevent any slave or slaves from being clandestinely brought into this colony, in order that they may be free, and liable to become chargeable.

Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all persons, so offending, shall be liable to, and pay, a fine of £100, lawful money, for each and every one so brought in, to and for the use of the colony, to be recovered in the same manner that other fines and forfeitures usually are, by the laws of this government.

And also, all persons, who shall be convicted of receiving, harboring, or concealing, any such negro or mulatto slave, within this colony, he or they, so offending, shall be liable to the like penalty, to be recovered and applied in the same manner; and such negro or mulatto shall be sent out of the colony, as other poor persons are, by law.²

² Du Bois (*Suppression of the Slave Trade*, pp. 35-36) calls attention to the care with which the act, while it forbade the importation of slaves, protected the slave trader. In 1779 the Rhode Island Assembly took a further step by forbidding the exportation of slaves from the state, but nothing was done which actually restricted the commerce in slaves. *R. I. Col. Recs.*, VIII. 618.

239. HAYLEY AND HOPKINS TO AARON LOPEZ, 1774.¹

[LONDON] 20 July, 1774.

Sir, . . . The *Deborah* proved a very unsaleable Vessel for this place, as her dimensions were very unsuitable for any European Trade, the smallness of her Hold in particular was a heavy objection; We wrote down to Liverpool agreeable to your directions and two of the Merchants there who are concerned in the African Trade have since her arrival been to view her with thoughts of purchasing her, but they both declined taking her, assuring us that though she was constructed in the manner usual for the Trade from Rhode Island to Africa, she would by no means suit for the Trade from Liverpool.² . . .

We are glad to see Captain Wright had made you a satisfactory Sale of the *Cleopatra's* Cargo of Slaves: We hope he did the like with that of the *Africa*, who we find was arrived there and her Cargo sold; There can be no doubt he must have done well with that Cargo as you had given him a limitation of price. . . .

240. JOHN FLETCHER TO CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE, 1774.¹

LONDON 30th July 1774

Dear Sir, . . . From the non Import and Export Agreement Which is like to take place in general through North America which you wass advised of before you left newport it will be a Circumstance at preasant in Your favour, in that case the rum Trade will be Knock'd up and no guinamen fitted out from Boston or Rhode island etc. till the Boston Port Bill is Repealed which may not be this Some time as his Maj'y and his Ministers seem Obstant in the Affair. However do not [let] those Uncertain matter cause you to over Stand your market but Accept of the first good offer for the Cargo And gitt Dispatch'd as Soon as you can

I hope on your Arival at Annamaboe you found the *Nancy* and *Fletcher* safe and well, and the former had disposed of her cargo as she came along down the Coast, And the latter Capt: Stockford in a fair way of geting off his Cargo, And as its most likely he will be able to leave the Coast first, And in Order to bring Bills round to me here Sooner, I would have you in Such case Send 20 or 30 Slaves on Freight by the *Fletcher* of the *Thames* and *Nancy* Cargo Purchasd as the former will have plenty of room for more Slaves than

[239] ¹ *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 500-501.² Nevertheless, Hayley and Hopkins succeeded in selling the *Deborah* for £480, but £20 below the price they asked.[240] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76. Omitted paragraphs complain of the unexpectedly large expense of outfitting the *Thames* and repeat the advice offered in the letter of Apr. 30, for a speedy bargain with the factories on the West Coast.

her Cargo will Purchass, and will be a help to the Vessell, and a means of Dispatching her Sooner, as a month or two Saved in time is a considerable object at present, as should be glad the *Fletcher* may gitt to Jamaica in the Month of Jany and your Self these Soon after as you can, the Slaves on Freight to be Sold by Messrs. Peatts and Westmorland upon a Average with the rest of the Cargo. In regard to the Place of Sale of your *Thames's* Cargo Slaves I mentiond in my former Montegerbay² and the two houses that would be Guaranteed to me are Equally good. Mr. Clarke am told is clever and has Sold a number of Slaves this Year. However am likewise Informed that Mr. Montague is no wayes short of him and if you Should go to that Port and he will take you up which I rather wish may be case as Hibberts and Co. Bills are as good as the Bank and will tell well here, which is very Material in our Large Concern, but in case you should have a fine Cargo of Likely Coramantees,³ as last Voyage, I don't know if Kingston would not be the best Market. Am told Mr. Hibberts hass Sold all his prime Cargoes of Bonny and Gould Cost Cargos in Town, and the bite and Calabar Ships he hass sent to Montegua bay. However I shall leave this Matter to you to Act as shall seem best, if you Should go to Kingston you will give the preference to Mr. Hibberts House to Sell your Cargo, with whome you will make the best Shortest termes you can, without Mr. Ford will give you Shorter sighted bill's, in which Case he is to have the Preference but not otherwaiss, but if Your Cargo should prove but Indiferent you must then take a Country Sail and go to Montegubay as before directed. And as the Terms are left to Your Self, you will no doubt Enter into in writing as to the len[g]th of your bills and time of Dispatch etc. before you put the Slaves in their hands. I shall write Mr. Hibberts on the Occasion Aquainting them of your being a part Owner and have the liberty to make the Termes with whom you please and that Offers best which may be of Service.

You will find a letter for you at each of Mr. Hibbert's Houses with any further Instructions that may Occur for Your further Government.⁴ . . .

241. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON TO HAYLEY AND HOPKINS,
1774.¹

NEWPORT 11th Augt. 1774.

Sirs, . . . Pray get Insurance made on the Brig. *Othello* George Sweet Mast'r at and from hence to the Coast of Affrica

² Montego Bay, on the northwest coast of Jamaica.

³ For the character of the Cormantines see this work, I. 398 n.

⁴ Endorsed: "Rece'd the above and foregoing Letter at Cape Coast Castle under Cover to D. Mill the 3 Jany 1775."

[241] ¹ Vernon Letter-Book, no. 77, pp. 281-282.

duering her Trade there and to Markit with her Slave Value on Vessil £400, on Cargo £1000. She will leave this Harbour in about 10 Days. The Capt is an Experanced man, hath Orders to Sell upon the Coast if can obtain our Price, therefore please to make provision for return of Premium if that shou'd hapen.

We have never made enquiry, if an Insurrection of the Slaves shou'd hapen, and a Loss arise thereon more or less if your Under-writers pay in that Case please to let us know. . . .

242. DAVID MILL TO LOPEZ AND RIVERA, 1774.¹

CAPE COAST CASTLE 30th Septr [17]74.

Gentlemen, I recd. by Capt. English of yr Brig *Ann*² your favr: but have not settled with him the Affair relative to the Slaves formerly due the *Cleopatra*, when Capt. Braggs comes I shall settle it to your Satisfaction

The 50 Ankers Capt. English bro't me were charged me 2/6 Sterl'g each, which is double the Sum I ever paid for many hundreds I have had from America; therefore it is my desire that you do not ship the remainder of my order per Capt. Burke unless they can be laid in at 1/3 Ster'g each.³

243. CHRISTOPHER AND GEORGE CHAMPLIN TO CAPTAIN ROBERT CHAMPLIN, 1774.¹

NEWPORT Novemb. 21th 1774.

Capt. Robert Champlin, You being Master of our Sloop *Adventure* are hereby ordered to observe the following Instructions, *Viz.*

With the first fair wind proceed to Africa touching at the Windward Coast, and purchase what Rice may be necessary for your voyage and proceed to the Gold Coast, Stoping in your way down, at such places as you can make Trade at, purchase what good Slaves you

[242] ¹ Lopez Letter-Book, no. 638, p. 25.

² The *Ann*, having returned to Newport after obtaining her cargo of molasses at the Mole, was again despatched to the African coast in the spring of 1774. For this voyage we have the report on her insurance from Hayley and Hopkins: "The Insurance desired on the *Ann* for Africa, etc., (is) effected and herewith you have the Account thereof, your 2/3 of premio, etc., thereon being £89. 6. 4 is to your debit. The premio on these Voyages has for some time past been only 7 Guineas several have been done at that rate both by Mr. Lane's house and ours, the first of which was as you observed Mr. Mawdsleys Brig the *Mary*, in doing which our two Houses went hand in hand, and by so doing effected that which neither of us could have accomplished any other way. The great success which the African Vessels have had was the inducement." Hayley and Hopkins to Aaron Lopez, April 29, 1774. *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 494.

³ Endorsed: "Sepr. 30th 1774 from David Mill Esqr. Cape Coast Castle Lopez and Riveira, Merchts. Newport, Rhode Island. Barbados the Twenty Novr 1774 Forwarded by—*Via* Philad'a Wm. Moore junr."

[243] ¹ Champlin Letter-Book, no. 135. Between this voyage and that referred to in no. 218 the *Adventure* had completed another, the trade-book of which is in print, edited by Professor Verner W. Crane, *A Rhode Island Slaver* (Shepley Library, 1922).

can at 140 to 160 Gold, when you arrive at Annamabo, If the price of Slaves given to the Factories exceeds 140 to 160 Gold, It is our advice you endeavour to make what Trade you can with the blacks for a month or six Weeks, untill you find what price the Castles will finally lower their Slaves too. If you find the black Trade brisk so that you may git of in three or four months, we advise that you finish your Trade with them, but shou'd it be Slack and no prospect of giting of in a reasonable time, then we recomend your selling what Rum you may have on hand to the Castles on the best Terms in your Power. in this you must act as circumstances and things appear, not being too much in haste, as no Ruin can come on your back. When your Trade is finished, proceed to Barbados, call on Messrs. Went and Son with whom you will find our further orders lodged, also at M'rs Crawfords. Enquire at both those Houses for letters from Thredfal and Anderson of the Granados,² but if you find no letters from either of us, We then wou'd have you sell your Slaves to Went and Son at thirty Six pounds round good and bad or for as much more as you can git provided they will give their own bill on London at Eight months Sight for the neet proceeds of your Cargo or pay you half in money and bills for the other half. If they will not comply with this price, then proceed to the Granados and aply to Tredfal and Anderson. If they will assure you of o[b]taining £38 Stg. round or more for your whole Cargo and give their own bills on London for the neat amount of the same at six, Twelve and Fifteen months sight, then put your Cargo in their hands upon them Terms. If they will not take you up upon those Terms and your Slaves in health and Spirits, then proceed to Kingstown in Jamaica, where Aply to Mesrs. Joseph and Eliphalet Fitch and put your Cargo in their hands to be sold on the best Terms in their power remitting us by you in bills on London at three months sight or on NYork the same, and the Exchange Dollar for Dollar Sell your Sloop if Possible. take five hundred Dollars for her if you can git no more. be frugal in expences, Studdy Peace in your Vessell and make Dispatch, give M Bell the refusall of the 40 Kegs Rum. If any Misfortune happens either to Vessell and Cargo make a protest at the first English port you git too.³

² On Nov. 18, 1774, Messrs. Threlfal had written to the Champlins: "We are in great hopes our late Act will be soon repealed, when she [we] shall be enabled to sell Slaves as usual" (*Commerce of R. I.*, I. 521). This probably refers to the duty act against which the English merchants were protesting in 1773. Lillian M. Penson, *Colonial Agents of the West Indies*, p. 111.

³ The request for insurance on the *Adventure* specified £320 on the cargo and £130 on "Sloop and Outfits," for George Champlin. Hayley replied: "I have also made £800 Insurance on 11/16 of the Sloop *Adventure* to Africa and America, the Account of which is likewise enclosed premio etc. being £86. 12. 3. I sincerely wish she may make you a successful Voyage. I have also made £450 Insurance agreeable to your

I Acknowledge the above to be a Copy of my orders recd.

ROBT. CHAMPLIN.

244. WILLIAM MOORE, jr., TO AARON LOPEZ AND COMPANY, 1774.¹

BARBADOS Twenty Seventh Nov. 1774.

Gentlemen: This, via Philadelphia, just Serves to advise that your Brig't *Ann* arrived here the Evening before last from Cape-Coast wth One hundred and twelve Slaves consisting of Thirty five Men, fifteen Men Boys, Twenty one Boys, Twenty Nine Women, Two Women-Girls, and nine Girls, and I assure you 'tis as good a Rum Cargoe as I ever Saw, for in the whole parcell 'tis impossible that any Person can object to more than five. Capt. English [left] the Coast in a poor State of Health [the] third Ulto. and died the Twenty-f[irst] Inst, so that the Vessell is now Com[manded] by Charles Davis, who applied to me for [torn] to purchase Necessaries which I shall [supply] him with, and, in case he can get his [torn] fill'd he will Sail early this afternoon [for Ja]maica. Enclosed is a Letter [from] him to which I beg Leave to refer [you] for further Particulars.²

245. JOHN FLETCHER TO CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE, 1774.¹

LONDON, Decemb. 22th 1774.

Sir, I wrote you several Letters to the Coast Some of which may have come to hand, my last Was the principal dated the 3th Inst: much to same purpose as this which was forwarded by Capt Darling per a Vessel his owners ware sending to Annamaboe with Govrs Stores, He being lately arrived from Montego Bay, whare he offer'd his Gold coast Cargo To Mr. Clarke to sell for him. But he refused taking him up on which Darling was obliged to Dispose of them him self, and give Credit till Next crop, And is shortly to return to

desire for account of Mr. Geo. Champlin as above on the Sloop *Adventure*, for premio of which debited your Account £35. 11. 9 as per Account herewith" (C. Champlin to George Hayley, Nov. 24, 1774, Champlin Letter-Book, no. 135; Hayley to Champlin, Feb. 10, 1775, *Commerce of R. I.*, II. 7). The Champlin Invoice Book in the Shepley Library contains the invoice for this voyage.

[244] ¹ Lopez Letter-Book, no. 638, p. 51. The letter is badly torn. The information here given is repeated in a letter of the same date by Captain Davis.

² Endorsed: "Messrs. Aaron Lopez and Company By Cap Wilkinson Owners of the Brig't *Ann* Via Philadelphia Merchants in Rhoad Island."

[245] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76. This letter with slight alterations is repeated in the Letter-Book under the same date. The letters between Clarke and Fletcher which follow illustrate clearly the difficulties which the approach of war and the actual outbreak of hostilities imposed upon merchants attempting to pursue their usual trade. The frequency of Fletcher's letters and the minuteness of his instructions indicate great anxiety on his part, an anxiety which was justified, since, in spite of his care, Captain Clarke did not receive his instructions until after the cargo had been disposed of. It is noticeable that the captain has carefully inscribed upon the owner's letters the date of receipt, that there might be no suspicion that he had failed to carry out orders.

Jamaica To collect his money, which may be a work of Time and disagreeable Circumstances to the Owners. Since I came to Town I wrote to Mr. Dalpratt of Bristol for a Guarantie for your Cargo, which he refused as he says he has Mr: Fords orders not to do it for any more at present by which youle see What you have to Depend on. your Chief reliance Must now be upon Mr. Hibberts house And I have had some talk with Mr. Purrier, one of the Houses hear, to whome is of opponion that as yours will be a Gold Coast Cargo that there will be no Doubt but that Mr. Hibbert will take you up at Kingston which he thinks the most likely place to go to, whare if such Slaves are not in demand which is Seldome The case you have several ports at leward under Your command to, you are therefore on receipt of this letter to make the best of your way for Kingston in Jamaica whare you are to apply to Mr. Thomas Hibberts, Senr: and Junior for the Sale Of your Cargo, either at Kingston or Lewarde as they shall think best. And as to the Terms, shall Leave that to you to make the best with them you can. Mr. Purrier says the last Bills That came upon them for a Guinee Cargo wass at 12 15 and 18 Months sight which is a grate lenth in Deed. However you must be governd by whatever is customary at the time of your arrival with them. And this we are Certain of whatever that House Engages to do will be safe, which is meterial Affair these times, thairfore do not stand out upon triffels or a little more time on Bills. These Difficultys about taking up Guineamen arises From the Greate quantity of Negros sold at Jamaica this last year and that in Order to keep up the price The marchants now are Obliged to give a Long Credit to Planters.

When you have fixt'd with the house for Sales of your Slaves it then requires no Consideration What Voyge you are to take Next. As the New York Packet lately arrived has brought us a Confirmation of the Resolves of the Congress at Philadelphia which is a non importatison is to Take place immediately,² which not only Excludes all manner of Good from England and Ireland But molasses or Surrups from any of the West Indee Island. This intirely frustrate any Further rum Cargoes from America at present Except that article would do to be carried directly from Jamaica to the Coast but that you are Better able to Judge of. But in that case 240 Galls rum at $2/4$ *d.* Jamaica Currancy per Galln With punchins would stand in about 22 Sterling Which is more than given in Goods for a Slave, the Above news you must of heard before you left the Coast.

You are tharefore to take in on Account of your Cárgo abt 50 Hhds of Sugars and 30 or 40 punch. rum And as much Frieght to

² The Association was signed Oct. 17, 1774, to take effect on Dec. 1.

fill your Vessell with as you Can git which the house that sells your Slaves is to Assist you with and to come home to London as soon as possible and be purticular that the sugars you take for our Acct: is good Colourd and well Cured and rum strong proof and well flavourd And let every 10 punchn. be under Diff't Marks for Convaniances of Sales hear Say B T: F F P C etc.

Upon your arrival hear if you should have any Encouragement for a Good Cargo we Can soon fit you out with one for the Coast as most Part of the Guinia goods heare are at 12 months Credit and some longer. And the produce which You may Bring on sure account will be sold to raise Cash for the outfitts, I find the Gold Coast goods men have dun very wel Lately and I make no doubt with assistance of a good Mate to be got hear that has bin Used to the trade You will be Able to make out a Small Cargo as Well as Others. As matters now stand you see there is no other way left, if you mean to make another Voyage to Africa in the *Thames*, which I much wish you to do rather than Dispose of the Vessell which must be the Case on her arrival hear if you do not make another trip in her.

You will take Care to forward the 1 and two setts of Bills of Exchange for Neat proceeds of you Cargo By diff't Vessells whome you leaves the Island before you wch inclose to me at Peter Hodgson As usuall that the same may be comeing round.

If Mr. Hibberts house should not agree to take you up to which I hope will not be the Case you are Next to call upon Mr. Ewd Ford whome may have alterd his mind and make him an Offer to sell your Cargo which if he refuses then you are to Put your Slaves in the hands of Peatts and Westmorland to do the Best they can for. Jos: Peatt is come home Sickly and John Peatt of Hull is going out immedeatly again to Jamaica and I have no doubt he would sell a Cargo at as high a price as any Body and take as much pains But wants a good bank hear. He indeed has apply'd for Sale of the *Thames'* Cargo which I told him I Could not promise that as I had Engaged the preference to a house Guaranteed to me hear And I immagaind they would have enough to with the *Fletcher's* Cargo to get her Dispatched And make good remitances hear in due time.

246. JOHN FLETCHER TO CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE, 1774.¹

[December 22, 1774.]

Sir, . . . That our Concern in the *Thames* was large And a Deal depended upon a certainty of the Bills Being paid whin they

[246] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76. The earlier paragraphs of this letter duplicate the substance of the first one. Here Fletcher is continuing the answer he made to John Peatt.

Come home as both you And my self had straind a point to Carry it through. However if you should be Oblig'd To get Mr. Peatt's house to do this Business I should prefer Selling at Leward either Savanlimeer or Lewsea,² where you have the greatest chance Of a higher price for the Slaves as well as produce Cheaper Then in Kingstown. And they must be very Cautious Whose Bills they take to remitt me on that account as such numbers of Bills go Back protested dayly And youle Observe the same both in regard to Quantity and Quality of produce as if Hibberts house had done The Business but youle further Observe with Peatts house onely that the planters long sightd Bills taken in payment are to bear Intrust at 60 or 90 days after sight which must be Specifide in the Bill. I mentison this as you may not be Acquainted with the Custom. Whare no Bond is Given for the negros its But right the owners should have that benifit for all risques, But you are not to require this of Mr. Hibberts house as all thair Bills are Guaranteed and no fear of thair returning. And I would have Peatts people to remit Bills for the whole Ballance of Net proceeds, if possible to make an end of the Voyage, Even if you take a Little more Sugars—not rum—And thair Own Bills on Arthur Peatt of London On different periods of being due at as short time as you Can get and as little to Exceed 12 month With them as possible. And I hope they will exert Them selves on the Occasion if they Expect anoth[er] Guinea man from us. When I mentisond in regard to the Intrust on the Long Bills you are to get Allown if you can Haveing wrote you so Fully as above you cannot be at a Loss how to act both as to Selling your Slaves and future Voyage and Cannot say more on the Occasion but Leave the rest to your own prudent Management for our mutual Benefit.³ . . .

247. JOHN FLETCHER TO CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE, 1774.¹

LONDON 24th Decem: 1774.

Dear Sir, Inclosed you have a Long letter in which I have been as full as I can in regard to Jamaica. And in Order to give you as

² Savanna la Mar or Lucea. Both are in the western part of Jamaica.

³ Endorsed: "Received the 12th April 1775 at St. Lewsea Jamaica." On Jan. 12, 1775, Fletcher repeated much of the matter of these letters in two others, adding: "I desire you will Also reserve a likely man Boy out of your Cargo and git him sent to Mr. Wm. Clarke of St. Elizabeths for my Edw. in the same manner you did Last Voyage as the one sent Turn out very well, which charge me with as will settle for him whin you come home" (Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76). These letters are endorsed: "Receiv'd the 2th April 1775 at St. Lewsia Jamaica." The reason for the two letters on each of the above dates seems clear: one was to be shown to the West India houses to which Clarke was to go, the other, intended for the captain's eye alone, contained more specific details as to terms, the standing of the firms, the relative advantages or disadvantages of the various houses mentioned, and the caution that might be necessary in some cases.

[247] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76. This was probably in the nature of a postscript to the letters of Dec. 22, and sent with them.

many Chances as possible of a market for your Slaves—if they should Bear any price at Barbados, which is sildum the Case, I have taken a Guarantee from Allen Master[Marlin?] and Co: for thair friends House Jones and Ewing of Barba's: As well as for Thompson and Hunter at St. Kitts. And if Jones and Ewing will Engage to sell your Cargo and Average 40£ 10 s. Sterling round and give Bills at 4, 8 and 12 months, longer time you Have liberty to sell thair if you approve of it but Not otherwise. I have likewise taken another guarantee from Wm. Snell and Co. for thair friends Houses, viz. Robt. Cunningham and Jos. Tatham of St. Vincents and Thulfall and Anderson at Granado. Therefore if you should not succeed at Barbados it is But calling at those Island and not much out of your way to Jamaica.

And if either those houses will take you up and engage To average your Cargo 41£ Ster'g round, Bills 9, 12, 15 and 18 Months which linth I understand they have got thare, But what ever is Custumery on your arrival thare, You have Liberty to sell thare on those terms, But not otherwise. And take the same quantity of Sugars on Account of the Cargo thare as limited at Jamaica But windward Island rum on Our account, and the house that sells your Slaves to Assist you with Some Freight to London. But if you should not succeed at Either of those Islands and Could with convenience fetch St Kitts Without loosing much time you may try thare and Make the same Offer to Thompson and Hunter to take 41 Ster'g Avarage. But if you do not Meat with success thare, then you are to make the Best of your way down to Jamaica as before Orderd. I think if your negros are helthy And a tolarable likely Cargo thare will not be the least doubt of thare Avarag 42£ Ster'g at Jamaica Whare small slaves and even Mangie Ones sells better than in any other Island. The only advantage of selling at Windward is saving som time on the Bills as well As ships provisions and portage Bill etc., By being home With me sooner in London. But all this I leave To your owne Consideratison discretison and we must Not make too large allowances for that.

When you come to any of thre[these] Island you must Lay off and on, and send your mate on shore to those Gentlemen mentisond who will come on board and give thair answer. But do not by any means go Out of the Ship your Self. In case of selling at Barbados your not to take any Shugars on oure own Account of the Cargo, as at those Other Islands But to make the best of your way home to me with the Bills, Incloseing the Other Letter by two diffit Ships That Sails first, And the Bills at Short sight Must answer the End of produce, when you come Heare if we should fit out again immedi-

ately But if the house can help you with a little freight will be better than Comeing in Ballace which you are not to waite for.²

248. JOHN FLETCHER TO CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE, 1774.¹

I have duly Considerd the diffecence betwixt Selling at Windward Islands and Jamaica which you can Judge of your self. I think the average I have fixd on at those Islands is near the matter and would not have you Abate, Except at Barbados the Odds 10/ per head and that in Consideratison the Bills are given at 4, 8 and 12 Months or Shorter Sight if you Can, as 6 months Intrist on each Bill is Equal to 20/ per head on each Neagro. And 41£ Sterg at Granada and Co is not Equal to 42£ Sterg at Jamaica as the Bills are Now much the same linth at time—only as I have said a Little time saved in your being Earlyer with Me. And in case of a Bargin you can come with in 10/ per head of the 41£ sterg at those Islands and you shall think well of it I shall not tye you Down but leave that to your self—for dispatch Sake but I would not have you abate Otherwise.

249. CHARLES GRAVES TO STEPHEN AYRAULT, 1775.¹

CAPE COAST CASTLE January 5th 1775.

Sir, I have perused your last Letter to Governor Mill, and am sorry to acquaint you that the sudden death of the Register of this Castle has absolutely prevented any remittance being made to you (by Captain Clark) of what is due to your Son Edward Wanton, by the Estate of the late Thomas Drew, untill the affairs of the defunct Register are examined and settled, then your request shall be punctually complied with and the dividend remitted to you, in the meantime I entreat your patience.² . . .

250. CHRISTOPHER AND GEORGE CHAMPLIN TO
THRELFAL AND ANDERSON, 1775.¹

NEWPORT Jan'y 17 1774[1775].

Gent'n, We wrote you in haste a short time past, as it may not reach you, we now repeat that our Sloop *Adventure* Robert Champ-

² Endorsed: "Received at St. Lewsea Jamaica the 6 April 1775."

[248] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76. This letter, undated and without place, follows in the Letter-Book one of Apr. 6, 1775, but since it was endorsed by Captain Clarke, "Reced the 2th Apr. 1775 at St. Lewsea Jamaica," it may have been written about the time of the one just preceding this.

[249] ¹ Newport Hist. Soc., Misc. Bundle, 1770-1779, no. 155.

² Signed, "Charles Graves, Register." To "Mr. Stephen Ayrault, Newport, Rhode Island. Per favor of Captain Clark, Q. D. C." Endorsed, "1775, 5 From the Coast Affrica relating Slaves due on Capt. Hick's voiage." On June 26, 1774, Stevenson and Went had consigned to Ayrault a cargo of rum, the proceeds from which were to be credited to their account with the estate of Edward (?) Wanton. Ayrault Letter-Book, no. 651, p. 16.

[250] ¹ Champlin Letter-Book, no. 135.

lin ma. sailed for Africa 21 Novr. We have order'd him to stop a[t] Barbadoes and call upon Messr. Went and Son and M'rs Crawford's for Letters at both which please to lodge your encouragements to him, if agreeable, he will visit you once more, if not, he will go to Jamaica. If you can promise him near £40 round or upwards, should much rather he would sit down with you, than to proceed any farther, upon which head please to be very explicit to him, with your Advice, that he may know how to proceed, as we much rely upon your Candour in this matter, and if your act is annulled by the King, or not, We flatter ourselves you can sell 70 or 80 Slaves with Safety among your good Planters for £40 or near it, as they may be in want by that time. by the Resolves of Continental Congress all Trade is Stopd from this Continent to Africa 1st December last, since which no Vessel has sailed for thence, nor will any till our Troubles are Settled,² for which Reason we apprehend our Sloop may meet Dispatch, and be with you by the end of June. a line from you will be agreeable.

251. CHRISTOPHER AND GEORGE CHAMPLIN TO
MURRAY AND WRIGHT, 1775.¹

NEWPORT March 8 1775.

Gent'n, We now acknowledge the favr. of Captain Benjamin Wright of your house Decr. 1st 1774 and January 18 1775. in Consequence We are this day forwarding Orders to Capt'n Champlin,²

² Committee of Correspondence of Newport, R. I., to the Philadelphia Committee. "Newport, January 5, 1775. Gentlemen: Being informed that it is reported at New-York and at other parts of the Continent, that the inhabitants of this Town are fitting out vessels and determined to carry on their trade in violation of the Continental Association; and as the propagators of this infamous falsehood can have no other intention than to weaken the bands of union between the Colonies, we think it our duty to acquaint you, that several vessels designed for the coast of Africa, which could not be got ready by the first of December, have been actually laid up . . . and that so far as we can learn, the Association hath been strictly adhered to by the Merchants in this Colony, who declare their intention to abide by it." Force, *Archives*, first ser., I. 1098-1099.

[251] ¹ Champlin Letter-Book, no. 135.

² On Feb. 20, 1775, the Champlins wrote to Messrs. Samuel and James King Went, successors to Stevenson and Went, enclosing directions to Captain Champlin meant to supersede those of Nov. 21, 1774 (*ante*, no. 243). If he found letters with the Wents from Threlfal and Anderson assuring him of £40 he was to go at once to Grenada. If not, he was to offer the cargo to Messrs. Went for £38, half cash, half bills on London, at 8 months' sight, or if necessary, all bills. If the Wents refused these terms he was to proceed to the Grenadas and there make the best possible bargain with Threlfal and Anderson. If they would not agree to an average price near £37 and his slaves were "in heath," he might next try Thomas and Eliphalet Fitch of Kingston, Jamaica, from whom he was to accept bills on Nathaniel Marston and his son Thomas, New York merchants, exchange dollar for dollar. If possible the vessel was to be sold; if not, and no desirable freight could be obtained, he was to return in ballast. If however he should find letters at Barbados from Threlfal and Anderson, telling him not to come to the Grenadas, he might then accept £36 at 8 months' sight from Messrs. Went. If they refused to give that he might then try Fitch at Kingston, then Murray and Wright at Savanna la Mar. On Mar. 8, under a covering letter to Messrs. Went, a third set

with our Limits to Windward, if he cannot obtain them, to proceed to your address, upon the terms you propose to sell our Cargo of Slaves at, by which Method the Sales must be greatly advanced in our fav. If Bills could be sent us at 12 Mo. Sight for the Nt. amt. it would be more agreeable, provided they would be accepted in London when demanded; but if not to be complied with without injuring the Sale greatly We must then be content with having the bills remitted to us at the periods you fix, which we conclude will be in Bills of 30 or 40 days Sight, otherwise sell here at a Disct. by our original Orders Capt Champlin was to call upon Messrs. Fitches at Kingstown. We are now countermanding them, to proceed direct to you, If possible sell our Sloop for us, or get a Freight to NYork or Philadelphia. We flatter ourselves you will render us a sale equal to Mr. Lopez' Cargo. not a single Guineaman has left the Continent since 1st Decr. In Confidence you will promote our interest in this Sale

252. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO JOHN FLETCHER, 1775.¹

MONTGOMERY 17th March 1775.

Dear Sir: By this I acquaint you of Safe arival At the above place, after a passage of 68 Day's and am Sorry to acquaint you I am but in a very poor State of Helth such a one as I am afraid will put me a[t] one Side for a Long time if not for ever. I arrived hear four Day's ago and to my great Disapointment found no Letters from you as you wrote me you would Leave for me At the Hous of Mounteger and Barnard, but agreeable To your Order in yours of the 30 July 1774 which reced Under Cover to Mr. Mill at Cape Coast 2 Day's before I left it, I Made applicatison to those gentlemen And they wound not at any rate or terms take me up. I then Next made applicatison to Mr. Clarke and [he] refused Likewise and said it was out of his power to take Hur if he Could pay in Bills at 3 years, And likewise had received no advise about such a Vessel. I then

of instructions was sent to the *Adventure*. If on Captain Champlin's arrival at Barbados he found no letter from Messrs. Threlfal and Anderson, he was to offer his cargo to the Wents, accepting £35 if necessary. If they would not assure that price he was then to try the Grenadas, where he was to receive £36 or sail for Savannah la Mar, where he was to offer his cargo to Murray and Wright. On Mar. 21 the Newport firm wrote to Captain Champlin that they had just learned that 1600 slaves had been sold in the Grenadas in December and January and that 2000 had gone to Leeward. Because of this news the captain was directed to accept £34 from the Wents rather than quit Barbados (Champlin Letter-Book, no. 135). The Letter-Book also contains a letter dated Mar. 23, 1774, which probably belongs to 1775. At the time of writing the house had received news that Joseph and Eliphalet Fitch had sold De Wolf's cargo at a price averaging £42. 10 (*post*, no. 258), and Captain Champlin was directed to disregard previous orders and, if he could not obtain £35 from Went and Son or £37 from Threlfal and Anderson, to proceed at once to Kingston and place his cargo in the hands of the Fitches.

[252] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76. It is to be remembered that when Captain Clarke wrote the following letter he had received none of Fletcher's numerous directions.

Offerd my Slaves to Mr. Jackson and Co a house hear which would not take her nither after to Mr. Moger but thair is not one in this place would Or could take me up. Not even Bills at that Monstrous price of 12, 18 and 20 Mont. From the foregoing I would not have you think I have Brought off a bad Cargo of Neagrees For I assure you not, for it is alowed by Mr. Clarke Who is thought to be a good Judge of Slaves and Sells as many As any hous in the Island, Sayes they are five pound Better than any Gould Coast Cargo that ever he saw. And had it not bin for my freight Slaves I Should have gone to Kingston from a paragraft of your's Of the 30 July, at before menchond for as Mr. Clarke And the Other Gentlemen that has Seen them Say, they never Saw so many Cromitins [Cormantines] as now on Board Her, And I am sure I never Brought of so many nor in so good Order. I come now to tell you what I have Done with them. I have this Day agreed to put them into the Hand of Malcum and Nevinson Marchts at St. Lewsea, Malcum you know was at Rhode Island with you, Upon such tirmes as wass given by several Vessels now in port and tirable, they are *Viz* 12, 18 and 20 month, Intrust on the 2 Last Bills after 12 mounths, which Will Bring my ninepence to nothing and will not releave you. However my state of helth is such And the times so bad from the Large quantity of Negros being Brought hear that this is the only And all the Chance I have to make any Tolarable Dispatch or in fact git rid of them at all, And they are very Expencive and provisions scarce and Dear. tomorrow I shall [go] with the Brig [to?] Lewsea and our Sails will be Appointed that Day weak and am to be Dispatched in 6 Days after the Sailes is Compleated. whare to go and What to do After, I am sure I Cannot tell, as it is Impossible to git a fright hear or at Lewsea or I believe in any Part of the Island for Mr. Malcom and likewise Clark and Barnard all says that not to flatter me with Hopes for it is not to be done. Nither is thair Money to be got Hardly to pay Disbustments it is as bad hear as was at Barbados on that Account.

I Obsarve in yours of 30 July you take notis the *Fletcher* is more Expencive in Cargo and Outfitts than before. I beleave when you Deduct the Loss on Her Voige for Molasses you will find her very little More, her provisions was Cheaper and not one farthing was laid out on her but what was Necessary and the Schooner likewise. I had her to Sheath which is Expenceive. I am Confident I took every prodent method that I was Capable of but the Expences would and did Arise, as you Obsarved that Expences would arise At Hull as well as London and now I may say, at Rhode Island as well thair But that you have Experinct'd before. All I can say I am Clear

as to myself of laying one farthing that I Could avoid in fiting out any of the Vessels.

I have not the happiness of knowing how you find the *Thames* Account and disbustments but I hope Satisfactory not with Standing they are so much higher than Expected When we Left London. I am hartily sorry if it has put you to any Inconvence that will prove Disagreeable to you, but we was Imbarcht and Could not go back, Thairfore I pushed on with all my power for to Compleat it. not-with Standing Every thing that has Before past I am now the Mist [Least ?] pleast with what I have don this Day than with any Ac'tt of past Conduct, throughout my hole Trancactisons since I left you for it is Damnable to have Suit Bills. I have heard nothing about the *Fletcher* but hope you have the Bills are [ere] this for our part, and likewise for the 15 Slaves sent in her on the *Thames* Acct. I Brought Off the Coast 100 Slave Freight for Mr. Bell at £5 Sterling per head and have Deliverd them all in good Order, have Lost on our Voyage 7 Slaves Otherways and Excepting one or two more have a Cargo of picturs, And as Mr. Clarke Observes Cannot help making grate Avarage. I was taken sick about a month Before I left the Coast down to leward Collecting my slaves and have never got the better of it yet and Wheather ever I shall or no I Cannot tell.

How about Comeing home to you in the Brig I do not know What to say but if I gro better I will but shall [be] intirely Directed by My helth and the Advise of the Docters for at present I can hardly keep an hour of the Bed At a time. And have been much Oblig'd to Capt. Anderson in a Ship belonging to Mr. Morstons House whome is bin about for me and likewise Mr. Clarke whom Has kindly Assisted me in makeing the Contract. So bad as it is it wass very hard to make, Esspechly in my bad State of helth, for the planters are so Much in Debt from the grate quanty of Neagros that has bin imported that the Guine Factors Do not incline to take up Guinamen at any rate indeavour to git out as fast as pasable and will take none but what thair friends Contracts for in England and of which they have advise and are Desired by thair friends to sell, so you may see what tarible times we have fell in with. We have Brought in for Cargo 188 Slaves for Schooner and Cargo and Brigs Cargo. from Illness I have not settled the Acct: yet but hope to be able before the Vessel Leaves this wheather I come in her Or not to London, Which I should be very Sorry if I cannot. Thair is about 20 slaves more freight that I Brought, Belongin to Several persons, which will make the Freight amount to about 600 £ Sterling which had it not have bin for these Crewel times Might have Maid a saving Voige. Capt: Thurston the Schooner *Nancy* Captn. is sick Likewise and some

of my people So that I never had such a Sickly ship before Among
My officers and Saylor's tho I have lost none But two of the Schooners
is ded. as thair will be Oppertunityes now of writing I ad no more.
. . .

253. AGREEMENT ON THE CARGO OF THE *THAMES*, 1775.¹

Agreement between Messrs. Malcolm and Nevison and Peleg Clarke Commander of the Brigantine "Thames."

1st That they Malcolm and Nevinson do as soon as dispose of the Cargo of Negros on board Said Vessell to the best advantage and that they (M and N) do remitt the Neat proceeds of Said Cargo of Negros after Deducting Charges in good bills of Exchange at the following rates and *vizt* One third of the Amo't of Said Cargo in Bills at Twelf Months Sight One third in Bills at Eighteen Months Sight, and one third in bills Twenty four Months Sight and also they (M and N) do agree to allow Interest to Commence on the Two Last bills meaning 18 and 24 Months Bills after 12 Months Sight

2d that they Malcolm and Nevinson do pay to the Said Peleg Clarke Commander of Said Brig *Thames* the Amount of Six negroes to be on the Average of the Cargo as previledge and also his Coast Commission in the following manner *Viz* To give him the Said Peleg Clarke A bill of Exchange for one Hundred and Fifty Pounds Sterling at Ninty days Sight and for the remainder amount of Said Six negroes and Coast Commishions to give him a bill of Exchange at Twelve Months allowing Interest to Comme[nce] on Said Bill at Six Months after Sight, And [as] the Said Peleg Clarke hath fourteen more negroes a remaining part of his Privilidge and seven Negroes upon freight making in all twenty one They (M and N) do agree to give the Said Peleg Clarke Bills of Exchange for amount of Said Twenty one Negroes to be on the Average of the Cargo at the Same rates as Cargo Bills are to be at *Viz* one Third of the Nett Proceeds of Said Twenty one Negroes in bills at Twelve months Sight one Third At Eighteen months Sight and one Third in bills at Twenty-four Months Sight, And to allow Interest on said Bills (in the Like manner as they do the Cargo) to Commence after Twelve months Sight, and they the Said Malcolm and Nevinson do further Agree That the Said Brigantine *Thames* Shall not be Detaind above Six dayes after the Sale of her Cargo of Negroes, is Compleated but that they will Dispatch the Said Capt. Clarke w'th Bills as Aforementiond, This Agreement both Parties haveing read

[253] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

are Sufficiently Satisfied with and have in Consiquence thereof hereunto Intercheangeably Sett their hands and Seals this 17th March 1775 ²

254 PEATT AND WESTMORLAND TO CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE,
1775.¹

KINGSTON Apriel 1st, 1775.

Dear Sir, We recived Yours by Yesterdays Post from Lewsea and are Exetreemely Sorry that continud so much Indisposed. god Send a Speedy Change for the better. we wrote you by our Clark Mr. Austin about Six days ago mentioning that Fletchers Orders had come to Mr. Hibberts House dereccting you to Sell with them at Montegu bay. no doubt long 'ere this, you have recid these Instruc-tions and Seen Mr: Bernard relative the Disposing of your Cargoe.²

Such long and Tedious detentions must Occation you great Un-easiness, and be rather Dessagreeable to Malcolm and Nevison after Consenting to rest with them. The Guinaman Sold at Kingston lately have been taken up at 12, 15 and 21 Months, Except those Sold to the Contractors for Dollers, and they give no more then 36 £ Ster'g per head for prime men Slaves so that none of the Car-goes Sold to them Average more than about £34 Ste'g which is amaterial difference indeed. Gould Coast Cargos Sold for the Islands Consumption, open on the day of Sail at £66 and Duty and Priviledge £70. we mention'd in our last that poor Stockford de-parted this life last Sunday after lingering in a deliurous Setuation for Six days. he left in our hands about 400£ Four Hundred pounds this Currency as per Acco't Settled with him before he wass taken with a Relapse, likewise Close, watch, Buckles, buttons and etc. Pray give us your advice what to do with his Effects. Mr. Hill the Chief Mate went home Master and Sail'd from Port Royal the 24 Int: bound for London, after waiting Upwards of Six days in hopes of a change in Stockford favor but alas it proved in Vain. we Ship'd Eighty Cask Sugar and Rum on the Oners Accot: agreeable to Mr. Fletchers Orders, and procured Indigo and other Light Frieght within twenty or twenty five Cask of a full Loade. For the Balance of This Cargo we Sent Bills at Six and twelf Months Sight, and closed the Voyage with Yours and all the Oners different Accounts, which

² Clarke had asked that his terms might be those afforded to a Captain Mill then in the harbor: "bills at 9: 12: 15 and 18 Mo'ths with Intrest after 12 Mo. on the two Last Bills. A fair Sale to be made without picking any Slaves before the day of sale, my Privilege to be paid in Bills at 3 and 6 Mo'ths Sight, the Officers at 90 days or in produce." Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

[254] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

² The letter of Mar. 26 to which Peatt and Westmorland refer was written as soon as they received news of Clarke's arrival but it reached him on Apr. 4, after he had made his bargain with Messrs. Malcolm and Nevinson. The information contained in this letter was given in that one also.

were transmitted to Mr. Fletcher. The Slaves Averag'd £40.17.11 Ste'g The 14 had from Brew was ameans of Reduceing Avarage inconcievably, as they turnd out mere Rubbish. Stockford onely Lost on[e] Slave in all.³ . . .

255. CAPTAIN ROBERT CHAMPLIN TO CHRISTOPHER CHAMPLIN,
1775.¹

April 2, 1775.

This lines will Forward by Capt Mowet. I rote by Capt. Stanton. I have on board at this time 20 Slaves and have lent 6 more to mr. woortman a Dutch Governor. I sold 30 Hoghh. of Rum To one Mr. Riches and that is all the Rum I have Sold to the whits But Could pllace My Carg any time If I would give 210 and 190 But I think To Stand It out sumthing longer² I Have Sold 20 Hogh to the Blacks most of which I have Good Sumes for and if times Dont alter I dont dought in the Least But I shall get of most of my Rum that way in three munths. that slaves that I get of the Blacks Stands me in 160 sum more and sum less. I cannot Pertend to say what Time I Shall Get off For trad Is very on Stidy, Sum Days I Get 2 or three slaves and then for a Weake not see one. Gardnier is sold all His Rum at 200 and 210 So Remington and me Has Got the Roade to our selves, But I dont no How long we Shall Remain so For Dunking³ Came to the mines yesterday, we Look for Dewoulfe Here Every moment. I believe Capt Dunkin Dont Entend to Come Down Here and I am in Hopes that He will come of that mind For two is Full a nuf to Trade with Blacks and the Costoms is so Hie that I Dont think He will Pay them. I have on Board at this time 80 Hoghead of Rum and sum small Casks. Mr. Bell Did not take the Casks for He is a going of the Coast in two or three weakes. . . . Capt. Bardine Sails in two or three Days I shall Rite By Him I had the misfortune to Get the Measels amung my slaves lost one Boy with it and Have a nother of my won that is very bad, all the rest hef Got Well. I have Had No Leakage only Nathan millers Hogshead leake all out to 45 Gallons the three Bottom Staves Broke in tirely off.

³ Endorsed: "Recd. at Lewsea 6 Apr. 1775." In Captain Clarke's answer to this letter, written Apr. 16, his comment is: "I wass much Supprised when I arived on the Coast to find Stockford had Trusted Brew knowing that times wass much alterd with him for the worse which he cartainly wass told before he let him have the 20 Hogsd. Rum, As I wass informed by Mr. Hill."

[255] ¹ Terry, Newport Hist. Soc., *Bulletin*, no. 62, pp. 30-31.

² In December, 1774, Peleg Greene, then at Anamabo, wrote to Aaron Lopez that the whites were selling prime men for 190 and 200 gals. of rum, prime women for 170 and 180 gals., and that the black trade was very good. *Commerce of R. I.*, I. 524.

³ Captain Duncan. The De Wolf mentioned in the next sentence was doubtless one of the Bristol (R. I.) family whose slave-trading activities continued into the next century. See *post*, no. 302 n.

. . . I Hope to Get of Sumtime in June If Times Dont Alter. Mr. Mill and I Is on Good Tarmns. He ofered To Take all my Carg if I would Land It at whidough⁴ but the time of yearel will not sute. . . .

256. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO JOHN FLETCHER, 1775.¹

ST LEWSEA April 7th 1775.

Dear Sir, Haveing but Short notice of Capt. Mill Sailing I take this Oppertunity of Aquainting you that this Instant the Gentleman Compleeted the Sail of the Negros and our Avrage will be about 45£ Ste'g not farr Under or Over. They call it grate here, I think it but Middleing concidering the Quality of the Slaves. your Orders for Barbados and Jamaica came to hand the 2n Instant by the post but Unhappily two late for our Sale came on the 3r Otheways I belive Mr. Barnard and Co. would have taken me up by what I can larn from Messrs. Peatts and Westmorland but have not heard from them and am Sorry they had not been more timely as I Candidly belive it would have been for the Advantage of our Voyage.²

I have Comunicated to Malcolm and Nevison your Orders about taken Some produce; they have not given me Any Answer weather they will Comply with it or not, as we made no Agreement for Any part to be paid in produce and am rather Apt to Think they will not give any as for Fright I cannot git a Cask altho I have Offerd to take in at 3/6 P.C. there is Somany Ships here that Some of the Annual Ships will go home not full. . . .

257. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO JOHN FLETCHER, 1775.¹

ST LEWSEA 21. Apr. 1775.

D'r Sir, I have put of Writing till the Last mominut in hoopes of gitting my bills to Send home on[e] Sett this Oppertunity, but not haveing the bussness Compleeted by a delay in Indeavouring to gitt Sugars and Rum agreeable to Your Orders I have lost time but am in hoops by Capt. Hambleton at Montegu bay who will Sail in afew Days to Send on[e] of Each of the Setts. You have inclosed a 2d a bill for five Hundrd pounds Ste'g Drawn by Messrs. Foard Clark and Co. at 6 Mo. Carrying Interest 5 PCt after 90 days on Mr.

⁴Whydah. The Champlin Letter-Book does not contain the captain's letters to his brothers, but from a letter of the Wents, June 9, we learn that on Apr. 15 Captain Champlin had purchased about fifty slaves, and that he expected to sail for the West Indies in six weeks from that date. *Commerce of R. I.*, II. 21-22.

[256] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

²On Apr. 14, Clarke received from Messrs. Hibbert, Bernard, and Montague, Montego Bay, a note saying that had they received Mr. Fletcher's instructions earlier they would have been glad to sell the cargo. *Ibid.*

[257] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

Samuel Delpratt in Bristol, it being the Contents for one Hundred Slaves Fright in the Brig *Thames* from Annamaboe.

I now add that our Sales are Compleeted And thers Sold on Acco. Brig *Thames* and Schooner *Nancy* 180 Slaves and Averag'd £62.16 s. Stg Currency, wants 4/ to be 45£ Ste'g I think but a poor Averige Conceederer Curcomstances, However its thought grate here. I wrote you before that we had Brought in for Cargo 188 Slaves I then thought they did not no of the Death of three and one after at Lewsea from my Ill State of helth they did not make me Acquainted with 2 Likewise Sold on the Coast Sold for Provishons and 2 belonging to Cook and Cabinboy, Small ones which ware not then Dedutchd when I wrote You, So our Mortallity is now a Eleven which had it not have been for my Illness I dare say would Not have been So many. I have Discharg'd all my mates and people and they have all left me, none of them will come to London. Have Ship'd Another Mate belonging to RhodeIsland who has been in Mr. Brews Sarvis and came of with us and Brought of with us Some Fright Slaves And is Some Little Acquainted with Goods. . . .

I cannot tell the Reason there is been 5 Capt. Guinaman that hass died on the Coa[s]t this Year Voyages, 4 belonging to Rhode Island and one to Boston Including Capt. Stockford. . . .

258. CHRISTOPHER AND GEORGE CHAMPLIN TO JOSEPH AND ELIPHALET FITCH, 1775.¹

NEWPORT 4th May 1775.

Gent'n, Your fav. 14 Feby. we have recd. noting the average of Col Potters Slaves at £42.10 Stg. We have forwarded our Orders to Barbadoes, for Capt'n Robert Champlin, of our Sloop *Adventure*, to proceed to your Address, if cannot obtain our Limits, infull Confidence you will promote our Sale equal to any other, Quantity may not exceed 90, a higher average may be produced than from a large Cargo. We have directed Capt'n Champlin to take your bills on Mess. Marston and Son Thomas, in Conformity to their Letter lodged in the hands of Messrs. Joseph and William Wanton of this Town, for the Nett Am't of his Cargo at 6 or 9 Mo Sight, you furnishing as much Money as his Port Charges, and for Payment of such Seamen as may want their Wages, Assist the Capt'n in the Sale of the Sloop, if possible, as we cannot fit any more to Africa 'till our Troubles are settled, giving all dispatch in your power, and advising us of your Market.²

[258] ¹ Champlin Letter-Book, no. 135.

² On the same day the brothers wrote to Capt. Robert Champlin confirming their instructions to sell through Messrs. Fitch, and to dispose of the sloop, since, "by the

259. FRANCIS MAIRES AND DAVID COOPER TO SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON, 1775.¹

MONTEGO BAY August 8th 1775.

Sirs, We now enclose you Account of Sales of the *Othello's* Cargo of Negroes Amount Neat £2462.8.2 Jam: Currency to yr Credit in Accompt Current.² There is at foot of said Sales an additional Sale of 12 Neg's the Capt. had on freight and 5 his own privelege, the Average tho rather small is greater than we had a right to expect from the Indifferency of the Cargo and which coming at a very unseasonable time near the middle of July was too late for us to expect any payment this Crop. And as a further damper to our Endeavours a large Gold Coast ship with 280 very choice Slaves arrived at this port 4 days after Yours, what few Bill of Exchange men there were they picked up, but for the farr greater part they have given the usual Credit as well as us.

Your payments will be in the Month of May next, and in the Month of May 1777 and we flatter Ourselves there is not a Negroe sold but what will be paid for. It gives us much Concern that nothing eligible has offerd for the *Venus*, had you not limitted us to selling her or loading her for London or New York we might have served you by loading her for Bristol, which there is now a pretty tolerable chance of doing had you been pleased to have favoured Us with a discretionary power we certainly should have used it to the best of our Judgement for your Interest, but nothing favourable offering compatible with your Instructions you must expect to see her soon in Rhode Island, and we are sorry to say an Empty Vessel.

[P.S.] We also enclose your Acco't Current ballance due you when the debts are received two thousand two hundred and sixty two pounds 15/11 Currency.

P.S. to Guard as much as possible against any disaster attending the Vessel in Case Government shoud think proper to make Reprisals Capt. Sweet has alterd his Regis'r and made a nominal Sale to Us. The Expence attending it is but trifling in Comparison to the use it may be of, if matters are drove to the Such Extrimities that appear unavoidable.³

act of Parliament now expected out no vessell can return here from any part of the world after the 1st of September, except from Great Britain, Ireland, or any of the English Islands, no coasting vessels can go from one Colony to another, with wood or Provisions. NYork, NCarolina and Georgia are not included in this act, nor the one for the Southern Colonies . . . perhaps Mess. Fitches may buy your Sloop and freight her to NYork . . . forget not your Seamen must be paid Currency for Sterl'g." Letter-Book.

[259] ¹ Newport Hist. Soc., package no. 145.

² See *ante*, no. 233.

³ Endorsed, "To Messrs. Samuel and Will'm Vernon, Merchants, Newport, Rhode Island." An unsigned and undated fragment among the Vernon papers of 1779-1784

260. CHRISTOPHER CHAMPLIN TO CAPTAIN
ROBERT CHAMPLIN, 1775.¹

NEWPORT 17 Aug. 1775.

Capt. Robert Champlin, Of [y]our letters from Anambo 2d and 14 April We recd. and flatter our selves you are at least a month on your Passage to the Islands. As Slaves are low to Windward have no expectation of your selling there for our Limits and of course will proceed to Mesrs. Fitches of Kings Town Jamaica, who from their letters to us have agreed to sell your Cargo and give bills on NYork. Our particular Instructions to you has been heretofore lodged with them; we can only ad that nothing but Wars is here, and orders may soon come to the men of Wars to seize all Vessells without Distinction, being 3, of 20 Guns here, besides cutters and Press all they can. If there is a Possibility of selling the Sloop do it at all events—nay even take £100 Sterling for her rather than bring her home, tho I think £200 might be obtained for, but if you are obliged to bring her home, head up all your Swords and other arms in a Tight hhd. and Stow in a Tear among your hhds. of Water for Ballast or the man Wars will take them from you lay out no money on your Sloop. Tuckers must not be paid his Wages, Dick Lamb I have for him to Jack Scott £64 old Tenor or 8 dollars to be Stoped from his Wages. Make all the Dispatch home you can wishing you Success.²
per Munro

261. JOHN FLETCHER TO CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE, 1776.¹

LONDON 29th Jany. 1776.

D'r Sir, I take this Oppertunity, by the *Constantine* of Bristol, C't Robe, of a few lines, (wh Mr. Coghaline has inclosed to him to be delivered you) hoping they may meet you Safe and Well at Annamaboe and in a fair way of leaving the Coast Shortly. . . .

is interesting as indicating the writer's implicit belief that once the war was over the slave trade would be resumed: "We may perhaps derive a benefit from the Spaniards opening their Port of New Orleans provided they admit the Sale of Negros, which will promote the Guinea Trade, from these States, that labours under the prohibition of bringing Negro's into the United States." Vernon Papers, package no. 60.

[260] ¹ Champlin Letter-Book, no. 135.

² The accompanying letter to Messrs. Fitch requested that they assist such seamen as chose to come home, "except those who Demand their Wages, they must look out for them Selves." *Ibid.*

[261] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76. Fletcher's instructions for this voyage were dated Oct. 19, 1775, about which time Clarke again sailed for the coast, with a cargo valued at £6129 11 s. 2 d., with which he was instructed to procure 300 slaves, to be sold by Malcolm and Nevinson or Hibbert, Bernard, and Montague. On Jan. 2 Clarke wrote from Sekundi of his difficulties on the coast. He had at that time obtained 10 slaves and 20 oz. of gold. *Ibid.*

make the best of your way for Montegoe Bay in the Island of Jamaica, without calling at Any Other Island, And on your Arrival there give Mr. Hibberts House (say Barnard and Montague) the preference of Selling your Slaves, And wt whom you will Make the best terms you can. as to the length of the Bills, You Must be governed by what is Customary when you Arrive there, And I make no doubt from what I have wrote Messrs. Hibberts but they will take you up, if not you are next to Apply to Messrs Malcolm and Nevinson of Lucie,² to do the Bussiness as before, but to observe that either of those Houses that may Sell your Negroes must give you at least 100 Punch's Rum in part payment of Neat proceeds of Sales and to Assist you with a Freight to fill your Vessel up if possible for London and Bristol, But reither the former. But in case of those Houses declineing to do this Business, You are then to Dispatch your Doctor or one of the Mates, Express to Kingston to Messrs. Peatt and Westmorland, And get one of them to come down immediately to sell your Slaves, which no doubt they will readily comply with, And do the best for you they can, and procure you the Above Produce, as well as a Freight for the Vessel to London, And their Bills on Our Friend Arthur³ I make no doubt will be Honoired, but to take none of the Planters Bills by Any Means, Such is the difficualtys of the times at presant that no body will Engage here or give a Guarantee, however I am in hopes that either One or Other of the before Mentioned Houses do your Bussiness, without your being oblided to Send to Kingston, And Only Mention that in case of need, that you may not be at any loss how to Act, As youle Observe I give the preference to Peatts People of Any the Other Houses at Montego Bay, who I know nothing of.

I Shall be glad to hear by first Opp'ty how your Brandy turns out, I hope it will prove a Commanding Article to forward your purchase. The *Fletcher* remains as before, not Sold, what think you of Sending her with a Cargo of Brandy Only to the Coast.

As to News Must refer you to the Bearer of this, in regard to America their Seems No likelyhood of coming to Any Accomodation at presant, the late act of Parliment pass'd will Stop up all their Ports, And Men of Warr to take All their Shiping will put a finishing Stroke to poor America, A great Navy and Army going Over in the Spring, they must submit I think at last, tho' I fear Not with out

² Of Malcolm and Nevinson, Clarke had written after his previous voyage, "I do not like the Gentl. that hass Sold my Cargo and they never Shall have another that I can keep out of there hands," and also, "They are 2 Dam Disagreeable people to have any thing to do with and I now sware my Intrest shall never come into there hands again . . . for they are Scotch peddling Jews not Guina Merchants".

³ Arthur Peatt.

a great loss, The Americans has fitted out several Cruse'g Vessels and have taken Some of our Transports, and people here Are Affraid of the West Indies Men coming home, wh has Advanced the premium of Insurance Double. I wish you had a few Carriage Guns if it was but 4, for Self deffence, perhaps you may get Some off the Ships on the Coast to spare you that Number, every merchantman now carrys Guns the Same as in time of Warr. . . .

P.S. If you have Any Oppertunity before you Sail, write Messrs. Hibberts and Nephews the time you expect to leave the Coast, that they May give the necessary Orders at Montego Bay.⁴

262. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO JOHN FLETCHER, 1776.¹

ANNAMABOE, Feby. 8th 1776.

Pr. the *Whym* Capt. Butler

D'r Sir, In my last from Seconddie Pr. the *Friendship* C't Dunn, I gave you a Small Scetch of the times here, which I am Sorry to inform you are full as bad or worse than represented. before my Arrival in the roade, I call'd at all the Castles in my way down, but could make little or no trade, they all being engaged or full of goods which at presant is a Drug all over this part of the Coast. I before Acquainted you to what a disadvantage we disposed of goods for gold, and without which there is no such thing as geting a Slave, Sute Romall 1½ Accey, Yellow Ells 3 and 3½ Do., Ancors of Brandy 3½ and 4 Do., Deans Guns 2 and 2½ Do., Tallow 1 Do., Bejutapotts and Nijanapouts 3½ Do., Barragore romalls 2 Do. and indeed every thing else we Sell in order to raise gold are oblidge to Sell at the like discount, Callawaypours, Allejarrs, Sestracoundy romalls and blew Ells they will not take on a Slave, Stripe Taffity and Cottonnee I am oblidge to buy as they term it, and give 12 Ackys Gold, (wch goes for 1 oz. Trade) Notwithstanding I have Stripe Taffitys I can't get them to take one, English Chints that before was the Commanding Article is now Nothing they hardly will take a piece on a Slave, India Chints they will not look at, In order to Acquaint you as fully as possible of the Manner of Trade I send you Account of the goods I trusted for a Man Slave this day,

	oz.	Ack.
<i>Viz:</i> 1 half Says 2 Romauls.....	1	6 Trade
1 India Chilow, 1 English Chints.....	1	
1 Cotton, ½ plain Taffity.....	1	
1 Patch, 1 Callawaypour.....		14

⁴Endorsed: "Reciv'd at Cape Cost Castle 10th June 1776 Pr. *Constantine*, Capt. Robe of Bristol."

[262] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

	oz.	Ack.
12 Ackys gold in the roome of Stripe Taffity and Cottonnee w'h goes for 1 oz. in trade whereby we lose 4 Aceys gold	1	
4 Ancors Brandy -----	2	
4 Iron barrs, 1 Keg Tallow-----		11
6. 2 qt. Bassons and 4 Brass pans-----		8
¼ bbl. Powder and 1 birding Gun-----		14
4 Siliscas, 1 Brawl, 1 Ga. Stuff-----		12
1 Barragora B'or and Gold taken Accy----		7
	10.	8 Acc
The 4 Accys lost in the Stripe Taffity and Cottonnee is 8 Accys trade,		8
Makes the Slave	11.	0

Amount to 11 oz Trade, this is the black trade, and the White trade is 12 oz,² in Short by what I can find out By all the Captains here there Slaves Stands them in 24£ Ster'g and upwards round. The Vessels now here are the *Swallow* Nelson her purchase Compleeted, will Sail in a Short time, *Marquis of Rockingham*, Charles, wants 90 Slaves, the *Britania* Hughes has About 50 Slaves, *Juno*, Eagles just arr'd, (all of L'ple [Liverpool]), The *Unanimity* Chambers wants 40, The *Peggy* Martin, about 20, on board, *Sophia* Bold taken up by Mill and Miles (all of London), The *Phenix* Taylor wants About 80, The *Tom* Nicholson wants 50, The *King George* Williams Contracted wt the Whites for all his Cargo, (all of Bristol,). There is Several Vessels to windward Among Whom C't Farrar from Liverpool who we heere has 1700 Brass pans and 1000 Shantee romauls, if so will when he arrives carry all the Trade for without a Shantee Romal and 4 Brass pans you cannot think of purchasing a Slave. Since my Arrival have done but little, raised about 70 oz. gold and have made barthers with the Whites about 50 Slaves and if Mr. Mill Complies with his promise have 20 More from him, but as he is a realiseing and intends Coming off many Obstacles may Arrise that he Cannot Comply. As to the black trade I have purchased two Women and trusted About 8 Slaves goods which is the Whole of the bussiness Since I came down in the roade, being Selling a little Brandy for Gold, which by no means is liked equal to our rum, A few days ago arrived here a Small Vessel from the Granads with about 6000 Gs. rum, was taken up by Mill, Miles and Brew, at 140 and 160 Gs. per Slave.

²These prices should be compared with those prevailing about fifty years earlier. See this work, II. 372-383.

A few days ago Capt. Hill returned from to windward very Sick, but are in hopes is Something better now. My Cooper came out with a Pox on him and as yet the Doctor has not been Able to remove it, and for the want of him we are much distress and in a little While Shall not have an Ancor to give on a Slave. And as one Misfortune does not come Alone, the 3d Instant our boatswain lost our 2d boat After landing 2 Punch'n Brandy at the Saltponds, lost in her 1 Empty Punch'n 1 do. Ancor and 1 Swivil Gun. Mr. Carr is to windward in the 1st Boat wth a Cargo of brandy, Goods etc. etc. after Gold. In my barter for 20 Slaves with Mr. Miles I gave him 40 oz Gold for 70 oz Trade, which is 10 oz. trade loss on the Stripe Taffity and Cottonnee. I endeavoured to let you know how matters are a going, and like to go, for there is no hopes of any alteration like to happen Soon for the better. . . .

263. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO JOHN FLETCHER, 1776.¹
20th Feby. 1776.

Per the *Swallow* C't Nelson

D'r Sir, Since the above I have not purchased a Slave by that you may See trade is Excessive dull, I have Sold a few Punch'ns of Brandy for Gold which is all the trade I have made, times never was duller than at presant, I have had Some trouble wt the Man of Warr on Acc't of my Register being part of the property of an American was detained one day and a night but delivered me again and returning on board from the Man a warr I unfortunately lost it over board and shall proceed to C. Coast tomorrow in order to protest and get a Certificate 'till I can get Another register which will Answer equal the Same with my other papers, and Save a great dale of trouble, as the Men of war has orders to take all property belonging to any American. They have Several Vessels now with them that they have Already taken that has come out of America, and are in pursuite of a New York Vessel that is in Gaboon river, wh I do Suppose they will take, Mr. Carr returned f'm to windward not well, but he is gone to leeward in the boat. . . .

264. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO JOHN FLETCHER, 1776.¹
ANNAMABOE ROADE, 8th April 1776.

Per the *Marquis of Rockingham* Capt. Charles
and the *Tom* Capt. Nicholson

D'r Sir, My last was by Capt. Nelson in the *Swallow*, where I made you Acquainted wth the Dull times here, and likewise that I had lost

[263] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

[264] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

my register, And that I Should go to Cape Coast and make a protest, The next Morning I went up and when I came there the Secretary said it was not in his Power to grant one that would be of Any Service and so Said the governor. At the Same time the *Weasel* Man A Warr Capt. Warren was there and he Seem'd to be very much exasperated against the Americans, and was determined to take All he found, from What I could learn from the Masters at Cape Coast he Examined the Vessels very Closely to See if there was Any American property. I was advised by Friends that it would be better to go out of Sight for a Week or 10 days 'till he pass'd, and the next day I run out of Sight a land and Stay'd 'till he pass'd, and before I could return to the roade Again the *Pallas* C't Cornwallace² Arrived, and as I had left the roade I thought proper not to come in Again untill he pass'd by. I then Staid on Shore and Sent Capt. Hill out in the Ship to Stay 2 Weeks and then return, Which he did, but the Man a Warr had been detained by having Some Palavers to Settle wth the Dutch forts, that the Ship was Oblidged to go off again and stay a week longer. She this day returned to the roade, and I am bound down to Accara to deliver the Deans Company³ an hundred or 150 Slaves goods, which I agreed for Whilst the Ship was at Sea if the goods Suted. The *Weasel* I Saw returned on the Coast whilst I was at Accra last, About 5 days ago, and the *Attalanta* is likewise to come back, Whether to Stay on the Coast or not is not known, So that I am determined to get All the goods out of the Ship as Soon as possible, that they may have only an Empty Vessel to take if they are determined to bring of the Coast, which I am Affraid will be the Case, if the *Weasel* is to be Stationed here. It is a very unhappy Circumstance for Our Voyage, for it has kept me this 6 Weeks from Bussiness. However trade has been excessive dull and those in the roade All the time has not purchased 20 Slaves. If it was not for the longtime of payment wth the Deanish Company (which is to be the Middle of August) I Should think I have done more than if I had been in the roade, but I have been So harrassed ever Since the Arrival of the Men of Warr that I am glad to get the goods out of the Vessel at Any rate, Esspecially where the payment has always proved good, if no farther Accts. of this Men A Warr Shall Set out in the Morning for Accara in the Ship. As I now have given you A full Account as I possibly can at presant, Must beg of you if Any thing can be done with you towards the preservation of the Intrest

² Afterward the celebrated admiral Sir William Cornwallis, younger brother of Earl Cornwallis. For the activities of the *Pallas* and the *Weasel* on this coast, under his command, see Cornwallis-West, *Life and Letters of Admiral Cornwallis*, pp. 49-54.

³ The Danes at this time held Christiansborg, at Accra, and a small fort at Ningo.

that you will do it. I don't think that any part of the Intrest is in danger of being Confiscated except my part, and that is because the Register Mentioned me belonging to Rhode Island, but to be brought off and leave the Cargo behind will be a great disapointment to you, which is the greatest part of my uneasiness at presant. I hope to return in time to give you farther Accounts of our Barter to leeward by the Companys Ship. After Setling of that barter can give some near gues of our purchase, which I am Affraid will be far Short of What was expected when I left you, for the price is now 10 and 12 oz to the Whites for Women and Men, and do not imagine I Shall be at Barbadoes till Novr.

I imagine you Will have time enough to Send Any Orders there that may be of Service to me After the receipt of this and I Sincerely hope the Affairs of America will be Settled. . . .

265. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO JOHN FLETCHER, 1776.¹

CAPE COAST ROADE, 6th May 1776.

Per the *Sophia* C't Bold

Sir, In my last per the *Rockingham* Capt. Charles of the 1st Ult. I acquainted you I was about to barter with the Deans Company at Accra for 100 or 150 Slaves, provided the goods Suited, On the Ships return I proceeded with her to Accra and there Compleated the barter for 147 Slaves, which are to be All paid by agreemant by the Middle of August, And at the Same time delivered All the goods, I have now dissposed of All my Cargo Except 10 punch's of Brandy and the Jamaica Rum, great part of which I Shall want for Wooding, Watering and other expences, We are now Returned with out Ship to Cape Coast from Accra, in order to fill our Water, get our Wood and provisions, and to Collect our debts here and at Annamaboe, to Compleat which it will take 6 or 8 Weeks, When done here Shall return to Accra to be ready when our Slaves there becomes due,

By the nearest Calculation I can Make my purchase will amount to About 275 Slaves, but as my Stay on the Coast will be this Some time yet and of Course more Expencive I cannot justly Assertain the number, but it will be near what I before Mentioned.

The purchase Runs Short of Expectation when Sail'g but the prices is Much More than I expected when I left you, for All the Slaves is at 12 oz for Men and 10 oz for Women thats purchased from the Whites, and from my Unhappy Situation, and the Excessive dull trade I have made very little other trade than with the Whites, So that I labour under every disadvantage in point of profits to the Voyage,

[265] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

However I hope if we get Safe to Markett, with our Short purchase that we Shall not lose Money.² . . .

266. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO JOHN FLETCHER, 1776.¹

CAPE COAST ROADE 6 July 1776.

D'r Sir, In my former letters Pr Capt'ns Bold, Smith and others, I fully informed you in what manner I had disposed of my Cargo, and time agree'd on for payment was the middle of Augt. And Expected to be at Barbadoes in Novr and I Should purchase About 275 Slaves. I now add that Trade has been entirely Stop'd for this 6 Weeks pass'd, Owing to the Chief of the people a going back against the Asshantees to Warr, and are not yet returned, but there is no likelihoods of coming to battle as the Asshantees is returned back to their Country again, and it is not likely their will be any great matter of trade for this some time again, (as the Chiefest of our trade comes through the Asshantees).

Everything Seems to contribute to our disapointment, About 3 weeks ago the Deans and Dutch Governors at Accra, and likewise their towns people, went together at Logerheads and fought for 3 or 4 days, from Which Accident has Stop'd all trade that way, and have just reason to think from that dissturbance it will put it out of the power of the Deans Governor to pay us agreeable to contract, And am affraid shall not leave the Coast in all September, If so, cannot be at Jamaica 'till Decr.

Your favour Pr *Constantine* Capt. Robe of the 29th Jany. came to hand the 10th Ult. I observe your further orders about not Stoping to Windward, which Shall comply with, all my Letters before to you I have desired to have your orders at Barbadoes, and for fear you Should have Sent any there I have desired Messrs. Jones and Ewing if any letters Should be lodged with them for me, that they would forward them under cover to Messrs. Hibberts and Nephews at Kingston, and if the North side to Messers. Barnard and Montague, at Montego Bay, as I should not stop at Barbadoes. I shall agreeable to your orders proceed immediately to Montego Bay, where I hope it will be agreeable for the Former house to take me up, or our Former Friends, but Should I be oblided to call on Our Friends, P and W. Shall Observe your note About the Planters Bills. [You] mentioned the *Fletcher* was still unsold, I wish we had been lucky enough to have

² In the last paragraph of this letter Clarke recorded the uprising of the slaves on the *Phoenix*, Captain Taylor, the night before the vessel left the coast. In Clarke's next letter, May 21, he reiterated much of the information in this, adding that he had learned from Captain Absome (?), who had just arrived on the coast from Lancaster, that by act of Parliament all American property was to be confiscated wherever found.

[266] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

fited her out with Brandy when I Sail'd for at that time Brandy was much wanted, as there was no rum at Markett, and She might by this time have been with you Again, with part of my Cargo and her Own, which as things has turn'd out would have been greatly to Advantage, Dutch Brandy has the preferance to English Brandy, and rum before both.

There has been here since my Arrival 6 Rummen from the West Indies, two of Which is gone off, So that the Coast has been very well Supplied with rum, and the *Hawk* and *Apollo*, two Ships belonging to London, has Brought from Holland 70,000 Galls. of Gin and Brandy. The latter has not sold any yet, She has been Arrived but a few days. The Former has sold I believe near all amongst the Dutch Castles. If you should determine to send the *Fletcher* with Brandy, Dutch Brandy would be the best, and I believe by farr the Cheapest.

I am excessive sorry to hear there is no likelihood of matters being Accomodated between Great Britain and her Colonies, and likewise that such Acts of Parliament pass'd, to take All the American Vessels, for I assure you we had like to have been taken off the Coast, from the orders the Men of Warr had dated Octr. 11th 1775; had I not kept out of the way All the time the Menawar were on the Coast. And I have been in the greatest Dilemma Imaginable About the Acts, and what to do with the Vessel, As I never durst take Any Slaves on board not thinking the Intrest safe to be brought off in her, Untill a few days ago I found Some Exemtions from Acts pass'd to take All Americans, in the publick Ledger of Feb'y 7th (*Viz.* Exemption 4th) is Ships cleared out from any port of Great Britain or Ireland before the 1st Jany. 1776 for Any of the British Sugar Colonies in the West Indies, and Ships cleared out from the Said British Colonies and bound to Great Britain or Ireland, Provided $\frac{2}{3}$ of the owners of Such Ships as[are] his Majestys Subjects Residing in Great Britain or Ireland, or Some of the Said Sugar Colonies. The Above Act entirely Acquits us, as we are cleared out for Jamaica, and Coppy of Our Register Sent to Montego Bay, will entirely Acquit us from farther trouble.

Your paragraph Concerning geting a few Guns on Account of the American privateers, there is none to be gott, Every body that has any do not chuse to part with them for the Same Reasons, And for my part I do not think but that the American Privateers are So large that 4 or 6 Guns would be of little use, if to be had. You better know what danger there is of privateers than I do, So beg you will Insure my Intrest, [f]or as much as you think prudent, but as our Stay on the Coast will be so long, I am in great hopes Every thing

may be Setled before we Reach the W. Indies, and That Great Britain and her Colonies may be Unitted in a Everlasting Union, Is my Sincere Wish. . . .

Shall Acquaint Messrs. Hibberts and Nephews as near as possibly I can the time I expect to leave the Coast,² The Vessels now here are *Viz*:

From London, The *Peggy* C't Martin, Almost Slaved, at Annam'e.

St. George C't More, About 20 Slaves, Returning from Accra.
Hawk, C't Clieland, at Appam, Sold the Chief of her Cargo to the dutch

Harriott, Wilson, at Accra, Tender to *Apollo*,
Apollo, C't Smith, at C. Coast, just Arrd all of London,
Juno C't Eagles, Annamaboe, About half Slaved,

Will C't Taryer, Do Do.
Hope, C't Fletcher Do. About 50 Slaves

Fly C't Blundle }
Brooks C't Noble } About Appolonier, all of Liverpool

Martha, late C't McDonnah, who was drowned About 8 weeks ago, at Amanda, About 1/3 Slaved,

Constantine Robe, just Arrived, both of Bristol

Capt. Leeds from Dominica }
C't Hawkins f'm Barbadoes } Rum Vessels at Annamb'e
C't Hammond, f'm St. Cruix }

I have been as pertickeler as I can how matters Stand with us, I only add that I Shall Use my best Indeavours to Collect my Slaves as Soon as there is any trade. . . .

267. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO RICHARD MILES AND
JEREMY B. WEUVES, 1776.¹

Gentlemen, There is a debt due to Capt. Caleb Gardner in behalf of the Estate of the late Robert Johnson from late Richard Brew of Annamaboe,² Amounting to thirty Eight Slaves, which I am empowered to receive, as will appear by the Power's which were lodged Some time ago in the Secretary's office at Cape Coast Castle, I there-

² The letter to Messrs. Hibbert, which was also written on July 6, stated that Clarke did not expect to leave the coast before the middle or the end of September.

[267] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

² On Oct. 1 Clarke wrote: "The Death of Mr. Brew you will doutless here of before this comes to hand. He Died much in Debt in the roade to the Shiping and they are in alikely way of being grate Sufferers, it is the Onely troble that hass been going that we have Steard clear off, the Capt'ns he ow'd mony to *viz* Capt. Leads a rumman 110 Slaves, Capt. Eagles 56, and Capt Robe 32, and in Short all the Road more or less." *Ibid.*, no. 76.

fore lay in my claim as a creditor on the Estate of said Rich'd Brew,
And hope to receive my devidend as every other creditor,
ANNAMABOE ROADE, 4th Sepr 1776.³

268. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO JOHN FLETCHER, 1776.¹

CHRISTENBORG CASTLE ACCRA Decem'r 1 1776.

D'r Sir, I dare Say You'l be Supprised as well as Dissapointed when this Letter Informes you I am Still on the Coast Acation'd by the Danish Company not paying me Agreeable to Contract, The reason of there noncompliance is there falling into a palaver with there Duch Nabours which for along time Stop'd there Trade.²

However, trade has taken arun here for this last month and I have recived all my Slaves to about thirty Six or Seven which I hope to gitt Very Soon and dout not of Sail'g of the Coast by Christmas.

I am Sorry I have So dissagreeable a Story now to tell, which is about the 8th of Last Month our Slaves rose on board and a large Number of them jumpt overboard, out of which twenty Eight Men and two woman whare Drown'd, Six men taken up by the Moree Towns people which Mr. Klearck the Governor of the Foart, at that place,³ took out of there hands and has them in his Foart I indeavourd to gitt them, but the Towns people Ask Eleven oz. pr head for takeing them up, So I could not Settle it with them, and being Oblig'd to return to Accra again in Oder to Settle, I have beeg the favour of Mr. Mill to Settle it for me and i dout not he will do it much Sooner and on more reasonable'r termes then I can.

Thare is likewise apawn boy Mising which for a woman Slave, and was not heard of when I Left Cape Coast, and if not found will add one More to our loss. I am Sorry to Say that the Insurrectison on board happen'd not by Accident Somuch as through avery grate Neglect in Mr. Hill, in not Chaining the Slaves that day as Usual and agrater peace of Misconduct in going out of the Vessel and takeing all the Chiff Officers with him that knew whare any thing wass, and Leaving the Slaves out of the Chain, (and on deck). The reason

³ "To Rich'd Miles and Jer: Ber'd Weaves, Esqrs, Executors of late Rich'd Brew, Annamaboe." Richard Miles, not long after this, received an "ad interim" appointment as governor in chief of the British settlements on the Gold Coast. He was superseded in March, 1780. In 1782 he was made governor and held the office two years. J. B. Weuves, probably the second executor, was governor in 1781. George Macdonald, *The Gold Coast*, p. 346.

[268] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

² Clarke had written on Oct. 1 that the Danes had disappointed him. At that time he had on board 109 slaves, his boat had gone to the Danish factory for 12 or 15 more, there were 10 awaiting him at the English factory at Prampram, and some due to him at Anamabo. He had sent two slaves off by Captain Champlin, for the benefit of his family in Rhode Island, which was cut off from receiving any funds directly from Fletcher.

³ R. A. Klarck was the governor of the Dutch fort at Mouree.

he gives for going on Shore wass about three of the people he had differ'd with that Morning and had Stop'd there Allowance of adram for gitting Drunk with the rum Sent in the boate for the people that Swims of the water, and when the boate returnd again In shore for More water the people wood not Come of, So he went on Shore after them and in the time of there being a Shore the Slaves took the Oppertunity to rise and jump over board, they being well Secured in Irons, they could not[swim?], Nor did they any mischiff Otherways. Dissapointments, Crosses and Losses has closely attended us this Voyage, whare and how they will end God only knows, We have lost three Ancors, 2 boats with them there Sails, Oars etc. besides 2 Swivel guns.

I am hartily Sorroy I had so Dissagreeable a Story to wright you, However we will now leave it, and acquaint you that our Slaves on board are all well and we have About 200 on board, and I dout not of Compleating my purchass of 275 Slaves not-with-Standing the grate Exspence that attended our long Stay on the Coast. Our beef and other provishons runs very Short and not a bar'l of any kind to be purchast at any rate whatever, but as Long as we have Slaves provishon plenty there is no dainger of Starving. We heave had no late Arival on the Coast, and there is but Very few goods, and no rum, there will be agrate Opening in avery Short time for Some fourtanate parson or other, wharein he may Make a very grate Voyage. The Coast is now in want of allmost Every Necessary both for trade and Every thing Else. The last rum Vessel that wass here is Capt. Stanton Hazard in a brig of Mr. Romes and had it not have been for his Uncommon Leakage he wood have made avery grate Voyage. he has lost on forth part of his Cargo, he Sold at 140 g'l for men and 120 for woman he is now at Cape Coast. If the *Fletcher* wass here She wood turn out a Cargo of Brandy Excessive well, for I assure you Lichcure never wass more wanted then at preasant.

I have fully Aquainted you in my former letters of our Situation and dout not you have taken Every precaution Necessary to gard against the Worst, and Every Dainger that thretten's us, and that a Coppy of our Regester is Loged at Monteagu bay, whare I hope to be in Feby. I have left orders with the Dochter to Write you, if any of the Vessels Sails from windard while I am Down here, Therefore if any thing new hass Transspired he will let you no. . . .

269. JOHN BELL TO JOHN FLETCHER, 1776.¹

CAPE COAST ROADE, 15 Decr. 1776.

Sir: Agreeable to Capt. Clarkes desire, I take the oppertunity of the *Hope* C Fletcher sailing from hence to write you a few lines, in order to acquaint you how your affairs is situated here, but am exceeding sorry it is not in my power to send you more agreeable Accounts, for, as Capt. Clarke has from time to time Observed to you, the Voyage has been attended with nothing but losses and disapointments, so to compleat the whole, on Friday the 8th Inst. we had the misfortune to lose 36 of the best slaves we had by an Insurrection, this unlucky affair happened about a mile to leeward of this roade, when there was only the Boatswain, Carpenter, 3 White people and myself on board (of white people). Capt. Clarke Mr. Carr and boats crew were on there passage up from Accra, 3 of the white people had that morning left the boat when a watering and Capt. Hill was gone ashore wt Mr. Risle and boats Crew in order to get them off again, We had 160 Slaves on board and were that day lett out of the Deck Chains in order to wash, about 2 OClock They began by siesing upon the Boatswain (luckly the only white person upon the main deck) but he soon got disengaged and got abaft the Barricade, after receiving a wound on his breast and one under his Chin, both well again. They Continued to throw Staves, billets of wood etc., and in endeavoring to get down the Barricado, or over it for upwards of 40 Minutes, when finding they could not effect it all the Fantee and Most of the Accra Men Slaves jumped over board, in my opinion with an intend to get up abaft, but the Currant running to strong to leeward very few of them could fetch the Ship again. At last we got a signal hoisted for the boat to come off (having none alongside). Sometime after the boat and a Cannoe came off and picked up 6 men and M. boys after being upwards of 2 hours in the water and got far to leeward. When all was a little settled we found 32 Men and Men boys w't 2 women a mising, the best Slaves we had. We only fired 2 masquets amongst them, one wt Powder only and one wt a little dust in it, had we fired more almost every one of them would have jumped over board, a few got cut wt cutlasses, but are geting well again, no white man excepting the boatswain got hurt, had the women assisted them in all probability your property here at this time would have been but small. The women having no hand in it was owing to their having no time to consult about it, as their rissing at that time was entirely owing to there being so many white people out of the Vessel, (which they said themselves) though

[269] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76. Bell is the doctor to whom Clarke refers in the preceding letter.

they had 2 or 3 times before been going to attempt it. The only reason we can give for their attempting any thing of the kind, is, their being wearied at staying so long on board the ship. Those left will give no reason for their rising, but lay the blame entirely on those that lost. There is 4 Men and 2 Men boys now in Mauree fort (a dutch fort about 4 Miles to leewd. of this) which was picked up by the natives, who the Gov'r sent off in cannoes for the purpose. They at presant insist upon the full price for them, but Capt. Clarke is in hopes of geting one half for the other, being the Common Custom of this Country. There was a rum brig lying at C. Coast, but could see nothing of the affair, by reason of the ship rideing right head too her. You will probably think I have been too particular for so disagreeable a Subject, therefore shall say no more of it

Capt. Clarke arr'd the 9th ult. from Accra wth 11 Slaves, Mr. Carr has Since brought up 44, so that we have now recd. 114 Slaves from the Dainish Company. They have had a good dale of Shantee trade lately, but their factorys to leeward has had little or none. Capt. Clarke went down to Accra the 26th Ult. and I believe will not return till all is setled there, as Mr. Carr went down the 8th ult. in a large boat he bourowed in order to bring up all or most of what is due so that we have *Some* hopes of sailing in all this month. There is 4 or 5 Slaves due here and at Annamaboe yet, one of which I'm affraid will be lost, as a pawn ran away from the boat at C. Coast the 8th ult. and they deny his ever geting to Annam'e. He had been back and forward in the boats all the while we have been upon the Coast, by desire of his Father. Capt. Clarke ordered the Ship up here as there is no wood or water to be got to leeward of this, and the boat brings up the slaves as fast as they are purchased. the Ship is now full wooded and watered

We have now 192 Slaves on board, in pretty good health, but have had the misfortune to bury a boy of a Dropsy. That unlucky accident has hurt the looks of our main deck much, and men slaves is very scarce wh is a jeneral Complaint. . . . There has been no fresh Arrivals letely, excepting a rum brig from Granada, who immediately disposedd of what rum he had to the whites at 120 and 140 G. pr slave, that article begins to be very scarce here.

The trade here begins to come in and most of the Vessels are out of goods. The *Constantine* C't Robe of Bristol, The *Fly*, Blandie, of Liverpool, are done purchaseing, and only wait for some debts. The *Gascoyne*, Thoburn, of London is nigh done, so that the *Brooks*, Noble, of L'ple is the only one purchaseing in Annamaboe, never theless the prices never were so high, being got to 9½ and 11½ oz. Pr. Slave to the blacks. C't Noble has keep't up his good, in order

to lower the price, but 'am affraid will not succeed. The *Hawk*, Mill (lying here) has got very few goods. Gov'r Mill intends going off in her, from Whydah, the begining of the year.

The most Commanding articles here at presant is Rum and Tobacco. There has been no Portugee Vessel down lately, so that what little Tobacco there is sells for 5 and 6 oz. trade Pr roll, which since we arrived has sold for 1 and 1½ oz. trade.

Powder is at presant much wanted all along the Gold Coast, many of the beech towns being at Warr amongst themselves, or wth their Gov'rs.

Mr. Watts late chief of Tantan² has resigned his place on account of disputes he has had with the natives, and is going off in a brig belong'g to Granada, which Arr'd last July.

The Assortment of Goods upon a Slave is much the same as when we Arrived. . . .

270. ACCOUNTS OF THE *THAMES*, 1776.¹

A Coppy of Account, of ther Monthly Exspence of Ship "Thames" and Damages Sent the Deans Company at Accra.

		<i>Account of the Monthly Exspence of the Ship "Thames" as She now lies on the Coast of Africa Viz.</i>			
		£	s.	d.	
1776	27 Aug. to 27 De'r	Wages Pr month as Pr portage bill.....	49	16	
		Provisions for Ship's Crew Pr month.....	21	15	
		Rice and Beens 1 Ton 5 C. o qr. o at 25 Pr Ton	31	5	
		16 Chest Corn at 15s. Pr Chest.....	12		
		100 Gan Cask water at 1s. Pr Cask.....	5		
		500 Yams at 10s. p. Hd. 3000 plantings at 2/6 p. Hd...	6	5	
		125 bil'tt wood Pr Day is 3750 Pr month at 5s. p. Hd..	9	7	6
		fish, peper, Salt, Limes, Tobaca, pipes rum, etc., etc.,	3	11	3
		Ships Charter party, 184 Tons at 5s. Pr Ton amount....	46		
		Interest on Vesel and Cargo as She Sail'd from London			
		Value £8500 Ste'g at 6 Pr Ct Pr annum is Pr month...	42	10	
		Wresk of Mortallity and Insurrection of 220 Slaves			
		Value 9000£ Ste'g at 5 Pr Ct is Pr month.....	37	10	
		£	264	19	9
		<i>The Danish Government on Coast of Guina To Oners Ship "Thames" Dr.</i>			
		£	s.	d.	
1776	Decem'r 27	To Detention of Ship <i>Thames</i> from 27th August to the 27 Decem'r 1776, is 4 Month at £264. 19s. 9d. Pr Mo. as Pr Ano.....	1059	19	
		Damages Sustained by Your Detaining the <i>Thames</i> by Insurrection, Loss of 36 Slaves at £25 Ste'g Pr Head is	850		
		To Damages, by not being at Markitt agreeable to Con- tract, by Your not fullfiling your Contract, in time...	1000		
		£	2909	19	

Errows and Omishons Except'd of the above amounts,
Pr. PELEG CLARKE

² Tantomquerry.

[270] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

271. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO THE DANISH COMPANY, 1777.¹

Gentlemen, I have Stated to You the Monthly Exspence of the Ship *Thames*, and Damages Sustained by Insurrection, and Likewise our Damages we may have Sufferd by not being at Markitt with our Slaves, Agreeable to my Contract with You, And I dout not on Examonation You will find them just, and will Emeditly do justis to the Oners of Ship *Thames* by makeing good those damages they have Susstain'd by Your not fullfiling Your Contract the Time Agree'd on

Ship *Thames* CAPE COAST ROADE 3 Jan'y 1777

To the Respectable Danish Company Residing at Christenborg Castle, Accra.

272. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO JOHN FLETCHER, 1777.¹

off CAPE COAST 8th Jany. 1777.

This morning finish'd all my Busness an am now Under Sail Acom- ing of the Coast. I have Settled the Slaves that wass at Mouree at the prices of one half, which makes our Loss to 31 Men and 2 women in the Insurrection. I have procurr'd Some Stock, with a little Salt provishons, Capt. Mills and Some other Frinds Spard, which I dout not of being Suffishant for the passage. we have avery healthey Ship at preasant, and have not bured but one Slave by a Naturrel death, and hope we Shall not have much Mortality. My Next I hope will be from Jamaica, at preasant there is nither goods nor Licure to be had on the Coast. There is Onely Capt Thobourn and Capt. Noble in Annamaboe Roade, a plenty of Slaves, I am Inform'd, I belive there purchass Near Compleated. I have got the Slave for the pawn boy, by panyaring² awoman. . . .

There wass so many Small ballences to pay Ocation'd by our Long Stay, when I was a Settleing I was Obg. to Draw abill on You in favour of Mr. Miles for £22 Ste'g or Sell on of my Slaves of Deck PC Capt. More Via Garnards

273. JOHN WESTMORLAND AND COMPANY TO CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE, 1777.¹

KINGSTON 8th Jany. 1777.

Dear Sir, . . . The very best Gold Coast Cargoes have been opened at £59 and duty Pr head, and such Cargoes did not Average

[271] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

[272] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

² Kidnapping.

[273] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

more than 35 or £36 Stg. Eboe Slaves 32 or £33 S'g Pr head, Bills for the payment are drawn 1/3 Payable in 12 M'ts, 1/3 in 24 M's, and the Remainder 30 or 36 M'ts after date. Mr. Fletcher wishes to engage a freight for the Vessel, but it will be impossible to make any such agreement wt the Guinea factors, in the presant temper of the times. If you come wth your Vessel to Kingston (wch is contrary to our presant expectations) we may possibly be able to give you some assistance in selling the Negroes, or making the most advantageous terms wth others for the benefit of yourself and Owners, but it will be out of our powers to go to any out port to sell the Cargoe.

. . .

274. JOHN FLETCHER TO CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE, 1777.¹

LONDON 10th Feby. 1777.

D'r Sir. . . . I apprehend f'm all Accts. you will find the times much worse at Jama. than ever you expected for Sale of your cargo, owing to the great glut of Negroes carryed down to that Island of late, has reduced the price Much, and payments they are got to immoderate lengths, so that no trade can possibly Support the credit given, besides those Jama. houses here that has stop'd and got time to pay (wch I advised you off in my last) must Effect many of the planters at Jamaica very much. The House of Sericold and Jackson was the beginners and occasioned all this mischief. I hope you have Steared clear of any of there connexions at Montego Bay. Many house here, Morse and Smiths, has lately Stop'd owing to the formers connexions, all which makes the times here very Alarming, and no body here will scarce accept bills without Value in hand. I cannot say more than I have in my former on our concern, being well Satisfied you will do everything for the best that tends to our Interest wth Safety. If you have been Oblidged to Sell your Slaves on the plan Mr. Hibberts has lately adopted (wch I fear other houses will too Soon follow,) *Viz:* Selling the Cargoes on the Owners Acct. and risque, I would recomend, if not too late, to get the Houses own bonds that Sells the Cargo preferable to the diff't Planters Bonds, by wch means we have but one house to look to, instead of so many diff't People, and in such case to take more produce on our own Accts. than before ordered, esspecially dispatch sake, so as to Sale wth the *1st Convoy*, which I take for granted you will not fale to do, and give me timely advise by the Man of Warr and Packet, that I may make the necessary Insurance. If I had thought the times had been so bad, I should have recommended to you, if cou'd have been done, to rented Ab't 60 Negroes on our joint Acct. upon lease for 3 years to 4 differ-

[274] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

ant people, good Safe Men, to make good the Valuation, or Selling price at the usual rent given for New Negroes, Say f'm 8 to 10 Pr Cent on Value, And at the end of the lease to pay the Amount or else deliver up the Negroes and pay for the difficiency, but I suppose it will be too late to think of it and only mention this as it occurs to me, as it might have been for our benefit. I must inform you that an act of Parliament will soon pass, which Empowrs the Admiralty to grant Letters of Marque to Merchant Ships, to make Prizes of any *American Ships or Property*—wch as you have been so harrassed on that Acct. and to prevent any future troubles, I am to desire you will make over a deed sale for your quarter part of the Vessel to me or Mr. Barwell Evins, or any other friend in trust, after wch you can with safety make an affidavit and get a New Register made out for Ship *Thames* in my name and Mr. Evins only of London as Sole owners, and cargo to be Ship'd on owners Acct. Marcked 8 T and to let no part appear in your Name, which will entirely put it out of the power of any Busy person giving trouble. And upon the Ships Arrival here, all matters will be properly adjusted between us as before, as I think you may rely on *my honour*, on the Occasion, this I before hinted in my letters of 7th Feby. and 25th Novr. Was you to mention yourself of London in the Register I think will not be so Safe as the other way, you being so well known f'm R. I. might give room for Ill natured people to make a handle off, and if you Should have Already got a Register made out before this comes to hand, you can Assign your reasons to the Collector, *that you have Sold out*, in order to get a new Register in the name of the Sold Owners of London etc., what I have before hinted I think will be Sufficient for your government on that head. I am likewise of opinion it will be for our Mutual Intrest your comeing home to England in the Ship, as we can then adjust and Settle all Matters between us, after wch if you chuse it you can go home to your family, in some of the Transports, or Store Ships, otherways we may perhaps get a Freight for our Ship that way, and in case Matters are Setled wth America this Summer their will be a good opening for trade f'm hence thither. I Shall Honour your bill on me as advis'd for £36 Stg. when due, and have pd. Mrs. Clarkes bill on me for £100 S'g both wch are charged to Your debt. I am Sorry to find you have lost the S. Bower Anchor, and that the Old Cable proves so bad, if you should be oblided to get either at Jama. you will do it in as Cheep a way as you can, Mr. Westmorland can Assist you in this Matter f'm Kingston, old Cordage used formerly to be had at Greenwich Kingstons etc. I must inform you I have Sent out a power of Attorney to Mr. Westmorland, and to Mr. Delarach of St. Eliz'bs Jama. to transact any affairs of mine in

future, So that any papers or Bonds of our Concer[n]s may be left in their hands if Necessary when you leave the Island.

275. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO JOHN WESTMORLAND AND COMPANY, 1777.¹

MONTEGO BAY 25th Ap'l 1777.

Much Esteemed Friends, I Received your kind fav'r wch you lodged in the hands of Messrs. Bernard and Montague, and am much obliged to you for your Information how slaves sell at Kingston and likewise the mode of payment. I have agreable to Mr. Fletchers orders applied to Messrs. Bernard and Montague but there terms are such that I cannot by any means think of complying with, which is to have our slaves sold for Bonds on Account of the Owners, those payments I am sure never will be agreable to Mr. Fletcher, for I am very confident they will cut but a poor figure in purchaseing a Guinea Cargo in London. I am now a treating wth Malcom and Neveson to take me up. Mr. Malcom is at presant here, I expect Mr. Neveson up to day from Lucea, at presant no terms are offered as agreed on, but wait the Arrival of Neveson. I was sorry to see it was not agrable to you to sell a Cargoe of Negroes any where but at Kingston, for it was my orders from Mr. Fletcher that if the House of Hibberts would not sell for such payment as would sute to dispatch my doctor to you, and that he did not doubt but you would do the business. Mr. Fletcher ordered me down on this side as imagineing Slaves would sell higher than at Kingston and I had much reither it had been agreable for you to have come over and Sold the Slaves, for it is entirely out of my power to come round to Kingston. My Ship is a compleat wreck for the night after I left Cape Coast I lost my Fore Mast, Fore top Mast, Fore top G'n Mast, Main top Mast and Sprung the head of my Main Mast, in a tarnado, So that in 2 Moments I was a compleat Wreck, and Considering my cargo and the place where I was it was truely to be said we were in a deplorable condition, such a one as I never before saw, nor never wish to see again. But this Voyage has been a Compoun of Losses, Crosses and disapointments, which I assure you so close attended us that we Scarce ever was clear of one 'till plunged into Anot'r and our evil genius has not yet left us, we have not been Successful in any one thing the Voyage, except in having lettle or no mortality, burying but 4 Slaves all this long disagreeable Voyage, and keeping out of the hands of my Countrimen and arriving safe here after a long Passage of 15 Weeks and 12 Mo'ts Stay on the Coast. But have brought in my Slaves in very good order and healthy 240 of them, but as you justly observe

[275] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

the temper of the times are Such that there is nothing to be hoped from them towards Releaving a Short purchase and a large loss by Insurrection of 33 Slaves, wch you have heard of before now. I am informed that letters have been Returned from this place back to Kingston. I beg that if there is any in your hands or in the Post-office you will desire them to be sent back.

276. AGREEMENT BETWEEN PELEG CLARKE AND
MALCOLM AND NEVINSON, 1777.¹

MONTGABAY 26th April 1777.

Agreement between Capt'n Peleg Clarke of the Ship "Thames" and Messrs. Malcolm and Nevinson March't at St. Luciee. That the Said Malcolm and Nevinson are to Sell the Said Ships Cargo of Slaves on the following Condition Vize.

Bills are to be Drawn on John Fletcher Esqr. for the Nett proceeds of Said Cargo of Slaves on the 20th July Next

One third in Bills Pay'e at 24 Months Sight

One third in Bills Pay'e at 36 Months Sight

One third in Bills Pay'e at 42 Months Sight

Malcolm and Nevinson further Agree to give Captain Clarke One Hundred and Fifty Punchions of Rum the Amount of which to geather with the Ships Desbursements are to be deducted from the first payment at 24 months Sight as above menchond.

Also to give the Said Capt. Clarke Bills on John Fletcher Eqr. at fifteen Months Sight or the Amount in Rum as may be most Convenient for the Said Malcolim and Nevinson in Payment for his Coast Commission and payment in rum to four officers belonging to Said Ship *Thames* for one Slave each at the Rate the Cargo Averages at. The Preceeding Agreement each party is Satisfied with as Witness our Hands.²

MALCOLM AND NEVINSON

277. CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE TO JOHN FLETCHER, 1777.¹

[May, 1771.]

Dear Sir, . . . I have had an offer f'm a New house, Messrs. Parkinson and Hill, and had it not been for the uncertainty of these Bills, I should have sat down wth them, but from the late great falair [failure] of the Guinea houses, I was a little susspicious as they

[276] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

² Despite this statement Captain Clarke was far from satisfied with the agreement. His comment to Fletcher was, "those two here are Jews."

[277] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76. The first paragraph of the letter reports the terms of the agreement with Messrs. Malcolm and Nevinson.

are not thoroughly established. There Characters here is very good, but are not known the other side the water, and it is a long time untill 42 M'ts comes round, many Accidents may happen in that time, therefor thought it best to be sure, or at least the surest of any house here except Hibberts and Co. Aour friend Mr. Westmorland let me know by a letter it did not Sute him to sell a Cargoe in the Country and the Situation of our Vessel I could not get to Kingston.

. . .

Our Sales comes on the 8th May

278. PROTEST ON BOARD THE *THAMES*, 1777.¹

Coppy of the Minutes of the Protest taken on board "Thames", Viz.

March 19th 1776 Lost our Kedge Ancor About 250 t. wt. and 45 fathoms of 5 Inch Hawser, a heaving Up.

Aprill the 16 1776 Split our four topSails in a hard Squall of wind etc.

Sept. 17, 1776. Lost two Small bowers Ancors in a hard Turnardo in Accra Roade, and never wass able to purchas them.

Fryday the 8 of November at Ancor in Cape Coast Roade, at half past two Aclock in the After Noon An Insurrection begun on Board By the Men Slaves, and Indevouring to Surpress them almost all of the men jumpt Overboard but by the Assistance of the boate and a Conew from the Shore we Recoverd all to thirty three, that whare Lost and Drowned, haveing on board at that time one Hundred and Sixty Slaves and 3 pawns.

Wednesday 8th of Janu'y 1777, at 7 Aclock in the Evening in a voialent gust of wind from East we Lost our fore Mast, fore topmast, fore topgallentmast, and Maintopmast and Sprung the head of our Mainmast and Damaged a Quantity of our Small Rigen in gitting our Sails clear, which Recived much Damage Likewise, in the water before we Could gitt them on board again. Lost our jib-Stay, Split our Miz'n TopSail, Carred away our four top in the fall of our Mast, and wass Oblig'd to Cutt much Rigen in Order to clear the wrack, and Lost out the foretop two Quiles Stud'g [?] Sail Halyards. The foregoing of the Minutes of the Losses Sustain'd on board the Ship *Thames* on her Voyage to Africa and Jamaica.

Sworn before me this 7th June 1777

CHARL'S BARNARD

[278] ¹ *Ibid.* A "protest," in maritime law, is a formal declaration of damage, in this case by storm and insurrection. The protest was signed by Peleg Clarke, Robert Hill, and Tiddiman Carr.

279. JOHN FLETCHER TO CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE, 1777.¹

LONDON 12 Sept. 1777.

Dear Sir, . . . I mentioned something in my last of a Guinea schame with Rum from Jamaica in Comp'y with Mr. [illegible] Malcolm Esq. he to hold a Quarter part of Vessell and Cargo, but without he Guarantee the Sales of Negroes on Ships return and give Bills at 1, 2 and 3 years with Intrest on said Bills after 6 Months, Otherwise I will not be concerned, and Mr. Malcolme At same time to Supply the Cargo Rum and Outfitts for the Other owners 3 Quarters to be paid out of the Second Bill at 6 Months now sent Me home, allowing them the Difference of Interest the bill has to run, but not to Draw any Bill on me for an Adventure on that account, for reasons already Assigned. If you go to Jamaica you will turn the matter in your mind, and should think it will answer and is agreeable to Mr. Malcolm you have my Liberty for Self and other Owners to proceed on it provide you go the voyage your self to Guinea Otherwise I will not be concerned—which is my full Instructions on that matttr which you will abide by. If any certainty of Getting Slaves for Rum in a Short time at 140 or 150 Galls pr Slave it might Answer, but not otherwise as Insurance will be high, and it depends on Vessells are already gone on the Rum Trade from Jamaica or Windward Islands. All this I shall leave to your prudent consideration.² . . .

280. JOHN FLETCHER TO CAPTAIN PELEG CLARKE, 1778.¹

March 10, 1778.

. . . Mr. Bell has got a Birth in a Ship for 600 Slaves from Liverpool for Affrica, which goes for 600 Slaves. I have settled with him for Ballance of his wages as well as for his Priviledge and hard money, so that the Bill you sent for £47.16.9 answers the Two Latter. He has allowed me for the money received of yours of Mr. Westmoreland £52.0.3 Jama. Currency, which is at your Credit he also has delivered me your acct with Mr. Westmoreland with an Order on Mr. Jno. Peatt for Ballance say £171.31 4 Jama Currency.² . . .

[279] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

² Endorsed, "Received at Providence the 9th March 1778." What led Clarke to return to Rhode Island instead of embarking on the Guinea voyage which Fletcher here suggested one can only conjecture. It may be that in Jamaica he learned enough of the state of affairs to be convinced that a profitable voyage at that time was impossible.

[280] ¹ Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76.

² Fletcher wrote again to Clarke on Apr. 16, 1779, probably concerning the voyage of 1777, that the underwriters refused to pay for the losses of the voyage, on the ground that Clarke had deviated from his course. They later paid £400 (Clarke Letter-Book, no. 76). The absence of material for the years 1779 to 1783 indicates that the Revolution for the time destroyed the American trade in slaves.

281. RECEIPT OF ISAAC GORHAM, 1783.¹

WARREN February 6th 1783.

Then Received of Roby Whitting a Negro Man Slave in good Order which I am to Carry at her Risque in the Good Sloop *Patty* to the West Indias there to Dispose of him for her on the best Terms I Can and there to Ship the Net proceeds to her on board the Said Sloop or Some Other Bottom in West India goods if a good Opportunity presents and if not to purchase Bills or make the Returns in Cash so that I do the Best in my Power for the Benefit of Said Roby Whitting She paying for the passage of Said Negro and Commissions as Customary.

282. JAMES BOURN TO MRS. ROBEY WHITING, 1783.¹

NEWPORT Febr. 15th 1783.

I have acording to your request Enquired Concerning of Insurance on your Negro. I dont find any body hear that cares to underwrite upon him till Yesterday Capt. Caleb Gardner told me he would insure him the first passage onley Clear of the Enemy for thirty pr. Cent. So that you can think on it and if you would chuse to have it Done Let me know. I would get it Done. . . .

283. DEPOSITION OF ISAAC GORHAM, 1783.¹

The Deposition of Isaac Gorham of Warren in the County of Bristol etc., Mariner On Oath saith that I the deponent on the 13th day of February AD 1783 Sailed from the port of Warren Master of the Sloop *Patty* bound to the West Indias and having on board a Negro Man about Eighteen or Twenty Years Old a Healthy Active Lad, the Property of Rhoby Whitting of Said Warren Widdow, and that on the Seventh day of March in the Same year being about four Leagues to windward of Monto Christo was taken by a Brittish Sloop of Warr Called *Le Gatroon* Command by Benjamin Hulk Esqr. and that Said Negroe was taken on board the Ship whereby he was lost to his Said Mistress and further saith not.

[281] ¹ *Publications*, R. I. Hist. Soc. (new ser.), VIII. 192-193. Mrs. Whiting, widow of Nathaniel Whiting, had leased the slave Fantee to Edward Jones for twelve months, in return for 54 Spanish milled dollars. A few months later Jones complained that Fantee had stolen from him and his friends and had then run away. After his capture, on the road to Boston, Mrs. Whiting disposed of him (*ibid.*, pp. 190-192). The law of 1779 forbidding the exportation of negroes probably allowed for the sale of refractory slaves, otherwise this transaction would have been illegal.

[282] ¹ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

[283] ¹ *Ibid.*

284. MOSES BROWN TO CLARK AND NIGHTINGALE, 1783.¹

PROVIDENCE, 26th 8th Mo. 1783.

Respected Friends, Being informed yesterday that you had in Contemplation sending a Vessel to Africa for the purpose of getting Negroes and selling them as Slaves in the West Indies;² and as I have ever entertained a respectful opinion of your humanity, as well as integrity as Merchants, and remembring how it was with me, when our Company were engaging in that Traffick, that altho' the convictions of my own Conscience were such as to be averse to the Voyage, yet in reasoning upon that Subject with those who were for pursuing it, my holding Slaves at that time so weakened my arguments, that I suffered myself, rather than break my Connexions, to be Concern'd, but as I have many times since thought, that if I had known the Sentiments of others, or had their concurring Testimonies to those Scruples, I then had, I should have been preserved from an Evil, which has given me the most uneasiness, and has left the greatest impression and stain upon my own mind of any, if not all my other conduct in life; and it appears particularly so when I am favoured with a quiet retrospection and arraign it before the righteous judge of all men; Under these considerations I felt some engagement for your preservation from so great an evil as I have found that Trade to be, and with a view to dissuade and discourage your pursuing the Voyage, That you may avoid the unhappy reflections which I have had I am induced to Write you and desire your serious consideration on the Subject, when you feel your minds calmly disposed for pursuing such a course of life, as will preserve your Characters as Men of Humanity and feelings for the distresses and afflictions of others, which I have observed with much Satisfaction, on some occasions to be very Conspicuous. . . .

you are Men of Feelings, and abilities to live without this Trade, why then should you be concern'd in it against your own—against the feelings of your Friends. I rest in hope, that my last has been a mistaken information, for when I delivered Clarke the Pamphlet, on this Subject I understood your intention was not to Trade in Slaves, but in Ivory, Wax, Gold dust etc. If this be the Case and you should give

[284] ¹ Moses Brown Papers, IV. 297. This is a "fair copy," so pasted into the volume that but one word of the superscription can be read—this is "Clark." The next manuscript is a much-corrected draft of the same letter, initialed "M. B.," and endorsed, "Copy to Clark and Nightingale, 26 8th mo. 1783." This house had offered Aaron Lopez a schooner suitable for the Guinea trade, ten years before. There was in their letter at that time no indication that they had used this vessel, or any other, for that trade themselves. Lopez Letter-Book, no. 634, p. 33.

² For references to the importation of slaves into Havana in American vessels after the Revolution see Paullin and Paxson, *Guide to the Materials in London Archives for the History of the United States* (1914), pp. 404, 408; for a general discussion of the New England trade see Donnan, "The New England Slave Trade after the Revolution," *New England Quarterly*, III. 251-278.

Orders to the Captn. not to Suffer any Negroes on Board, it would be grateful to many of your Connexions in Town, as well as your Friend.³

285. DR. SAMUEL HOPKINS TO MOSES BROWN, 1784.¹

NEWPORT, April 29, 1784.

Much esteemed Friend: I am much pleased with your zeal, and persevering, assiduous attempts to discourage and abolish the slave trade and the slavery of the Africans among us.² Though I have a degree of the same zeal, yet I am apt to sink under discouragements which you seem easily to surmount. I have dared publicly to declare that this town is the most guilty, respecting the slave trade, of any on the continent, as it has been, in a great measure, built up by the blood of the poor Africans; and that the only way to escape the effects of divine displeasure, is to be sensible of the sin, repent, and

³ That Clark and Nightingale were not deterred from entering the slave trade is indicated by a note to them on July 27, 1790: "Capt. Oliver Boreen, of the Sloop *Providence*, from the Coast of Africa, arrived here some few days since, but finding it impossible to dispose of his Slaves, left us for the Havannah. We enclose a/c of necessaries supplied him." Briggs, *Cabot Family*, II. 478.

[285] ¹ Samuel Hopkins, *Works*, I. 119-120. Many of the letters which follow are in part printed in a "Memoir" by E. A. Park, contained in the first volume of the *Works*. Dr. Hopkins had become pastor of the First Congregational Church of Newport in 1770. From that time until his death he took an active part in the movement to abolish the slave trade and to improve the condition of the blacks. In many of his projects he was aided by Dr. Ezra Stiles, pastor of the Second Congregational Church of Newport 1755-1776, and throughout his life he and Moses Brown of Providence were in close sympathy on questions pertaining to the negro. He at one time wrote of Moses Brown: "Moses Brown is a man of a respectable character, as an honest, sensible man. He is a man of interest. He was not educated a Quaker, but joined that sect some years ago. He is a brother to the famous John Brown, the rich merchant in Providence. This Moses was once concerned in the slave trade; but for many years has been convinced of the iniquity of it, and his sin in practising it has lain heavy on his conscience. He thinks it his duty to do all in his power to put a stop to this traffic, and an end to the slavery of Africans, and to assist them to obtain their freedom, in all the ways he can. And he is active and unwearied in his endeavors to promote these ends. And I must say, that he and a number of his brethern, who join him in this matter, have acted a judicious, faithful, and honorable part. We have no men of any other denomination in these States, who appear so conscientious, discerning, faithful, and zealous, in this matter, as these Quakers do" (Hopkins to Levi Hart, Nov. 27, 1787, *Works*, I. 123).

² The February (1784) session of the General Assembly had passed an act authorizing the gradual abolition of slavery in Rhode Island, and repealing that clause in the act of 1774 which gave permission to bring into the state negroes that could not be sold in the West Indies (*R. I. Recs.*, X. 7-8). This was a substantial gain. Dr. Hopkins need not have felt so much discouragement. Early in March Brown had written of the failure to obtain the act for which he and his friends had worked, at the same time sending to Dr. Hopkins copies of articles which had been published in the Providence papers: "the Influence of the Mercantile Interest in the House was greatly Exerted, and the Justice of the Subject thereby Overbourn and I am sorry I have it to say my Brother John was deep in the Opposition, yet I am apprehensive without the E'tions of the Speaker he would have fail'd of his Views If I understood the Attorney General Right he told me he had given thee his opinion on the Stopping of the Trade and that he thought by our Constitution the Assembly could not Restrain the members of the State from it." Moses Brown to Samuel Hopkins, Mar. 3, 1784, Moses Brown Papers, IV. 314.

reform.³ This has greatly displeased a number, and I fear the most are far from a disposition to repent, especially they who have the greatest share of the guilt. This town, I greatly fear, will be the last in the State to do what they ought to do, and be foremost in it, respecting that most abominable traffic, and the consequent slavery that is among us. This gives me a gloomy prospect of our future circumstances. The freemen have chosen a new set of representatives, except one.⁴ Though some of them are, in many respects, worthy men, I believe not one of them will vote for any law to discourage the slave trade, or the slavery of the Africans. And I suspect that they who planned this choice had a particular view to this. . . .

The Friends have set a laudable example in bearing testimony against the slave trade, and exerting themselves to suppress the slavery of the Africans; and I must say, have acted more like Christians, in this important article, than any other denomination of Christians among us. To our shame be it spoken! The church in which I preside have agreed to declare, that the slave trade and the slavery of the blacks, as it has been practised among us, is a gross violation of the righteousness and benevolence which are so much inculcated in the gospel, and therefore, we will not tolerate it in this church. But it is thought that present circumstances will not admit of our addressing the General Assembly on that head, so as to answer any good purpose. What I published formerly in the weekly paper here, consisted chiefly in extracts from other authors,⁵ all which you have doubtless seen, and most of them have since been printed in the Providence papers. Our printer gave such offence to a number, by publishing those extracts, and was so threatened, if he continued to insert such things in his paper, that he has been backward to do any thing of this kind since. He has, however, consented to print some observations on that head, which I thought proper at this time, next Saturday, a copy of which I shall send to you when I have opportunity.⁶

³ Dr. Hopkins's congregation was largely connected in one way or another with the slave trade.

⁴ The Newport deputies in the next session of the General Assembly were George Hazard, Henry Marchant, George Champlin, John Topham, Peleg Clarke, and Daniel Mason. Those from Providence were Joseph Nightingale, Paul Allen, and Ebenezer Thompson. Brown later wrote, "When I heard of some of the present members of Assembly being Chosen I gave up hopes of Stopage of the Slave Trade at present." Brown to Hopkins, May 14, 1784, *Moses Brown Papers*, V. 1 (324).

⁵ Park here adds: "He published, at this period, various extracts from the writings of the Bishop of Gloucester; and several years afterward, extracts from the works of Clarkson and Paley, on the slave system. He also published, if we may judge from the style of the anonymous essays, more of original matter than came from the pen of any other Rhode Islander on this topic." *Works*, I. 120 n.

⁶ This article was printed in the *Newport Mercury*, May 1, 1784, and reprinted in *Works*, II. 745-748. During 1784, 1785, and 1786 a constant correspondence was maintained between Hopkins and Brown over methods of educating the public and

When Cleared	Vessels' Names	Masters' Names	Tons	Guns	Men	Owners' Names	General Cargo	Where Bound
1786, May 24th	Brigantine <i>Washington</i>	William Gardner	50		8	Caleb Gardner, Constant Taber, Nathaniel Briggs	One Hundred and forty Casks Rum, One Hhd. Tobacco, One Hundred and fifty Kegs Crackers, twelve Boxes Spermaceti Candles, and twelve Barrels Flour Caleb Gardner for the Master	Africa
June 12th	Ship <i>Louisa</i>	Robert Champlin	110	2	15	Andrew Spooner	Two Hundred and five Casks Rum, four do. Molasses, Eight do. Tobacco, four M Boards, Sixteen Barrels Turpentine and Tarr and twenty do. Flour Robt. Champlin	Africa
June 21st	Snow <i>Whim</i> ²	Peleg Clarke	60		12	Peleg Clarke	One Hundred and thirty Hhds Rum and Six do Tobacco Peleg Clarke	Africa
July 4th	Brigantine <i>Hannah</i>	Benjamin Remington	60	4	12	Jno. Topham, Jno. L. Boss, Augustus Newman ³	Two Hundred and twenty Hhd. Rum, two and half Hhd. Tobacco, Nine Barrels do. Eight Casks Rice, five Barrels Tarr, two do. Turpentine, One M feet Boards, five Hundred feet Joyce, five Hundred feet Oars, and fifteen Hundred Hoops. Benja. Remington	Africa
August 11th	Ship <i>Three Friends</i>	Ebenezer Shearman	105		15	Jacob R. Rivera and Company and Nat'l Briggs	Two Hundred and Sixty Casks N. E. Rum, ten Barrels Flour, two do. Tarr, one do. Rosin, one do. Powder, two Casks Molasses, two Barrels Sugar, twenty Boxes Soap,	Africa

[286] ¹ R. I. Hist. Soc., "Newport Outward Entries and Manifests, Nov. 21, 1785-June 16, 1790." The columns giving the place and date at which the vessel was built and the place and date of its registry are omitted. The items pertaining to African voyages have been taken from the entire list of outward entries and manifests for these years.

² On Aug. 7, 1787, the *Louisa*, Isaac Carr, owner Spooner, cleared for Massachusetts; on Sept. 11, 1787, the *Whim*, Peleg Clarke, cleared for Massachusetts with a cargo of rum and provisions.

³ Topham, Boss, and Newman appear in the list of entries as owners eleven times, but this was apparently their only African voyage. Boss may have been of the family to which Capt. Edward Boss belonged, who carried slaves to Charleston in 1786.

[Newport Entries and Manifests—continued:]

When Cleared	Vessels' Names	Masters' Names	Tons	Guns	Men	Owners' Names	General Cargo	Where Bound
1789, Febr. 21st	Sloop <i>Betsey</i>	Samuel Lawton	35		6	George Gibbs	One hundred and ten hogsheads, and Twenty Tierces Rum here Distilled, Twenty four Boxes Spermaceti Candles and Six half barrels Beef and Pork, Likewise for stores twelve Barrels Beef and Pork, fifteen hundred wt Bread and One Barrel flour. James Robinson for the Master	Africa
March 9th	Sloop <i>Dove</i>	Joseph Battey	22		7	Caleb Gardner, Nathl Briggs	Sixty Punchions, Eight Tierces and four half Barrels Rum here Distilled, Likewise for Stores, Sixteen Barrels Beef and Pork and Six Casks Bread. Joseph Battey	Africa
August 22rd	Sloop <i>Nancey</i> ⁶	Joseph Huntington	60		5	David Huntington	Seventy hogsheads Rum here distilled, Twenty five half barrels flour, Ten firkins butter, Four hogsheads Tobacco, Provisions, and Stores. Charles Collins ⁷	Africa
September 24th	Schooner <i>Nancey</i>	John De Wolfe	20		6	Shearjashub Bourne	Seventy Casks New England Rum, Two hogsheads Tobacco, five hundred Ropes Onions, Provisions and Stores. John D Wolfe ⁸	Africa
Octob'r 3d	Brigantine <i>Hope</i>	John Stanton	40		9	Thomas Briggs	One hundred and forty Nine Casks of Rum, Two hlds. of Tobacco, Six barrels of flour, Nineteen barrels of beef and Pork, Seven boxes of Candles and Six Casks of bread. John Stanton	Africa

[Newport Entries and Manifests—continued:]

1789, Octob 29th	Sloop <i>Betsey</i>	Wm. De Wolf	40		Caleb Gardner, Wm. De Wolf	One hundred hhd. Forty Two half barrels New England Rum, Six boxes Spermaceti Candles, Thirty Two barrels of beef and Pork, Eighteen hund. bread, one Thou- sand bunches of onyans and Fifty bushels of Potatoes [William De Wolf]	Africa
1790, May 10th	Ship <i>Polly</i>	James D Woolf	61	12	James D Woolf	Two hundred and Seventeen hhd. Six Tierce and Thirty Eight half barrel NE Rum, Three hhd. Tobacco, Ten boxes Spermacetti Candles, Twenty barrels Naval Stores, thirty half bl. flour, Forty Six Cannisters hyson Tea, Provisions and Stores for the Voyage. Caleb Gardner for James D Wolfe	Africa

^eThe nine remaining vessels listed on the page from which this comes have no cargoes and no destination given. One of them, owned by John Cahoon, jr., and George Gibbs, may well have been an African vessel but there is no evidence here to establish the fact.

^fThis Charles Collins was doubtless the brother-in-law of James De Wolf and the son-in-law of Governor William Bradford of Rhode Island. In 1803 he delivered a cargo of Congo negroes in Georgia, on the *Armstadt*; in 1804 he was assured of his brother's safe arrival in Havana on the *Minerva*, with 150 slaves, of whom Collins owned one-fourth. He was at this time collector of the port of Bristol.

C. B. Perry, *Charles D'Wolf* (1902), p. 29.

^gFor some account of the De Wolfs' connection with the slave trade see *post*, no. 302 n.

287. DR. SAMUEL HOPKINS TO MOSES BROWN, 1787.¹

NEWPORT, March 9, 1787.

My Friend, I wrote you two days ago, But having since received a letter from Mr. Law, dated, Charleston, Feb. 16, I write again to send you the following abstract from it:

A Capt. Moses Smith of Providence, shipped two free Negroes, as seamen on board his vessel; and when he arrived in this place, he, instead of paying them their wages, according to agreement, sold them for Slaves. A gentlemen whom I desired to inquire into the matter, informed me yesterday, that they were redeemed, and set at liberty. But I think such iniquity ought not to go unpunished, if any law will take hold of it; And I wish you to write to Mr. Moses Brown, if nothing more, it may be a means of their preventing others doing in like manner.

You will please to make what use of this you think best. He informs me that the Legislature in N. Carolina had made a law prohibiting the importing Slaves into that State; And that a Senator, member of the Legislature of South Carolina, then sitting at Charleston, had told him that he did not doubt but a law of the same tenor would be enacted at that session.²

288. JOHN BROWN TO MOSES BROWN, 1787.¹

PROVIDENCE, Augt. 18th. 1787.

Brother Moses, not knowing weether I may see you before I go to the Assembly, next Munday, I take this Method to Inform you that

[Note & continued from page 366:]

the progress of their favorite cause. In 1786 Brown gave £20 toward a prize for the best essay against the slave trade, moved to this act by the results of the Cambridge prize which had brought forth Clarkson's *Commerce of the Human Species*. The sentiment against the trade was growing but the trade itself still continued—In 1785 Dr. Hopkins wrote that a vessel had recently sailed from Boston for Africa. Nathaniel Russell was selling an occasional negro for the Champlins in Charleston (Moses Brown Papers, V. 21, 55; Champlin Papers, 1786-1788, no. 138). "Providence, January 29 We hear that a schooner, which sailed about 12 months since from New-Port, for the coast of Africa (belonging to Messrs. Seymour and Company of Grenada) was lately met with at sea, by a vessel bound to Bristol, in England. She was without Sails, had only 15 negroes on board and those in a very emaciated and wretched condition, having doubtless been long at sea. The negroes it is supposed had rose and murdered the Captain and crew; after which many of the blacks must have died. Those found on board were carried into Bristol" (*New York Packet*, Feb. 14, 1785). Capt. Robert Champlin, at this time in the service of the Graftons of Salem, delivered a cargo of negroes in Charleston in 1785. His instructions, dated Oct. 19, 1784, his wage agreement, and several letters relating to his sale are to be found in the Essex Institute, envelope marked "Slave Trade in Salem."

[287] ¹ Moses Brown Papers, VI. 2.

² North Carolina's prohibitory act, passed in 1786, had gone into effect Feb. 1, 1787. South Carolina passed an act of prohibition Mar. 28, 1787. Du Bois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, p. 229.

[288] ¹ Moses Brown Papers, VI. 11.

I have it in Contemplation to Fit the Ship *Genl. Washington* to the East Indies in which Case Shall not be any more Concern'd in the Guiney Trade. . . .

289. DR. SAMUEL HOPKINS TO MOSES BROWN, 1787.¹

NEWPORT, Oct. 22, 1787.

My kind friend: I thank you for your two letters of the 9th and 15th Inst. and for the news papers you have sent me. I have received those which contain the last Part of *Crito*.² Those containing the first part, which you say you ordered to be forwarded to me, have not yet come to hand. Perhaps they have not been sent. Mr. Foster has undertaken to get the transcript you sent me inserted in the *Herald*. I did not receive it soon enough to be inserted last week. I have been hoping for Ramsey's treatise,³ and am sorry to inform you I have not yet received it. Hope it will come safe. I am hurt by the doings of the convention respecting the Slave Trade.⁴ It is as you Suppose. They have carefully secured the practice of it in these States for 20 years, and prevented any Asylum for slaves during that term, unless every individual State, should suppress this trade. They have taken it out of the hands of congress. We cannot determine That the major part of the delegates were pledged with

[289] ¹ Moses Brown Papers, VI. 15.

² Hopkins was the author of an essay, signed *Crito*, published in the *Providence Gazette and Country Journal*, Oct. 6 and 13, 1787. This may have been the one which the Newport editor refused to print. Copies of the essay, sent by Moses Brown to the members of the Rhode Island legislature, Hopkins thought helped to bring about the prohibitory legislation. Early the next year he corresponded with Brown over printing it in other places. Hopkins, *Works*, I. 122, II. 613-624.

³ James Ramsay had before this date published three pamphlets. The one which obtained widest circulation, and to which reference is probably here made, was *An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies* (1784).

⁴ The convention referred to is of course the Constitutional Convention, which had just completed its labors in Philadelphia. "Some of the Delegates appologize for its [the Constitution's] imperfections particularly in respect to that part which appears to give countenance to the Slave trade for twenty one years, tho' the construction they put on those Sections is, that they only limit the power of the Federal Legislature, and are not intended to restrain the Legislatures of the respective States from enacting such laws, or Supplements to laws already in force, as they shall judge expedient for the prohibition of the trade, or the abolition of Slavery within their own jurisdiction, and some of our Lawyers have given their opinion to the same purport; There was a desire prevailed in the Convention to subvert the enormous traffic, which the Representatives from So. Carolina, and the adjacent States being aware of, vigorously opposed, and is said to be the sole cause of this very inconsistent part of their System professed to be founded on liberal principles, and is given out among other reasons by the Virginia delegates who declined Signing, for their dessent; However should the plan be adopted, which seems not to be improbable; it will be requisite for the advocates for the Enslaved negroes to consider, whether consistent with their laudable desire for their emancipation and the suppression of the iniquitous Commerce to Africa for Slaves, they ought not firmly to remonstrate against those very exceptionable parts of a Constitution said to be intended to hold up a standard of impartial Liberty." James Pemberton to Brown, Philadelphia, Nov. 16, 1787, Moses Brown Papers, VI. 18.

this. Some of the Southern delegates no doubt, insisted upon it that the introduction of slaves should be secured, and obstin[a]tely refused to consent to any constitution, which did not secure it. The others therefore consented, rather than have no constitution, or one in which the delegates should not be unanimous. I fear this is an Action, which will bring a curse, for that we cannot prosper. At the same time it appears to me that if this constitution be not adopted by the States, as it now stands, we shall have none, and nothing but anarchy and confusion can be expected. . . .

It has been objected by some of the ministers against preferring a memorial to the General Assembly respecting the Slave trade, That the present ruling part in the Assembly, have appeared to be so destitute of all principles of justice, or regard to it, and have acted such an iniquitous part, that there is an impropriety in applying to them for justice; especially for the ministers of the Gospel to do it, whom they hold in the highest contempt, and would embrace any opportunity to pour contempt upon them, which we should give them by laying such a petition before them. This prevents any thing of that kind being done at present.⁵

290. ACT TO PREVENT THE SLAVE TRADE, 1787.¹

An Act to prevent the slave trade, and to encourage the abolition of slavery.

Whereas the trade to Africa for slaves, and the transportation and selling of them into other countries, is inconsistent with justice, and the principles of humanity, as well as the laws of nature, and that more enlightened and civilized sense of freedom which has of late prevailed: and whereas, the General Congress of the United States, in the year 1774, taking the said trade into consideration, agreed and resolved as follows: "That we will neither import nor purchase any slaves imported after the first day of December next; after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels or sell our

⁵ In August Dr. Hopkins wrote: "I do not think it likely that the Assembly will take the matter up, so as to do anything against the slave trade, at the next session. If they do not wholly dismiss the petition I shall be glad. I have pretty good evidence that some of them speak fair words to you and your friends, who yet are determined against doing anything against the slave trade. I enclose to you an Essay which I have attempted to get published in the *Newport Herald*. And the printer promised me that he would insert the whole of it, at the head of his paper, this week, so that it should be out before the sitting of the Assembly. But he has since told me that he cannot print it, and has returned it. He says he has consulted his friends, and they tell him that it will greatly hurt his interest to do it; that there is so large a number of his customers, either in the slave trade, or in such connection with them, or so disposed with respect to it, to whom it will give the greatest offence, that it is not prudent for him to do it." Hopkins to Brown, Aug. 13, 1787, Moses Brown Papers, VI. 11.

[290] ¹ "Proceedings of the General Assembly," *R. I. Recs.*, X. 262.

commodities or manufactures to those that are:" Nevertheless, forgetful of the danger which then impended, and inattentive to the principles of justice and sound policy manifested in the aforesaid resolution, a renewal of the African trade for slaves has been entered into by divers inhabitants of this state: For the prevention whereof,

Be it enacted by this General Assembly, and by the authority thereof it is enacted, that no citizen of this state, or other person residing within the same, shall for himself or any other person whatsoever either as master, factor, or owner of any vessel, directly or indirectly import or transport, buy or sell, or receive on board their vessel with intent to cause to be imported or transported from their native country, any of the natives or inhabitants of any state or kingdom in that part of the world called Africa, as slaves, or without their voluntary consent.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every citizen, inhabitant, or resident, as aforesaid, who shall import or transport, or cause to be imported or transported, any of the said inhabitants of Africa, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, and be thereof lawfully convicted, shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, lawful money, for every person by him or them so imported or transported; and the sum of one thousand pounds for every vessel by him or them employed in the importation or transportation aforesaid, to be recovered by bill, complaint, or information before the superior court, or either of the inferior courts within this state: the one moiety whereof shall be paid into the general treasury for the use of this state, the other moiety to and for the use of the person or persons who shall prosecute for the recovery the same,

Provided, nevertheless, that this act do not extend to vessels which have already sailed, their owners, factors, or commanders, for and during their present voyage.²

² From the tone of the correspondence between Brown and Hopkins in the months preceding this meeting of the General Assembly one may gather that the abolitionists themselves did not expect the passage of this measure. Indeed, one is puzzled to account for its success. The Newport deputies were the same as those of 1785 and 1786 with the addition of William Tripp, and among the entire body of deputies there had been few changes in the two years past. Christopher Champlin and Esek Hopkins were no longer in the Assembly, which may or may not have had significance; but Caleb Gardner, who sent vessels to Africa in 1786, 1787, 1788, and 1789, had become one of the "assistants," and George Champlin was still among the Newport deputies. As soon as the bill was passed those who had been working for it turned their attention to Connecticut. Within a month Hopkins sent a number of newspaper articles thither for republication, with these comments: "Is it not extraordinary that this State, which has exceeded the rest of the States in carrying on this trade, should be the first Legislature on this globe which has prohibited that trade? Let them have the praise of this; especially as the Assembly were so nearly unanimous, there being but four dissenting voices. If Boston and Connecticut should not join us in this, I fear this law will soon be like some other Rhode Island laws" (Hopkins to Levi Hart, Nov. 27, 1787, Hopkins, *Works*, I. 123). About this time Brown wrote to Hopkins that plans were already on foot to carry on the African trade from Middletown and Norwich. See Hopkins to Hart, *ibid.*, pp. 123, 158.

291. JONATHAN EDWARDS TO MOSES BROWN, 1788.¹

NEW HAVEN, Oct. 20, 1788.

Dear Sir, . . . I inclose a copy of the late act of our Assembly² concerning the slave trade. I am mortified, as I dare say you will be, that the bill was so mutilated in the upper house. You will find, there is nothing in this law, to prevent the exportation of slaves, and of servants born since March 1st 1784. I expect that now the poor creatures will be carried out in ship-loads. I have heard since the passing of this law, of one man employed in purchasing Negroes for exportation. The lower house were not pleased with the law as it now stands; It passed it because the upper house would not do better. Mr. Mitchel of Wether[s]field is said to be the chief cause of the mischief. I wish you and two or three of your friends had tarried a few days longer; I conceive it might have answered a good purpose. Or if you will come up with another memorial on the fifth of January when the Assembly is to meet in this city again, I will join with you in another attempt.³ If you should conclude upon this measure, I wish you to inform me of it and also wish that you would as far as may be, inform yourself of any facts relating to the exporting of slaves or of children born since March 1st 1784, from this State.

. . .

[291] ¹ Moses Brown Papers, VI. 45. Brown and Hopkins had for some time been sending literature to the Rev. Jonathan Edwards the younger, minister in New Haven, who was a member of a committee of clergy appointed to petition the New Hampshire and Connecticut legislatures for a law abolishing the trade. From both of these states Rhode Island vessels bound for Africa were said to be clearing. No prohibitory law was ever passed in New Hampshire, probably because the evil never assumed large proportions. *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 49.

² The Connecticut law was passed in October, 1788. New York had prohibited the trade in February of that year; the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania acts were passed in March. Du Bois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, pp. 230-233.

³ The law was somewhat modified in 1789. *Ibid.*, p. 233.

292. ACCOUNTS OF THE PACIFIC, 1789-1790.¹

Dr. The Owners of Ship "Pacific," Acct. With Danl. Gardner Cr.

		£	s.	d.	
1789	To my Bill of Dis-				
May 29th	bursementts	482.	5	3	
	To my Commiss'n on				
	Sales the Amo't				
	26059 ps at 5 pr Ct.	310.			
	To my Coast Com-				
	miss'n on 24749 ps				
	at 4 on 104	960			
	To Cash 251 ¹ / ₈ Joes				
	at 11 ps pr Jo	2817.	2.	3	
	To the following Bills				
	of Exchange on				
	Messrs. Alexander				
	Houstoun and Co.				
	in Glasgow Vizt.				
	1 Sett for £300				
	1 Do. 350				
	1 Do. 250				
	1 Do. 200				
					at 6 Mo.
		1100			
	1 Sett for 200				
	1 Do. 247. 16. 9				
	1 Do. 300				
	1 Do. 400				
					at 9 Mo.
		1147.	16.	9	
	1 Sett for 250				
	1 Do 257				
	1 Do 300				
	1 Do 400				
					at 12 Mo.
					say 200
					1207
		£3454.	16.	9	
					20489
	21112 and odd pieces Exchange at 77 ¹ / ₂				26059

Memorandum

1000 Dollars of the 251¹/₈ Joes recd: June 26 by Wm. Vernon Esq. and a bill of £400 Sterling recd: at the same time drawn on the Coast of Africa which sold for 2¹/₂ pr Cent above par also 412³/₄ oz. Gold Dust recei'd at the same time by same conveyance The above Bill for £400 sterling capt. Gardner purchased on the Coast for one hundred Ounces of Gold dust belonging to his Cargo.

ST. EUSTATIA
29th May 1789
Errors Excepted
pr. DAN'L GARDNER

1789	[Pieces eight]
May 29th	By 139 Slaves
at 17 Joes pr Head	25993
By 1 Do at 6 Do	66
	26059

Memorandum
300 capt. Gardner by mistake left this sett of his Bills for £300 at nine months and took the Owners for £200 of the same sight.

Memorandum
Capt. Gardner by mistake left this sett of his Bills for £200 at twelve months and took the owners of £300 of the same sight

[292] ¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

1789 May 29	To 139 Slaves sold at St. Eustatio at 17 Joes pr Head To 1 do. at 4 do.	25993. 66.	
	To an Over charge to Owners in their proportion of Mortality 134. 6	134. 6	
		26193. 6	
1789 Do. May 11	To Ballance p Contra of ps 8 464. 3 is Dollars 337 7/8 Supra Cr Recd by Wm. Vernons Dollars Do. by Ditto of Peleg Clark	150 200	

1789 May 29	By Bill of disbursements in the West Indies	482. 5. 3
	By commission on 26059 pieces eight a 5 pr Cent. being the amount of Sales of Cargo at St. Eustatia	1302. 7. 3
	By coast commission on 24756. 0. 3 pieces eight at 4 on 104	952. 1. 1
	By Bills of Exchange on Glasgow for £3454. 16. 6 Sterling at £177. 10 currency for £100 is £6132. 6. 6 at 6/ for a peice eight	20441. 0. 4
June 26	By Cash paid Owners 1000 dollars	1375.
	By Bills of disburstments for wages etc. after the arrival of the Ship £253. 18. 10	1163. 7.
	By 5 pr Cent commission on 134. 6 pieces eight over-charge in mortality	6. 5. 5
	By coast do. on do. 4 on 104	4. 7. 2
		11. 5. 1
	By balance due	
		25729. 3
		464. 3
		26193. 6

BOSTON 13 January 1790
Errors excepted for Owners
SAM (?) BROWN

³This adds to the preceding account and modifies it slightly.

293. WILLIAM ROTCH, JR., TO MOSES BROWN, 1789.¹

NEW BEDFORD, 5 mo 6 1789.

Esteemed Friend, Moses Brown, A circumstance has taken place here within the knowledge of several friends as also by their advice, which we should all have been glad had been undertaken by or in behalf of the Society for the abolition of Slavery,² but the urgency of the occasion not admitting time to consult or inform them, and not knowing how far individuals not qualified to represent the body might act, favoured the conclusion not to take up the matter in their behalf. The Brig't *Hope*³ John Stanton master arrived at Westport (Acoaxet) on the 3d inst (after laying several days at Howlands Ferry) late from Africa and West Indies, the Capn with Caleb Gardner came over here to enter the Brig'n from St. Martin's and clear the Cargo for Newport the 4th: and returned the Fifth, and the following particulars having been obtained *vizt.* that she sailed from Boston in 6th mo last for Africa thence brot 116 Slaves, and sold them in West Indies, that application was now made for a new Register, to change the name of Vessel, Capn. and Owners and that after Sheathing she was to proceed to Boston for a Cargo Rum to prosecute another Voyage, thus informed Wm. Gorden (Deputy

[293] ¹ Moses Brown Papers, VI. 67. William Rotch, jr., was the third member of his family concerned in New Bedford commerce. To them and the group of Friends with whom they were associated may be attributed the strong antislavery sentiment which prevailed in this place throughout the eighteenth century.

² This refers to the Providence Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade organized in February, 1789, of which Moses Brown was an active member from the beginning. Its constitution is printed in Hazard, *College Tom*, app. xvi., pp. 256-260; the act of incorporation, with a list of members, including many from Massachusetts and a few from Connecticut, as well as those from Rhode Island, is in *R. I. Recs.*, X. 382-385. A "Citizen," writing in the *Providence Gazette*, February, 1789, objected to the organization since it might injure the reputations of the slave traders, some of whom were "the best citizens of Newport," and also since it tended to prevent the slave trade, which was a real benefit to the Africans, as it saved them from the barbarities of their native land and introduced them into civilized regions. The writer added that the spirit of the society was adverse to the Constitution of the United States, one article of which was made on purpose to prevent the injustice which the society and its adherents were practising (Hopkins, *Works*, I. 126-127). The "Citizen" was answered by a number of writers and a most acrimonious series of letters ensued (*United States Chronicle*, Feb. 19, through March), in the midst of which John Brown wrote to Moses: "Brother Moses, I wish to know weether you are the author of the ps signed 'a friend' tho a [*illegible*] to a Citizen as printed in the Last Saturdays paper. P. S. I might have given up my name as the Author of the Citizen had not the Billet you coate from the printer advised my not gratifying the Inquirer." Moses Brown Papers, VI. 57.

³ The *Hope* had cleared from Newport for Africa June 26, 1787, registered from that place. She cleared again for Africa on Oct. 3, 1789, this time registered from New Bedford. The *United States Chronicle*, June 4, 1789, contained the following item: "A MAN. An action of debt, on the lately enacted law of Massachusetts prohibiting the African trade, is commenced by William Gordon, Esq. of Bedford, at the Inferior Court to be held in the County of Bristol, in that State, on the 9th day of September next, against Caleb Gardner, of Newport, and Nathaniel Briggs of Tiverton, Owners, and John Stanton of said Newport, Captain of the brigantine *Hope*, lately returned into one of the ports of that State, from discharging a cargo of the wretched inhabitants of Africa in the West Indies."

Sherriff) took out a Writ agreeable to the Slave Trade Law of this State including Caleb Gardner, Nathl. Briggs and John Stanton, with Summons for them to appear before Edw Pope Esqr. the 22d of 6 mo next, which writ was served upon them very unexpectedly this morning after Sun rising, but unfortunately before the Subpoena was served upon the Sailors, they found means to cross the River into your State, and altho it is left in an officers hand to watch their return I have no expectation evidence will be obtained from them. I hope care will be taken to procure sufficient evidence to prove that the said Brig. brought from Africa *Slaves* either by the people of said Vessel and others that have been there, without going to the West Indies therefor. They obtained a bondsman for their appearance, and told the Officer, "they were not residents in this State and that the Vessel was not owned by them, but by some person in New York wherefore the action could not stand," this was all the plea that was made, if its found either of the three persons were not resident in this State at the time the Brig was fitted out the action will be drop'd with that person, but as this was not ascertained the whole were taken in and the day of trial was put at a distance in order that knowledge might be obtained. The Sum sued for is £6000. Gordon will send to Newport to obtain the depositions of the people who were in the Brign but your assistance will doubtless facilitate. I have recommended his applying to Lyman. I expect to be in Boston all next week, and shall be very glad to hear from thee on this subject by post doubtless proof can be had there of this Vessels carrying Slaves to Martinico.

The Sailors informed they left Rhode Island State to avoid prosecution.

The declaration to the writ will be sent to Boston and if it is not properly drawn our law admits of another being filed any time before the Court.

The Brigs Register is now in the office, Gardner and Briggs Owners.⁴

294. WILLIAM ROTCH, JR. TO MOSES BROWN, 1789.¹

BOSTON 5 mo. 16, 1789.

Esteemed Friend, Moses Brown, I was much pleased this evening in finding a letter from thee, as I fear'd a conveyance for my letter was too uncertain to get it to hand in season. I am glad to find thy approbation in our proceedings and that it will be assisted by the society. T Dawes Jr is engaged in the case (sincerely) he has now

⁴ This note is added in a different hand from that of the body of the letter.

[294] ¹ Moses Brown Papers, VI. 70.

gone to N York and will consult the best Council there, to find if the State law will be any way superceded by the Federal Constitution. I have also engaged Chr'r Gore,² an Attorney much approved, who engages from principle, and assures me there is not an attorney in the State, who is not oppos'd to the traffic. I find all orders of men here are averse to it, and seem pleas'd with the effort to suppress it, except a few hot heads, one Sam Brown from your parts a principal, these have made a considerable noise, and have been very severe upon the Quakers and abolition Society. Sullivan is absent at Barnstable Court. I have left a state of the Case with S Eliot who will engage him in it. J. Lowell is also gone and would also be applied to but from a hope he will be app'td judge of the Federal Court is thou't best not to consult him as Councillor as his Candour would not admit of his afterward judging the Case, and if the prosecution continues its likely they may appeal to that Court.³ No person can be more favourably disposed than himself.

I have got from the Naval Office here a certificate of the Clearance, and inclose thee a list of the hands from the Book of clearances, that they may be known by the society and their disposition taken. The N Officer inquir'd the cause of my application, and offered every service in his way to prosecute the matter. I have not been able to find where the Owners lodged in Town, have had a person to make enquiry, who stopped on being cited to the Quakers who it was supposed had gained the knowledge but it will be easy to find who of them were here. . . . You will pursue the matter with diligence, and will take the deposition of a Capn. Smith just in from Martinico who was there when Stanton arrived.

I agree with thee in sentiment that its not the money that is the object and the prosecutor would willingly relinquish every Idea of pecuniary advantage, but I believe the Cause must be supported and carried to a length that will clearly convince those traders, they are fully in our power before any proposal of that kind be made, as it will be construed as apprehension we could not support the case.

An Israelite from Newport—M S⁴ now in Town, has said, he wished to see the operation of this matter, if those persons who have associated and made a great noise, will step forth and shew themselves openly to oppose the Trafic, and (I also infer) if the case should fail he might venture to engage [a]gain in it.

² Greater talent the abolitionists could scarcely have enlisted. Thomas Dawes, jr., was not long after made judge of the supreme court of Massachusetts; Christopher Gore was soon to become the first district attorney for Massachusetts, and later governor and United States senator. Both Gore and Dawes had been sitting in the Massachusetts convention which ratified the Federal Constitution.

³ John Lowell was appointed United States judge for the district of Massachusetts not long after this.

⁴ Moses Seixas (?).

The lawless advocates have pleased themselves with this expectation that when money come to be called for the prosecution would cease, but they have been informed, it will not be the least impediment.

I have engaged a person just going for Martinico, to procure a Certificate of the [*torn*] of the Vessel from there, should any [*torn*] they knowlege it will be well to [*torn*] likewise. . . . Briggs took out a Register in name of his Brother Thos Briggs I think of Pownall Preasant New York, and shew'd our Officer his instructions from him, for the last outfit. C Gore thinks we had best get some of our friends to make some enquiries of him to find if he has any knowledge or concern in the matter before he shall be inform'd by his brother, as I know not where to apply, I wish thou would take some step to find this.

And should thou gain any necessary knowledge please to communicate it to me, also to Thos. Dawes Junr or C Gore. I hope you will be able to get depositions from some of the hands which will substantiate the Fact.⁵

295. DR. SAMUEL HOPKINS TO MOSES BROWN, 1789.¹

NEWPORT November 18, 1789.

Dear Sir, . . . I learn that it is a question before the Society, or the committee, Whether any prosecutions shall be commenced against those whose vessels sailed on the slave trade, before the institution of the society; but since the law made in this State took place? It appears to me, and I believe to most of the members in this town, if not all, that if this question should be determined in the negative, the consequence will be very hurtful to the Society, if not fatal. The past neglect to prosecute, and the known hesitation respecting it, has had a great and apparent effect already. The slave traders are more bold and resolute to go on in the trade,² and entertain a low and contemptuous thought of the Society. And if the prosecutions in question should be finally dropped, I am confident it will sink the Society in the view of the public in general, and we shall lose our influence, and the design of the institution will be, in a

⁵ Rotch wrote in July that two sailors from the *Hope* had been summoned but that no information could be obtained from them. They were to be committed for contempt of court, and depositions were to be taken to prove Caleb Gardner's residence at the time of the brig's outfit. Gardner must, as a matter of fact, have been a member of the Rhode Island Assembly at about that time. For the further history of this case see *post*, no. 297.

[295] ¹ Moses Brown Papers, VI. 88.

² "Since the Restrictions lately laid on the Trade to Africa by the British Legislature, no less than Forty Sail of Vessels have been fitted out for that Coast in the States of New England." Petition of manufacturers, shipbuilders, shipholders, and traders of Bristol, *Commons Journals*, XLIV. 354.

great measure defeated. I think that lenity, in this case, or any thing that looks like irresolution, neglect and dilatoriness, will fix a slur on the society which cannot easily be wiped off; but will sink it into discredit. . . .

Mr. Hart informs me that a number of Merchants in Norwich have lately gone into the slave trade. But it is under such cover that he knows not that such evidence of the fact can be obtained, as to afford ground for a legal prosecution. Perhaps time will bring forth evidence.

296. BENJAMIN HADWEN TO MOSES BROWN, 1790.¹

NEWPORT 6 mo. 1790.

Respected Friend, Moses Brown, John B. Thurstin of this Town, who married Molly Denniss has had two offers to go Master of Slave Vessels to the Coast of Africa in C. Gardner and P. Clarkes employ but he is very much averse to the Business would be glad to get a birth as mate on board of a Merchantman but Says if he can't get any Such he is afraid he Shall be done there against his will he has been in John Williams Employ and gave Satisfaction but that Vessle is gone fishing, C G and P C are Continually importuing him to go but he is and all his friends are against it, if he can have a mate's birth at Providence and be diverted from an African Slave Voyage I shall think the pain I have Taken in Writing will be Well bestowed. Please let me know as Soon as possible in haste ²

297. CASE OF THE *HOPE*, 1792.¹

Gordon vs. Gardner and Others.

. . . The said action was entered at the Court of Common Pleas, at Taunton, in the County of Bristol, in Sept. 1789, and, on account of various objections from time to time made by the defendants to the formalities of the process, was continued to March, 1791, when it was tried.

[296] ¹ Moses Brown Papers, VII. 21.

² While distilling and the slave trade were closely bound together during these years, not everyone concerned in the former was also engaged in the latter: "I presume you have been Acquainted that Francis Malbone is a Candidate for a Representative to Congress—his opponents may endeavor to prejudice the minds of many of the good People of this State against him as being friendly to the Slave Trade. Mr. Malbone since the War has and now is Concerned in a large Distillery and his Circumstances otherways favourable for prosecuting the Afffrican Trade, but those leading motives with the addition of that powerfull Argument the prospect of much gain, have not been Sufficient to Induce him to be concerned in the Slave Trade." George Champlin to Moses Brown, Aug. 15, 1792, Moses Brown Papers, VIII. 4.

[297] ¹ *Salem Gazette*, Jan. 24, 31, 1792. See T. C. Amory, *Life of James Sullivan*, II. 15-16, and *ante*, no. 68. Though the case was brought in Massachusetts it concerned a Rhode Island vessel and most of the individuals involved belonged to Rhode Island. It has therefore been placed with Rhode Island material.

Judge Howell, of Providence, President of the Abolition Society, opened the cause, and stated the case: that John Stanton was commander of the brigantine *Hope*;² and Caleb Gardner an owner: that in the spring of 1788, she was rigged, victualled and manned at Newport; then went to Boston, where she took in her cargo of rum, etc. which said Stanton and Gardner purchased just before at Medford, in person: that she cleared out at Boston for the Cape of Good Hope, but went to Africa, and took on board more than one hundred slaves, besides one born afterwards on the passage: that the said Stanton proceeded with them in said brigantine to the West Indies, performed quarantine for the smallpox, and then sold them for slaves. Judge Howell then read the various depositions in the case, clearly proving all the foregoing facts; and then applied the Act of the Commonwealth, which he said was an honor to Massachusetts, who indeed had in many instances offered an example for freemen:

. . . The Defendants, he said, belonged to his own state; but he knew no distinctions favorable to place, when he was pleading the cause of humanity. . . . It was his opinion, he said, that were they to forfeit the whole sum of 50 *l.* for each unhappy victim to their avarice, and 200 *l.* for the vessel employed, it would be but justice according to the law, and infinitely less than they merited on the principle of natural equality. He enlarged on the particulars of the transaction; but said, as he could not tell what the defence would be, and as that defence would be answered by a gentleman engaged with him, who would close the case, he should leave it to a righteous jury of Massachusetts.

Mr. Channing (Att'y-General of Rhode Island) then opened the defence, and said, that he could not controvert the facts of fitting out the vessel for the purposes described in the writ, nor the fact of her really taking the 100 persons from the coast of Africa, and afterwards selling them for slaves in the West-Indies, in manner declared in the writ. One fact, however he should deny, *viz.* that the defendants were residents of Massachusetts when the crime was committed; and if even it should be found that they were residents, yet if they were not citizens, he should deny the authority of Massachusetts to controul their actions beyond the sea. He thought it hard, very hard, and illiberal, for this Commonwealth, to meddle with the actions or consciences of the people of Rhode island. It was quite enough that they were amenable to the laws of their own State. Rhode island had taken as good care of her citizens' conduct relative to the slave-trade as Massachusetts

²The *Hope* was apparently still trading in slaves. On Apr. 16 she was spoken on her voyage from Anamabo to St. Eustatius with 75 slaves, under Captain Millenword. *Salem Gazette*, May 22, 1792.

had—they had a similar Act, and it was almost copied by the one on which the present action was grounded. If Massachusetts were to take this money from his clients, the same thing might afterwards be done by Rhodeisland: For the vessel was fitted as much in the latter state as in the former; and in this way there might be no end to oppression. That a man should suffer only once for an offence was a doctrine he had never heard disputed: But a very different doctrine must be the result of a conviction of his clients in the present action. He was most sanguine, he said, that his defense was on strong and legal grounds. He did not know how the Jury might feel, he was sensible of a great influence against his clients—the action was nominally the action of Gordon, an individual—but it must be evident to all, who were the patrons of the suit—the number of the Society of Friends and of the Abolition Society, that always attended the cause at every term, shew clearly the real Plaintiffs of the action. But his clients were not to be borne down. He inveighed against the constitutionality of the statute; and said, that such an one was never heard of before in any part of the globe. If it meant to controul the actions of a foreigner done in Africa or the West-Indies, because that foreigner once passed through Massachusetts, it was absurd, and so far could not be a law, but a dead letter. He apprehended, however, that the law did not really intend, by the word resident a Rhodeislander, who only touched at Boston to take in or purchase rum and depart; but that the word resident was tantamount to inhabitant; and upon this distinction the law might be better understood and carried into effect; and the inhabitants of each State controuled by their own, and not by a foreign legislation. He conceived, he said, that the same objections would go to the second as well as to the first count in the writ, so far as applied to mere residents; for even in the second count for the 200 *l.* the charge was not only the fitting out at Boston but the actual transporting slaves out of the jurisdiction of the commonwealth.

Mr. Channing was followed in his defence by Gov. Bradford,³ of Rhode island who on the same side enlarged on the principles before stated. He went particularly into the evidence of his clients' residency at any time in Massachusetts; and dwelt long, with great force, on the danger there might be of a double conviction. He endeavored to demonstrate that however erroneous might have been the conduct of his clients, it would be infinitely better for society, that they should escape the forfeiture, than a doctrine be introduced, subversive of the safety of mankind. This would be doing wrong, that right might

³ Gov. William Bradford was the father-in-law of Charles Collins and James De Wolf, both of whom were heavily engaged in the Rhode Island slave trade.

take place; this would be establishing the blacks in the present instance, but destroying the rights of both blacks and whites in all cases. He was for the rights of all. The Governor concluded with his usual candor and generosity of pleading and left the case to the jury, who he was sure would intend right in whatever verdict they might give.

Judge Dawes of Boston, then closed the cause for the Plaintiffs. He said it was now near nine o'clock at night, and he should consider the condition of the Court and Jury, who had been so long detained. He did not know what use it could be to the defendants to consider the Abolition Society as the actual Plaintiffs in this prosecution; it was surely not less meritorious on that account and indeed there was less suspicion that the money to be forfeited, was the object of the action. But be that as it may, there was a citizen named in the writ to whom the Law had given the right of action. The wisdom of the Legislature was conspicuous in this circumstance. They knew that what was every one's business was nobody's; And as the principles of humanity might not always be inducement sufficient to bring forward a prosecution; they have set avarice against avarice, and given half the forfeiture to any prosecutor. Though in the present case the plaintiff is not charged with such views, for the defendants say he is only the nominal prosecutor. To establish the Law was the object, not money. To demonstrate this, Mr. Dawes said he should not rely at all on the first count in the declaration which sought the forfeiture of five thousand pounds for the one hundred slaves, and in this he had the support of his client whoever it was. There were two counts: The first alledging that the defendants being only residents and not citizens of Massachusetts, transported slaves from Africa to the West Indies. He should not now consider the question whether the act could or could not controul them, being citizens of another State, for transporting those slaves beyond sea. For he relinquished that first count altogether—the second count in the writ charges those defendants, whilst resident at Boston, with fitting a vessel out for the Slave Trade, by which they forfeit two hundred pounds. On this he should rely, and had not a doubt of success. Much had been said against the merits of the Act. He should leave its merits to other people; as he himself when on the Boston seat, in the Legislation, had, on the request of the Abolition Society, who were now present, introduced the Act, being a copy of the Rhode-Island statute. For this deed he should at least never feel any compunction. As to the power of the Act to controul a Rhode-Islander, whilst at Boston, he thought no man in his senses could doubt. The Act names citizens, inhabitants, residents. The different qualities are clear. The law may punish the first for an act done both at home

and abroad, the two last for crimes committed here whilst resident here. A foreigner coming to Taunton, and abiding only a minute or long enough to commit a theft there, is indictable and is called in such indictment, resident at Taunton. Allegiance is twofold, perpetual and temporary. The latter is what a foreigner owes to our laws while he is among us, be the time ever so short, and he owes it in return for the protection he receives at the same time. No lawyer will doubt this. The second count only charges a fitting out at Boston with an intention to transport slaves. It is true the law is careful that nothing shall be admitted as evidence of such intention but the fact of transporting and selling slaves afterwards in the same voyage. Now all this is proved, and the defendants are afterwards found here and prosecuted on the statute for an act they commenced when among us.

In answer to the other objection that the defendants might be in danger of double punishment, because they had fitted out in both States, Judge Dawes said, if this was true, they must thank their own folly for committing the crime twice. But he apprehended no difficulty on this head, because the only place of fitting was the port where the vessel and cargo were cleared out, and that was Boston.

He said the gentlemen who had spoken for the defendants had managed the case with great address, and had taken care to confess the principal facts of buying and selling the negroes in order to foreclose any observation, on the depositions to that point. He did not wonder they wanted to forget those depositions. The fact proved was a scandal to humanity—above a hundred of the human race, forced from their native shores, husbands from wives, parents from children—handcuffed, and fettered, and crammed into a ship's bottom, and what remained of them carried to the West Indies, after performing quarentine for the small pox, and sold for slaves, condemned to sup sorrow all their days one poor woman among the hundred delivered on the passage of a wretched infant, to add new cries to distress—her husband then in Africa, brooding on his family's woes, and imploring the judgment of Almighty God upon the Christians. But, he said, he should not enlarge, the case was one more in the catalogue of the African slave trade, though it was not so bad as one tried at Guild-Hall, in which case it appeared that the master of a ship selected a hundred and thirty-two of the most sickly of his slaves, and had them thrown to the sharks, in order to recover their value from the insurers.

The Hon. Walter Spooner, for the whole Court, then gave the case to the Jury, in a very impartial manner, and the Jury being about to withdraw, one of them stood up and said, I beg your Honor

will tell me what is a resident? To which his Honor replied, "Friend, you are a resident here while sitting in that seat."

(The Jury then went out and soon agreed in their verdict, which was delivered into Court next morning, *viz.* That the Defendants, were indebted, according to the second count, the sum of two hundred pounds. From which the Defendants appealed to the Supreme Court.)

In October, 1791, at the Supreme Judicial Court at Taunton, the said action was heard on the said appeal, when Judge Dawes opened the cause for the Plaintiff, and stated the same evidence that had been heard at the Common Pleas, relying only on the second count in the writ: Mr. Channing and Governor Bradford then defended the action in the same ingenious and able manner as they had done in the Court below; after which the Attorney General of Massachusetts took upon him the close of this action.

The Attorney-General, Mr. Sullivan closed the cause on the part of the Plaintiffs, with as able and as elegant a speech as perhaps was ever heard at the bar of the Supreme Court. We cannot pretend to follow him through the vast variety, which his ingenuity and ardent and prolific imagination led him. Suffice it to say, that he amply refuted the arguments advanced on the other side. We cannot, however, refrain from stating a few ideas thrown out by that great Lawyer—who is an honor to his profession, and deserves the approbation of his country. He maintained, that if the defendants did not gain a residency, agreeably to the true intent and meaning of the statute, by fitting out their vessel at Boston, (the fitting out at Boston not being denied) and the accomplishment of the design intended by the fitting out, it would be in the power of any man to evade the force of the Act. It was very true, he said, that penal statutes ought in general to have a strict and rigid construction, But the statute on which the action in question was founded, very much differed from all other penal statutes so that the arguments adduced by the defendants counsel could not apply in the present case: For said he, an Act which was made to restrain the inordinant lusts of men—to prevent that havock and destruction, which reigns in one part of the globe—ought to have a more liberal construction—such a construction as to answer the purposes of the Legislature. The Jury, he further contended, ought not to be tender in finding the defendants guilty—and subject them to the forfeiture of the sum sued for—since their minds were so hardened against every feeling of humanity and compassion, as to throw hundreds of their fellow men into perpetual bondage and wretchedness; and since too they have made such a vast sum of money by the inhuman traffic.

The Court were unanimously of opinion, that the fitting out of the vessel at Boston, and afterwards proceeding on her voyage and the carrying into execution the original intent, viz. the obtaining of slaves—brought the defendants within the purview of the statute. They said that, as the facts were agreed to—the first question was—What was the design of the Legislature in making the statute? If it was to have the operation as stated by the defendant’s counsel, the design of it would be defeated—for foreigners might fit out their vessels among us—our merchants be privately concerned and perhaps reap as much advantage from the barbarous traffic, as if the statute was not in being—and we should not be able to punish them because their being here, and their trading and fitting out their vessels from our ports, would not gain them a residency. Indeed the statute ought to be so construed as to effect the purposes for which it was made. When can a man be said to be a resident? The common acceptance of the word is, that when the place of a man’s citizenship is not accurately known—and when he is transiently here and there—so that wherever he is, he may be said to be a resident of that place. This definition of a residency seems to comport with the common acceptation of the term, and is agreeable to the Law.

The Jury found the Defendants guilty and assessed two hundred pounds for the plaintiffs.

After which the Defendants’ counsel moved an arrest of judgment, which is to be argued February term, at Boston.⁴

298. NEWPORT CUSTOM-HOUSE ENTRIES, 1794-1795.¹

Date	Vessel	Master	Voyage
1794, Aug. 12	<i>Abigail</i>	Rowan	Cleared for Africa
“ 12	<i>Washington</i>	Hicks	“ “ “
1795, Apr. 7	<i>Abigail</i>	Rowan	Entered from Africa
Sept. 29	<i>Sally</i>	Manchester	Cleared for Africa
Oct. 5	<i>Whim</i>	Ambrose	“ “ “
Oct. 13	<i>Hannah</i>	Cook ²	“ “ “
Nov. 3	<i>Fair Eliza</i>	Smith	“ “ “
Nov. 10	<i>Blackney</i>	Gardner	“ “ “
Dec. 2	<i>William</i>	Wood	“ “ “
“ “	<i>Peat</i>	Vilett	“ “ “

⁴ The verdict was sustained.

[298] ¹ *Newport Mercury* of dates given. The fact that a vessel cleared for Africa by no means proves that it was a slaver, but it does place it under suspicion and makes it worth while to observe all further entries relating to it. A thorough search of newspapers for customs entries during the years 1789-1808 would give considerable aid in compiling a list of American vessels engaged in the trade. On Oct. 20, 1796, Zachary Macaulay wrote to Samuel Hopkins: “You will be sorry to learn that during the last year, the number of American slave traders on the coast has increased to an unprecedented degree. Were it not for their pertinacious adherence to that abominable traffic, it would, in consequence of the war, have been almost wholly abolished in our neighborhood.” Hopkins, *Works*, I. 152.

² Probably Capt. Joseph B. Cooke, who in 1793 or 1794, on board the *Nancy*,

299. ACCOUNTS OF THE *ASCENSION*, 1795-1798.¹*Sales of 283 Slaves sold viz.*

			Dollars
33 Sick with the Small Pox Sold at Mozambique for			1320
250 sold at Beaunos Ayres			
199 ----- at	235	46765	
6	180	1080	
8 Sickly	90	720	
33 Died on board			
4 Do at Montevideo			
250			48565
			49885
Charges thereon viz.			
Landing House vent etc. at Montevideo	168		
Freight to Beunos Ayres	213		
200 Blankets at \$2	400		
Land'g at Beunos Ayres etc.	38		
Docter Bill for sick slaves	52		
	871		
Paid Nemesis Palaces 5 pr Ct on the gross sale \$48565	2428		
			3299
			46586
3 pr Cent discount on \$45325 ²	[blotted]		1357.9
Neat sales of 283 slaves			45325
Average Price of Slaves	163.70		
15, Capt. Chases Priviledge	\$2455.50		
His Coms. 4 on 104 is	1594.56	4050.06	
4, Mr. Brattles chief mate Priviledge	654.80		
3, Mr. Clarks do. 2d mate	491.10		
1, Baxter	163.70	1309.60	
			5359.66
			39965.34
Bill disburstment at Montvid.			1129
Balance Due To the Owners			38836.34
Remitted by Mr. Clark	\$18050		
Ingot of Gold 114½ oz.	2078		
Bill of Exchange on the Havanna	2050		

suffered an uprising of his slaves in which several of them were killed. *Salem Gazette*, Jan. 28, 1794.

[299] ¹N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI. The loose sheets from which these accounts are taken give no clue as to the dates of the two sales here included. A memorandum on the trade of the *Ascension*, on paper of 1878, states that between 1795 and 1798 the vessel was owned by Peleg Clark, Caleb Gardner, and William Vernon, and was commanded by Samuel Chace. The vessel cleared for Mozambique in November, 1795 (*Newport Mercury*, Nov. 3, 1795). The captain bought goods at Rotterdam and the Isle de France with which he purchased 283 slaves at Mozambique. These he sold at Buenos Aires. There is no evidence as to the source of the slaves sold at Havana, nor can it be ascertained whether the Havana sale was later or earlier than that at Montevideo. Captain Chace and his vessel were captured in 1798.

²How this figure was obtained is not evident. Subtracting the charges from the gross sales seems to leave \$45266, three per cent. of which is \$1357.98. However the maker of the accounts obtained \$45325 and \$163.70, he continued to use them.

[Accounts of the "Ascension"—continued:]

Brought forward		\$25810		38836.34
Disburstments at Dominica If allowed		1582		23760
Remaining Ballance upon the sales at Monte Video			[blotted]	15076.34
Amount of Slaves Sold at the Havanna ³				31847
deduct Duties paid at St. Eustatia				208
				31639
25 Slaves remain Unsold at Havanna				3750
327 Slaves Averidges at the Havanna		108 doll'rs		35389
Received of Mr. Nagle 1/3				
Capt. Chase	13 Priviledge			
Mr. White	2½ do	250		38½
Mr. Brownel	1½ do	150		
Mr. Clark	1½ do	150		
Mr. Price	½ do	50		
Mr. Hudson	½ do	50		
Allen	½ do	50		
Sayer	½ do	50		
	20½			
Mr. Willson	1	100		
	21½	850		
		180 and ¼		
		669	¾	
Eighty 7 3/5 to be Deducted		142.52		
		38.50		
		181.2		
paid Labour on board Ship <i>Ascension</i>				
Sundry people 5 day	£9.	4		
To Wharfage 167 hhd. Molasses at 4	2.	15.	8	
To Cash paid for Privilage Slaves	255.			
To Ditto Wages of Ship	343.	4.	6	
To Ditto Custom House		5.	14	
To Mr. Babcock privilege	75			
To Phillip Burgess bill	3			
To 1 bbl. pitch 15		15		
To bbl. turpentine		18		
To Oakham 52 Oakham at 3½		15.	6	
To [illegible] bill	2.	0.	6	

300. JOURNAL OF THE SHIP *MARY*, 1795-1796.¹

Journal of a Voyage by Gods permission from Providence in the State of Rhode Island; towards Goree in Africa: on the Good Ship

³ All the evidence points to a steadily growing trade with Cuba. On June 19, 1792, Captain Camplin (Champlin?) reported that he left behind him at Havana the *Abeona*, Smith, of Salem; the *Willing Quaker*, M'Neal of Boston; a snow under De Wolf of Rhode Island; the brig *Sally*, Sherman, of New York; the sloop *Rebecca*, Ryan of New London; and the schooner *Peggy* (*Salem Gazette*, May 22, 1792). To gain admission to Havana each of these vessels must have carried slaves.

[300] ¹ For the log of the *Mary*, which sailed from Providence Nov. 22, 1795, the editor is indebted to Professor W. W. Sweet, of the University of Chicago, who found

"Mary". Captain, Nathan Henry. May God grant success to the Ship and Crew. . . .

Ship "Mary" at Goree.

Thursday December 24th. Had several of the Inhabitants on board but no trade made today. Men Empd seting up the standing Rigging and Sundry Necessaries. Cooper empd making knives. Sail'd for the River Gambia the Snow *Eliza Benedict* Smith had 10 slaves on board.

Friday December 25th. Men Empd. scraping the Main deck and plaining the poop. Do. Dld. Cargo *Vizt*:

S.M. No. 2 and 3	2 Barrels of Sugar
	1 Barrel of Cyder
	1 Case of Clarret
	1 Cask of Vinegar
	1 Box of Musket Balls
	4 Muskets

Saturday December 26th. Empd. Delivering Cargo

1 Barrel of Sugar	} Recd. 2 Men Slaves
2 Barrels of Cyder	
1 Barrel of Tea	

Recd. from on board Ship 6 Hhds. of Salt from the——

Sunday December 27th. Carried out the Ketch anchor and tyt [?] however 100 fathoms ahead—to prevent Accidents of striking a Drift. Empd. the remainder of the day Delivering Lumber, 5449 feet.

Monday 28th of December. Empd. Delivering Cargo.

S.M. 4 Barrels of Cyder	} Recd.
1 Tierce of Rice	
4 Do. Clarret	
4 ½ Barrels of N.E. Rum	} Recd. 24 raw hides 16 Cakes of Wax
Contg. Gallons 15½	
15½	
15½	
16 = 62½	

it in the possession of Mr. James Bridges of Greencastle, Ind. It was transcribed by Mrs. Irene H. Quay. There are here printed only those portions of the log which deal with trade. Much of the omitted matter relates to the charting of the vessel's course, the weather, and the prevailing winds. Such omissions, not indicated by the usual method, may be assumed to occur in each day's record. The place of other omissions is indicated only by the dates. The journal begins on Nov. 22, 1795.

[*Journal of the Ship "Mary"*—continued:]

2 one Gall. Keggs of Butter
 1 Barrel of Vinegar
 2 Do. Sugar
 1 Do. Flour
 1 Box of Musket Balls
 1 Barrel of Turpentine
 4551 feet of Lumber
 40 lb. of sugar.

Tuesday December 29th.

Dld. 1st Boat.

' 1 Barrel Flour
 ' 1 Do. Rum 20G.
 ' 2 Kegs of Butter
 ' 1 Barrel Sugar
 ' 1 Box of M. Balls
 ' 50 feet of Lumber

Dld. 2d Boat.

' 1 Barrel Flour
 ' 1 Do. Rum 27½G.
 ' 1 Do. Sugar
 ' 1 Kegg of Butter
 ' 1 Box of M. Balls
 ' 80 feet of Lumber

Dld. 3d Boat.

' 1 Cask Clarret
 ' 1 Barrel Flour
 ' 1 Kegg Butter
 ' 1 Box Balls
 ' 1 Kegg Salmon
 ' 65 lb. Sugar.

4th Boat.

' 1 Barrel of Rum
 28G.
 ' Do. 15½
 ' 1 Kegg B. 4
 ' 1 Do. 2½=50.

5th Boat.

' 1 Kegg Butter
 ' 2 Boxes Balls
 ' ½ Barrel
 Rum 15½G.

6th Boat.

' 2 Boxes Balls
 ' 1 Kegg Salmon

Received.

3 Men Slaves
 1 Woman
 10 Cakes of Wax

Arriv'd Schooner Capt. Greene
 Schooner Capt. Gardner.

Wednesday 30th. Some hands Empd. putting Sinnette² on the Shrouds in the wake of the Lower Yards others Discharging Cargo Dld.

First Boat

' 1 Cask of Clarret
 ' 1 Case Do.
 ' 1 Barrel of Flour
 ' 1 Kegg of Salmon
 ' 1 Do. Butter
 ' 1 Box Balls

Second Boat.

' 3 Barrels of Rum G. 79.
 ' To fill up with 1
 —
 80
 ' 2 Muskets
 ' 1 Box Balls
 ' 2 pieces of Callico
 ' 1 Do. Chex.
 ' 2 Keggs of Butter
 ' 1 Do. pickles
 ' 10 lb. Sugar

Dld. 130 lb.
 Sugar. Recd.
 1 Man Slave

Arriv'd Schoner Capt. Greene.

Hoisted on board the Long Boat and made some preparations for Sea.

² Sinnet was a nautical term for a rope made from hemp or heavy grass of any sort.

Thursday 31st of December. Sail'd for the Leeward Coast. Brig Captain Cooke.

Dld. 2 Casks of Clarret,
 1 Barrel of Flour,
 1 Do. Sugar,
 1 thrs. of N. Rum G. 95.
 1 Barrel Do. 28
 1 Do. 28½
 1 half Do 16
 1 Kegg Do 4
 1 Jug 1½=173.
 part of a Box of Soap
 2 Keggs of Butter
 1 four Gallon Kegg of Vinegar G 4
 1 Jug 2
 Took 1 half Barrel of Rum to fill up with.

Dld. 135 lb. Sugar
 1 Tierce of Rum G. 46½
 1 Half barrel 15½=62
 10 Gallons of Medaria
 1 Box of Balls
 1 Kegg of Butter
 2 half Barrels to fill up 23 G.
 N.B. the above Tierce half out by a Worm hole
 Recd 5 Men slaves
 Saild for River Gambia. Schooner Capt. Greene

Ship "Mary" from Goree bound down the Coast of Africa.

Thursday Jan. 6th. At 3 P.M. between Wm. Island and the Isle of Delop [Delos ?] discovered two schooners One Brig, and One Ship at Anchor, took in Sail and Anchored North point of Wm. Island baring West 2½ Miles Dist. Ship for the Rhode S.S.E. 3' Distance North Point of the Isle De Lost E 3 miles dist. Soft Bottom. . . .

Friday Jan. 7th. Capt. on Shore purchasing Rice. Men Empd. making Sinnete Mats etc. This Morning arrived the Brig. Capt. Cook.

Friday 8th. Whd. [Weighed] anchor and Ran in between the Island, Land three Hhd.

Dld. Mr. Baptist Long Boat <i>Vizt.</i>	Lumber	feet 500
Kegg of Butter 10#	Small Yawl	1
Do Salmon 2#	Dld. King Canto pr. Order	
Do. pickles 2#	2 pieces of Chex.	
Do Vinegar 1#	2 Mats	
Do Flour 3#	Dld. Hhd. of Salt	4
Do Pepper 2#		
Do Box of Soap 60 lb. 1		
Do Candles 2		
Do Cheese 40 lb. 3¼		

Saturday 9th. Empd. Delivering Cargo. *Vizt,*

6 Hhds. of Salt

4 Hhds. of Tobo. No. 17"	1000	3	Barrels of Tar
30	1534	3	Do. Turpentine
41	1515		

Sunday the 10th. Whd. Anchor and proceeded down the Coast towards Seraloan River at Noon. Island and Delop baring N by E distance about 2 Leagues. Men Empd. Sundry Necessaries.

Monday the 11th. Running for Cape Seraloan in 8, 10 and 12 fathoms. At daylight saw the Cape baring E by S. or 5 Leagues distances. At half past 4 Anchored off Freetown³ in 15 fathoms. Moved Ship Ketch to the E Small Bower to the flood.

Tuesday 12th. Empd. bringing of Water. *Viz.* 10 punchions and 7 Gang Casks. Captain Henry went to Bens [Bence] Island but no trade.

Dld. out of 1 half

Barrel of Rum for 5 gallons of Oil 5G.

Do. Yams and potatoes 1 "

Do. on my account 1 " = 7

Dld. 2 half Barrels of Rum, 1 Kegg of Salmon, 1 Do of Butter, 16 lb. of Soap to a Small Sloop Long Side.

Wednesday 13th. Empd. bringing off 9 Gang Casks of Water etc. Dld. out of the same half barrel breached Yesterday for 6½ Gallons of Oil, for 2 Bottles of Cyan⁴ Pepr, 1 = 7½. Breached a Hhd. of Rum sold and Dld. pr. Order of Capt. Henry.

Dld. to Aaron Morton 8G

Miss Web 2

Hannah Smith 9

James Lustree 6

To fill up barrel etc.

half barrel sold

. . . . York 5

pr. Ships Stores 10 = 40

Sld. Sold Rum and Pork as Mention above—

Barrel 1 G. 27

Half Do. 15 = 42

Dld. Capt. Crownshead a Tierce of Rum 64

Belonging to Wm. Ingram to be replaced (wanting 1 Gallon)

Mrs. Small 1 Barrel of Cyder. Recd. 1 Girl Slave.

Saturday 16th. Steering down West Coast. At Daylight saw the Bananahs baring E.N.E. distance about 3 or 4 Leagues. This Morn-

³ The chief settlement of Sierra Leone had returned not long before this to the site of the first establishment, made by Granville Sharp in 1788, and had taken the name Freetown.

⁴ Cayenne.

ing Began our Barracade ⁵ which Empd. a Number of hands planing 2 in. boards.

Thursday 21 of January. At 4 Saw Cape Mount South Easterly of us, at 9 anchored the Cape baring S.

Dld. John Siman 1 Hhd. Tobo.

2 Keggs of Salmon

Do. Sounds and tongues

Do. Butter

2 Barrels Rum

Mrs. Buttle 2 Hhds. Tobo.

2 Keggs Salm.

6 Do. Butter

1 Do.

1 Barrel of vinegar

1 Do. Tar.

1 Cask of Cordage

15 Gallons wine

To King Gray 3 Hhds. Tobo. }

2 Keggs

2 Do. Butter

2 Do. Salmon

Recd. Slaves

Ship "Mary" at Cape Mount.

Saturday Jan. 23rd. Empd. Delivering to King Gray 2 Hhds. of Rum. Broke 2 Hhds. of Tobo. and Dld. Sold my own Hhd. of Tobo. for 3 Small Slaves. To Wm. Goole 2 Hhds. of Tobo., 3 Do. Rum, 3 Keggs of Butter, 1 Barrel of Tar, 203 ft. of Lumber.

Sunday, Jan. 24th. Dld. to Messrs Gomar and Booke.

3 Hhds Tobo.

1 Do. Rum

2 Barrels of Tar.

1 Kegg of Mackrell

2 Casks of Cordage

1 Kegg of Lard

3 Do. Wine

Monday 25th. Returned with the Long Boat from Shugree and put into her 5 Hhds. of Tobbacco and 2 punchions of Rum and at sunset set her out for the Gullinas.

Tuesday 26th. Empd. shifting the Tobacco from forward in the hold into the fore Hatchway and Sundry other Necessaries. Dld. 1 Hhd. of Tobo.

Wednesday 27th. Long Boat Returned but no Success. Empd. Stowing water in the fore hold. Also Bringing of Water. Dld. to Mr. Gool 1 Hhd. of Tobo.

Thursday 28th. Empd. shifting goods in the Hould to Bring the Ship by the Head. Brought out 7 gang casks of Water. Dld. 2 Hhds. of Tobo.

⁵ Defensive barricade between the quarterdeck and the parts of the vessel where the slaves were to be stowed.

Friday 29th. Empd. the same as Yesterday. Dld. for a pawn 1 half Hhd. of Tobo.

Saturday 30th. Recvd. Warter onbord. Deliverd Goods recvd Slaves.

Sunday 31st. Imployd in Shifting things in four hold. Resvd Slaves onbord.

Monday 1st February. Recevd Warter onbord and Slaves.

Tuesday 2d. This Day Brisk Trade. Bought Eleven Slaves. Imployed in Delivering Goods. All Hands Drink and Disobedient.

Wednesday 3d. This Day Imployed in Stowing Warter in the four Hold and Claring Mens room out. recvd Warter onbord. Bought two Slaves. Deliverd goods.

Thursday 4th. Recevd Warter on bord. Imployd Starting and Stowing. Shifting things in four hold. Bought one slave. Deliverd goods.

Friday 5th Febuary. This Day Bought two Slaves. Recevd Warter. Imployd Starting and Stowing. Deliverd good.

Saturday 6. Bought 3 Slaves. Recevd Warter. Imploy Delivering Good—Starting and Stowing Warter.

Sunday 7. Bought 3 Slaves. Imployd as Yesterday.

Monday 8. Recevd warter on bord. Imployd in Starting and Stowing. Bought two Slave. Deliverd one Hogshead tobacco the Long Boat Returnd from Bamboo Crick. Mr. Johnson very unwell. Docter onbor from Brig that arrivd this Day from Charlestown. Capt. Johnston.

Tuesday 9. Imployd in tending slaves—recevd warter on bord—bought one slave—Mr. Johnston very unwell.

Wednesday 10. Mr. Johnson unwell. Capt. Johnston's Docter attending him. Recvd warter on bord. Imployd in starting and stowing. Overhauling things in the ward room and cleaning it out.

Thursday 11. Bought three slave. Recvd three trips warter on bord. Mr. Johnson no better Docter tending him. Latter part Imploy in Clearing ship to get under Way. Discharged all our Crue men and paid them off.

Friday 12. At Daylight got under Way. Bound down uppon the Gold Cost with 116 Slaves on bord. Imployd in Cleaning Mens Room. No land in sight at Dark, took Longboat in tow.

Saturday 13. Standing down the Coast at 6 pm. Judged myself in the river Junck,⁶ at Dark took the Longboat in tow. Mr. Johnston no better. the Boswain rangling and making Disturbance among the people. Broke him and turned him fore the Mast.

⁶ The River Junck, slightly southeast of Cape Mount and Cape Mesurado.

Sunday 14. At 10 A.M. Saw the Land Lattd observed in 5.24 North at 6 pm Judged myself of[f] Cape Formoso. Got our onions up to dry. Carpenter imployd in making after gratings. Buried one man Slave. Several others Sick and Complaining.

Monday 15th. Imployd in tending Slaves. Carpenter making after grating. Land in sight all this Day. Standing down the Cost at Dark Judged myself 30 mi. to Windward Cape Palmass, took our Long Boat in tow.

Tuesday 16th February. Imployd in tending Slaves. Carpenter making Grating for after hack and putting up Bulkhead in after Slave room. Mr. Johnson much Better. took the Long Boat in tow at Dark at Cape Palmass.

Wednesday 17. Standing down the Coast. No Land in Sight. Imployd in tending Slaves and putting up a Grating. Bulkhead Womens Slave room.

Thursday 18. Standing down the Cost under all Sail at Dark Judged my Self of Cape Lahood.⁷ No Land in Sight observed in overhauling our potatoes and cleaning out Womens Slave room. Mr. Johnson much the same as yesterday. . . .

Ship "Mary" Laying at Cap Coast

Saturday 20. at Daylight of Cape three points. At 2 pm past Seconde an English Ship at ancor, Loaded with rum. At 8 pm Caim to with Stream ancor Commundy Forts Baring North.

Sunday 21. At 9 Am Went Shore in Canoe from English fort to make Trade. Purchast two slaves and Deliverd two punchions Rum.

Monday 22. 8 Am Returnd on bord. Purchast one Slave. Sold one Hogshead rum for Gold. At 11 A.M. Got under Way. Ran Down to the Elmines at 2 pm.

Tuesday 23. At 8 Morning Went Shore at the Mines found Trad Very Dull. Brought on Bord one Slave and purchast one from the Govener of Comenda.

Wensday 24. Laying at Elmines Went on shore, purchast one Slave, Sold 1 pipe Oporto Wine and sum Chease. Imploy onbord in tending Slaves and Over hauling our Arms.

February 25th, Thursday. Imployd in tending Slaves. Sold sum Chease and mad Small trade. . . .

Ship "Mary" in Annamaboo Road, March 1796

Sunday 28. Put 8 punchions of rum into the Long Boat and Sent her to the Mines with the Second Mate, had our stream Cable Cut

⁷ This may be Cape Lahou, about half way between Cape Palmas and the Cape of Three Points.

off from the ancor about twenty fathoms. Ship Struck a Drift. Brought tow with our Small Bower.

Monday 29th. At 6 Am Waid at 11 Ancord in Annamaboo Laying at roads where there was Laying three English ships and four Americann. Capt. Comerey, Ambras, Smith and Manches.⁸ Grate Number of Blacks onbord Begging or What they Call their Ackeys to make trade for me.

Tuesday March 1st. Grate Number Blacks on bord. Bought two Slaves. Deliverd one punchion Rum. Long Boat Returnd from the mines having discharged her Cargo.

Wensday 2. Imployd in Tending Slaves and Stowing Warter in the four Hole. Bought two Slaves. Discharged two punchions rum.

Thursday, March 3, 1796. This morning a smart Turnado with heavy Showers. Sent the Boat to Cape Course for water. Men Empd. the Remainder of the day tending Slaves. Brought the Kedg Anchor home in the Squall at 5 P.M. Carried it out again. Many Blacks on bord make much Difficulty in settling their custom.

Friday 4th. Men Empd. tending Slaves etc. Unbent all the light sails and Stowed them away. Also the Main sail and Jibb, and launched the Top Gallant Masts. Afternoon the Captain went on Shore and purchased a Boy Slave.

Saturday, March 5th. Empd. tending slaves starting and stowing water. pur[chased] 1 Adult female Slave.

Sunday, March 6th, 1796. purchased one Man Slave. Empd. tending slaves and Loading the Long Boat with 10 punchions of Rum for Almine.

Monday, March 7th. A Great many Blacks on Board. But little trade as they want all Gold for their Slaves, purchased one Man Slave. N. B. The Long Boat set out last Night between 6 and 7 O'clock with squall off the Land for Almina with 10 punchions of Rum and one punchion in a Canoe.

Tuesday, March 8th. A Great many Blacks on bd Who purchased some Cloth; purchased one Slave. Men Empd. tending Slaves, hoisting up Rum for the Cooper to trim and Sundry other Necessaries.

Wednesday March 9th. Men Empd. tending Slaves and hoisting up Rum for the Cooper to trim etc. Purchased 2 Slaves. About 8 O'clock at Night the Long Boat Returnd Brought 4 punchions of Rum.

⁸ Captain Ambrose, of the *Whim*, cleared from Newport for Africa Oct. 5, 1795; Captain Manchester, of the *Sally*, on Sept. 29. Captain Smith may have commanded the *Fair Eliza*, which cleared in November. *Newport Mercury*, Sept. 29, Oct. 5, Nov. 3, 1795.

Thursday March 10th. Moderate Land and Sea breezes. Men Empd tending upon Slaves and Sundry other Necessaries About the Ship. Loaded the Long Boat with Rum for Almina.

Sunday March 13. Empd. loading Long Boat and Tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries. purchased Slaves and dispatched Rum. The Long Boat with one pipe of Oporto Wine and 3 Hhds of Rum for the Elmines.

Monday March 14. Men Empd. tending Slaves, starting and stowing water, Cooper making Water Casks, purchased one Slave. Last Night a punchion of W. I. Rum being [*illegible*] in the Hould it fetch'd and stove so that two thirds of it run out and was lost.

Friday March. 18. Men Empd. tending Slaves and Sundry Jobs about the Ship. This morning Sailed the *Sally* full Slaves and bound of the Coast.

Monday 21. Employ the same as Yesterday. Capt. Henry having been on board the Brigg *Whim* to Spend the Evening, Returned between 8 and 9 O'clock, and found John Burges one of the Sailors, Noisy and troublesome, abaft the Barricade [*illegible*]. Capt. Henry Endeavored to Suppress, When Several of the Crew assembled to Burgess' assistance and (Particularly James Power, and Wm. Ingram) Knocked the Capt. down with a Hatch bar and wounded him in Several places, (particular two dangerous wounds on the head) and would have murdered him no doubt, had he not been Relieved by his Officers and some of the more Sober and Considerate part of the Crew. Capt. Ambrose the nearest vessel to us was allarmed at the Noise and supposing that our Slaves had got loose Sent his Chief Mate armd to our Assistance, Who assisted in puting the Ring Leaders in Irons that is John Burgess, James Power and Wm. Ingram.

Tuesday 22d. Men Empd. Stowing Water tending Slaves etc. purchased 4 Slaves. John Burgess and James Power was set on Shore to prevent them making any futer Disturbance in the Ship.

Wednesday 23d. Men Empd. tending upon the Slaves, Starting and Stowing Water etc. purchased 2 Slaves.

Thursday 24th. About 8 A.M. the English Frigate, Boat with Officers came Alongside and the Officer Came onboard with the two men set on Shore Tuesday. They demanded their wages due Which was paid, and he also tok Wm. Scotscher from the Ship whose wages was paid him also. At Night the Ship struck a Drift let go Bow bound Anchor.

Friday March 25, 1796. Men Empd. tending Slaves etc. Bartered 8 Hhds of Rum with a portegue Brig for Role Tobo.

Ship "Mary" in Annamaboo Road April 1796

Friday Aprill 1st. The *Rammilees* frigate Whd. at Cape Course and Run down here and sent for Capt. Henry onboard. Capt. Henry went on bd. and Carried with him the Chest belonging to James Power and John Burgess which settled the Whole Affair Respecting Burgess and Power. Men Empd. tending Slaves etc.

Monday Aprill 4th. Men Empd. Starting and tending Slaves. Starting Water. Arrived the Schooner—from Warren State of Rhode Island, Captain Baker.

Tuesday Aprill 5th. Men Empd. Starting Water and Tending upon Slaves, purchased a Slave. Arrived a sloop from Rhode Island the Captain of Which died a few Days before she Arrived. Sent the Long Boat for Water.

Thursday Aprill 7th. Died a Slave last night having Ben Sick some time. Men Empd. Stowing Water tending Slaves etc.

Friday Aprill 8th. Men Empd. Tending Slaves and other Necessaries about the Ship. Arrived the Ship *Three Brothers* from Boston, Capt. Dunbar, Mr. Simidar Super Cargo.

Saturday Aprill 9th. About 10 A.M. the Long Boat Returned from Elmina with a Load of Water. Men Empd. discharging the Long Boat Stowing Water tending Slaves etc. Arrived a large Portugues Ship from Brazil.

Sunday Aprill 10th. Men Empd. Starting Water, Loaded the Long Boat with Rum, etc. for Sundry places up the Coast. Arrived the Snow——Capt. Smith from Accroe.

Monday Aprill 11th. Men Empd. Tending Slaves Cleaning the hould for water—purchased 4 Slaves today.

Tuesday Aprill 12th. Men Empd. tending Slaves, hoisting up Rum and Sundry Necessaries. Dld. 3 Hhds. of Rum, purchased 3 Slaves. . . .

Thursday Aprill 14th. Men Empd. tending Slaves etc. Purchased 2 Slaves. Cleaned out the Slave rooms fore and aft. Arivd the English Ship *Spy* from Cape Course, a heavy swell heaving on shore which makes a large Surf.

Friday Aprill 15th. Arivd the Brig *Minerva* belonging to Charlestown S. Carolina, Capt. Johnson. Men Empd. tending Slaves etc. . . .

Sunday Aprill 17th. Empd. tending slaves Stowing water etc. Dld. 4 punchions of Rum, 1 Kegg of Salmon. About Sunset the Long Boat Returned brought 4 Men Slaves, som Yams etc. Recd. a Hhd. of Tobo. from the Schooner Capt. Baker.

Monday Aprill 18th. Sold one Hhd. of Rum purchased 1 Slave. Men Empd. tending Slaves, etc. Cooper seting up Shooks. The Long Boat set out for Cape Coast for Water and Indian Corn.

Tuesday Aprill 19th. Dld. 1 Hhd. of Rum Recd. 2 Slaves. Men Empd. tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries. Cooper seting up Casks for Corn. Recd. the Gang Casks Brot. Capt. Johnson.

Wednesday Aprill 20th. Men Empd. Starting and Stowing water and Sundry Necessaries. Long Boat Returnd from Cape Coast with 11 Gang casks of water and 5 Hhds. of Indian Corn. Lost their Ruder. Sent Capt. Johnson 4 Gang Casks. Arivd a sloop from Capt. James. James Aburn was detected Stealing Rum out of the Retail Hhd.

Saturday Aprill 23d. Empd. shifting our —————, Moving the Ship, tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries. James Aburn detected by the Capt. beating one of the slaves with a Rope, Which Capt. Henry went to Correct him for and Aburn turned upon him and struck him four times, also bit his finger. Upon which the Capt. Ordered Aburn to be brought aft of the Barricado tyed his hands to the After Main Shrouds and gave him some stripes with a Codline. Then Calld all hands aft, also told them he would not let Aburn loose unless they would become bound by their word, for his futer good behaviour. And they all Unanimously Agreed too, with their Consent it was done.

Monday Aprill 25th. Men Empd. Tending Slaves and Cleaning out the Slave rooms. Dld. 1 punchion of Rum, purchased 1 man Slave. Arivd an English Letter of [Mart?] which Saluted the fort, had 1 Gun Returnd.

Tuesday 26. Men Empd. Tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries. Capt. Henry very Sick for several days past and sent for Simidor several times but today Simidor is sick himself. Sent for Capt. Johnson's Doctor, who came and attempted to bleed him and had a small orrifice in a Vein of one Arm when Capt. Henry was so [illegible] he was obliged to stop it. Long Boat Returnd with a Load of Water from Cape Coast. Arivd another English Ship.

Wednesday Aprill 27th. Empd. tending Slaves etc. Plenty of Slaves off but want Gold for them. Long Boat set out for Water. Loos'd Sails and dry'd them.

Saturday Aprill 30th. Capt. Henry very Sick has Doctor Simidor to attend him twice a day. Men Empd. tending Slaves and starting water. Recd. 2 Trips water purchased one Girl slave, Dld. 1 Hhd. of Rum, purchased one Girl slave for myself.

Sunday may 1st. Empd. tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries. Capt. Henry very unwell has the Doctor to attend him twice a day, but gets no better.

Monday May 2d. Long Boat Returnd from Cape Coast tow'd onbd by Capt. Smiths Boat, having been upset at Cape Coast—lost the Main sail and the After hatch Tarpolin, was upset hoisting the first Cask, the Officer having discharged all the ballast before he began to load. Dld. a punchion of Rum for a Slave purchased Aprill 29th. Capt. Henry much the same as Yesterday.

Tuesday 3d of M loos'd Sails to Dry. Dyed last Night a Slave having been sick some time. Recd. and Bt. a Slave from Mr. Whitehead of Cape Coast. Loos'd Sails to Dry and Sundry Necess. Broachd a barrel of beef and pork.

Wednesday 4th of May. Bt. one Slave. Men Empd. tending Slaves breaking out Rum in the hould etc. Capt. Henry much the same. Purchased 1 Girl Slave. In Braking out the Rum found 1 punchion out hoops all broke. Also found a barrell with the bung out, half out. Suppose to be drunk by the Sailors.

Friday 6th of May. Empd. braking out Rum in the after Hould. Loos'd and dryd them, Recd. Trips of Water, Empd. seting the large Iron pot in the Copper frame and Sundry Necessaries. Capt. Henry a Little Better. Am making a Long boat Mainsail out of the Midle Stay Sail. Arivd the sloop Capt. Bennox from Newport.

Wednesday 11th of May. Got the Long Boat a Longside she having Returnd last night, and Examined her Stores found all were Casks etc. Except 2 10-feet Oars. Brought 2 Chests of Corn from Abborde Cape Coast. Sent her in shore for fire wood. At Sunset She Returnd with 7 C Billets. Men Empd. scraping topmasts T.G. masts etc.

Friday 13th of May. loos'd the Top——. Whd. the Stream Anchor and Stowd it. Empd. the Remainder of the day getting provisions for the Ships Crew, Broached a barrel of beef and one of pork. Died a Man Slave with a Dysentery, been sick but a Short time.

Saturday May 14th. Empd. scraping the bottom of the Ship. Empd. tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries. At Sunset Mr. James More which had charge of the Long Boat as Mentioned the 12th Inst. was brought on bd. by an English Ships Boat. Mr. More having lost the Long boat he says hoisted her Cable and drove off in blowing Weather, he having used every indeavor possible to keep her off.

Wednesday May 18th. Men Empd. tending Slaves, there being only 4 of the Ships Crew on board, 1 of which was tending the Cooper on Centry and the other 2 starting Water etc. Purchased some Slaves and Received 2 Trips of Water, very unwell my Self with the fever and Ague. Sailed for America the Brig *Whim* Capt. Ambrose.

Thursday May 19th. found dead a Man Slave having been in a Consumptive State a Long while. The Boats Returnd at 1 O'clock Safe. Empd. braking out Rum in the hould which we finished. Stowed down some Empty Casks. Dld. 3 punchions of Rum, Tending Slaves etc. Bought of Capt. Ambrose a 4 Hhd. Boat which should have been Entered Yesterday, found a Punchion of Rum laked out by two broken staves about 5 Staves from opposite the bung.

Friday May 20th. Men Empd. Tending Slaves etc. purchased Several Slaves, about 10 A.M. I was at work in the hould and was taken very sick at my Stomach, from the hould Retired to my Cabin Where I lost about a pint of Clear Blood, after this a Sever fit of the Ague and fever.

Saturday May 21st. Men Empd. the same as Yesterday. Many small traders on bd. purchased Slaves 4. Dld. Rum.

Ship "Mary" at Cape Coast, May 1796

Saturday May 28th. Empd. taking on board 5 Trips and 20 Gang Casks of Water from our Annamaboo Canoe and two trips 8 Casks each by our own boat. Latter part of the day pleasant weather. Empd. tending Slaves. N.B. In the first Shower we had all the tarpolin on, but the hatches in the Slave room being unlocked the men slaves grooped down in the dark, drove the hoops off a cask of wine and set it leaking, also stove the head out of half barrel of Mackrell, and eat it up.

Sunday May 29th. Empd. tending Slaves. Recd. and Started 24 Gang Casks of Water *Viz* from the Annamaboo Canoe 5 trips No Casks and one from the Elmina Canoe. Loos'd Sails and dry'd them and Sundry other Necessaries about the Ship.

Monday May 30th. Empd. Stowing Water, tending Slaves etc. Recd. from the Annamaboo Canoe 20 C. and from the Elmina 4 trips or 28 Casks. Died a Girl Slave with Dysentery.

Thursday June 2d. Empd. tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries, Recd. 1 Trip or 11 Casks from both boats. Examined the dry provisions *Vizt.* Beens 1 Luger, Do 1 pipe, Do 1 Tierce, Corn 14 punchions, Ship Brd. 2 Lugers, Do 1 Punchion, Do 1 Tierce, Cratine rec. 2 Tierce, Do. $\frac{1}{2}$ Do, Cabin Do 1 punchion.

Ship "Mary" at Elmina Taking on bd. Water, June 1796

Friday June 3d. Rainy almost all day so that the Slaves can scarcely come on deck only long enough to clean out their berths. Very little done by the men except tending the Slaves. This morning the Generall of Elmina Fort died, the fort firing mourning guns, etc. displayed their Collours half mast.

Monday June 6th. Empd. tending Slaves Starting Water etc. Recd. from the Ann. Canoe 5 Trips—by our own boat 2 trips. This morning found our women Slave Appartments had been attempted to have been opened by some of the Ships crew, the locks being Spoild and sunderd. Broached a barrel of pk.

Friday June 10th. Commences calm and pleasant. Loos'd Sails to dry etc. We was this morning informd by one of our Slaves that was not confined but on deck as a Sailor, that the Slaves had intentions of taking the Ship, and also advised by him to be on our guard. About 8 A.M. Capt. Henry went on Shore and also advised me to keep a good look out over the Slaves and when they come upon deck to Examine their Irons particularly. I first clear'd the booms of a number of Small Spars etc. took off the Rackings that they might not avail themselves of geting over the Barricade by the booms, also took off a number of bundles of hoops that lay across the boom. Every thing being clear on the Mn. deck, myself, Jacob Folger and John Jones took off the fore greating and Calld them up two by two as they were Ironed and Examined them, found all the legg Irons in good order, but halld about 5 or 6 Irons off they being too large. When they were all up but 6 or 8 I cast my eyes down the Ladder and saw a large strong Slave, with a naked legg Iron bolt in his hand, which I seizd, and endeavord to take from him, with all my strength but he held it in Spight of me, by that I perceivd his intentions were hostile. As they all gathered round us, and gave a loud Shout, at which I retreated for the Barricade door, looking behind me Just as I got to the Door and Saw the same Man Endeavoring to take a billet of wood that was under a pipe of wine for a quoin, by which means I escaped through the door and barrd it (having call'd to the Centinel to fire as soon as I began to Retreat and saw them after Folger and Jones) as soon as the door was bard I mounted the platform aft of the barricade and directly saw one of them in pursuit of Jones with the bott of a legg Iron in his hand, but He nimbly escaped by the boom and the Barricade but Folger was sadly wounded with thier Iron about the head and would have been Murdered had it not been for our muskets (5 of Which was fired Blunderbust) Folger hove himself down the Mn. hatch way by which he escaped.

In the interim about 12 of them came and placed thier backs against the Barricade and the door, as though they had an Intention to force it but, in so awkward a manner I cannot Judge, If that was their intention or not, by brandishing the breeches of our Muskets they retreated forward and Cordially went below (I having orderd the firing to cease almost as soon as I got on the platform). The Portugues Capt. came onboard by this time, with about 20 armd men and others, and we opened the Grating and brought them up half dozen or so at once, and among the whole found 20 or thier about had entirely got their Irons off. They having broke down the bulk head between the Sailors Apartment and themselves and came up throuth the fore Scuttle upon our backs. After all was confined and put below We found thier was Missing two of which was seen to Jump overboard and was presently drown'd, one was Shot dead, and one Sick one trampled to death in the fray and four wounded two of which pretty dangerously. Empd. the Remainder of the day Starting water One trip from the Ann. Canoe 2 trips from our own boat. The Surges on the bar Continue heavy so that it makes passing and repassing difficult. The Weather ends pleasant.

Saturday June 11th. Receaved four trips Warter from our Ann. Canoe men. Discharged one Pipe of tenereaf wine and 786 H. Wait of Beas Wax. Mr. Johnston taken sick again. We have lost by Sickness Eight Slaves and four by the Insurrection Makes 12 Buried.

Sunday June 12th. At Day light have up our ancor with Light Land Breese at 12 [illegible] Brest Cape Cost had two Canoes on bord from Annm. With five Slaves. Purchast one. Ancord in Annamaboo Roads at 5 pm. Buried one Man Died with Scurvy, one Man boy Died with the flucks No. 14, and a number others Sick. Mr. Johnston Very Unwell, our Wounded like to git well.

Monday June 13th. Empd. tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries about the Ship, purchased several Slaves.

Wednesday June 15th. Empd. drying Sails etc. purchased 5 Slaves which makes our Compt. And every thing ready only wanting a good Breese. At 10 a Small breese off the Land Whd Anchor and proceeded head from S. to W. all Night with a very light land breese.

Ship "Mary" from Africa towards Georgia in America

*Friday June 17th.*⁹ Men Empd. Making a Snug Ship puting every thing below not Wanted upon deck. Numberd the Slaves 142 Great

⁹ Most of the daily entries from June 17 to Aug. 18 are here omitted, enough being printed to suggest the occupations of the sailors, and the incidents of the voyage. In addition to deaths recorded in the pages here printed, the mortality was as follows:

and Small. This morning Mr. More was seen by the Capt. and others Sleeping in the Midle Slave Room amongst the Adult Slaves for which Capt. Henry broke him from being an Officer thinking him no longer fit Companion for the Cabin. At Noon Calm and pleasant.

Sunday June 19th. At 4 P.M. saw the Land Judged to be Cape 3 points baring N.W.b.N. 5 or 6 Leagues in Dist. At 11 Sounded ground 30f, at 12 more. . . . Men Empd. tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries about the Ship. Cooper making Buckets.

Monday June 20th. Men Empd. tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries Jobs about the Ship. Demolished the Steerage booby hatch. The Women Cleaning Rice and Grinding Corn for corn cakes.

Saturday June 25th. Men Empd. tending Slaves etc. About 10 A.M. a Slave boy jumped overboard and drownd him self to get clear of a pain in his bowels, Occasioned by a Dysentery. No. 16.

Sunday June 26th, 1796. Number of our Slaves Sickly their Cheif Complaint is the Dysentery. Buried one boy Died with that Complaint.

Wednesday July 6th. Men Empd. tending Slaves Sails etc. This morning one Meagre Man Slave, who was with the Men boys in the Midle Room Come upon deck and jumped over bord. Several Rope was hove him but he Endeavored to drown him Self having been Delirious Sometime. No. 22.

Wednesday July 27th. Men Empd. same as Yesterday. Broached a Tierce of bread. Buried boy slave No. 29. Weather too bad to have Slaves on Deck.

Thursday July 28th, 1796. Men Empd. tending Slaves and Sundry Necessaries about the Ship. At 3 P.M. Saw a Brig Northd Steering Westd. Slave died with a Dysentery. Buried three Boy Slaves No. 32.

Wednesday August 3d. Men Empd. tending Slaves, Shaving and triming them etc etc, also making mats and Sundry Necessaries.

Thursday August 18th. Empd. filling 20 punchions Salt Water. At Sunset perceived the water colloured and at 12 Sounded ground 30 fathoms, at 2 Sounded ground 20 fathoms. At day light Saw a Ship South and a schooner ahead both standing in for the Land.

June 24, Buried one Man Slave No. 5; June 29, Buried a woman Slave died with a Consumption No. 18; July 1, Buried a woman Slave died with a Consumption having been Meagre a Long time No. 19; July 2, Buried one boy Slave No. 20; July 4, Buried one Boy Slave No. 21; July 10, Died a Girl Slave with a dropsy and Dysentery No. 23; July 12, Buried one Man Boy No. 24; July 14, Buried a young Slave with a Dysentery; July 15, Buried one Gurl No. 25; July 20, Buried one Woman No. 26; July 22, Died and was buried 2 Small girl Slaves No. 28; July 26, Buried a small slave having been sick a long time; July 29, Buried 1 Boy Slave N. 33; Aug. 7, Died a Man Slave been a long time Sick with the Dropsy No. 34; Aug. 16, Died a Man Slave No. 5, Died a boy slave.

At 8 A.M. saw the Land from N.N.W. to W.b.S. dist. of shore [torn]. At noon took onbd. a pilot Mr. Brown and anchored at the bar in 3 fathoms at tide. At 2 Whd. wind N. W. and beat in to Cockspur Road.¹⁰

Ship "Mary" at Cockspur Quorintine

Friday August 19th. Capt. Henry set off for Savannah. Pilot left the Ship unmoored to carry the Guns out. Carried out the whole of the Ketch Anchor, Whd. the small Bower and hove up to the Ketch to get nearer the [torn]. Evening flood carried out the Ketch to the Westd and moored Ship. Smaller bower Eastd. Empd. Currying decks tending Slaves, etc.

Saturday August 20th. At 2 P.M. Capt. Henry arrivd on bd. Got the Slaves out of Irons. Empd. tending Slaves etc. Recd. some fresh meat for the Slaves and people.

Sunday August 21st. Landed part of the Slaves but was soon obliged to take them off again as it lookd likly to Rain. Empd. Cleaning Slave Rooms and tending Slaves.

Wensday August 24th. Imployd in geting our Slaves Landed, 100 uppon Coxburrow Island.¹¹ Buried one Gurl, N. 37, Sick with the Dropsy this Morning, went up to Town with [torn].

Thursday August 25th. . . . [torn] in tending the Slave. Landed 150 up Coxburrow Island for Exercise [torn] one Man N. 30 having been a Long Time Sick with a Lingring [torn] and onbord at Dark with fresh Provisions and Limes for the Slaves.

Friday August 26th. Wind from Eastward at 12. Set out for Town [torn] Yawl after the Health Officer. Imployd in tending the Slaves [torn] all the Sick and Manger Slaves uppon Coxburrow.

Saturday August 27th. Returned from Town with the health Officer and Mr. Ewing at 12. . . . boat Set out for . . . At three Waide ancor Dropd down to Tibey,¹² in the Ship Ch[annel]. Imployd in tending our Slaves and Shaving them up.

Sunday August 28th. About 10 Whd. Anchor with a pretty breese enough to run over the tide and proceeded up the River. About Noon Anchord at 5 fathoms Hole, moored Ship Ketch Anchor [torn] Pilot went up to Town directly. Empd. the Remainder of the day tending Slaves etc. Several of the Men Refused to pump the Ship Out Viz all Except John Jones, Charles Scyler, Benj Hascal and Thomas Burton. Capt Henry set out for Town in the Yawl with 2 Hands, Jacob Folger and John Duglass.

¹⁰ The entrance to the Savannah harbor.

¹¹ Cockspur Island.

¹² Tybee.

Monday August 29th. At 8 the Yawl came from town. Jacob Folger having absented him self on the way was left behind all day. Afternoon sent 2 Hhds of Rice and some fire wood fr. . . . for the Slaves when they got up. Empd. cleaning the Ship out side tending Slaves etc.

Tuesday August 30th. About 10 A.M. Capt. Henry came on bd. and brought with him Mr. Robertson, one of the Ship owners from Charles Town, and a Spannish Marcht [*torn*]. Died a Small boy having been Sick some time. Empd. the Remainder of the day tend- ing Slaves etc.

Wednesday August 31st. This morning a fresh wind, loos'd sails to dry. About Noon the *Fair play* Pilot Boat came from town. put on bd. her all the Slaves except 14 Reservd for Mr. Robertson.

301. NEWPORT CUSTOM-HOUSE ENTRIES, 1796-1800.¹

Date	Vessel	Master	Voyage
1796, Jan. 5	<i>Betsy</i>	Bowen	Cleared for Africa
" "	<i>Becca</i>	Harris	" " "
Feb. 2	<i>Franklin</i>	Baker	" " "
June 14	<i>Sally</i>	Vilett	" " "
Aug. 9	<i>Nabby</i>	Munro	" " "
Sept. 13	<i>Betsy</i>	Diman	" " "
" 20	<i>Harriet</i>	Slocum	" " "
Nov. 15	<i>Swallow</i>	Butts	" " "
Dec. 13	<i>Betsey</i>		" " "
1797, Mar. 7	<i>Franklin</i>	Wood	" " "
Apr. 4	<i>Hope</i>	Brownell ²	" " "
Aug. 8	<i>Nabby</i>	Munro	" " "
Sept. 19	<i>Chance</i>	Diman	" " "
Oct. 10	<i>Fair Eliza</i>	Earl	" " "
" 17	<i>Eunice</i>	Howland	" " "
Nov. 7	<i>Liberty</i>	Gardner	" " "
1798, May 15	<i>Juno</i>	Manchester ³	" " "
June 19	<i>Blackney</i>	Munro	" " "
July 31	<i>Chance</i>	Littlefield	" " "
Sept. 18	<i>Liberty</i>	Stanton	" " "
Dec. 11	<i>Orange</i>	Maberry	" " "
" "	<i>Jane and Eliza</i>	Perry	" " "
" 18	<i>Eliza</i>	Champlin	" " "
1799, Feb. 19	<i>Ranger</i>	Ambrose ⁴	" " "

[301] ¹ *Newport Mercury*. These probably constitute a small proportion of the Rhode Island vessels engaged in the slave trade at this time. In 1796 the *Louise*, owned by Cyprian Sterry of Providence, the *Polly*, owned by Ebenezer Jenckes, and the *Sally*, owned by William and John De Wolf of Bristol, delivered slaves in Savannah (see this work, vol. IV., Georgia). The *Betsy*, Bowen, and the *Becca* entered from Havana on Mar. 21 and Nov. 14, 1797; the *Nabby* from St. Kitts, on June 20, 1797.

² The *Hope* and the *Fair Eliza* entered from Havana on Mar. 27 and Nov. 6, 1798; the *Liberty* from Africa on May 1.

³ The *Juno*, the *Chance*, and the *Eliza* entered from Havana on Mar. 12 and 19, and May 14, 1799, the *Liberty* from Africa Apr. 9. The *Liberty* was probably a whaling vessel rather than a slaver.

⁴ The *Ranger* entered from Havana Aug. 13, 1799; the *Fair Eliza* on June 17, 1800.

[Newport Custom-House Entries—continued:]

Date	Vessel	Master	Voyage		
1799, Apr. 2	<i>Hope</i>	Dean	"	"	"
" " "	<i>Blackney</i>	Stoddard	"	"	"
" " "	<i>Patience</i>	Howe	"	"	"
" 23	<i>Betsy</i>	Easterbrooks	"	"	"
May 14	<i>Sally</i>	Littlefield	"	"	"
" 21	<i>Mary</i>	Wolfe	"	"	"
June 4	<i>May</i>	Tayer	"	"	"
" " "	<i>Juno</i>	Wardwell	"	"	"
" " "	<i>William</i>	Burr	"	"	"
" " "	<i>Reliance</i>	Manchester	"	"	"
" 25	<i>Rising Sun</i>	Slocum	"	"	"
" " "	<i>Good Intent</i>	Gladding	"	"	"
Aug. 13	<i>Lucy</i>	Collins	"	"	"
Sept. 3	<i>Venus</i>	Ormsbe	"	"	"
" " "	<i>Fair Eliza</i>	Littlefield	"	"	"
Oct. 8	<i>Friendship</i>	Abraham	"	"	"
" 22	<i>General Greene</i>	May	"	"	"
" " "	<i>Betsey</i>	Whitney	"	"	"
" " "	<i>Juliet</i>	Stanton	"	"	"
" 29	<i>Eliza</i>	Champlin	"	"	"
Nov. 19	<i>Sally</i>	Phillips	"	"	"
" 26	<i>Sally</i>	Gladding	"	"	"
Dec. 19	<i>Orange</i>	Munro	"	"	"
1800, Jan. 7	<i>Delight</i>	Joles	"	"	"
" 28	<i>Maria</i>	Wood	"	"	"
" " "	<i>Peggy</i>	Topham	"	"	"
" " "	<i>Fanny</i>	Ingraham	"	"	"
Feb. 4	<i>Success</i>	Brownell	"	"	"
" 11	<i>Neptune</i>	Gibbs	"	"	"
" " "	<i>Sally</i>	Chace	"	"	"
" " "	<i>Peggy</i>	Munro	"	"	"
" " "	<i>Good Intent</i>	Slocum	"	"	"
Mar. 11	<i>Lark</i>	Burr	"	"	"
Apr. 15	<i>Sugary</i>	Hart	"	"	"
" 29	<i>Adventure</i>	Shearman	"	"	"
" " "	<i>Washington</i>	Hudson	"	"	"
May 13	<i>Punch</i>	Sabins	"	"	"
July 15	<i>Industry</i>	Almy ⁵	"	"	"

302. CAPTAIN JEREMIAH DIMAN TO CAPTAIN JAMES

DE WOLF, 1796.¹

ST. THOMAS, April 1, 1796.

Captain James De Wolf:

This will inform you of my arrival in this port safe, with seventy-eight well slaves. I lost two on my passage. I had sixty-two days

⁵ Occasionally the government glanced toward this trade. On Nov. 16, 1799, Timothy Pickering wrote to John Morton, Esq., who was consul of the United States at Havana: "Your situation will doubtless put it in your power to discover many vessels contravening the laws and in such case be pleased to send on the fullest information respecting them that you can collect." Mass. Hist. Soc., Pickering Papers, 12: 35D.

[302] ¹ W. H. Munro, *History of Bristol, Rhode Island* (Providence, 1880), pp. 350-351. The original of this letter, which Munro says was "furnished for publication in the *Phoenix* five or six years ago by the son of the writer," has not been located. Mark Anthony De Wolf of Guadeloupe served as supercargo for Simeon Potter, a Bristol slave captain, and, marrying Potter's sister Abigail, settled in Bristol. James, the most famous of his eight sons, was not the only one to enter upon the slave trade. William, Charles,

passage. I received your letter and orders to draw bills on thirty days' sight, but I have agreed to pay in slaves—two men slaves at twenty-eight Joes, and one boy at twenty-five Joes and another at twenty Joes.

I found times very bad on the coast. Prime slaves are one hogshead and thirty gallons of rum or seven Joes gold, and boys one hogshead of rum. I left Captain Isaac Manchester at Anemebue with ninety slaves on board, all well. To-morrow I shall sail for Havana, agreeable to your orders. I shall do the best I can, and without other orders load with molasses and return to Bristol.

303. PROTEST OF THE *ORANGE*, 1799.¹

Bahama Islands ss.

By this Public Instrument of Protest, Be it known and made manifest; That on this Day being Thursday the fourth Day of April in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Ninety Nine, Before me Vincent Mathews Notary and Tabellion Public by lawful Authority duly admitted and sworn, residing and dwelling at the Town of Nassaw in the Island of New Providence, personally came and appeared Freeman Mayberry Master, John Bigley and Peter Castloff Mates and Nathaniel Lyndon, Job Austen and James Pollock Seamen of and belonging to the Brigantine *Orange* of New Port, who being severally and respectively duly sworn, upon the Holy Evangelist of Almighty God, did testify, depose, narrate, and declare respectively, as follows, to wit:

John, and possibly other brothers were at one time or another commanders or owners of slavers. The *Sally*, William De Wolf, delivered a rum cargo and received a cargo of slaves on the African coast in 1792 (N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.). In a voyage of 1791, on the passage from Africa to Havana, one of the women of the cargo was stricken with smallpox, whereupon the captain, James De Wolf, was said to have thrown her overboard. A Newport grand jury found a bill of murder against him, but he had already left the state and the matter seems to have been dropped (*Salem Gazette*, July 5, 1791). Mark Anthony De Wolf Howe quotes a letter of Dec. 22, 1794, from Simeon Potter to James De Wolf in which the writer explains in strict confidence how vessels could be fitted out for the forbidden trade at home rather than in the West Indies (*Bristol*, pp. 72-73). Howe also relates (pp. 82-83) the story of Samuel Bosworth, the Bristol collector, who attempted to buy in for the government the *Lucy* and *Eliza*, condemned for trading in slaves. With the connivance of Charles Collins, commander of the *Lucy* (which was owned by Charles De Wolf), Bosworth was kidnapped and carried several miles from the scene of the auction. Not long after, Collins became collector of the port (Perry, *Charles D'Wolf*, pp. 27-28). Many years later James De Wolf became a member of the United States Senate and during his election a newspaper controversy rose over the charge that he had made his fortune in the slave traffic. After his election, but before he took his seat in the Senate, William Smith of South Carolina charged that of the fifty-nine Rhode Island vessels carrying slaves to Charleston between 1800 and 1804 ten had belonged to De Wolf (*Annals of Congress*, 16 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 72-73). Jeremiah Diman, the writer of the letter, was a nephew of De Wolf, the son of Margaret, one of the seven daughters of Mark Anthony De Wolf, and of Joseph Diman.

[303] ¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

That they sailed from the Port of New Port, in Rhode Island, on or about the sixteenth Day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety Eight on a Voyage to the Coast of Africa, for the purpose of purchasing Slaves, and from thence to proceed to the Port of Havana, in the Island of Cuba, That on or about the twenty third Day of January, following, they arrived at Isle De Los, on the Coast aforesaid, where they purchased and took on board one hundred and twenty Slaves, with whom they proceeded on or about the twenty third Day of February following for the aforesaid Port of Havana. That nothing remarkable occurred except the Death of one Slave until the twenty sixth Day of March last past when about ten OClock at Night of the same Day the said Brigantine struck upon a Reef about three Miles to the Eastward of Man of War Key—near the Island of Abaca one of the Bahama Islands, That upon first striking, she beat nearly over the Reef and then struck fast whereupon they started seventy Casks of Water, and threw overboard all their wood together with the Camboose, but found no good effect arise from it, in consequence of which, during the night, and the next morning, they landed Eighty Slaves and upwards, after which the Sloop *Two Brothers* of Abaca aforesaid commanded by David Malone came to their assistance, That the aforesaid David Malone, took on board the said Sloop Thirty nine Slaves, and, carried out two Anchors within the Reef, by which means with the aid of the Crew of the Sloop, they hove the said Brigantine off and proceeded for this Island of New Providence in a very leaky state in company with the said sloop and arrived here yesterday Evening. That having arrived and examined the said Brigantine they find her bilged in several Places her Plank started from the Timbers and one Ball broken, so as to render it impossible to proceed upon their first intended voyage without suffering great loss and delay.²

Whereupon the said Master doth require of me the Notary to protest. I the Notary do therefore at the request aforesaid by these presents for and in behalf of the said Master, and of the Owners, Freighters, Shippers, Insurers and all others concerned in the said Brigantine called the *Orange* and her Cargo aforesaid, Formally and Solemnly Protest against the said Reef Rocks or Shoal for all Losses, Damages, Costs, Charges and expences, had, born, Suffered and sustained by the said Parties Protesting or any of them for or by reason or on account of the Premises herein before narrated and deposed to, or any of them. Thus done and Protested at Nassaw in the Island of New Providence aforesaid. . . .

² Signed, Freeman Maberry, John Bigley, Peter Castloff, Nathaniel Lyndon, Job Austin, and James Pollock.

Afterwards, to wit upon this Day being Wednesday the seventeenth Day of April aforesaid; the said Freeman Mayberry being further sworn did depose and declare that having further examined the said Brigantine *Orange* they find, her main mast, main Top gallant Mast, and cross jack yard all Sprung that the Salvage of the said Brigantine and Cargo having been left to be ascertained by Persons mutually chosen hath been awarded at the Sum of one thousand Dollars and hath accordingly been paid out of the Proceeds of the said Brigantine and Cargo. Wherefore I the Notary at the request of the said Master do protest as before.³

FREEMAN MAYBERRY

Sworn the Day and year last above written.

V MATHEWS Not'y Pub.

304. AGREEMENT RESPECTING THE *GENERAL GREENE*, 1799.¹

Whereas the subscribers, Robert N Auchmuty Esq. and John Texon are now joint owners of the schooner *Genl. Greene* of Newport, and her cargo on a voyage to the coast of Africa Wm. May master and whereas there are sundry outstanding bills and notes unpaid for the purchase of and against said schooner and cargo, now it is agreed by and between said parties that they will jointly and in equal proportions meet the payment of such bills, and notes as are now due, and they also will share, equally, after deducting the sums each may have advanced for the schooner and cargo, and jointly bear and pay all such losses as may accrue to said schooner and cargo during all her aforesaid voyage.

NEWPORT 29th Decemb'r 1799²

305. GIBBS AND CHANNING TO NATHANIEL LAWRENCE, 1800.¹

NEWPORT June 7 1800.

Mr. Nathaniel Lawrence, We received your favor of 4 Ins and have made enquiry of our officers relative to the Insurance you are desirous of having effected; but they do not incline to write on the risk you mention nothing having been done here on African Vessels and Cargoes since the last Act of Congress² interdicting that trade.

³ The claim made against the underwriters by Captain Mayberry was for \$3472.72. The brig was valued at \$3000, the 120 slaves purchased in Africa, at \$120 a head, or \$12,000. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

[304] ¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

² This is signed, "Jno: Texon, Robt: N. Auchmuchty," and endorsed, "Texon and Auchm'y Agreement resp'g the Sch: *Genl. Greene* and her Voyage to Africa Dec'r 29th 1800."

[305] ¹ Newport Hist. Soc., Gibbs and Channing Letter-Book, no. 62.

² "An Act in addition to the Act, entitled 'An act to prohibit the carrying on the slave-trade from the United States to any foreign place or country.'" U. S. act passed

306. GIBBS AND CHANNING TO JOHN PARKER, 1801.¹

NEWPORT Feby 2d 1801.

Sir, . . . The Affrican risk we desired you to inquire about, we have got done at 8 per Cent out and home—this is 10 per Cent less than what your Office asked.

307. ACCOUNTS OF THE *LOUISA*, 1805-1806.¹

Invoice of Sixty One Slaves purchased by Samuel C. Taggart And Shipped on board the S[l]oope "Louisa" By Samuel C Taggart Master for Charleston Southcarolina and for the Propper Account and Riskes of Messrs Gardner and Deane Merchants in Newport Rhode island Viz.

22 Boys
18 Women
11 Men
10 Girls

61 Slaves Average coste is \$133.91 \$8168.51

Errors Excepted GOREE 26th June 1805

SAMUEL C. TAGGART

May 10, 1800 (*Statutes at Large*, II. 70-72). At this time the Rhode Island representatives were Christopher G. Champlin and John Brown. Champlin does not seem to have voted upon the bill. Brown not only cast one of the five votes against it but spoke against it as well, in all probability expressing the prevailing feeling among the interested Rhode Island merchants. "Mr. J. Brown said, when the motion was first laid on the table, he thought it improper to prevent the citizens of the United States enjoying the benefits of a trade enjoyed by all the European nations. He really was in hopes that the good sense of the select committee would have permitted them to have seen the policy of realizing the act in question. Many members of the House, he observed, knew how the former act [1794] was passed; they knew that Congress was drilled into it by certain persons who would not take no for an answer. It was well known that the Abolition Society, otherwise the Society of Friends, as they were called, were very troublesome until they got that act passed. It was also well known that those people did not do much to support the Government, but that they did as much as they could to stop the measures of the Government and particularly our defensive system, on which our national security depended. . . . He was certain that this nation having an act against the slave trade did not prevent the exportation of a slave from Africa. He believed we might as well, therefore, enjoy that trade as to leave it wholly to others. It was the law of that country to export those whom they held in slavery—who were as much slaves there as those who were slaves in this country—and with as much right. The very idea of making a law against this trade, which all other nations enjoyed, and which was allowed to be very profitable, was ill policy. He could further say that it was wrong, when considered in a moral point of view, since by the operation of the trade, the very people themselves much bettered their condition. It ought to be a matter of national policy, since it would bring in a good revenue to our Treasury. . . . Mr. B. said our distilleries and manufactories were all lying idle for want of an extended commerce. He had been well informed that on those coasts New England rum was much preferred to the best Jamaica spirits, and would fetch a better price. Why then should it not be sent there, and a profitable return be made? Why should a heavy fine and imprisonment be made the penalty for carrying on a trade so advantageous." Apr. 26, 1800, *Annals of Congress*, X. 686-687.

[306] ¹ Gibbs and Channing Letter-Book, no. 62.

[307] ¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box IV.

[Accounts of the "Louisa"—continued:]

Sloop "Louisa" and Owners to Phillips and Gardner

Cr.

			Dolls.	Cts.
1805				
July	29	To Cash paid for fowls and Vegetables	1	75
	"	" Do at Market and carrying provisions to Fort	16	13
Aug.	8	" $\frac{1}{4}$ Brandy 50c. and 20th $\frac{1}{2}$ lb Tea 88c.	1	38
	29	" Stephen Buckley Sundries	11	87
	30	" $\frac{1}{4}$ Rum 25c. 7 lb Sugar \$1 $7\frac{1}{2}$ Spun Yarn 1.20	2	45
Aug.	"	" Cash paid provissions \$7 1 Bottle castor oil 1.25	8	25
	"	" Do entry at Custom House \$15 paid people 195	210	
	7	" Do. paid burial of a Child	1	31
	"	" Do paid people 98 Johnson attendance \$8 lent[?] and Blue stone 50c	106	50
	"	" Do. paid pilotage market at	16	65
	31	" Do paid Captain Tagart \$10 Postage 25c	10	25
Sep	2	" Stephen Buckley sundry paints	7	12
	5	" Advertizeing for freight	1	50
	10	" Stephen Buckley \$5.63 1 Barl Bread and flower Barr's \$8 $\frac{1}{2}$ Cord wood and Carting \$2.75	16	38
	13	" Sugar and Tea \$4.10 Butchers Bill Beef pork[?], etc. \$31.31 Bk Smith's \$10 oil \$2.90	47	50
Sep	"	" Cash pd Barr. Tar and 1 do Turpentine \$8 chair hair \$1	9	
	10	" Ditto pd Captain Taggart	5	
	"	" Do pd for Companion \$10.56 Vegetables \$1.25	11	81
	"	" Do pd labour \$7 painting and Glazing \$7 Capt Barker	14	
	"	" potatoes etc 5.87 Wages 1 man to Newport \$9.50	15	37
	"	" filling and drayage Water and Bread \$4.12 Pilotage 7.40	11	52
Oct.		Board sick negro 87 $\frac{1}{2}$		87
decem	11	Brush Broom Augt 6 omitted	1	18
			527	79
August	31	By freight 3 negroes Re'd of Paul Brownell 40	120	
	"	" Provisions	12	132
			395	79

E E CHARLESTON January 22, 1806
 PHILLIPS and GARDNER
 P

No. 108. Sales of Sixty One African Negroes Received pr the Sloop "Louisa" Samuel C. Taggart Master on Acc and Risk of Messrs. Gardner and Dean Merchants Newport

Dates			M	B	W	G		Dolls.	Cts.
1805									
Aug	6	Cash	I			I	and cloths	533	
	"	Do				I	"	251	50
	"	Do		I				251	50
	8	Do		I			Sick	20	
	12	Do		2		I		764	
	"	Do			I			270	
	"	Do		2				503	
	21	Jno. L. Engle			I			260	
	22	Cash			I			270	
	23	Do			2		and cloths	543	
	"	Do			6		"	1539	
	27	C. Fitzsimons				I	"	241	50
	29	Cash	I		2		"	789	
	30	Do		I			"	251	50
Sept.	6	Do	I				Sick	10	
	12	Thos Mitchell	2				"	[?]333	
	16	Cash				I		250	
	30	Saml Haverick		I				230	
Oct.	22	Cash		I		I	and cloths	526	
	29	John Main		I			Sick	50	
	31	Grace Craighton			I		and child	233	
Nov.	4	Peter Warren				I	6 months	263	
		John Johnson jr				I		150	
	18	Pagan and ONeale		I				255	
dec'm'r	3	Robert Gaddes			I			250	
	"	David Myers	I					238	26
	"	Cash	I	I			Sick	125	
	10	Ditto		I				200	
	11	Ditto		2		I		600	
	12	ditto				I	Sore leg	150	
	14	John Dennis		I				210	
	16	William Smith	I	I	I			600	
	18	Cash		I				200	
	"	Ditto		I		I		350	
	23	Ditto	I					120	65
	25	Ditto		I				175	
	26	Ditto			I		an Idiot	20	
1806							Lame Boy	70	
Jany.	2	Ditto	I					145	
	6	Cash			I			133	33
	"	John Gardner senr		I				150	
			10	22	18	11		12724	24
Clothing 91.50 do 99								190.50	
Landing 61 Negroes								7.63	
Advertizing								26.72	
Commiss on 12724.24 5 pc								636.21	
Nett proceeds to Cr. Owners								861	06
								\$11863	18

E E CHARLESTON Jan'y 22d 1806
PHILLIPS and GARDNER
P

Account of Disbusments on Board the Sloop "Louisa" on a Voige to Affrica kept By Benjamin Weaver Master

		Dols.	Cts.
1805	Commenced December the 22 A 1805 in Goree		
December the 22	To Cash paid government for anchorage	20	
December the 23	To do. paid do. for nine Slaves at one Dollar per head	9	
	To two Barrels of Rice for the Slaves a four do. per barrel at the Riopongo January the 20 1806	8	
1806			
January the 20	To 7 Tubs White Rice at 4 bars per tub	18	50
	To pilotage and kings Customs as Customary	23	50
	To 10 Dollars for ketching Capt Whites Boy	10	
	To 3 mens Labour on Board one month at 4 pars [bars?] per month	10	50
	To 2 Tons Rice at 97 Dollars per Ton	194	
	To 1 do. do. at 80 do. per do.	80	
	To 1/2 do. do. at 40	40	
February the 26	To pilotage Down the River	10	
		\$423	50

Errors Excepted RIOPONGO February the 26 1806
BENJAMIN WEAVER

Messrs. Gardner and Dean In Ac't with Phillips and Gardner Dr.

1806				
January	22	To Amo. owe acc. Ren'd this date	£11518	81
		Ballance	900	97

Cr.

1805				
Septem'r	7th	By Am. Interest recd. of D Parmele on bills		
Oct.	19	" I. M. Lavaielle freight 8 Negroes 30.	240	
		" Ditto ditto 4 ditto 25	100	
		" Ditto provissions	20	
			360	
Decem'r	17	" Sloop Juliet her proportion of expences	45	31
1806				
Jany	13	" Sloop Hiram	81	63
"	15	" I. M. Lavaille	36	28
	18	" Sales No 148	8	75
	"	" Sales No 149	8	75
	"	" Cash Recd. ulage 220 nett 3 Bars at 48 oz	7	8
	"	" Owe order in favour [?]	1	95
	"	" Cash recd. 100 lb. Rice	2	60
	22	" Nett proceeds 61 Negroes pr Sales Ren'd	11863	18
			12419	78
		Ballances	900	97

E E CHARLESTON Jan'y 22 1806
PHILLIPS and GARDNER

Brig't "Louisa" and Owners in Account Current with Benjamin Weaver

Dr.				Credit ²			
1806		Ds	Cts	1806		Ds	Cts
Octr 15	To Amount of disburstments as pr Account Exhibited	302	00	Oct 15	By Amount of Sales Brig't Louissa's Cargo on the Coast of Affrica as pr Account Exhibited	8554	70
	To Amount of 70 Slaves purchased on the Coast of Affrica at 118 Ds head	8260	00		Balance due Benjamin Weaver from Owners	7	30
		8562				8562	00

ISLANDS DELOSS October 15th 1806
Errors Excepted BEN'JN WEAVER

308. GIBBS AND CHANNING TO NATHANIEL RUSSELL, 1805.¹
NEWPORT Feby 28 1805.

The bearer Mr. Clark Cook of this Town goes to Charleston in expectation of meeting a Vessel from the Coast of Africa, in which he is interested. He being a Stranger at your place, we have taken the liberty to ask the favr of you to afford him your advice in the business he has, if he should have occasion for it.²

309. ACCOUNTS OF THE HOPE, 1806.¹
Disburstments Brig "Hope" Montivido March 4, 1805 [1806?]

March 4, to March 27 1806	[Details omitted. For beef, greens, and boat hire a total of]	\$18
28	Expenses at Buono Areas March 29th	
29	To Two pasages in the Launch	6
30	To Carting Bagage to town	1.50
April 4	To Carting wood and Rice to Do	1.50
26	To one weaks Board at 14 Reals pr weak	12.50
	To Cash paid for Beaf for the Slaves	5
	To Bering [burying] one Woman and Cart [for] herl.	1
May 7	To Board and Lodgins	40
	To John Oxford Bord	10
	To Hors hire for coming to the Lanch	5
	To Carting our Bagage and Lanch	1.50
	To our passage to Mountivido	6
		\$90.00

² Endorsed: "Copy Brig'n Louissa's and Owners Account Current with Benjamin Weaver October 15th 1806."

[308] ¹ Gibbs and Channing Letter-Book, no. 64.
² On Mar. 12 Gibbs and Channing wrote to their Cuban correspondents, Messrs. Prey and Hernandez, concerning the *Sea flower*, which had been recently captured by the French on a voyage from Africa to Cuba. While there is in the letter no mention of slaves the chances are that they constituted the vessel's cargo. It apparently belonged to Easton and Price of Newport. A part of the rum cargo with which it had sailed from Newport to Africa had been provided by Gibbs and Channing. Letter-Book, no. 64.
[309] ¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box IV.

[Accounts of the "Hope"—continued:]

May 20 to June 3	[Provisions, two months' pay to carpenter, boat hire]	109.75
July 6 to Sep. 14	Rio Genaro, July 6, 1806 [Total beef, greens, boat hire, board and lodging 39 days at \$2 a day \$78 Total 155. Two items, \$25.25, and \$27.37 unaccounted for. Total \$425.37.]	

310. THE CASE OF THE *ANN*, 1807.¹

Before the Most Noble and Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes.

Ship *Ann*, Jonathan Dennison, Master.

Robert Honyman, Esq. Commander of His Majesty's Ship <i>Leda</i> , and His Majesty's Procurator Gen- eral,	} Appellants,
Jonathan Dennison, the Master, and Claimant of the Ship and Cargo, as American Property,	
	} Respondent.

*Appeal from the Cape of Good Hope
Appellants Case*

This Vessel, under American Colours, sailed from Bristol, in the State of Rhode Island, on the 24th of July, 1806, with a Cargo of Rum, Brandy, Gin, Wine, English Goods, etc. cleared out for Cape Coast Castle, where the Vessel arrived in September following, and the Master disposed of Part of the Cargo, and purchased Slaves, and traded up and down the Coast disposing of his cargo, and with the Proceeds purchasing Slaves, at the several Factories; the Vessel sailed from Acra on the 15th November following with Slaves, bound to Monte Video, and was captured in the River La Plata, on the 6th of January, 1807, (the Port of Monte Video being then under Blockade) by His Majesty's Ship of War *Leda*, Robert Honyman Esq. Commander, in Sight of His Majesty's Ship *Daphne* and others, and carried to the Cape of Good Hope, where the usual Proceedings were instituted on Behalf of the Captors against the Vessel and Cargo as Prize.

15th June.

A Claim of Jonathan Dennison, the Master, was given for the Vessel and Cargo, as the Property of James D. Wolff, of Bristol, in Rhode Island, a Citizen of the United States of America.

[310] ¹ Vice admiralty briefs, owned by the Marine Research Society. For the privilege of examining these papers and for printing the extracts here used (*ante*, no. 80, *post*, no. 312) the editor is indebted to Mr. George Francis Dow, in whose *Slave Ships and Slaving* (Marine Research Society, Salem, Mass., 1927, pp. 260-265) is an excellent summary of the case of the *Ann*. Much information is to be found there which is here omitted.

26th August.

The Cause came on for Hearing before the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, at the Cape of Good Hope, when the Claimant's Proctor brought in an Attestation of Jonathan Dennison, with an Exhibit, which the Judge directed to be admitted, and after hearing the Arguments of Counsel, directed the Cause to stand over.

31st August.

The Judge having maturely deliberated, assigned both Parties to exhibit Proof as to the Nature and Extent of the Blockade of Monte Video, and also as to the Nature of the Settlement at Cape Mount,² within Seven Days.

The Affidavit and Exhibit brought in by the Claimant's Proctor on the 26th of August, are as follow.

Affidavit of Jonathan Dennison, the Master, sworn 15th July, 1807, in which he deposes, That the Paper annexed was given by Charles B. Whitehead to Deponent, in case he fell in with a British Cruizer, and that on his being detained by the *Leda* he gave said Paper Writing or Letter to Captain Honyman, who returned the same to Deponent.

The Paper annexed to this Affidavit is as follows.

BRITISH ACRA, Coast of Africa, 14th Nov. 1806.

These are to certify, that Captain Dennison, of the American Ship *Ann*, belonging to Rhode Island, and now bound to the River Plate, did the greatest Part of his Business in Africa with L. T. Hebut, Esq. of Lagoe, a British Settlement, and with the Undersigned, also residing at a British Settlement in Africa, and that both L. T. Hebut and the Undersigned, are British Subjects and Natives of England.

Witness my Hand.

(Signed) CHARLES B. WHITEHEAD.³

Claimants Affidavits

Affidavit of Merrit Bates, late Master of the *Juno*, then lying in Simon's Bay, sworn 9th September, 1807, in which he deposes, that he has made Three Voyages to Cape Mount, on the Coast of Africa, and that no Factory, except the English, was established there, or on that Part of the Coast.

²From the deposition of Captain Dennison (ans. 27) one learns that the customs officer in Bristol had written *Cape Mount* in the invoice as the destination of the cargo, and had then altered it to Cape Coast. This may explain the interest of the judge in Cape Mount.

³The captor's proctor also brought in affidavits to the facts of the seizure.

Affidavit of William Bisset, Master of the *Experiment*, then lying in Table Bay, to the same Effect as the preceeding Affidavit, and sworn on the same Day. . . .⁴

21st Sept. 1807.

The Cause came on for final hearing, when the Judge restored the Ship and Cargo upon Payment of the Captor's Expences.

From this Sentence the Captor's Proctor immediately prayed and was allowed an Appeal, and the Claimant's Proctor also prayed an Appeal from the Payment of Expences.

Both Appeals have been consolidated and assigned for Sentence before your Lordships, and the Evidence in the Cause is as follows:

Preparatory Examinations

[*Deposition of Jonathan Dennison, Master.*]⁵

To the 3d Interrogatory, That the Ship was taken in the River Plata on the 6th of January last, but for what Reason he is unable to set forth.

4th. That he was Master of the Ship; was appointed to the Command by James DeWolff, Merchant, resident at Bristol, in the State of Rhode Island; that he took Possession of the Ship at Bristol about Three Years since.

7th. That she had a Passport, Sea Brief, and Mediterranean Pass on board, which were obtained from the Custom-House at Bristol by James De Wolf; that her last Voyage began at Bristol, and was to have ended there; that she sailed from thence on the 24th July, 1806, with an assorted Cargo, consisting chiefly of Rum, together with Brandy, Gin, Wine, and English Goods, and India Prize Goods, and 80 Hogsheads of Salt for Ballast,⁶ cleared out for Cape Coast, where the vessel arrived on the 12th of September, where Deponent disposed of Part of the Cargo, and purchased Slaves; that he traded up and down the Coast disposing of his Cargo, and with the Proceeds purchasing Slaves at the several Castles or Territories, and sailed from Acra on the 15th of November following with Slaves obtained on the said Coast, together with Goods therein enumerated, bound to Monte Video.⁷

⁴The remaining affidavits relate to the seizure.

⁵Dennison deposed that he was born in Providence, R. I., and that he had lived there for the last seven years save when at sea.

⁶The certificate signed by the collector and the surveyor of the port of Bristol stated that the rum was of De Wolf's own manufacture. The outward cargo was valued at \$25,754.45.

⁷A considerable portion of the ship's log while on the coast is printed among the papers in the appendix to the brief. The *Ann* found Captains Drown and Brooks at Anamabo on Oct. 6, and on the 8th she spoke the ship *Union* of Newport.

9th. That the said James De Wolff was the sole Owner of the said Ship.⁸

11th. That the Slaves were Natives of Africa, called Zanteen [Fanteen] Slaves.

12th. That James De Wolff was the Lader of Part of the Cargo laden on board at Bristol; that Deponent shipped the Slaves, 163 in Number, on the Gold Coast of Africa; that Deponent was the Consignee of the Goods; that the whole of the Cargo was to be delivered at Monte Video, for the real Account, Risk, and Benefit of James De Wolff.

20th. That if the Cargo had arrived at Monte Video, it's destined Port, he should have disposed of the same, as the Consignee, for the real, Account, Risk, and Benefit of the aforesaid James De Wolff.

29th. That the Ship was steering towards Monte Video at the Time she was seized and taken; that her Course was at all Times, when the Weather would permit, directed to the said Port; that her Course was not altered upon the Appearance of the Vessel by which she was taken in the River Plata about Ten or Twelve Miles from Monte Video. . . .

[*Deposition of Daniel Shaw, the Mate.*]⁹

7th. That her last Voyage began at Bristol, from whence she sailed to the Gold Coast of Africa; that she arrived on the said Coast at Almina, with a Cargo consisting of Rum, etc.; that the Master disposed of the greatest Part of the Cargo on the said Gold Coast of Africa, and with the Produce thereof purchased Slaves; that the Vessel then sailed from Acra, having the remainder of the Cargo undisposed of, and 163 Slaves, bound to Monte Video.

9th. That James De Wolff was the sole Owner of the Ship.

11th. That the Slaves were shipped at different Places on the Gold Coast of Africa, but principally at Acra.

12th. That to the best of his Knowledge and Belief James De Wolff was the Lader of the Goods on board the Ship; and that the Master is the Consignee thereof; and that a Mr. Hohard and a Mr. Whitehead, at Acra, were the Shippers of the Slaves; that the Master was the Consignor thereof; that James De Wolff is the sole Owner of the said Goods and Slaves; that the said Goods and Slaves were to be delivered at Monte Video. . . .¹⁰

⁸ The *Ann* was of 310 tons, and had twenty-one mariners, including the captain. All the crew had been shipped at Bristol by De Wolf.

⁹ Shaw was born in Warren, Mass. He had lived ten years in Boston and two years in Bristol, R. I.

¹⁰ Milton Mann Richmond, Solomon Pike, and John O'Neil, seamen, also testified to the facts of the voyage. Richmond stated that the vessel delivered part of her cargo at Elmina and the remainder of it at Acra. She returned to Elmina for part of her slave cargo, and took on the last of it at Acra. O'Neal testified that the *Ann* had already made one voyage from Bristol to Africa and Montevideo, then back to Bristol.

*Letter of Instructions, dated 18th July, 1806, from James De Wolff to the Master.*¹¹

You having engaged to go a Voyage to Africa in my Ship *Ann*, my Instructions are, that you proceed with all possible Dispatch direct to Cape Coast, and make Trade at that Place and its Vicinity, and purchase as many good healthy young Slaves as it may be in your Power to purchase, by bartering away your present Cargo with the Natives; and, after completing your Business in Africa, you will proceed to Monte Video in South America, and there dispose of your Slaves, and purchase a Return Cargo of Ox Hides and dryed Beef, and some Tallow and other Produce of that Country, such as you may judge will pay a handsome Profit; and after completing your Business there, you will return home to this Port with all possible Dispatch. . . .

The Consolidated Appeal now comes on for Hearing; and it is humbly hoped, on the Part of the Appellant, that your Lordships will be pleased to pronounce for the Appeal, reverse the Sentence appealed from, and condemn the Ship and Cargo as Prize to the Captor, and otherwise affirm the Sentence, and condemn the Respondent in the Costs of the Appeal, for the following, among other

REASONS

Because the Vessel, was at the Time of Capture, prosecuting a Voyage to the Colony of the Enemy, in violation of the prohibitory Laws of America for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and is not therefore within the Provisions of the Order of the 24th of June, 1803.¹²

Because, independent of that prohibitory Law, the Voyage commencing at Elmina, a Dutch Settlement on the Coast of Africa, and destined to Monte Video, was illegal.

Because that Destination was pursued in violation of the Blockade of Monte Video, then existing.

. . . .

¹¹ This is among the ship's papers, which include certificates from the port of Bristol, invoice of cargo, bill of lading, muster-roll, letter of instructions, register, and log.

¹² "In consideration of the present state of commerce, we are pleased hereby to direct the commanders of our ships of war and privateers not to seize any neutral vessel which shall be carrying on trade directly between the colonies of enemies, and the neutral country, to which the vessel belongs, and laden with the property of inhabitants of such neutral country: provided, that such neutral vessels shall not be supplying, nor shall have, on the outward voyage, supplied the enemy with any articles contraband of war, and shall not be trading with any blockaded port." *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, III. 265.

Case for Hearing on behalf of the Master, the Claimant on both Appeals.

. . . .¹³

From the Sentence of the Court below, the Captors and Claimants have prosecuted their respective Appeals. The usual Proceedings have been had therein in this Court, the Appeals have been assigned for Sentence, and the same now come on for Hearing; and it is humbly hoped, on the Part of the Claimant, that your Lordships will pronounce against the Appeal of the Captors, and affirm the Sentence with Costs, so far as the same restores the Ship and Cargo, and pronounce for the Appeal of the Claimant, and reverse the Sentence, so far as the same rejects the Prayer of the Claimant for Costs and Damages, and subjects the Ship and Cargo to the Payment of Captor's Expences, and to condemn the Captors in Costs and Damages for the following amongst other

REASONS

Because the Ship and Cargo most clearly appeared to belong to the American Citizen for whom they are claimed, and were engaged in lawful Trade, and there was no just Reason, for the Capture and Detention.

ROBT. DALLAS.

J. H. ARNOLD.¹⁴

17th Novr. 1810.

Ann,
Bishop

(2 Appeals).

J. Dennison M'r }
Toller } For Sentence

The Lords pronounced for the Appeal of the Captors reversed the sentence appealed from and retained the principal Cause, therein rejected the Claim for the Ship and Cargo given in the Court below and now condemned the said Ship and Cargo as good and lawful prize taken by His Majesty's Ship of War *Leda* Robert Honeyman Esqr. Commander in sight of His Majesty's Ship *Daphne* and others and moreover pronounced against the appeal of the Claimant.

311. INVOICE OF THE *FRIENDSHIP*, 1807.¹

Invoice of one Trunk of Merchandize Shipd by Gardner and Dean on board the Brig "Friendship" Samuel C Taggart Master for Africa and consigned to said Master for Sales and Returns, Vice

¹³ The examinations and the contents of the ship's papers are here summarized.

¹⁴ What follows is inserted by hand.

[311] ¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box IV.

1 Trunk Cont'g <i>Vice</i>			
100	ps. Sur cit [?]	Handk'chfs 8 in ps at 250	\$250
80	" "	Ginghams 6 yds in ps " 100	84
4	"	Seesuckers " 14½ yds in ps " 400	56
20	"	Superfine Galla Handk'chfs 10 in ps 300	60
	Trunk		3

448

NEWPORT *March 19th 1807* Receiv'd of Gardner and Dean the above Invoice of Goods which I am to sell on the Coast of Africa to the best advantage and Invest the proceeds in Negroes, and when arrived in Charleston, South Carolina, to sell the Negroes to the best advantages for which I am to receive after paying the said Gardner and Dean the above amount of Four Hundred and Forty Eight dollars one half Profits,

NEWPORT *March 12th* Recd. of Gardner and Dean four Bales Brazell Tobacco which we promise to pay them the amount that it sells for on the coast of Africa.²

312. THE CASE OF THE *NANCY*, 1807.¹

Before the Most Noble and Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes.

The Schooner *Nancy*, Joshua Viale, Master.

The said Joshua Viale, the Master and Claimant of the said Schooner, and Sixty-five Slaves laden therein, on Behalf and as the Property of Messrs. Phillips and Gardner, of the City of Charleston, in North America, Merchants, Citizens of the United States

} Appellant.

Against

William Selby, Esq. Commander of His Majesty's Ship of War *Cerberus*, and Lieutenant George Bligh, Commander of the hired armed Schooner *Venus*, the Captors of the said Ship and Cargo

} Respondents.

(On an Appeal from the Vice-Admiralty Court at Tortola.)
Appellant's Case.

This American Schooner, laden with Slaves, and being in Prosecution of a Voyage from Senegal to Charleston, was seized and de-

²The two receipts are signed by Samuel C. Taggart. The fragmentary account is unintelligible both as to quantities and as to total.

[312] ¹Vice admiralty briefs in the possession of the Marine Research Society.

tained on the 1st Day of November, 1807, by his Majesty's Ship of War *Cerberus*, William Selby, Esq. Commander, and his Majesty's hired armed Schooner *Venus*, Lieutenant George Bligh, Commander, and carried to Tortola, where a Libel was filed against the Schooner and Cargo.

A Claim was given by the Master for the Schooner, and sixty-five Slaves, on behalf of John Phillips and John Gardner, of Charleston, Merchants, Citizens of the United States of America.

Preparatory Examinations

Deposition of Joseph Viale, the Master.²

To the Third Interrogatory this Deponent saith, That the Capture was made about five Leagues to the Northward of St. Thomas's, on Sunday last, the First Day of the present Month, as he believes; does not know upon what Pretence it was done; that he was in Distress, and asked for Assistance from the Tender he fell in with; that all his Hands, as also himself, were sick, except two; that one of them died; that the Tender put an Officer and five Men on board, and ordered the Schooner for Tortola, where she was conducted, and arrived on the Monday Evening following; she sailed under American Colours, and had none others on board.

4. That he was appointed to the Command by Phillips and Gardner, of Charleston; that he first took Possession of her at Rhode Island, in the Month of October of last Year; John Davis, of that Place, the then Owner, delivered him the Possession; that Phillips and Gardner afterwards bought the said Schooner, in the Month of June last, and continued Deponent in the Possession.³

6. That neither himself nor any of the Officers or Mariners have any Share or Interest in the Schooner or her Cargo; that Manuel Joseph, one of the Crew, owns two Boy Slaves as his Privilege, and William, one other of the Crew (does not recollect his Sur-Name), owns a Man Slave as his Privilege also.

7. That she was built in Pennsylvania; she sailed from Charleston, on the present Voyage, the 1st Day of June last, or thereabouts,

² Captain Viall (Viale) testified that he was born at Warren, R. I., that he had lived there six years out of the preceding seven and one year in Charleston, and that he considered Rhode Island his home. The *Nancy* was 106 tons burden, and was navigated by nine sailors. It was valued at \$4000 but had been purchased by the present owners for \$2000. The complete statements of the deponents are given in the appendix to the brief.

³ According to the American register, dated June 4, 1807, the owners were John Gardner and John C. Phillips. The second mate testified that Phillips had lived in Newport, R. I., before coming to Charleston.

laden with Provisions and some Lumber,⁴ to the Amount of about 4000 Dollars, and he had also besides 6000 Dollars in Cash; cleared out for Africa; that he arrived at Senegal about the 1st Day of August following; he there sold the Lumber and Provisions, and with the Proceeds and the Cash he carried, purchased to the Number of about eighty Slaves as the Cargo; that they averaged as near as he can judge, about 125 Dollars a-piece; that Manuel Joseph and William purchased the three privileged Slaves above-mentioned, out of Money they carried, and with their Wages Deponent advanced them; that they took their Departure from Senegal on the 30th Day of September last, bound back to the Port of Charleston, where the Voyage commenced, and was to have ended; that the Slaves have several Times risen on the Crew, with an Attempt to take the Vessel; that to the Number of about three have been killed in subduing them, and one besides jumped over board; four died of Sickness, about that Number at present sick; that about ten Days after they sailed from Senegal his Crew began to be sick, so much so as to prevent their proceeding for their destined Port, he therefore bore away for the West Indies, with a Determination of going to the first Port most convenient to make; that on Friday, the 30th Day of October, they discovered the high Lands of Spanish Town, and bore away for the first Port; that St. Thomas being the most convenient, he intended to have gone in there at the Time of the Capture; that he there meant to have taken in other Hands, to enable him to proceed on his Voyage to Charleston; that Deponent has made one other Voyage, besides the present, in the said Schooner, when she was owned by John Davis, of Rhode Island; it commenced there in the Month of October of last Year, laden with Lumber and Provisions, to the Amount of about 7000 Dollars, including Rum and Tobacco, which also composed the said Cargo; that he went with the same to Senegal, where he sold, and purchased about fifty Slaves, in return for the said Cargo; that when he went out he had verbal Orders from Mr. Davis to proceed to Charleston with the Slaves from Senegal; that he accordingly did so, and on his Arrival at Charleston, finding no Orders there from

⁴ In Captain Viall's attestation in support of claim on the appeal he stated that the outward cargo consisted of "1200 Feet of Lumber, 12 Casks of Rice, 14 Barrels of Flour, 10 Barrels of Beef, 40 Barrels of Bread, 12 Boxes Spermaceti Candles, 4 Hogsheads of Rum, 12 Barrels of Sugar, 10 Barrels of Molasses, 4 Kegs Butter, 10 Boxes Claret, 40 Boxes Herrings, 6 Half Barrels Crackers, 1 Hogshead of Hams, 50 Boxes Segars, 12 Barrels Loaf Sugar, and 2 Bales of Dry Goods, and also 6000 Dollars in Specie." The bill of lading corrects certain of his items: 11,286 feet of lumber, 20 barrels rice, 15 barrels flour, 5 barrels pork, 12 barrels molasses, 40 hams, 14 barrels loaf sugar, 10 barrels brown sugar, 1 crate ware, 40 reams paper, 5 quarter chests hyson tea, 12 boxes claret wine, 4 ditto fruits in brandy, 1 hhd. cod fish, 6 kegs Dutch butter, 2 boxes containing 200 dozen handkerchiefs, 54 strings of beads, 76 barrels of bread, 8 half barrels crackers, 20 barrels beef, 4 hhds. rum, 44 boxes herring, 3 barrels sugar.

the said Owner, he consigned himself to Phillips and Gardner, who sold about thirty of the Slaves; that afterwards the said Davis wrote to him from Rhode Island, that he was to consign himself to Christian and De Wolfe,⁵ Merchants at Charleston; that he accordingly applied to them, and they sold the Remainder of the said Slaves; that the said Davis also wrote to them, advising them thereof; that Davis, in the said letter to Christian and De Wolfe, authorized them to sell the said Schooner, and wrote also to advise Deponent of the same; that they accordingly sold her, and Phillips and Gardner became the Purchasers; that the above are the only Voyages he has been upon in the present Vessel; that the said Schooner is at present under the Direction and Management of Phillips and Gardner, her now Owners, as to her Employment in Trade; he has never as yet corresponded with them on the Concerns of the said Vessel, or her Cargo, or with any other Person.

8. That the outward Lading consisted of Flour, Hams, Beef, Bread, Lumber, and a few trifling Articles of Dry Goods, as also 6000 Dollars in Cash; and that the present Lading consisted of sixty-five or seventy Slaves, including three privileged ones; that he forgot before to mention that the Mate had also a Girl Slave, as Privilege, which he purchased with his own Money he carried out; believes he bought her for sixty or seventy Dollars; that the said Slaves were taken on board from about the 1st of September, to the last Day of the said Month.

9. That John Phillips and John Gardner were the sole Owners of the Schooner when taken; he knows them to be the Owners from their purchasing her of Christian and De Wolfe, who were authorized by John Davis, the former Owner, to sell her; that the said Owners are Americans by birth, born in the State of Rhode Island, where they always lived, till about five or six Years ago, they removed to Charleston, South Carolina, where they have since lived and carried on Business as Merchants; that the said Owners are Citizens of the United States.

10. That Christian and De Wolfe, as the Agents of John Davis, made the present Bill of Sale to the said Phillips and Gardner, of the Schooner; believes it is dated some Time in May last; it was made at Charleston; believes it to be in Possession of the said Phillips and Gardner.

12. That Deponent was the Lader of the Cargo, and Phillips and Gardner above named, are the sole Owners and Consignees of the same, and it was to be delivered at Charleston on their real Account,

⁵ Charles Christian and Henry De Wolf. Captain Vaill wrote to Davis from Charleston, on Apr. 25, 1807, stating that after a passage of eight (?) days from Senegal he had arrived with 59 slaves, who would, he thought, average \$280.

Risk, and Benefit; that he had no Orders from them, or any other Person, to proceed to any other Port;⁶ that he has no Interest whatever in the said Cargo; that he does take upon himself to swear that at the Time of the lading the present Cargo, now, and if it shall be restored and unladen at the destined Port of Charleston aforesaid, it does and will belong to the said Phillips and Gardner, and to no other; that the said Cargo is the Returns of the Goods and Money carried out shipped and owned by them; that Deponent is to derive a Commission of 10 per Cent. on the Sale of the Slaves at Charleston, in lieu of every Thing else.

13. That no Bills of Lading were signed for the present Cargo.⁷

20. That in case the said Schooner had arrived at her destined Port of Charlston, and the Cargo been there unladen, it would have remained the Property of the said Phillips and Gardner until sold; they were to have taken the Chance of the Market for the Sale of the said Slaves.

26. That there was one Passenger, [h]is Sirname is Bartholomew; believes him to be an American; knows not his Rank, Profession, or Occupation, or if he had any Commission; he came on board at Senegal somewhere about the latter End of September last; he went out there from Charleston in an American Vessel, and he was on his return to Charleston; knows not his Business; he has two Slaves, one Male and a Female, on Freight, which he includes in the Number mentioned; he has no Property or Concern in the Vessel or the Rest of the Slaves.

29. That the said Schooner after leaving Senegal, steered her Course for Charleston, until about 10 Days ago he ran down his Latitude for the West India Islands; that from Senegal he steered West when the Winds would permit; that they were light and variable till he got to the Cape de Verde Islands, when he got into the Trades, and sometimes steered West and by North, and West and by South, and steered much the same Course when he made Spanish Town; her Course was not altered upon the Appearance of the Man of War's Tender, it was at all Times directed for Charleston when the Wind and Weather would permit, until he altered it for the West India Islands to make the first Port he could to procure fresh and able

⁶ The letter of instructions contains the following: "on your Arrival at Africa you will endeavour to dispose of your Cargo on the best possible Terms and vest the Proceeds in such Articles as will best suit this Market, and return with all possible Dispatch to this Port; you will be particularly mindful to leave the Coast timely (allowing double Passage) to arrive at this Port previous to the 31st December next."

⁷ The slaves had all been taken on board at Senegal during the months of August and September. The captain also testified that insurance had been placed on vessel and cargo, at Charleston, from Charleston to Africa, and back to Charleston, to be void after Dec. 31, 1807. He did not know the premium.

Hands to enable him to proceed to his destined Port of Charleston aforesaid.

N.B. The Master having been ill while under Examination on the standing Interrogatories, made an Affidavit to the following Effect the Day after his Examination, to correct his Deposition, *viz.*

That he was yesterday examined on the standing Interrogatories; that he then was, is, and for some Time past has been in a bad State of Health, and at Times very imperfect in his Recollection; that considering what passed on his said Examination, he is apprehensive that he stated the Cargo of Slaves on board the said Vessel, with the Exception of some few privileged Slaves, to have been the Property of Phillips and Gardner of Charleston; whereas the Fact is, that 10 were shipped by one La Coste a Frenchman, on Freight at 40 Dollars a Head to be sold for the Account of the said La Coste, and the Proceeds to remain for him with the said Phillips and Gardner; that one of the said Slaves on Freight jumped overboard, having rose, with others, on the White Crew of the said Vessel, and was drowned; that the other nine are still on board forming Part of the Cargo, and were originally marked with a bit of Lead round their Necks, which the Deponent apprehends may have been removed; that he can however notwithstanding from Recollection still point the surviving nine Slaves out; that Deponent thinks it his Duty to come forward to give the present Explanation to prevent Inconvenience as far as he can to the Parties actually interested in the Residue of the said Cargo.

Deposition of Thomas Bartholomew, a Passenger

To the First Interrogatory, That he was born near the City of Lyons in France; he has lived in New York, and Charleston, South Carolina, for the last seven Years; That Charleston is now his Home when not at Sea; that he has lived in the United States of America since the Year 1789; that he now considers himself a Citizen of the United States; was admitted a Citizen thereof, at a District Court held at New York in the Year 1803-4; that he has resided in New York and Charleston ever since he became a Citizen of the said States, except when he has been absent from Charleston on Voyages, sometimes as Master, and at other Times as Part Owner of Cargoes to the West India Islands, that is to say, to the English and Neutral Port, and once to the Havannah, and on the present Voyage to Senegal.

6. Deponent owns two Slaves, one a Boy named Abil, and another a Girl named Pindar; that these are on Freight, that the Chief Mate he heard from himself, owned a little Girl Slave as Privilege, he gave

75 or 80 Dollars for her at Senegal; that Manuel one of the Portuguese, he also understood, owned two Slaves, both Boys, one named Sambo, and the other Frank, heard him say that he gave 120 Dollars for Sambo, and 60 for the other; heard the said Manuel say, that he carried out Money with him from Charleston; Deponent also heard one other of the Crew, Bill, say, that he owned a Man Slave between himself and another Sailor.

7. That he believes the present Voyage commenced at Charleston in the Month of June last, laden with a Cargo of Lumber and Provisions bound to Senegal, cleared out for Africa; that she arrived at Senegal some Time in the Beginning of August following; that the Master there disposed of the Cargo; and with the Proceeds, and 6000 Dollars in Cash, he heard him say he carried out, purchased 60 odd Slaves on Account of the Owners of the said Vessel, although he only entered and paid the Duties at Senegal on 4000 Dollars; that there were 10 Slaves, besides the Cargo, on Board on Freight, and besides those belonging to himself and the Crew above-mentioned; that those ten were shipped by one Louis Coste, a White Person resident at Senegal, consigned to Phillips and Gardner at Charleston, on his Account for Sale, as he knows no other Person to consign them to; that the said Vessel took her Departure from the River of Senegal on the 29th Day of September last, bound back to the Port of Charleston where the Voyage commenced, and was to have ended; that four or five Days after the Voyage commenced, as the Slaves were all together messing one Day, the Males and Females apart, the Males who were forward, one of them seized the Master as he was pouring Molasses into his Victuals, that most of the other Males then rose, some of whom seized him; that the Master and Crew then drove them below with small Arms, one of the ten on Freight jumped overboard, and a few of the said Slaves got slightly wounded; that an old Woman died at Sea from Sickness, and two Slaves in the River Senegal, before they left it; that they also lost one of the Crew of the said Vessel at Sea, who had been in ill Health; that he frequently on the Passage heard the Master and Crew say, they were apprehensive the Slaves would break out; that a few Days after the said Slaves rose in the Manner abovementioned, the two Mates and two of the Seamen fell sick of Fevers on different Days; that he then heard the Master say, in consequence of his Crew becoming sick, and being apprehensive of the Slaves rising, that he should bear away for the West Indies for the first Neutral Port, whether St. Thomas or St. Bartholomews, which ever he could most conveniently make; that a few Nights before they discovered Land, he heard the Report of a Pistol, and found it was one of the Crew on Watch, who had

fired the Pistol; that he did so, he told the Deponent, imagining that the Slaves were about to rise; that the next Morning one of the Male Slaves was taken from below dead, and thrown overboard, who had been shot by the Pistol which had been fired off; that the same Man stabbed another of the Slaves the following Night, supposing that they were again going to break out; that on Saturday last the 31st Day of October, about Twelve of the Clock at Noon they discovered Anegada, and the high Land of Spanish Town, when they steered away for Saint Thomas, which Port they were bound to when taken, for the Purpose of procuring able Hands to navigate the Vessel to Charleston, her destined Port; that he has understood from the Master that the Schooner has made one other Voyage, besides the present, to Senegal; that she went out from Rhode Island to that Place, laden with Provisions and Dry Goods, and at Senegal took on board about sixty or seventy Slaves, which he carried to Charleston, where they were sold by Phillips and Gardner, on Account of Davis, of Rhode Island; that the said Master also informed Deponent, that Davis then interested Phillips and Gardner in the present Voyage, in both Vessel and Cargo, and, as he understood, in a Moiety with Davis; that much about the Time the present Vessel left Charleston, Davis dispatched a Pilot Boat Schooner from Rhode Island, for Senegal, on a similar Voyage, on Account of himself and the said Phillips and Gardner; that the Pilot Boat Schooner arrived at Senegal before the present Vessel did, and left it with the said Schooner bound also to Charleston, but they parted from one another the same Day they sailed, on Account of the Pilot Boat outsailing the said Schooner; that the said Schooner is under the Direction and Management of Phillips and Gardner, of Charleston, and Davis of Rhode Island, as to her Employment in Trade.

9. That he believes Phillips and Gardner and Davis to be Owners of the said Vessel; he founds his Belief from what he heard the Master say, and the Master also of the Pilot Boat Schooner.

12. That the Master was the Lader of the Slaves termed Cargo; Phillips and Gardner and Davis above-named, he believes to be the Owners and Consignees of the same; Louis Coste was the Lader of the 10 Slaves on Freight, and also Owner of the same; that they were consigned to the said Phillips and Gardner for Sale, on his Account; that the said Coste is a Frenchman, residing at Senegal; that the Deponent is the Lader and Owner of his two on Freight also, and consigned to himself; that the Mate and Mariners are the Laders, Owners, and Consignees of the four Slaves, their Property; that the said Slaves were to be delivered at Charleston, on the real Account, Risk, and Benefit of the several Owners above-named; that the

Master has no Interest in the Slaves shipped by him on Account of Phillips and Gardner and Davis, besides a Commission of 10 per Cent. he is to derive on the Sale at Charleston; Deponent does take upon himself to swear, that at the Time of the lading the said Slaves, now, and if they shall be restored and unladen at their destined Port of Charleston, they did, do, and will belong to the same Persons above-mentioned, and to none others; that he founds his Knowledge of the above Circumstances from what he heard the Master of the present Vessel say, as well as the Master of the Pilot-boat Schooner.

. . . ⁸

Respondents' Case ⁹

.
The Appeal having been proceeded in, now comes on for Hearing; and it is humbly hoped, on the Part of the Respondents, that your Lordships will be pleased to pronounce against the Appeal and affirm the Sentence appealed from, with Costs, for the following, among other

REASONS.

1st. Because the Vessel was, at the Time of the Capture, prosecuting a Voyage from the French Colony of Senegal, on the Coast of Africa, with a Cargo of Negro Slaves, ostensibly bound to Charleston, but in Fact to the Havannah, or some other Port in the West Indies, then hostile to Great Britain, contrary to the Belligerent Rights of this Country.

2d. Because the said Trade was and is contrary to the prohibitory Laws of the United States of America, by which Laws the Claimants are precluded from setting up any Right of Property in the said Slaves, and the Vessel was subject to Confiscation. Admitting that the prohibitory Laws of a foreign Country are not directly to be enforced by a Court of Prize, yet the Subjects of a Neutral Power, when trading contrary to such Laws, cannot claim the Benefit of such Relaxations of His Majesty's Belligerent Rights, in respect of their Commerce with the Enemy, as were conceded to Neutral Powers, from a friendly Consideration of their Interests in Branches of Commerce which they desired to retain and protect. Independently therefore of the Fact that both Terms of this Voyage were hostile Ports, and supposing One of them only to have been a hostile Colony, the Vessel and Cargo were liable to Condemnation.

⁸ Much of the above information was repeated in the deposition of the second mate, Nathaniel Wheaton, a native of Massachusetts.

⁹ The cause was heard in the vice admiralty court of Tortola on Nov. 27, 1807, when the judge condemned the schooner to the captors and the slaves to his Majesty. From the condemnation of the schooner and 65 of the slaves an appeal was entered, on the ground that these were the property of American citizens.

3dly. Because the Natives of Africa, composing this Cargo, were condemned to His Majesty, pursuant to the Act of Parliament made for abolishing the Slave Trade, only for the Purpose of restoring them to their Freedom, to which they have been accordingly restored; and your Lordships, if you reverse the Sentence of Condemnation, must restore them to a State of unlawful Imprisonment and Slavery; and this at the Instance of a Person who cannot even receive them and carry them to any Part of the World without a new Violation of the Laws of his Country; and who, by those Laws, is expressly precluded from all Property therein. It is further submitted, that the said Africans cannot be lawfully either exported from a British Colony, or held in Slavery there.

4th. Because the Transaction was fraudulently conducted, and the Master now admits that Nine out of the Seventy Slaves included in the Sentence of Condemnation, were French Property, although he had concealed that Fact both in the Papers and in his Deposition in Preparatory. It is submitted, that this Fact not only destroys the Credit of the Master, but renders it quite impossible that any Part of this Cargo should be restored; for, though he pretended, in an Affidavit irregularly introduced, and which is clearly inadmissible in Evidence that he knew how to distinguish those Nine Slaves from the rest, he admitted that they were not distinguished by any Mark, nor could be identified by any other Means than his own discredited Testimony; nor is it now by any Means possible that such Identification can be made. Your Lordships therefore are desired by the Appellant to decree, that out of Seventy human Beings, all at present in a State of Freedom, and Nine of whom are admitted to be lawfully entitled to be free, Sixty-one shall be given up to perpetual Slavery, although, from the Fault and Fraud of the Appellant himself it is impossible to distinguish the Nine free Persons from the rest, and it must therefore almost unavoidably happen, that some or all of them must, in the Execution of that Decree, be the Victims of a wrong Selection.¹⁰

*Ship-Papers.*¹¹

Messrs. Phillips and Gardner, in Account Current
with Joshua Viall:

¹⁰ Signed, "Chr. Robinson, V. Gibbs, Jas. Stephen." The Lords on Nov. 17, 1810, pronounced against the appeal and affirmed the sentence appealed from.

¹¹ The ship's papers include register, sea-letter, Mediterranean pass, clearance papers, instructions, letters from John Davis to Captain Viall, accounts, and the bill of lading, invoice, and manifest of the vessel.

Dr.		Cr.	
	Livres		Livres
To Amount Cash	36,000	Sept. 1 By Purchase of Cargo, as represented	51,192
To Amount Sales Cargo	30,086	By 11 Casks of Corn, at 48 Livres	528
To Sales, two Barrels Beef, not included, at 60 Livres	120	By Wood, 72 Liv	72
	66,206	By sundry Expenses, 1962 Livres	1,962
		By Commissions on Sales of Cargo	468
		By Commission on the Purchase of Ditto	1,020
		By Duties inward paid the Custom	5,438
		By Duties outward	3,600
		By Purchase of Cargo,	840
		Pilotage and Boat-hire 1086	1,086
			66,206

SENEGAL, September 17, 1807. Errors excepted, JOSHUA VIAL.

313. NEWS ITEMS RELATING TO SLAVE TRADE, 1807.¹

November 10, 1807.

Capt. Easterbrooks sailed from Senegal in company with schooner *Nancy*, Vial, for this port [Charleston]

November 26, 1807.

Capt. Fisher left at the Isle de Los, sloop —, Holden, of Rhode-Island, to sail in 15 days; at Sierre Leona, sloop—, Bradford, of Rhode-Island; a brig belonging to Rhode-Island, capt. Lindsay; and a brig formerly commanded by capt. Grey, who with all his crew, had died at Cherbarra.

December 14, 1807.

Capt. Prebble left at Isle de Los, on the 20th Oct. brig *Republican*, of Rhode-Island, schr. *Eliza*, of ditto; sloop—, Bradley, of ditto; brig *Nancy*, of ditto, had 94 slaves on board, all her crew dead.² . . .

[313] ¹ *Charleston Courier*, Nov. 10, 26, Dec. 14, 1807.

² The names of the following Rhode Island vessels engaged in the African trade between 1804 and 1807 have been gleaned from the newspapers of the period: *Charlotte*, *Sabins*, *Fair Eliza*, *Williams*, *Hiram*, *Brownwell*, *Lark*, *Moore*, *Truxton*, *Munroe*, *Andromache*, *Drown*, *Jane*, *Richmond*, *Nancy*, *Niel*, *Mary*, *Wood*, *Polly and Betsey*, —, *Neptune*, *Hudson*, *Vulture*, *Bradford*, *Concord*, *Botsworth*, *Holden*, *Bradford*. For a list of the Rhode Island vessels which carried slaves into Charleston between 1804 and 1807 see this work, vol. IV., South Carolina, where the customs list presented to the Senate in 1820 is printed. In the *Newport Mercury*, July 27, 1895, James C. Swann, in "Historical Notes from Authentic Sources," printed the names of Newport vessels trading to Charleston between 1804 and 1807. Here he included all those ascribed in 1820 to Rhode Island, thus ignoring any share which Bristol and Warren had in the trade.

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

INTRODUCTION

No attempt has been made to carry the documentation of the slave trade of the Middle Colonies to such detail as that of New England. Their importation of negroes was slight in comparison with that of the colonies to the south of them, and their carrying trade but a small part of their general commerce, by no means comparable to that of the northern colonies. Two subjects not elsewhere presented are illustrated by the documents pertaining to New York—the trade of the Dutch to the Continental colonies and the Madagascar slave trade. In other respects the history of the slave trade of these colonies is much the same as that to the north, on a greatly reduced scale.

The first negroes to gain a place in the records of the colony of New Netherland were not brought from Africa but were probably taken from Spanish or Portuguese prizes. Such names as Paul d'Angola, Simon Congo, Antony Portuguese, John Francisco testify to Portuguese origin. These negroes were brought into New Amsterdam about 1625 or 1626, four or five years after the establishment of the Dutch West India Company.¹

The various freedoms and exemptions projected by that company contained promises to supply the colony with slaves, but the promises were not observed in a manner that satisfied the patroons. The instructions to the Director General and Council of New Netherland for July 26, 1646, provided that, "for the promotion of agriculture there, it is deemed proper to permit, at the request of the patroons, colonists, and other farmers, the conveyance thither of as many negroes as they are willing to purchase at a fair price; and the Director and Council shall notify the Assembly hereof, every year, when further order shall be taken regarding the transport of negroes thither".²

¹ E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Voyages of the Slavers "St. John" and "Arms of Amsterdam," 1659, 1663* (N. Y. Col. Tracts, no. 111), p. xiii. In 1644 Director General Kieft gave liberty to those slaves that had served the company for eighteen or nineteen years. The company must therefore have obtained slaves for its own use as early as 1626, even if it was not yet selling slaves to the colonists. In 1628 the Rev. Jonas Michaelius, complaining of the servants in the new colony, remarked that the Angola slaves were "thievish, lazy, and useless trash". J. F. Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland*, p. 129.

² E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (1856), I. 162.

Sporadic attempts to carry out such plans as these the Amsterdam chamber of the West India Company certainly made, as the papers hereafter printed demonstrate, but without great success. Trade direct from Africa by the Company itself or by others licensed by the company was occasionally tried but was not the usual method of supply. The most thriving slave trade at this time was probably that of Brazil, and in 1644 it was suggested that the colonists be allowed to send their food stuffs to Brazil and carry away negroes (doc. no. 316). Permission to do this was granted in 1648, but already the revolt of the Portuguese against Dutch rule in Brazil had begun and the Dutch were before long driven from that colony. In the same year (1648) the Amsterdam chamber notified Stuyvesant that under certain restrictions the colony might trade to Angola, but little use seems to have been made of this permission (no. 317).

The directors also fostered or attempted to foster a slave trade from Curaçao to New Netherland. By 1661 they conceived that New Netherland might be used as a base from which to carry on a slave trade with the English in neighboring colonies, but they had little time in which to execute this design.

As one incident in what was in large part a struggle between Dutch and English for the control of the slave trade, the colony changed owners in 1664, and though her new owners were left, at the close of the Anglo-Dutch War, firmly established on the Guinea coast the English trading company was greatly weakened. The new and stronger company of 1672 was too engrossed in supplying the wants of the more inviting West India markets to provide many laborers for the northern colony. Meanwhile, toward the end of the century, New York found an alternative method of supplying her own needs by a trade in negroes, as well as in other commodities, with the pirates who infested the East India route and had their headquarters at Madagascar. How many of these Madagascar negroes were brought into the colony can never be known with certainty, since importers were scarcely in a position to make legal entry. Of the direct trade of the colony with Guinea Lord Cornbury wrote to the Board of Trade in 1708: "sometimes we have a vessell or two, that goe to the Coast of Guinea, and bring negros from thence but they seldom come into this place, but rather goe to Virginia, or Maryland, where they find a much better market for their negros than they can doe here."³ The extensive report of the Board of Trade in 1709 gives little clue to the New York demand for negroes, since it is combined with that of Carolina.

³ *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 9.

Legislation though frequent probably affected this demand but slightly. New York, in common with most of the colonies, discriminated in favor of negroes brought directly from Africa. In 1709 a duty of £3 was laid on negroes from any other place. In 1716 an act placing a duty on all vessels trading into the colony refers to a duty on imported slaves. On July 7, 1718, Governor Hunter wrote to the Lords of Trade: "I never heard of any Negroes imported directly from Africa in Vessells belonging to Great Britain, and the duties laid on Negroes from the other Colonies are intended to encourage their own shipping and discourage the importing their refuse and sickly Negroes here from other Colonies which they commonly do."⁴ A duty of £2 on negroes brought directly from Africa and £4 on all others was imposed in 1728. This brought forth protest from the Board of Trade but was allowed to stand, and was continued in 1734. In 1753 a duty of 5 and 10 ounces plate was continued or re-enacted and was apparently maintained up to the period of the Revolution. Importation was unequivocally forbidden in 1788.⁵ This prohibition was modified in 1801 by allowing bona fide owners of slaves, coming into the state with intent to settle, to bring their negroes with them. Neither act forbade to citizens of the state participation in the slave trade to other places. At the end of the century New York merchants were sharing in that trade to a considerable extent and it is possible that the most important period in the history of the New York carrying trade lies outside the limits of this work.

The presence of negroes in New Jersey in the seventeenth century is made certain by legislation concerning them as early as 1683.⁶ There is also a record of a dispute between the collector of the port and a master just returned from Madagascar with negroes. The

⁴ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, V. 509. In 1709 Governor Hunter was instructed to protect the interests of the African Company in the colony and to report the amount of importation of negroes (*ibid.*, p. 136). When the Duke of Chandos attempted to revive the fortunes of the African Company he wrote asking whether there would be "Encouragement for the Affrican Company to trade to these plantations." See James Alexander to Cadwallader Colden, July 3, 1731, *Colden Papers* (New York Historical Society, *Collections*, 1918), II. 23; this work, II. 249 n.

⁵ Du Bois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, pp. 205, 210, 213, 214, 217. A somewhat cursory examination of the newspapers displays a growing sentiment against the trade and slavery itself during the years following the Revolution. The *New York Packet* printed the Pennsylvania act for the abolition of slavery, the constitution of the Society for the Promotion of the Manumission of Slaves, and an occasional letter in favor of the abolition of the trade (Jan. 24, Feb. 21, Mar. 31, 1785). The act here referred to however did not forbid slavery in New York nor the carrying of slaves by the citizens of the state. Slaves were still being advertised for sale in the papers of 1792. An account of the slave trade into New York is to be found in A. J. Northrup's *Slavery in New York* (New York State Library *Bulletin*, History No. 4), pp. 246 ff.

⁶ *Archives of New Jersey*, first ser., XIII. 82, 84.

master, fearful that if he took his cargo into New York it would be seized, entered the negroes in Perth Amboy and sold them in New Jersey.⁷ The amount of negro importation in the next twenty-five years was not sufficient to make record keeping necessary. In 1709 Governor Lord Lovelace wrote to the Commissioners for Trade: "Your Lordships' directions relating to the accounts of the numbers of the negroes imported from Africa for severall years past I am afraid cannot be complied with."⁸

The first duty was laid in 1713, after some friction between assembly and council over its terms.⁹ That it was not prohibitive is shown by the report of importations from 1718 to 1726 (no. 370). Attempts to lay a duty in 1739 and in 1744 were blocked by the council, but the assembly met with success in 1762.¹⁰ In 1769 a prohibitive duty of £15 was imposed, and final prohibition was accomplished in 1786 by emancipation of negroes within the state and by a duty of £50 on all importation of negroes who had been brought from Africa since 1776. On March 14, 1798, it was provided that any vessel fitted out for the slave trade within New Jersey was forfeited and any further part taken by citizens of New Jersey in the slave trade thus became unlawful.¹¹ If New Jersey citizens entered into the illicit trade to any extent they probably did so from the port of New York.

The number of slaves in the colony was never large. In 1738 there were 3981 slaves in a population of 47,369, in 1745, 4606 in a total of 61,403, and in 1770, 11,423 in 169,954.¹²

Though negroes were to be found in the territory which later became Pennsylvania as early as 1638 and continued to be imported until 1768 or 1769, the number was always small. The fact that in spite of a more favorable climate this colony had a smaller black population than either New Jersey or New York may be a result of the strong Quaker influence which prevailed there throughout a large part of the eighteenth century. Much of the history of slavery in Pennsylvania has been written in terms of the abolition movement sponsored by the Quakers, and the fact that Philadelphia merchants were engaged in bringing negroes into the province and in carrying them to other markets is frequently overlooked.¹³ Two periods of

⁷ *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1685-1686, p. 220.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1708-1709, p. 247.

⁹ *N. J. Arch.*, XIII. 517, 532.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XV. 30-31, 45, 343, 345, 351, XVII. 333, 338, IX. 345-346.

¹¹ *Laws of the State of New Jersey* (1821), p. 373.

¹² *Gentleman's Magazine*, XIX. 533; A. Q. Keasbey, "Slavery in New Jersey," *New Jersey Historical Society, Proceedings*, third ser., V. 82.

¹³ See E. R. Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, pp. 7-12, and notes quoting from the ledger of William Trent and the account book of James Logan. Turner cites a number of newspaper advertisements for negroes from the West Indies in the 'thirties and 'forties.

active importation can be discerned, one about 1730, just after the reduction of the duty from £5 to £2, the other at the close of the 'fifties, brought to an end by the duty act of 1761, which increased the impost to £10.

The first duty was 20 s., imposed in 1700, possibly because by that time merchants were bringing from the West Indies, by ones and twos, a sufficient number of negroes to yield a slight revenue. This duty was doubled in acts of 1705 and 1710 without comment from England, but in 1712, actuated by fear of insurrection similar to that which New York had experienced, the assembly raised the duty to £20, a sum which was of course intended to be prohibitive. This act the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations annulled, and the assembly reverted to £5, a restrictive though not a prohibitive amount. The law of 1715 laying a £5 duty was disallowed in England in 1719; but a new act had already been passed by the colonial legislature in 1718. In 1726 the colony ventured to increase the duty to £10.¹⁴ A petition presented to the general assembly in 1722 on behalf of day laborers who were injured by the use of negro labor may have had some influence in the sentiment for a duty.

The act of 1726 may actually have lessened the supply of incoming negroes, or the employers of labor may have feared that it might do so. For one reason or the other, not long after its passage the iron-masters of Pennsylvania petitioned for abolition of all duty because of scarcity of labor.¹⁵ While the legislature did not go as far as that, the duty was reduced to £2. For a short time the supply seems to have responded to this, but the stimulus to importation did not long continue to bring in negroes and by 1750 few were being sold. The end of the decade however witnessed a revival in the trade so marked as to alarm the assembly, which laid a duty intended to be prohibitive.¹⁶ This was continued until 1773, when it was increased by £10. Slavery was abolished in Pennsylvania by an act of 1780, and participation in the slave trade was prohibited on February 3, 1789. Philadelphia's share in the trade to other markets can be surmised only by the occasional references to Pennsylvania vessels on the West Coast, in the West Indies, or spoken by some passing ship which reports its encounters at the nearest port.¹⁷

¹⁴ Du Bois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, pp. 204-206, 210, 213.

¹⁵ *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pa.*, 1726-1742, p. 31, cited by Turner, *Negro in Pa.*, p. 4 n.

¹⁶ Du Bois, pp. 219, 222, 225, 231.

¹⁷ A Philadelphia correspondent to the *New Haven Gazette and Connecticut Magazine* (June 7, 1787) wrote: "It is high time that the Legislature of Philadelphia should interpose their authority, and put an end, at least in Pennsylvania, to this horrid business altogether."

Were this a history of the abolition movement, Pennsylvania would furnish a large body of material. From the protest against the trade by the Germantown Friends in 1688 to its outlawing by legislation in 1807 the influence of such men as Anthony Benezet, John Woolman, Benjamin Lay, and Ralph Sandiman can scarcely be overestimated. Their story is not to be told here, but their work must be remembered if one is to understand why the slave trade was so small a part of Philadelphia commerce.

DOCUMENTS

314. CHARTER OF FREEDOMS AND EXEMPTIONS, 1629.¹

June 7, 1629.

XXX. The Company will endeavor to supply the colonists with as many blacks as it possibly can, on the conditions hereafter to be made, without however being bound to do so to a greater extent or for a longer time than it shall see fit.

315. NEW PROJECT OF FREEDOMS AND EXEMPTIONS.¹

XXXI. In like manner, the incorporated West India Company shall allot to each patroon twelve black men and women out of the prizes in which negroes shall be found, for the advancement of the colonies in New Netherland.

316. REPORT OF THE BOARD OF ACCOUNTS ON NEW NETHERLAND, 1644.¹

Seventhly. . . . And for the advancement of the cultivation of the land there, it would not be unwise to allow, at the request of

[314] ¹A. J. F. van Laer (ed.), *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts*, p. 153. The "Proposed Freedoms and Exemptions" of 1640 contained a similar clause (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, I. 123). The Dutch West India Company was established in 1621, with a monopoly of African trade for twenty-four years.

[315] ¹*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, I. 99. The manuscript of this project is without date but is in a file dated 1630-1635. The Dutch were slow to make use of the negroes taken in their Portuguese and Spanish prizes. Accounts of captures in 1624, 1627, and 1631 tell of their letting captured blacks go because they did not know what to do with them. *Voyages of the Slavers "St. John" and "Arms of Amsterdam,"* pp. ix-x.

[316] ¹*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, I. 154, "Report and Advice on the Condition of New Netherland, drawn up from documents and papers placed by commission of the Assembly of the XIX., dated 15th Decr. 1644, in the hands of the General Board of Accounts, to examine the same, to make a digest thereof, and to advise the Assembly how the decay there can be prevented, population increased, agriculture advanced, and that country wholly improved for the Company's benefit." The assembly of the XIX. was a representative

the patroons, colonists and other farmers, the introduction, from Brazil there, of as many negroes as they would be disposed to pay for at a fair price; which negroes would accomplish more work for their masters, and at a less expense, than farm servants, who must be bribed to go thither by a great deal of money and promises.

317. RESOLUTIONS OF THE STATES GENERAL, 1648.¹

Monday, 20 January, 1648.

Again the seventh section of the Management is taken into consideration, and it is resolved that private inhabitants of New Netherland shall be allowed to export their country produce under suitable duty, in their own or chartered ships, to Brazil and Angola, on these following conditions: first, that the aforesaid ships, when in Brazil, shall not be at liberty to return back with sugars to New Netherland aforesaid, but shall let themselves be chartered directly hither. Secondly, that the permit to proceed to Angola above mentioned, shall only be provisionally granted, and that for the time that the dispensation shall continue in regard to the exportation of slaves, which was accorded on Thursday last. Thirdly, that those willing to go to Angola, shall, previous to their departure from New Netherland, take out commission and permit from here, and also give security, similar to all other persons trading from this country. Mr. Mortamer alone requested, that before the passing of this resolution, he may communicate its contents to his Chamber, and learn their opinion thereon.²

body of the West India Company, made up from all the chambers. Instructions to the director issued in 1646 advised admitting as many negroes as were requested and would be paid for by the colonists (*ibid.*, p. 162). A sentence in a letter from the directors at Amsterdam to Director Stuyvesant implies some importation from Brazil in or before 1646: "Having observed that more negroes could be profitably traded off there than were carried thither in the ship *Tamandare*, we shall pay attention that for the future more negroes shall be conveyed thither" (O'Callaghan, *Voyages of the Slavers "St. John" and "Arms of Amsterdam,"* p. 99). The supposition that these slaves came from Brazil is based upon the very slight evidence afforded by the name *Tamandare*, which is that of a bay on the coast of Brazil. They were the slaves whose sale was later complained of by the people of New Netherland: "Even the negroes which were obtained with *Tamanderé* were sold for pork and peas: something wonderful was to be performed with this but they just dripped through the fingers." *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, I. 302.

[317] ¹*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, I. 215. The advice of the chamber of accounts of the West India Company, drawn up Apr. 19, 1647, delivered to the company on May 27, 1647, and incorporated in the "Report on the Affairs of the West India Company" of January, 1648, suggested that direct trade between New Netherland and Brazil would cause the former, "by slave labor [to] be more extensively cultivated than it has hitherto been, because the agricultural laborers, who are conveyed thither at great expence to the colonists, sooner or later apply themselves to trade, and neglect agriculture altogether. Slaves, on the other hand, being brought and maintained there at a cheap rate, various other descriptions of produce would be raised, and by their abundance be reduced in price, so as to allow, when occasion would offer, of their advantageous exportation hither and to other parts of Europe."

²This was the Zeeland chamber. In deliberations of the States General on Feb. 10, 1648, it was again resolved that the company could never derive profit from

318. THE MAGISTRATES OF GRAVESEND TO THE DIRECTORS AT
AMSTERDAM, 1651.¹

Secondly, We most humbly request your Honors to expend, in negroes or blacks, whatever means you, in your wisdom, will deem prudent; for your Honors can best do that, in consequence of your interest in this place, on condition of our paying you for the same whatever price you will order. We humbly conceive that your Honors will, thereby, have double profits; first, from what we shall pay for those negroes; secondly, from the tenths. . . .

GRAVESEND, IN NEW NETHERLAND, 14th September, 1651.

319. THE DIRECTORS AT AMSTERDAM TO THE COMMONALTY AT
THE MANHATTANS, 1652.¹

And in order that you may be the more fully assured of our good intention, we do hereby consent that the commonalty yonder shall have liberty to repair to the coast of Angola and Africa, and transport thence as many negroes as they will make use of for the cultivation of their lands, on the conditions and regulations which are sent herewith to the Director.

AMSTERDAM, 4th April, 1652.

320. PROPOSED CONTRACT TO IMPORT SLAVES INTO NEW
NETHERLAND, 1652(?).¹

This day, the undersigned Director and Council of New Netherland, thereunto authorized by resolution of the chamber at Amsterdam, on the one part, and the owners of the ship whereof
is skipper, burthen about tons, on the other part,

New Netherland until its inhabitants were encouraged to send their commodities to Brazil and receive slaves in return (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, I. 216). This interesting attempt to foster a commerce between North and South America was brought to an end when the Dutch were driven from Brazil by the successful Portuguese revolt which was already under way when these plans were formulated.

[318] ¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, II. 156. Addressed, "To the Hon'ble, our special good Lords and Protectors, the Lords Directors of the West India Company Chamber at Amsterdam." Signed, Geo. Baxter, Wil. Wilkins, Nicolas Stilwil, Richard Gibbons, Schout, James Hubbard, Will. Browne, Assistants, John Tilton, Clerk or Secretary.

[319] ¹ *Voyages of the Slavers "St. John," etc.*, pp. 102-103. The Amsterdam directors had written to Stuyvesant on Apr. 7, 1648, telling him that permission had been given to carry provisions to Angola and receive negroes in return, and urging that the permission be used. It must be noted that the inhabitants of New Netherland, while urged to trade to Angola, were specifically excluded from the Guinea coast. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, I. 364.

[320] ¹Albany, New York Colonial MSS., 2: 45. Since the Albany copy of this contract was badly injured in the fire of Mar. 29, 1911, the translation of the contract and remonstrance here printed is that in *Voyages of the Slavers "St. John," etc.* (pp. 169-175), revised by Mr. A. J. F. van Laer. The contract, itself undated, is usually ascribed to 1660, but since it is intended to give effect to the permission of 1652 it has here been placed with that permission.

have agreed and contracted that a permit and commission in due form shall be granted to the aforesaid skipper, to buy slaves, and further to prosecute such advantage as said owners shall deem expedient on the coast of Africa; in like manner to return here to the Mannhattans with the said slaves and their further cargo, provided nevertheless that they shall not be at liberty, in regard to the coast of Africa, to resort on the granted permit to the Gold Coast, and therefore not to go westerly further than Ardre or at most to Popo, on pain of the loss of the ship and goods laden therein, to which end the Directors and Council shall be at liberty to place a supercargo on board said ship, (whom the skipper shall be bound to entertain in the cabin,) and if necessary to cause the people therein to be sworn; for which aforesaid permit and commission the aforesaid owners promise, on the return of the said ship and before her discharge, promptly to pay to the Director and Council aforesaid, or their deputies, a duty of fifteen guilders² for each negro, without making any exception or objection thereto, Under bond of their persons and goods, none excepted, with renunciation of benefit *ordinis divisionis et excussionis*, having entire knowledge thereof.

Done NEW AMSTERDAM this

Remonstrance on the preceding proposed Contract

Honorable, Wise, Prudent Lords, Petrus Stuyvesant, Governor General, and the Councillors of New Netherland, Curaçao and Dependencies thereof.

Honorable, The undersigned Burghers and inhabitants of this city New Amsterdam, your Honors' liege subjects, most respectfully represent that they are inclined to a foreign trade, and especially to the coast of Africa, according to the concession of the hon'ble directors granted in the year 1652, as a special privilege to the inhabitants of this place, in order to fetch thence slaves and other wares might be disposed of here and elsewhere, whereby this city and the entire country would increase and prosper in merchandize, commerce, population and more especially in the tobacco trade, to the advantage not only of these inhabitants, but also of the Hon'ble West India Company which would behold, in time, a vast, populous, and rich commercial province spring up in these parts therefrom.

But it has appeared to them that those who would execute with skipper or merchant going to that country a draft of partnership, which is beset and pinched by such precise conditions, would risk their lives and goods, and at best gain nothing, or run the risk of having

² The guilder equalled about 1 s. 7 d.

ship and goods confiscated. For, besides the entire of the Gold Coast being excepted in that concession, it appears that Cape Verde, Siera Leona, the Greyn (Pepper) and Qua Qua Coast are also excluded; for it is not permitted to resort further West, at farthest, than Popo Sonde. Moreover, the Gold Coast, which from Cape Apolonia to Cape des Rodes or Mount Berique is reckoned 60 leagues, can be extended much further, as will be seen, to any place where gold may be found. And as regards slaves; for each head 15 guilders must be paid, and then the payment for them in tobacco or beaver is again taxed when shipped to Fatherland, which imposes too heavy a burthen on this hazardous trade.

The Hon'ble Company, in the meanwhile, must perceive that our neighbors, the French, English, Swedes, Danes, and Courlanders,³ are by means of the Netherlanders who repair to them trading along the entire coast, even under their strongholds, without any profit being derived therefrom by the Company; Yea, they suffer rather very serious loss thereby, as is manifest from the example of Arent de Groot, who in the year 1638 built a fort at Cormantyn for the English, and of Hendrick Caerloff, the former fiscal, who built another at Cape Corse in the year 1650 for the Swedes.

Your Honors' subjects, passing by these strongholds, take another course and as faithful subjects address themselves to you, humbly praying permission to trade free and unobstructed in ship or ships, along the whole of the west coast of Africa, that is, from Cape Verd to Cape Lopes de Gonsalve, in all bays, rivers and coasts, without any exception, the Hon'ble Company's strongholds alone excepted, according to the rules and orders, on payment, either here or in Holland, of such moderate duty as shall be agreed on. This doing, etc.⁴

321. THE DIRECTORS AT AMSTERDAM TO DIRECTOR STUYVESANT, 1654.¹

26. After closing and dispatching the duplicate hereof which goes by the ship *Swarten Arent* [*Black Eagle*] we have on the petition of

³ See this work, I. 77 n.

⁴ The signatures are: Cornelius Steenwyck, Marten Kregier, Themotheus Gabriele, Oloff Stevensen, Govert Loocquermans, Jacob Strycker, P. L. Vande Grift, Pieter Rudolphus, Hendrick Jansen Vander Vier, Peter Couwenhoven, Jacob Steendam, Johannes Verveelen.

[321] ¹ N. Y. Col. MSS., 12: 17; *Voyages of the "St. John," etc.*, pp. 106-107. Unless otherwise specified, the translations of the Dutch manuscripts here used were made or revised by Mr. A. J. F. van Laer. On June 6, 1653, the directors of the Amsterdam chamber wrote to Stuyvesant: "We have by contract given and granted to some private Merchants permission empowering them to repair to the Coast of Africa to trade for Slaves there, and to carry and convey them to the West Indies and the Islands situate thereabouts, and as we expect that the aforesaid Ships or some of them will go to New

some private merchants, *viz.*, Jan Sweerts and Dirck Pietersen Wittepaert, and in order to promote population and agriculture there, consented and allowed that they may go with their Ship the *Wittepaert* to the Coast of Africa, and having trafficked for slaves there, convey the same to New Netherland to be sold to the inhabitants there, provided that of the goods and returns proceeding from said slaves, and which shall be brought back in the abovementioned ship, there shall be paid to the company the lawful duties fixed thereon, or otherwise the ordinary tonnage duty according to the regulation adopted for trade to the coast of Africa, at the company's option, as appears by the annexed extract of resolutions adopted on the 19th of this month.² . . .

AMSTERDAM, 23d November, 1654.

322. ORDINANCE IMPOSING A DUTY ON EXPORTED SLAVES,
1655.¹

Friday, 6 August, [1655].

Whereas the Director General and Council of New Netherland find that the negroes lately arrived here from the Bight of Guinea in the Ship *Witte Paert*, have been transported and carried hence without the Hon'ble Company or the inhabitants of this province having derived any revenue or benefit therefrom, the Director General and Council have resolved [and concluded that there shall be paid]² at the general treasury [10 per cent of the] value or purchase [money of the negroes who shall be carried away] or exported [from here elsewhere beyond the jurisdiction of New Netherland. Dated as above.]

Netherland to sell their Slaves also to the Inhabitants there, in such case we desire and request that Your Honor will not demand any Duties from them, but lend them all reasonable Assistance, in order to the removal of every obstacle which might prove a hinderance to Agriculture. This for your information and notification." *Ibid.*, pp. 103-104; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, XIV. 209-210.

²The resolution of the Amsterdam chamber which granted permission for this voyage is to be found in *N. Y. Col. MSS.*, 12: 7. M. J. Kohler cites a letter from the director of the Amsterdam chamber to Stuyvesant, written July 24, 1653, which illustrates the determination of the directors to foster the agriculture of New Netherland by providing the colony with a supply of negroes:

"As some of the Jewish nation who are associated with Juan Delino, colonist on said island (Curaçoa), did solicit our consent to purchase a few negroes if any were offered for sale in New Netherland and export them to Curaçoa, to promote as they pretend, their agriculture, we must inform your Honor that we have declined to grant their request, because the company did prefer to encourage first the population and agriculture of New Netherland, whereof all servants ought to be kept there, and no one permitted to leave the country if it ever shall arrive to any degree of grandeur, all of which we have sent for your instruction." "Jews and the American Anti-Slavery Movement," *American Jewish Historical Society, Publications*, V. 141-142.

[322] ¹*N. Y. Col. MSS.*, 6: 70.

²The words enclosed in brackets have been supplied from the copy of the order printed in the *Voyages of the "St. John," etc.* (pp. 109-110), the manuscript being torn at those places. The signatures are, P. Stuyvesant, Nicasius de Sille, La Montagne.

323. DEPOSITION OF JOAN GAILLARDO FERRARA, 1656.¹

. . . That he, the affirmant, being, in the month of April, of the year 1652, on a voyage from Jamayca to St. Jago de Kuba, in the ship named *St Anthoni*, whereof Silvester Peres was skipper, and being come to the latitude of Cape Morante, was met by a certain privateer ship whereof Martin Janss Raeff was captain, which ship was navigated, in consequence of the captain's absence, by his Lt.-General, Coert Tysen Campen, which privateer attacked, fought, boarded and conquered his, the affirmant's, ship and made a prize thereof, and proceeded to New Netherland, in the harbor called Manades, and whereas he, the deponent, had a deep interest in said ship carrying, among other merchandise, four-and-forty negroes and negresses, he, the affirmant, in further proof of his property therein, declares that said black men and women are branded in manner as follows:

To wit: First. Thirty-two of them are marked AR being the name of Anthonio de Rivera, and three more are marked J, being the name of Jean Loper[z] which marks are branded on the left breast; and then nine more are marked A. being the name of Allonso, which marks are branded on the right breast. Thus done, in good faith, in Amsterdam, present Henrick Vericselen, Dirck Tack, as witnesses hereunto invited. J. THIELMANS, Notary Public.

324. LIST OF NEGROES CLAIMED BY JOAN GAILLARDO FERRARA, 1656.¹

Copy of the List of Blacks which your Honors demanded of me, saying that you intend to attach the Negroes aforesaid in the hands of their masters, so that the said Negroes may not be alienated nor sold out of this country until further order, as stated.

A. Francisco, who belonged to me, and is now in the possession of Thomas Hall..... I

[323] ¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, II. 27. The unavailing struggles of Joan Gaillard Ferrara to obtain negroes or compensation for negroes seized by pirates can be traced through the first and second volumes of the *New York Colonial Documents*. Two documents dealing with the case are here printed. The Spanish minister presented Ferrara's cause to the States General, which sent an order to the Director General and Council of New Netherland for the restitution of Ferrara's property and the arrest of the pirates. After the passage of a year, during which the deponent had made a futile voyage to New Netherland, the Spanish ambassador again took up the matter and once more directions were sent to New Netherland for investigation and action. The response was that the pirates charged with the theft of the negroes had never been in New Netherland; that, four years before, Coert Tysen had sold negroes there but that as he had a commission from the French government of St. Christopher he could not be excluded from the colony; and that the negroes under discussion, having changed hands several times, could not with justice be taken from their present owners without compensation. With this Gaillard was obliged to be content. *Ibid.*, I. 580-581, II. 1-4, 23-43.

[324] ¹ *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, II. 31. This is part of a long statement of Gaillard Ferrara's case and the measures which he had taken to obtain justice.

Gasinte, who belonged to the pilot, and is now the Com- pany's	I
R. Antonio, who belonged to a Biscayan, and is now with the man who sells straw (<i>pajero</i>)	I
Diego, or Jacob, was mine, and is now in the possession of Neeffies	I
Gr or John, was mine, and is now with Verbets	I
Barbara was the pilot's, and is now in the possession of Jan Martens	I
Christopher was the pilot's, and is now in the hands of Oloff Stevens	I
Bastiaen and Lucia were the pilot's; they are in the Bay, and now belong to Jaboce	2
Fernando was mine, and is now with Veesteman or Beeckman	I
Balthazar, who belonged to the pilot, is now the General's	I
Maria was the pilot's, and is now Augustine's or Verlet's	I
Juliana and Maria and the children were mine, and are now with Jacob, the Miller, in the fort	5
Mookinga was the pilot's, and is now at Fort Orange	I
John was the pilot's, and is now Govert's	I
Madelina, <i>ad idem</i> , and now with Govert, aforesaid	I
Catelina and 2 children, in the possession of Potter's son or daughter	3
Susanna, who was the caulker's and now Tharan Hal's	I
Peter Noorman's negro belonged to the pilot	I
John and Francisco were the pilot's and are now Jaboce's, in the Bay	2
F. Maria, Jan and Lius were our clerk's and now Jacob Hay's	3
La Caubotera was the pilot's, and is now in the hands of	I
Figa was the pilot's, and now Fortese's	I
Manuel, <i>ad idem</i> , is now at Fort Orange	I
Lucia and her husband, called Joseph, now in the possession of the Company, and whom the General hath sent to Curaçao to take charge of the cattle at pasture there	2
Paulo and Diego, or Jacob, are also sent to Curaçao in the Company's service	2

325. CHARTER OF THE SHIP *EYCKENBOOM*, 1659.¹

IN the Name of the Lord, Amen. In the year of the birth of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, 1659, the 25th of January, before me Henrick Schaeff, admitted by the Court of Holland a notary public residing in Amsterdam, and the undersigned witnesses, in their

[325] ¹ *Voyages of the "St. John," etc.*, pp. 132-139.

own persons came and appeared Messieurs Edward Man and Abraham Wilmerdoncx, directors of the Incorporated West India Company at the chamber here in Amsterdam hereunto authorized by the board of their associates, as charterers on the one part, and skipper Jan Jansen Eyckenboom of Hoorn, master under God, of his ship named the *Eyckenboom*, long 1° xx, wide xxv and one half, hold xi and one half, over it five and one half and six feet, with a half deck and forecastle on either side, and the aforesaid parties declared and do hereby declare to have made and concluded together a certain Contract for a charter of said ship, in the form and manner hereinafter described,

To wit: That the aforesaid skipper shall be bound immediately to deliver his aforesaid ship here in the city fitted out, tight, well caulked, and provided with good and sufficient anchors, cordage, tackle, sails, running and standing rigging and all other necessities and appurtenances thereunto belonging, and the same to mount with ten good pieces of cannon, with the requisite powder and shot and other ammunition in proportion, but the necessary consumption of powder and shot aforesaid shall be made good by the company, which shall also put on board said ship in addition to the ten pieces aforesaid as many other guns as they please and can conveniently place, and shall provide and pay the expence of the powder and shot therefor, on condition that in the necessary consumption thereof, the aforesaid skipper shall bear the contingent of his ship aforesaid; that further, said company shall man said ship with such and so many hands and provide them with such stores as said company will please and think proper. Which being done on the one side and the other, the aforesaid ship shall on the part of said company, be laden with a full and suitable cargo, or to such extent as said company shall think proper; being laden with all such goods, wares, and merchandizes as they will determine, the aforesaid ship shall, with the first fair wind and weather that God will grant, be dispatched and sail from this country direct to the coast of Africa and run along said coast from above downward, or from Cape Verd down, and touch, trade, lie and remain at all trading posts and ports, according to the pleasure of said company and their commissary, unto the Castle St. George d'el Mina, where they shall receive or find orders from the company's director general and council or shall be furnished with them on sailing hence; And sail towards the Bight of Guinea and touch and trade at all other places lying therein according to the order which shall be given him by the director general or here; from thence proceed further to the islands of Curaçao, Bonaire, and Aruba in the West Indies, and also to New Netherland, and all round every where else

the company, or its ministers, shall determine and order, and likewise at all said quarters and places trade and traffic goods, wares and merchandizes and also take in people, load and unload at the pleasure of the aforesaid company or its ministers; And to that end sail to and from, run hither and thither, anchor, lie, load and unload at said coasts, quarters and places as often and as frequently and so long as the service of the company such shall demand; Furthermore, return and come thence to this city Amsterdam or the destined port of discharge, and on her safe return and arrival, there discharge and deliver to the aforesaid company her laden return cargo and goods. Which done, there shall be paid to him the skipper for the contracted freight, every month, the sum of eight hundred guilders of xx stivers each, on condition that the company is bound for the term of six successive months or longer, to be calculated according to the length of time, all current months according to the almanac, to run and commence when the ship shall, in the prosecution of the voyage, reach the sea outside the last bouy of the Texel, and to expire when she shall arrive and cast anchor before this city of Amsterdam or her destined port of discharge, payable xiii days at three weeks after the aforesaid discharge here, besides average and pilotage according to the custom of the sea, and over and above also hat money for the abovenamed skipper at the company's discretion. And said skipper, with and besides the company's crew, shall also make the voyage with the aforesaid ship in order to look to said ship, her appurtenances, etc., making use of the company's stores, but the monthly pay or wages not being at its charge; And he shall be, over and above, subject to the orders and instructions, articles and other rules of the company during the voyage, no more nor less than if he had been sworn to observe the same, they being taken as inserted herein, and especially also in regard to particular or private forbidden trading, in shipping or conveyance of particular or private goods, merchandizes or wares, on pain according to the aforesaid articles, orders and instructions of the said company. The abovementioned directors, parties hereunto, pledging for the payment of the aforesaid contracted monthly or freight moneys, average and pilotage, their private persons and property, and the aforesaid skipper, specially also his person, ship, appurtenances and contracted freight moneys, and generally all his other property, real and personal, present and to come without any exception, submitting the same to the court of Holland and all laws and judges, all aboveboard. Done at Amsterdam in the presence of Cryn van Seventer and Marten Hegervelt, free citizens [*poorters*] here, witnesses hereunto invited.

326. BILL OF LADING OF THE *SPERA MUNDI*, 1659.¹

I, Jan Pietersen of Dockum, skipper under God of my ship named the *Spera Mundi*, now lying ready before Curaçao with the first fair wind which God shall vouchsafe, to sail to New Netherland, where my correct unloading shall take place, acknowledge that I have received under the deck of my aforesaid ship, from you Frans Bruyn, to wit, five negroes, whereof one is a negress, all dry and well conditioned, and marked with the annexed mark. All which I promise to deliver (if God grant me a safe voyage) with my aforesaid ship at N. Netherland aforesaid, to the Hon'ble Director General Petrus Stuyvesant, or his factor or deputies on payment for the freight of the above described goods, at the discretion of the said director general, and for the performance hereof, I bind myself, and all my goods and my aforesaid ship and appurtenances. In witness of the truth, I have signed three Copies hereof with my name, all of the same tenor, the one being satisfied, the others to be void.

Written at CURAÇAO the 24th day of August, Anno 1659.

327. DIRECTOR STUYVESANT TO THE DIRECTORS AT AMSTERDAM, 1659.¹

December 26, 1659.

. . . The Negroes purchased at Curaçao for fl. 140 to 150² and paid for, cannot be sold here [at New Amsterdam] again at that price, either in Beaver or Tobacco, so that all the expenses and risk of going and returning are entirely lost.

328. DIRECTOR STUYVESANT TO VICE-DIRECTOR BECK, 1660.¹

AMSTERDAM IN NEW NETHERLAND, 17 February, 1660.

. . . Four Negro Boys and one Negro Girl have, as you advised, been sent to, and received by me per the Ship *Sphera Mundi*;² 3 on mine and 2 on Commissary Van Brugge's account, their price being left to our discretion. Upon this subject I must say, that the assignment sent to me by Frans Bruyn is unsigned. However, in order to avoid any difficulty, I left this time the choice to the com-

[326] ¹ *Voyage of the "St. John," etc.*, pp. 140-141.

[327] ¹ N. Y. Col. MSS., 13: 60.

² From £11 to £12. A florin was more commonly called a guilder. For a comparison of the prices which were paid for slaves in New York see E. V. Morgan, "Price of Slaves in New York, 1659-1818," *Magazine of American History*, XXIX. 523, and *post*, no. 352, n. 3, no. 360, n. 1.

[328] ¹ *Voyage of the "St. John," etc.*, pp. 163-167. Beck was the director located at Curaçao.

² These negroes had been taken from a cargo of 331 slaves which arrived in Curaçao in August.

missary who took the negro girl and one of the stoutest boys. But greater difficulties have arisen in this wise: one of the five died on the passage hither; some were sick or have become so after arriving. To prevent any misunderstanding in future, the sold negroes ought to be consigned to the purchaser by their names or marks.

As regards the price which was left to our discretion, in order to prevent any suspicion of self interestedness, I wish your Honor to inform me after the others have been sold, what price they brought.

I have observed by your dispatch to the hon'ble directors, dated 3 September, forwarded by the ship *Sphera Mundi* the 26 December last, that the negroes were sold to Mr. Corn's van Ool at 140 pieces of eight, *viz.*, from 40 to 16 years; from 16 to 12 years, three for two; under 12 years, two for one.³

We hope and trust that by complying with such price and terms, we shall avoid all suspicion of self interest. I am willing to take my share of the expence and risk of their passage hither, because I desired the negroes for my own service and the promotion of agriculture, not in the expectation of any gain, and therefore sent for young ones, in which regard the worthy inhabitants, christians, and those of the hon'ble company, ought, I think, to be preferred before Spaniards and unbelieving Jews.

You will see by the enclosed extracts from my letter covering yours to the hon'ble directors, what I have proposed to them. It is therefore desirable and somewhat necessary that a fixed price should be set on horses conveyed hither, or ordered from Curaçao by private persons, as well as on negroes as far as practicable, according to their ability and age, because the one as well as the other are most urgently required here for purposes of agriculture and its advancement, and finally would tend to the greater advantage, trade and prosperity of the hon'ble company and its subjects. . . .

In regard to the negroes which the hon'ble directors ordered to be sent hither, they ought to be stout and strong fellows, fit for immediate employment on this fortress and other works; also, if required, in war against the wild barbarians, either to pursue them when retreating, or else to carry some of the soldiers' baggage; it being very apparent that we shall be constrained to wage a righteous and offensive war against them, for the peaceable possession once of the land, and the avenging of numerous suffered affronts and murders. An important service would be conferred on the company, on us and the country if there were among the sold negroes, some of experience who have resided a certain time at Curaçao.

³This, though it is not clearly stated, undoubtedly means that the negroes were sold according to Spanish custom—not per head but per *pieza de India*. Of those from 16 to 12 years of age it took three negroes to make two *piezas de India*; of those under 12, two to make one.

329. VOYAGE OF THE *GIDEON*, 1663.¹

Charter party of the ship "Gideon" for a voyage from Holland to Africa and New Netherland.

This day, the 15th of November anno 1663, before me, Hendrick Schaef, notary public, admitted by the Court of Holland, residing at Amsterdam, and the undersigned witnesses. In their own persons came and appeared Messieurs Abraham Wilmerdoncx and Jacob Pergens, directors of the chartered West India Company, chamber of this city, authorized thereto by the gentlemen, their fellow members of the board, of the one part, and Skipper Simon Cornelisz Gilde, master (under God) of his ship named *Gideon*, of the other part, to me, the notary, well known, and declared that they had agreed and contracted with one another that the aforesaid skipper shall do his best to make ready his aforesaid ship *Gideon* as speedily as possible and barring all accidents, which may God prevent, to deliver the same without fail at the Texel, ready to sail, and to take on board such merchandise of the aforesaid company as he shall be able conveniently to stow in the hold of his ship, in the space which shall be found available after all the necessary stores for his intended voyage have been taken on board, and without receiving any freight therefor to transport the same to the coast of Africa, to Castle El Mina, or to Angola, as the honorable freighters shall be pleased to order, and that the aforesaid skipper shall there take on board, free of freight, thirty lasts,² or more, of merchandise, according to the amount of space available in the ship as aforesaid, and therewith to sail direct to Angola, to such places as he shall be ordered to visit by the director general and as the company's agents in Angola shall think proper. Also, that the aforesaid skipper shall there from time to time, as promptly and as quickly as possible, take on board as many slaves as he can conveniently transport; also take with him from there to Curaçao and no farther as much copper and as many elephant tusks as he can conveniently load into his ship, likewise without receiving any freight therefor, unless less than two hundred and seventy-five slaves were taken on board, in which case he shall receive as freight for the copper, elephant tusks and other wares as much as is hereinafter specified. Furthermore, he shall proceed with his slaves first to Cajana,³ situated on the main wild coast of America, and there deliver to the company's director as many slaves as he shall be ordered to, and then depart with the rest for the island of Curaçao, and there deliver the rest to the vice director. Furthermore, he

[329] ¹ N. Y. Col. MSS., 15: 77.

² One last was equivalent to two and one-half tons burden.

³ Cajana or Cayanna, the modern Cayenne on the coast of French Guiana.

shall transport without charge from Curaçao such wares on account of the company as the vice director shall think proper and he can conveniently load into his ship, and further proceed with from three hundred to three hundred and fifty negroes to New Netherland and, having delivered the same there to the director general or his agent, be free to go with his ship where he pleases; on condition that, if on the fifteenth of August next ensuing the aforesaid skipper has not yet arrived with his slaves at Curaçao, the directors shall not be bound to send him with slaves to New Netherland, but parties shall be mutually free and released from their obligations at Curaçao. Furthermore, on arrival of the aforesaid skipper at Cajana, Curaçao, and New Netherland, his slaves shall at each place be immediately taken from board and he shall be given therefor three receipts of the same tenor, in which it shall be expressly stated how many negroes from four to eight, how many from eight to fifteen, how many from fifteen to thirty-six and how many above thirty-six years were delivered. And the aforesaid skipper shall at his own charge furnish proper food and drink to the aforesaid negroes as long as he shall have the same on board, and therefore defray the cost of food, water casks and all that shall be needed for the storage of water and victuals for the aforesaid negroes and the partitioning-off of the ship, without the directors, with respect to the food, being bound to do more than at their discretion to give orders that the aforesaid skipper, lying at anchor to take on board slaves, may obtain some refreshments from the land on the directors' account; and with regard to other expenses they shall be held liable only for such as are specified below. Furthermore, the company shall have liberty to send in the aforesaid ship one or more persons in their service to the Gold Coast, Angola, Curaçao and New Netherland, and especially a supercargo, whose wages shall be paid by the company and who must be entertained in the cabin at the expense of the skipper. Furthermore, the aforesaid skipper, fulfilling his part of what is hereinbefore written, shall receive for each day that he shall wait at Castle El Mina or on the wild coast of Cajana the sum of fifty guilders, each time to be reckoned from the day he casts his anchor at the respective places until he shall lift the same again, and further be obliged to wait at Angola, without being able to claim any lay-days,⁴ until he shall have obtained his slaves; likewise he shall be obliged to wait at or on Curaçao for the space of three weeks, after the expiration of which three weeks at Curaçao he shall receive his lay-days as before at the rate of fifty guilders a day. Secondly, in case he shall not receive two hundred and seventy-five slaves at Angola as above writ-

⁴ As perhaps the text makes clear, lay-days were those allowed by charter party for the loading or unloading of a vessel.

ten, he shall receive as freight for the copper and other wares loaded on board one half stiver per pound.⁵ Thirdly, the honorable directors, on presentation of one of the receipts above mentioned, shall pay to the owners or their agent for each negro who shall be delivered alive on the wild coast or at Curaçao the sum of one hundred guilders and for those who shall be transported from Curaçao to New Netherland thirty guilders each, provided that those between the ages of fifteen and thirty-six years shall be counted as one negro each; that of those from fifteen to eight years down, as well as those above the age of thirty-six, three negroes shall be counted as two; and that of those below eight years two shall be counted as one. With this understanding, however, that in case he be furnished at Curaçao with other negroes than those whom he brought there, for whom a much larger reduction must be made, the proportionate loss shall be made good by decision of arbitrators, to be chosen by parties on both sides. Likewise, the skipper shall receive for all persons who shall be sent over in the service of the company, eleven stivers a day for those who (with the exception of the super-cargo) mess in the cabin, and seven stivers for those who mess on deck. Also, the honorable directors have paid to the aforesaid skipper, under guaranty, for the purchase of food and other necessities for the negroes, the sum of eight thousand guilders, which eight thousand guilders upon his safe arrival shall be deducted from his freight charges. Furthermore, in addition to the aforesaid eight thousand guilders, they are paying a premium of eight per cent. on the aforesaid eight thousand guilders to the owners, upon condition that in case of loss or capture of the ship (which may God prevent) the aforesaid skipper and his sureties shall be held to return the aforesaid eight thousand guilders promptly and without any exception, compensation or rebate, inasmuch as for the aforesaid premium they assume the risk of the said eight thousand guilders. Furthermore, the honorable directors shall furnish the said skipper with some wrist and ankle shackles to restrain therewith the refractory negroes on board, which shackles the skipper shall be held to deliver on his arrival at Curaçao to the aforesaid directors, or here to the aforesaid company in exchange for a proper receipt. It is further stipulated that if, contrary to expectation, it be found that any one has loaded in said ship any merchandise other than that belonging to the company, the company or the aforesaid directors shall have the right to have a proper search made here or over there, as often as they please, and if it be found that the skipper or any one of his crew has carried on any illicit trade on the aforesaid coast of Africa, whether with white people or black, or that any merchandise

⁵ A stiver was 1 *d.*

or cash has been taken along without permission, in whatever manner it may have been done, the same shall be subject to confiscation for the benefit of the aforesaid company. The skipper shall be bound to engage the crew upon these conditions and if the skipper himself, contrary to expectation, should upon sufficient legal evidence be found guilty of having carried on such illicit trade, he shall in addition to the confiscation of the merchandise forfeit, for the benefit as above written, his share in the ship, the freight and the proceeds of the voyage. All of which shall also take place in regard to each owner individually who shall be found guilty thereof for so far as his share is concerned and no further. It is further stipulated that the honorable directors shall within the space of four months from the date hereof not let any ship go from here to Angola, directly or otherwise, to be loaded and despatched from there before or at the same time as the aforesaid skipper; provided however that this shall not oblige the honorable directors to revoke the commissions heretofore issued, or if any ships from the coast of Guinea should have sailed thither before his arrival there to make any change in the orders issued. And it is promised that the skipper upon the satisfactory completion of his voyage shall be presented with a piece of cloth for a cape for himself and a flag for the ship, at the discretion of the honorable directors. For the performance and fulfillment of what is hereinbefore written, the aforesaid directors bind the hereinbefore mentioned sum of money in hand paid and furthermore all the company's property and effects and especially all the aforesaid negroes or the proceeds thereof, and such other goods as may be sent hither by the aforesaid company's agents in the said ship; and the aforesaid skipper binds his said ship, the freight and all the appurtenances thereof, together with his person and all his other goods, none excepted, the respective contracting parties submitting themselves to all courts and judges, and especially to the Court of Holland, without fraud, and mutually consenting that instruments in proper form be made hereof and delivered. Done at Amsterdam in presence of Isaack Ipesen and Willem de Haes, acting as witnesses hereto, also at Amsterdam.

330. THE DIRECTORS AT AMSTERDAM TO THE DIRECTOR AND COUNCIL OF NEW NETHERLAND, 1664.¹

Honorable, Prudent, Worthy, Beloved, Faithful, . . . We, likewise, have been not a little astonished at the insufferable and hostile action committed by a certain English privateer in attacking

[330] ¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, II. 222-223.

and seizing our ship 't *Waepen van Amsterdam*, on her way from the coast of Guinea, which he carried, with her cargo of Slaves, into Virginia. And as you have sent Councillor Johan de Decker and Commissary Verlet thither to reclaim them, we are impatient to learn their return, not without apprehension that we shall hear by the first opportunity that they either were too late, or else were put off with frivolous excuses and consequently will have gone back without having accomplished anything.²

In our last which we enclose, you were informed that we contracted with Symon Gilde, skipper of the ship *Gideon*, to export a goodly number of slaves from Loango on the Coast of Africa, and to convey them by way of Curaçao to New Netherland; also that this city is a partner therein for one-fourth part, as may be more fully seen by the copies hereunto annexed.

As these slaves are intended solely to promote agriculture in that country, which is the only means of making that state prosperous, so it is our express order and desire, that the aforesaid slaves shall be sold there only to our inhabitants on the express condition, that they shall not be exported out of our district, but specially retained therein, to be employed in the cultivation of the soil, so that the great expense which we have incurred may not be fruitless, but that we may, in due course of time, reap the fruits which we promise ourselves therefrom. The aforesaid ship with about 300 slaves may, according to our calculation, arrive yonder in the month of June or July next.

As your Honor will be greatly relieved by this supply, you will therefore use every effort that one-third part at least of the proceeds shall be forwarded hither in beaver, in order that we may be enabled to pay the freight, or the greatest part thereof at farthest, on the arrival of the aforesaid ship here, which we are bound to do by contract. Otherwise, we shall lose all ambition to continue such transmission of slaves. This we commend to your Honor's special consideration.

And although we have also ordered you, in the aforesaid despatch, to agree amicably with the city's officers about chartering the company's sloop for the conveyance of the city's slaves to the south river,³ yet we have subsequently resolved and determined that it should be effected here by the principals on both sides. Wherefore we have concluded to order and recommend you, in case the aforesaid sloop may be employed for that service, distinctly then to write

²The three following paragraphs vary slightly from the text as it is printed in the *Colonial Documents*. They are to be found in N. Y. Col. MSS., 15: 97.

³Delaware River.

us your advice and opinion what and how much ought to be charged for her freight, adding the reasons in support thereof, in order to enable us to make proper use of them in the present conjuncture.⁴

AMSTERDAM, this 20th January, 1664.

331. DIRECTOR STUYVESANT TO VICE-DIRECTOR BECK, 1664.¹

AMSTERDAM IN NEW NETHERLAND,

7 May, 1664.

. . . Messrs. the directors, and the Commissioners of the Colonie on the South River, have entered into a contract with Simon Cornelissen Gilde, skipper of the *Gideon*, to transport hither a lot of negroes for agricultural purposes.² These negroes will, we hope, have arrived before this letter reaches your Honor, or, at least, be embarked after its receipt. We shall therefore recommend that, being properly provided, they may be dispatched hither as speedily as possible. If it happen that Simon Gilde should arrive with the negroes at the island of Curaçao three weeks or a month later than the charter party provides, say, the middle of August, the first installment might reach here before or by the middle of September from Curaçao, and the remainder by the middle of October. In that event a fair price might be realized for them.

332. TERMS OF SALE OF NEGROES, 1664.¹

[*Conditions and Terms on which the Director General and*] Council of [*New Netherland*] propose [*to sell to the*] highest bidder a lot of Negroes and Ne[*gresses*. 29 May, 1664.]

The buyers shall immediately take possession of their purchased negroes, and may use them as bond slaves, and also sell them to others.

But whereas, the meaning of the directors is, to promote and advance the population and agriculture of this province more and more, the purchased negroes or negresses shall not be sold, carried away or transported beyond this province. Whoso acts contrary hereunto, shall forfeit for each negro or negress, One hundred Guilders, beaver value.

⁴ Signed, Abr. Wilmerdonx, Dirck Spiegel.

[331] ¹ N. Y. Col. MSS., 15: 123 b. This draft is in the handwriting of Peter Stuyvesant.

² A proposal for negroes for the South River colony was made Oct. 23, 1663. It was thought that 50 negroes could be obtained at 230 guilders each. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, II. 213-214.

[332] ¹ N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. 10: 3, p. 227; *Voyages of the "St. John," etc.*, pp. 202-205. The bracketed words show what portions of the manuscript have been destroyed and supplied from the *Voyage of the "St. John."* The date was supplied by E. B. O'Callaghan.

Payment shall be made, one fourth part down, the remainder in September or October next, in good beaver at eight guilders the skin, or in merchandize, beaver price, or in provisions such as the Hon'ble Company may require, to be delivered here at the Mannhattans at the following prices:

[Wheat at 55 stivers,	} the skepel. ²
Pease at 50 stivers,	
Rye at 45 stivers,	
Salted beef at 4 stivers],	} the pound.
Pork at 5 stivers,	

The purchaser shall be bound to give sufficient security.

On the foregoing Conditions, the following were the purchasers:

			Florins.
Jacobus Backer	1 Negro, for	fl. 555	
	1 Negress,	305	
	1 Negro,	315	
			11[75]
Dom'e Johannes Theodorus Polhemius on Colonists' Account, one			
Negro for			440
Nicolas Verleth, on Colonists' Account,	1 Negress, for	fl. 290	
	1 Negro,	395	
	1 Negress		
	and Child,	360	
	1 Negress,	260	
			130[5]
Johannes Verveelen,	1 Negro,		[445]
Paulus Leendertsen Vande Grist,	1 Negro,		42[5]
Capt. Thomas Willet,	1 Negro,		502
[Timotheus Gabry,	1 Negro,		485]
[Mr. John Laurence,	1 Negro,		345]
Jerominus Ebbingh,	1 Negro,		485
Isaacq Fooreest,	1 Negro,		545
Jacob Leyseler,	1 Negro,		615
Nicolaes De Meyer,	1 Negro,		460
Daniel Terneur,	1 Negro,		465
Isaac Bedlo,	1 Negro,		430
Jacques Cousseau,	1 Negress,	fl. 335	
	1 ditto,	305	
	1 ditto,	300	
			940
Willem Maerschallck,	1 Negro,	fl. 500	
	1 ditto,	425	
			925
Govert Loocquermans,	1 Negress,		305
[Egbert Myndertsen,	1 Negro,		562]
Adriaen [Vincent],	1 Negress,		[255]
Carel Verbrugge	1 Negress,	fl. 300	
	1 Negro,	600	
			9[00]
	Total		1200[9]

² About twelve bushels.

333. DIRECTOR STUYVESANT TO THE DIRECTORS AT
AMSTERDAM, 1664.¹

. . . This day fortnight arrived here your Honors' Vessel, the *Musch* [*Sparrow*], with forty head of slaves, sent to us by Vice Director Beck to procure provisions and all sorts of timber work, fix ox carts and a new rosmill. . . .

The negroes and negresses have all arrived safely and in health, but were, on an average, quite old, and as the skipper alleges, rejected by the Spaniards. The product of the greater part appears by the accompanying account of the public vendue. They would have brought more, had they not been so old. Five of the negro women, who were, in our opinion, unsalable, have been kept back and remain unsold. In like manner, six negroes also, to help to cut the required timber and to perform some other necessary work for the honorable company.

10 June, 1664.

334. THE DIRECTORS AT AMSTERDAM TO DIRECTOR
STUYVESANT, 1664.¹

Honorable, Prudent, Valiant, Beloved, Faithful, We have heretofore advised you of our intention to let the ship *Gideon* go from Curaçao to the Mannhattans with her slaves. Having since then, and now for the first time, remarked the hostile and treacherous designs manifested by the English towards the company's rightful conquests on the coast of Africa, where they have already mastered Cape Verd and taken 3 to 4 of the company's ships or yachts, we have come to a different determination. As your Honor also will not be left unmolested by them, for we understand that they have likewise sent 3 ships with men thither to the assistance of their nation, and as the aforesaid ship with slaves might hereby be brought into difficulty, we have thought proper to send her first to the South River, to learn there from the city's director how matters stand at the Mannhattans. On learning of the arrival of this ship there, your Honor must immediately commission some one to go thither, to be present at the allotment of the negroes, and to repair to the Mannhattans with the share, or $\frac{3}{4}$ th the part that is to fall to the company; with this understanding, however, that if the above-named ship had not brought thither above 200 head, there shall be left to the city at least 60 head, as we find ourselves under obligation to accommodate them with that number.² . . .

AMSTERDAM the 24th of June A^o 1664.

[333] ¹ N. Y. Col. MSS., 15: 131.

[334] ¹ N. Y. Col. MSS., 15: 134.

² Signed, J. Bontemantel, David van Baerle.

335. VICE-DIRECTOR BECK TO THE DIRECTOR AND COUNCIL OF
NEW NETHERLAND, 1664.¹CURAÇAO IN FORT AMSTERDAM,
the 21. July, Anno 1664.*Honorable, Valiant, Wise, Prudent and right Discreet Gentlemen.*

Gentlemen, My last to your Honors was dated 28 April, by the Company's ship the *Musch*, which I not only hope has arrived in your parts long before your receipt of this, but ardently desire to see her return here every day.

Since then a handsome Genoese [*genuees*] ship, named the *St. Crous* [*Sta. Cruz*], arrived here on the 12th of June last from Cartagena, with One hundred and sixty thousand pieces of eight in specie, to be all invested in slaves through the factors residing here on behalf of the Genoese Company,² who, however up to this time have delayed doing any thing, by advice and order of their principals, in the expectation that they will have concluded a new contract with the company, and that more slaves may arrive here, so as to invest the entire capital which they have brought for that purpose in their aforesaid ship, in slaves and to carry them away at once.

On the 8th instant, arrived here safely by way of Guinea, Angola, and Cayenne, the ship *Gideon*, Simon Cornelissen Gilde, skipper, the bearer hereof, with over three hundred slaves. I was in hopes by means of these and the supply of slaves already here, to have enough to be able on the advice and order of the company, to accommodate the aforesaid factors for their abovementioned specie, as then was their intent; for they said, in case no seasonable advice or order was received from their principals and the company, that they would then contract with me for as many slaves as were here at present, and might meanwhile happen to arrive, to be paid for on delivery, in order to dispatch their aforesaid ship, which was lying here at great expense. So they were expecting that they could have availed themselves on this occasion, for their vessel, of the slaves brought hither by the aforesaid Ship *Gideon*, when the abovementioned Skipper Simon Cornelissen Gilde brought me such ample order and instructions to the contrary, that I could not dare to change them, as your Honors will please to observe by the annexed copies. Pursuant to said orders I am sending to your Honors herewith, by the aforesaid ship and skipper the number of slaves to be seen in the accompanying invoice and bill of lading to which, for brevity's sake, I refer.

And since now, for the present, no more slaves are to be expected

[335] ¹ N. Y. Col. MSS., 17: 85.

² That is, Domingo Grillo and Ambrosio Lomelin, who held the contract for supplying the Spanish market with negroes. See this work, I. 105-106.

here, the aforesaid factors will have to content themselves with the slaves which have been previously brought hither on the company's account; and as many of the slaves brought here by the said ship *Gideon* are affected with scurvy, I have therefore retained the greater number of these here and embarked others in their place from among those brought in previous ships. When those are cured of the scurvy, they can be delivered, in the place of the others, to the aforesaid factors. . . .

336. BILL OF LADING OF THE *GIDEON*, 1664.¹

I, underwritten Simon Cornelissen Gilde, skipper under God of my ship, named the *Gideon*, now lying in the Harbor of Curaçao, ready to sail with the first fair wind (which God shall vouchsafe) for the Manhatans in New Netherland acknowledge to have received between the decks of my aforesaid ship, the number of three hundred slaves, consisting of one hundred and sixty men and one hundred and forty women, all merchantable; which slaves I promise to deliver (if God grant me a prosperous voyage), with my aforesaid ship at the said Manhatans to the hon'ble director general Petrus Stuyvesant or his order, on payment of my freight for the aforesaid slaves, as agreed upon and conditioned by the charter party, and for the performance of what is hereinbefore written, I bind myself and all my property and my aforesaid ship with all its appurtenances. In witness of the truth I have signed three bills of lading, all of the same tenor, the one being fulfilled, the others are void.

Written at CURAÇAO, the 21st July, Anno 1664.

SYMON CORNELISSEN GILDE.

337. DIRECTOR STUYVESANT TO VICE-DIRECTOR BECK, 1664.¹

Honorable, Prudent, Wise, and very Discreet Sir, Our last letter to you was by the ship the *White Horseman*, skipper Hendrick Jansen Stuyvesant, dated the 7th May last. . . .

Since then, *viz.*, on the 24th May, arrived here in safety, God be praised, the Company's ship *Sparrow*, skipper Jan Petersen Groot of Dockum, by whom I received your Honor's letter of the 28th of April, to which the following will serve as an answer.

The slaves and merchandize arrived safely according to invoice and bill of lading. . . .

I have sold the negroes that have been sent, at public auction to the highest bidder, for provisions, with the exception of six of the

[336] ¹ N. Y. Col. MSS., 17: 86.

[337] ¹ *Voyages of the "St. John," etc.*, pp. 216-221.

men, who are employed in the company's service on the works of the fort, and five negro women who, on account of their advanced age, could not find a purchaser, except at a very low figure. The remainder have been sold at prices mentioned in the annexed copy of the conditions of the sale; being, in our opinion, a tolerably fair price for such a lot. Had they been better, there is not a doubt but they would have produced a much larger amount, as may be inferred from the price of a few who were sold for 600 Guilders and upwards.

These negroes have afforded us great relief in the purchase of provisions for the garrison. Otherwise, we should have been constrained by the low state of the treasury, caused by the continued troubles, first with the barbarians, and now at present with the neighboring English, to purchase supplies by bills of exchange. . . .

In our former dispatch, duplicate whereof we here inclose, we stated among other things, if it should come to pass that Simon Gilde arrived at the island of Curaçao, with negroes three weeks or a month later than intimated in the charter party, say the middle of August, therefore the sending of the negroes hither should not be postponed, etc. Having reconsidered this, we have, for divers reasons, whereof one is, that the Right Honorable the Regents of the city of Amsterdam are interested therein one-fourth part, thought it best and most justifiable, not to make the slightest alteration in the charter party which the directors have concluded with Simon Gilde. Wherefore we request and recommend your Honor to regulate yourself by the said charter party in the forwarding of the abovementioned negroes. But as we find ourselves burthened here by an unusually strong garrison, for the support of which, exclusive of the monthly pay, we require considerable provisions, for the purchase whereof we are not well provided; we, on that account, have need, yea great need of a few slaves, in order to truck them for provisions. Yet, for reasons already given, we deem it unjustifiable to send for the said negroes, contrary to the charter party concluded with Simon Gilde.

Yet requiring a large quantity of provisions both for this place and Curaçao, as we have already stated and more fully explained, should an opportunity offer to purchase any, funds would be absolutely necessary. Wherefore we recommend this seriously to your consideration; and if Simon Gilde arrive in season, to send us as many negroes as circumstances will permit. If negroes be scarce, which however we should prefer to have for the good and advancement of the country, according to the Hon'ble Company's order, some other effects, either money or osnaburghs and other coarse linen, or any thing else that is not needed for the public service, might be spared

and bartered for provisions. If negroes, your Honor will please to bear in mind to have them sent off in time that they may probably arrive here before, or about All Saints, and that they be suitably provided against the cold.

30 July, [1664.]²

338. THE COUNCIL OF NEW NETHERLAND TO THE DIRECTORS AT AMSTERDAM, 1664.¹

. . . Meanwhile, God be thanked, the ship *St. Jacob* arrived here in safety on the 13th instant, from the South River, and, two days after, the ship *Gideon*, which sailed from Curaçao on the 21st of July with 300 slaves, 160 men and 140 women, whereof 9 died on the passage. This is a very poor lot; indeed the women so poor that we fear the most of them will remain on our hands, or must be let go at a very low figure, whereof more in our next. . . .

Pursuant to the contract which your Honors made with the directors of the city's colony, we have delivered by lot the fourth part of the abovementioned negro men and women, into the hands of Mr. Pieter Alrichs, commissary of Indian cargoes, and councillor of the colony of New Amstel, who has been here for some time for the purpose of purchasing oxen, cows and horses, to the number of 200 or thereabouts. . . .

The colony has received by lot for its fourth part, 38 men and 34 women. But as there were among these, as well as among those that fell to the company, many above the age of 36 years, three of them must be counted for two. . . .

This serves mainly to advise your Honors of the arrival of the abovementioned negroes who, though a very poor lot, as already stated, yet in our most deplorable state, will wonderfully relieve us, so that we and your Honors' servants and inhabitants, find ourselves greatly obliged, and gratefully acknowledge your care in the sending of the said negroes. . . .

FORT AMSTERDAM IN NEW NETHERLAND, 17 August, 1664.

(By way of the South River, per the *Eagle*.)

*Receipt for the above Negroes*²

[We the undersigned Director General and Council of New Netherland, hereby certify and declare that the bearer hereof, Symon Cornelissen Gilde, skipper, under God, of the ship *Gideon*, on the day

²The date printed in the *Voyage of the "St. John"* (p. 221), 1694, is obviously a mistake.

[338] ¹N. Y. Col. MSS., 15: 139.

²*Ibid.*, vol. 10: 3, p. 301; *Voyages of the "St. John," etc.*, pp. 223-225. The portion of the manuscript containing the bracketed words has been destroyed.

after his arrival,] being the 14th of August, hath delivered here on shore for account of Messrs. the Directors of the Incorporated West India Company, Chamber at Amsterdam, Two hundred and ninety head of negroes, to wit, one hundred and fifty three men, and one hundred and thirty seven women, among whom in all were found by impartial men as selected according to the charter party, eighty nine which were judged to be above thirty six years old; of which delivery, the abovementioned skipper, Symon Cornelissen Gilde, demanding proper receipt to serve him agreeably to his charter party, with the abovementioned directors, we have executed for him two of the same tenor, one whereof being satisfied, the other is to be null.

Done AMSTERDAM IN NEW NETHERLAND, the 30 August, 1664.³

339. COLONEL RICHARD NICOLLS TO CORNELIUS VAN RUYVEN, 1664.¹

An Order to Mr. Cornelius van Ruyven, concerning the Negroes, etc., of the West India Company.

Whereas there was a certaine Number of Negroes both men and women brought from Curazo hither, the greatest part of which were sold to divers persons before the Surrender of this place, into my hands under his Ma'ties obedience, upon severall Termes and Con-dicons as by their Bookes doth appeare, And I being not as yet satisfied, that the said Negroes are included in the Articles of Surrender, I do hereby Order and require that all payments in Goods or Beaver, that is, or shall be due, according to the severall Sales, made of the 30th of August and 1st of September, and those also of the 12th of September following, be without fraud or Rebate really paid in unto Mr. Cornelius van Ruyven, who is to keepe what hee shall so receive, in his hands for my use, untill the Accompts shall be better adjusted, and in the meane time, that no discount (as to the

² Stuyvesant in accounting to the company for his surrender of New Amsterdam on the appearance of the English offered as one reason the scarcity of supplies: "14 to 16 days before the arrival of the frigates, there arrived and came, in the ship *Gideon* between 3 and 400 half-starved Negroes and Negresses who alone, exclusive of the garrison, required 100 skepels of wheat per week" (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, II. 430). To this the company replied: "Finally, the aforesaid Stuyvesant says: That the scarcity of provisions was caused, among other things, by the arrival of the ship *Gideon* with between three and four hundred Negroes. Truly, also, a flimsy excuse. For, besides the number not being so large, one-fourth of them had been delivered to the officer of the city's Colonie on the South river, who took his departure with them for the South river three days after the arrival of the frigates because he saw the shape things were taking in New Netherland and around the government; and the remainder were sold shortly after, so that he had not to provide for them." *Ibid.*, II. 495.

[339] ¹ *N. Y. State Library Bulletin*, History No. 2, p. 122 (May, 1899), General Entries, 1664-1665. Colonel Nicolls had taken possession of New Amsterdam on Sept. 8, 1664. On Oct. 13 Sir Robert Carr, at Delaware Fort, wrote to Colonel Nicolls: "I have already sent into Merryland some Neegars which did belong to the late Governor att his plantation above, for beefe, pork, corne and salt, and for some other small conveniences, which this place affordeth not." *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III. 73.

said Negroes) be Allowed of upon any pretence of the West India Companyes Debts, or any other, till I shall give further Order therein.

Given under my hand this 26th day of October 1664 at JAMES FORT ON MANHATANS ISLAND.

340. SIR JOHN WERDEN TO WILLIAM DYER, 1676.¹

30th of November, 1676.

. . . Secondly the deputy govern'r of the R'll Company tells me that that Company only pretend to the first empcon [importation] or transportacion of Negroes out of Guiny, and when they are once sold in Barbadoes, Jamaica etc. by them or their factors, they care not whither they are transported from thence; for the more are carryed of, the more againe wilbe wanting; and therefore you need not suspect the Company will oppose the introducing of black Slaves into New Yorke from any place (except from Guiny) if they were first sold in that place by the Royall Company or their agents.²

341. ORDER IN COUNCIL ON CAPTAIN BILLOP'S APPEAL, 1685.¹

At the Court at WHITEHALL
the 23d of December 1685.

Present: The Kings most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Upon reading a Report from the Right Hon'ble the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations in the words following

May it please Your Ma'ty, In obedience to your Majesty's Order in Council of the 4th of December 1685. Wee have examined the petition of Captain Christopher Billop² complaining that having consigned from Nevis some Negroes and other Goods to Mr. John Injohns of New York, the said Negros and Goods or the effects of them were attached at New York by Mr. John West Attorney to Mr. John Bawden and others of London³ where the said West ob-

[340] ¹*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III. 245-246. Dyer was collector at New York. The Royal African Company had been established and its monopoly proclaimed by the king between the dates of the preceding document and this one.

²Apr. 16, 1678, Governor Andros reported: "Some few slaves are sometimes brought from Barbados, most for provisions and Sould att abt 30 *li* or 35 *li* Country pay." *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III. 261.

[341] ¹*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III. 366-367.

²Capt. Christopher Billop's petition (*ibid.*, pp. 365-366) adds to this account a few further items about his difficulties. He stated that as commander of the *Deptford* he had, in June, 1682, captured the *Providence*, a London interloper, under Capt. George Nantor. The *Providence* with all that belonged to her was shortly after condemned in the admiralty court at Nevis. Some time after the condemnation he sent negroes to John Injons of New York. The point at issue, that is, whether the negroes sent to New York were removed by him from the *Providence*, he ignored. For an account of his difficulties in the West Indies see this work, I. 276-279; also *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 441; *Acts P. C. C.*, 1680-1720, pp. 38-39, 89.

³In the petition John and Thomas Temple of London were named as Bawden's associates.

tained Judgem't against the Pet'r for eleaven hundred and forty pounds Sterl.; from which sentence or Judgement the said Injohns desired to Appeal, which was refused; And therefore praying that the Mayor of New York may bee ordered to stop all proceedings there, and to send over an Appeal for a final determination before your Majesty. Whereupon wee most humbly Offer our Opinion that your Majesty bee pleased to admit the pet'rs appeal before Your Ma'ty in Council from the said sentence in such manner as is desired by the pet'r within four months after notice given of your Ma'ty's pleasure the pet'r having first given security here for the summ of Two Thousand Pounds to your Ma'ty to bee levied upon the Petitioner's Estate both Real and Personal, as well in Your Ma'ty's province of New York in America, as in England or elsewhere, to answer such determination in his said appeal as your Majesty in Council shall award. And that in the mean time all proceedings against the said Billop in relation to this matter doe cease.

All which is most humbly submitted.

His Ma'ty in Council the same, and being graciously pleased to admit of the pet'rs Appeal hath this day thought fit to Order That the matter of the said appeal bee, and the same is hereby appointed to bee heard before His Ma'ty in Council within four months after notice hereof shall bee given to the Mayor of New York, who is to transmit to this Board an account of all proceedings in his Court relating thereunto. And it is further ordered that in the mean time all Proceedings against the said Capt: Billop or his Agent relating to this matter doe cease; Hee having this day given security here, according to the Report, to answer such Determination in the Appeal, as His Majesty in Council shall award. Whereof the said Mayor of New York, or the Mayor thereof for the time being and all others concerned are to take notice, and give obedience hereunto. And Colonel Thomas Dungan His Ma'ty's Governor of New York is hereby directed to take care and give order that all things bee performed accordingly.

342. PETITION OF THE ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY TO THE
COURT OF ADMIRALTY, 1687.¹

To the hono'ble John Palmer Esq. Judge of his ma'ties Court of admiralty.

Sheweth and Informeth to your hon'r the Royall African Company of England,

That Whereas his late Ma'tie Charles the second for the supporting and manageing of a trade very beneficiall to his ma'ties Kingdome

[342] ¹ N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. 34:2, p. 77.

of England and his ma'ties Forreigne plantations upon the Coasts of Guinney, Bueny, Angola and other parts and places In Africa From the port of Sally in Barbary inclusive to the Cape de bona Esperanza inclusive By his Letters pattents under the great seale of England beareing date the 27th day of Sept'r In the four and twentieth yeare of his Reigne did Incorporate diverse of his Loveing Subjects by the name of the Royall African Company of England And did thereby grant unto the said Company the whole Intire and only trade Into and from Africa aforesaid and the Islands and places near adjoineing to the Coasts of Africa and Comprehended within the Limitts aforesaid with prohibition to all other his ma'ties subjects to trade there. And Whereas the Kings ma'tie our Sovereigne Lord that now Is with the advice of his privy Councill by his proclamation beareing date att Whitehall the first day of Aprill 1685 In the first yeare of his Reigne did publish and declare his Royall will and pleasure to be and did thereby strictly prohibite and forbid all and Every of his ma'ties Subjects whatsoever (Except the said Royall African Company of England and their Successors and such as should be Employed and lycensed by them) att any time or times thereafter to Saill or Navigate any ship or ships vessell or vessells or Exercise any trade to or from any of the parts or Coasts of Africa from Sally to Cape de bona Esperanza or any of the Islands near adjoineing thereunto as afd [aforesaid] or from thence to Carry any negro Servts Gold Elephants teeth or any other goods and merchandizes of the product or manufacture of the said places upon paine of his ma'ties high displeasure and the forfeiture and Loss of the said negroes Gold Elephants teeth and all other goods and merchandizes and the ships and vessells which should bee taken Or found tradeing in any place or places upon the Costs of Africa af'd within the limitts abovesaid. And did thereby also strictly Requyre and command all his Gov'rs Deputy Gov'rs admiralls vice admiralls Generalls Judges of his Courts of admiralty comandars of his Fortts and Castles Capt's of his Royall ships etc. and all other his officers and min'rs Civill and military by sea or Land in Every of his said American Dominions and plantacions to take effectual Care that noe person or persons whatsoever within their respective limitts or Jurisdictions Except the said Company and their Successors and such as should bee Employed and lycenced by them, should send or navigate any ships or vessells or Exercise any trade from any of his said dominions or plantacions to any parte of the said Coasts of Africa within the Limitts aforesaid or from thence to Import any negroe Servants Gold Elephants teeth or other goods of the product of these parts Into any of his dominions or plantations of America as by the said proclamacion Relacion being

thereunto had may now fully and att Large appeare.² *Notwithstanding* which One Robert Allison³ not being of the said Royall African Company nor Imployed nor lycensed by them, not being ignorant of the premisses butt his ma'ties said Letters pattents and the will and pleasure of our said Lord the King with the advice of his privy Councill af'd so published and declared In manner Above Expressed not mindeing nor Regardeing on or about the 20th day of [blank] in the 3d yeare of his now ma'ties Reigne did Import into this his ma'ties Dominion and plantation of Newyorke four negroe Servts 2127 (two thousand one hundred and seven and twenty) pound of Elephants teeth and 107 (one hundred and seven) pounds weight of Bees wax Beeing the product and manufacture of the parts and places in Africa within the Limitts comprehended in his ma'ties Letters pattents af'd In contempt of his ma'ties Letters pattents his ma'ties proclamation af'd and the lawes and Customes in that behalfe made had and used, *Whereupon* the said Royall African Company af'd pray the consideration of this Court and that the said negroes Elephants teeth and bees wax may be adjudged to bee forfeited According to the tenure forme and Effect of his ma'ties Letters pattents his ma'ties said proclamacion and the Lawes and Customes in that behalfe had made and used as aforesaid.

343. THE BOARD OF TRADE TO THE EARL OF BELLOMONT, 1698.¹

. . . We send you also here inclosed the deposition of Humphrey Perkins of New Yorke, which we caused to be taken for the same reason.² It relates to a voyage from New York to Curasso some years ago in a ketch whereof one Smart was master and Colonel Depeyster owner; that you may make what use you can of it, either

²The instructions to Governor Dongan, May 29, 1686, contained the usual exhortation to encourage all trade, especially that of the Royal African Company, and then added: "And you are to take care that there bee noe trading from the Province of New York to any place in Africa within the Charter of the Royal African Company. And you are not to suffer any ships to bee sent thither without their leave or Authority" (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III. 374, sect. 56). Similar instructions were sent to the New York governors throughout the century.

³This was doubtless the same Robert Allison who, as supercargo on the *Fortune*, in 1697, traded with the pirates of Madagascar. Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy*, p. 186.

[343] ¹*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IV. 413. The same account is to be found in a report on the affairs of New York, made by the Board of Trade on Oct. 19, 1698 (*ibid.*, p. 390). Richard Coote, earl of Bellomont, governor 1698-1701.

²The Board of Trade was endeavoring to collect any and all material which bore upon the colonial trade with pirates. Closely akin to this was the trade for Madagascar negroes, in which New York had been engaged since 1686, when the *Mariner's Adventure* was permitted to enter New York and discharge her cargo, after her master gave affidavits that he had not been in the territory of the Royal African Company and offered security for any claims which it might make (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1685-1688, pp. 220, 231, 232, 253). A further account of the investigation of this trade and of Bellomont's efforts to bring it to an end is to be found in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IV. 304, 319, 325, 388-389.

in troubling those concerned for what is past, or preventing the like (as much as possible) for the future. But upon occasion of this Perkins it is fit that we acquaint your Lordships a little particularly with his story. He was master of a vessell called the *Frederick* sloop belonging to Mr. Frederick Philips,³ and (since your Lordship's being there) was sent out under the conduct of Adolphus Philips to cruise for a vessell expected from Madagascar, which vessell they accordingly met, and having taken great quantitys of East India Goods out of her and put them on board this sloop, Adolphus returned in the Madagascar ship with nothing but Negroes to New York. In the mean while this sloop went and lay privately in Delaware Bay till Adolphus came againe from New Yorke to them, and then sent her away (under the conduct of one Jay a Frenchman) North about Scotland to Hamburgh. But at Hamburgh S'r Paul Ricaut his Majesties Resident getting notice of such a vessell with such a cargo, seized what he found and sent the men hither, who have all of them made depositions about the circumstances of the whole voyage. . . .

WHITEHALL, October the 25, 1698.

344. COLONEL FLETCHER'S ANSWERS TO THE COMPLAINTS
AGAINST HIM, 1698.¹

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the
Council for Trade and Plantations.

May it please your Lordships, . . . Glover² was an inhabitant of New York and master of a ship built there, and then riding in the harbour; he had another of the like sort. . . .

As for Glover he went directly, as I heard, with a loading to Barbadoes, and there tooke a new Commission from the Governour, and was thence sent for Negros to Madagascar, and that he was there taken by the Pirates. . . .

I say the same thing in the case of granting a commission to Moston.³ The case (as I recollect) was thus. There were severall English and Dutch merchants of New Yorke who had hired the

³ Frederick Philipse, owner of Philipse Manor, which he received from Governor Fletcher, accumulated much of his fortune from the tempting trade with pirates which had its headquarters in Madagascar (Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy*, p. 182). For an account of his life see E. H. Hall, *Philipse Manor Hall*, pp. 45-81.

[344] ¹ N. Y. Col. Docs., IV. 446. Benjamin Fletcher was governor of New York from 1692 to 1698, during which period the colonial trade with pirates had its heyday (Jameson, *Privateering and Piracy*, p. 167 n.).

² Fletcher was defending himself from the charge that he had granted privateering commissions to several well-known pirates. For Glover's arrival in the region of piratical activities see Jameson, *Privateering*, pp. 183-185.

³ Capt. Thomas Mostyn.

ship *Fortune*, to fetch negroes from Madagascar, as was every year usuall with them.⁴ . . .

LONDON, December 24th 1698.

345. REPRESENTATION OF THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1699.¹

To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty, . . . The 10th Article is: That Colonel Fletcher granted also a like commission to Thomas Moston Commander of the ship *Fortune*, an unfree bottom, tho' it was then evident that the said ship was not designed for any service of war, but for illegal trade, and the sequel demonstrated it accordingly.

In answer to this article Colonel Fletcher acknowledges that he granted the said Commission to Captain Moston upon the desire of several merchants who had hired the ship to fetch negroes from Madagascar; but denies his knowledge that the said ship was an unfree bottom: the evidence of which, as it lyes before us, consists of the information given us by the Earl of Bellomont that the said ship was known to all men to have been formerly a Dutch privateer; also in the copy of her Charter party of affreightment, by which she is hired to lade other goods as well as Negroes; likewise by the cargo she took in publickly at New Yorke, which the Earl of Bellomont writes was goods proper for the pirates; and in the last place by her seizure and confiscation for illegal trade upon her returne thither. . . .

WHITEHALL, March the 9th 1698/9.

346. THE EARL OF BELLMONT TO THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1699.¹

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

My Lords. . . . But rather than require more soldiers from England (for I confesse I grudge our parting with people out of England) I should advise the sending for negros to Guinea, which I understand are bought there and brought hither all charges whatever being borne for 10£ a piece New Yorke mony, and I can cloath and feed 'em very comfortably for 9*d.* a piece pr. day sterling money, which is 3*d.* pr. day lesse than I require for the soldiers. If it were practicable for the King to be the merchant and that whole manage-

⁴It is small wonder that Madagascar traffic in negroes attracted ambitious traders. Ten shillings expended in English goods was said to purchase a negro in Madagascar, while on the West Coast the price had long been from £3 to £4 and at the end of the century was rapidly rising. Charles Johnson, *A General History of Pyrates* (1726), II. 104.

[345] ¹N. Y. Col. Docs., IV. 482.

[346] ¹N. Y. Col. Docs., IV. 506.

ment of this undertaking were upon his account, which I confess I am not able to judge whether it be (as I said) practicable or would be pleasing to the Nation; but were it so, there would be a profit of at least £50 pr. Cent made of the goods sent over hither and to the other plantations for defraying the charge of making and providing the Stores. . . .

NEW YORKE, Aprill the 17th 1699

347. THE EARL OF BELLOMONT TO THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1699.¹

BOSTON, August 24th 1699.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of
Trade and Plantations.

My Lords. . . . I desire to be directed by your Lordships whether I may not lawfully require bonds of all the ships that go from hence and New Yorke on trading voyages, that they shall not goe to Madagascar nor elsewhere, where pirates frequent. I know 'tis a thing sometimes practised to take the Governors passe for one port or place and sail to another. And that trick was served me last summer at New Yorke by Baldrige² and Taylor who fitted out a Briganteen, and took my passe for Antegoa, but I was told their designe was for Madagascar or Guinea; when the briganteen was at Sea, whether with or without the privity of the forementioned Owners I cannot tell, she turn'd pirate and went to Newfoundland and robb'd ships.

Now that I have had occasion to mention Baldrige, I will acquaint your Lordships with a particularity told me of him by Kidd,³ when I first examined him in Council, because you had directed in your Letter of the 25th of last October or 5th of last January, that I should inquire after some pirates kill'd in St. Maries near Madagascar. I question'd Kidd about it, and he told me Baldrige was the occasion of that Insurrection of the Natives and the death of the pirates, for that having inveigled a great number of the natives of St. Maries, men, women and children on board a ship or ships he carryed and sold them for slaves to a French Island called Mascarine or Mascaron, which treachery of Baldriged the Natives on the Island revenged on those pirates by cutting their throats. . . .

BOSTON August 24th 1699.

[347] ¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IV. 552.

² For Capt. Adam Baldrige's own account of his dealings with pirates see Jameson, *Privateering*, pp. 180-187.

³ It will be remembered that Captain Kidd's privateering voyage of 1695 was arranged with Bellomont in London before Bellomont sailed for New York. For Kidd's story see *ibid.*, pp. 190-256.

348. HEADS OF ACCUSATION AGAINST THE EARL OF
BELLOMONT, 1700.¹

32. The Earle of Bellomont in justification of these proceedings calumniates the people of New York of being Pirates and favourers of Piracy and breaking the Acts of navigation whereas it is evident that but one ship has for ten years past gone from thence on a Piraticall voyage and that was pretended to be commissioned by Leisler; 'Tis true that severall ships have had a constant trade to Madagascar for Negroes and some of them having lately met with India goods there which they bought at easy rates transported them to New York.

These are what I am informed by the Merchants of London will appear to be true.

March 11, 1700.

349. THE EARL OF BELLOMONT TO SECRETARY VERNON, 1700.¹

N. YORK the 6th Decr. 1700.

. . . As to the charge against me for suffering the ship *New York Marchand* to come hither after having been at Madagascar, I have inquir'd ab't it, and the story of that ship is this: Frederick Philips her owner had appointed her to stop at Delaware Bay, wch is 50 leagues westward of this Province, and there his son met her in the *Frederick's* sloop, takes out all her E. India goods and sends the *Frederick's* sloop and goes to Hamborough (the story whereof you know) and come to this town in the *N. York Marchand*. Upon notice of the ship's coming in (for the sloop I never heard of till from your selfe) I sent imediately to search the *N. York Marchand*, where there was nothing found but a parcel of Negros, and the trade for Negros to Madagascar was not then under a prohibition, not untill the E. India Act passed in England.² I defie all mankind to charge me justly wth any sort of corruption in the least degree or wth any connivance or partiality shew'd to one man or party more than another. . . .

350. DEPOSITIONS OF WILLIAM JOHNSON AND PETER LOCKCOURT.¹

Wm. Johnson being Examened Declareth That He was One of the Seamen and marriners On Board of and belonging to the Pink

[348] ¹ N. Y. Col. Docs., IV. 623. Signed, John Key.

[349] ¹ N. Y. Col. Docs., IV. 816; see *Cal. St. Col.*, 1700, pp. 718-719. James Vernon was Secretary of State.

² The act of 1698 gave to the East India Company a virtual monopoly of trade in lands east of the Cape of Good Hope, which would of course bring Madagascar under its control. As a matter of fact this island had always been considered as within the territory of that company. *Statutes of the Realm*, III. 514.

[350] ¹ N. Y. Col. MSS., vol. 34: 2, p. 39. The date of these depositions is not certain, but since they relate in part to further dealings of Frederick Philipse in slaves they are placed here.

Charles Whereof Robert Godingham was master when She Came into this Port of New Yorke and that he was Shipped by the Sayd master at the Isle of May² in the month of October Last Past and that Peter Lockcourt was Shipped att the Same tyme And the Sayd master Agreed and Promised to Pay him fourteen Guild'rs Hollands Money As he payd Other men per month that himsellfe and the Sayd Peter Are Dutchmen and when they Came On Board they found with the master and Boy but fiveteen In all besides them Belonging to her of which two were Scotshmen and one Dutchman Called the Doctor, the Rest English and that they went from the Sayd Isle of May for Angola In Guiny and by the way one of the Scottsman Dyed Soe the Whole Ships Company with them Remained Sixteen in all That Att Guiney they Received On Board About One Hundred and fourty Negroes which in Or About the month of Aprill Last Past they Landed att the Island of Barbados Except About twenty three which were Sick and of them but Nine Remained Alive who were brought into the Sound and Eight of them Put Ashore with the Long boat neer About Rye and Delivered to Mr. Frederick Philips his Sonne and the Other being A Negro boy was Sent to this Citty in the Boate of Cornelis Fransen with a Sack or Bagg of Pepper twelve Or more Pewter Dishes and Some Peeces of Striped Stuff for hankercheifs which were Delivered from On Board the Sayd *Pinke* when She was in the Sound under Sayle bound In hither that the Same men that Sayled in the Sayd *Pinke* from the Isle of May for Guiney And Barbados where the Same That Came in her To this Porte Except One Scotsman that Dyed and besides the master and Boy were in all fourteen marriners with the Doctor and of them three were Dutchmen and One James A Scottsman He Sayth further that Att Stanford att the house of Capt. Selleck there was Delivered On there out the Sayd *Pinke* about One Hundred and Twenty Water Caskes One New Sheat Cable One Small Cable Or Hasser four great gunns Six Musketts two New Sayles two great Anchors and A great Quantity of Negro Bread and further Sayeth not.

Peter Lockcourt being Examened Sayth and Declareth that he was Shipped On Board The *Pinke Charles* by Robt. Godingham Master thereof to be payd as he Sayd he Payd the other men That Is to Say fourteen Guilders Hollands Money per month and went in her the Voyages mencioned in the Above Deposcion of Wm. Johnson and Agrees with him in Relateing the Severell Passages both Con-

² Isle of May, one of the Cape Verde Islands.

cerning the Quality and Number of the Marrin's and Landing of Negroes and goods etc.

351. NEGROES IMPORTED INTO NEW YORK, 1701-1726.¹

*An Acco't of what Negro Slaves have been Imported into His Majesties Province of New York as taken from the Custom House Books between the year 1701 and this present year 1726.*²

Year	From the West Indies	From the Coast of Africa	Year	From the West Indies	From the Coast of Africa
1701	36		Forward	382	556
1702	165		1718	447	70
1703	16		1719	104	
1704	8		1720	81	
1705		24	1721	76	117 ⁶
1710		53	1722	106	
1711 ³		55	1723	82	
1712		77	1724	61	
1714	53 ⁴		1725	54	59
1715	17 ⁵	38	1726	180	
1716	19	43		—	—
1717	68	266		1573	822[?]
					2395 Total.

[351] ¹N. Y. Col. Docs., V. 814. On June 24, 1726, the Board of Trade wrote to Governor Burnet that it had no accounts of the number of negroes imported into New York or New Jersey, and wished them for as long a period as he could obtain them (*ibid.*, V. 780). The detailed list of New York importations, drawn from the Naval Officers Lists, will be found at the end of this section, no. 369.

²The New York duty on negroes at the beginning of the eighteenth century was 15 s. if they were imported directly from Africa, £1 10 s., if indirectly (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1701, p. 567). In 1709 a duty of £3 was laid on those slaves not brought directly from Africa. Du Bois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, p. 205.

³"New York, Yesterday Capt. Jarret arriv'd here from Guinea with 74 Negroes" (*Boston News Letter*, Oct. 15, 1711). Not all the negroes intended for New York arrived there. The sloop *Berry*, Walter Scott commander, from Jamaica to New York, with 48 negroes, was seized by a Martinique privateer in November, 1711. *Ibid.*, Jan. 14, 1712.

⁴If this is correct the item in the *News Letter*, Aug. 23, 1714, is in error: "New York Aug. 16. Arrived here are . . . Nathanael Vial from Jamaica in a Sloop, 'tis said he has 90 Negro's on Board."

⁵The report of negroes brought from the West Indies and from Africa did not tell the whole story. On July 25, 1715, Governor Hunter reported to the Board of Trade the passage of an act "to exempt Hana Martin, Doctor Christr. Cooper and Mr. George Smith from the payment of the Tax for 12 Negroes imported from South Carolina" (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, V. 419). From 1715 on compare this list with no. 369.

⁶Note in manuscript, "Entered from the Coast of Africa but found afterwards to have been from Madagascar." One projected importation is described in the following letter from Cadwallader Colden to a Dr. Home, Dec. 7, 1721: "S'r, I am oblinded to you for your kinde offer of buying for mee three or four slaves and that in so doing you will particularly consider my intrest. Please to buy mee two negro men about eighteen years of age I designe them for Labour and would have them strong and well made. Please likewise to buy mee a negro Girl of about thirteen years old. . . . in the bill of lading putt one on my account of risque another on my wife's and a third on Saundys that wee may have Less trouble with the duty." *Colden Papers*, I. 51.

N. B. That all the Negroes in the foregoing Account have been Imported by Private Traders and that none have been imported during that time by the African Company.

ARCH'D KENNEDY Coll'r

NEW YORK, 16 Decemb'r 1726

352. NEW YORK CUSTOM-HOUSE ENTRIES, 1706-1732.¹

Date	Master	Voyage
1706, Oct. 28	Davis	Outward bound for Guinea
1711, Oct. 15	Jarrat	Entered out for Guinea
1714, Dec. 20	Jacobs	Entered out for Guinea
1715, Nov. 14 ²	Jacobs	" " " "
1722, Dec. 17	A. Jarrat	Outward bound for Africa
1723, Nov. 4 ³	Edward Sanders	Entered in from Africa and Jamaica
1732, Aug. 28	Farmer	Outward bound for Africa
Sept. 25	Payne	Outward bound for Africa

353. THE SOLICITOR GENERAL TO THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1713.¹
December 22, 1713.

As to the Act for laying a duty on negroes, wine, rum and other spirits, cyder and vessels, Tho' this Act will expire March 10th, 1713; yet I submit to yr. Lordship's consideration how far it may be proper for them at Pensylvania to lay a duty on negroes, wine, rum all shipping, etc. and how far it may affect His Majesty's subjects here of which your Lordships are most proper judges. . . .

[352] ¹The entries come from the *Boston News Letter*, the *Boston Gazette*, and the *Weekly Rehearsal*, for the dates given; the actual customs entry is frequently a few days earlier than the date of the paper, which is the date here given.

²The *News Letter* for Aug. 15, 1715, contained notice of the arrival of Jacobs from Africa on Aug. 8. That this list is far from complete will be seen by a reference to the figures in *ante*, no. 351, as well as by the casual references in the newspapers. "New York, Aug. 26. Capt. Lawrence arrived from Guinea, three months Passage; we daily expect a Ship and a Sloop from thence with more Slaves." *Ibid.*, Sept. 2, 1717.

³Prices of seasoned negroes in New York about 1690 ranged from £16 to £25. Their labor commanded from £5 to £6 a year (*Papers of the Lloyd Family*, I. 115, 147). On Jan. 27, 1723, a negro girl of seventeen was offered for sale for £45; on Apr. 19, a girl of twenty for £45; on Aug. 1, a negro man and girl for £50 and £60 respectively, on Sept. 24, a girl for £50; and on Oct. 21, a girl with a four-year-old child for £75 (O'Callaghan, *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts*, II. 476, 477, 479, 481). Inventories of 1729 and 1730 value negro women at £35, £40, and £45. By this time their labor was commanding £8 and £9 a year. *Lloyd Family*, I. 258, 261, 271, 307, 311.

[353] ¹*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1712-1714, p. 270. Robert Raymond was the solicitor general. The act here referred to is the Pennsylvania act of 1712, laying a duty of £20 on negroes imported into that colony. *Statutes*, II. 433-436; repealed, Feb. 20, 1714, see *ibid.*, p. 543.

354. NEWS ITEM RELATING TO SLAVE TRADE, 1723.¹

PHILADELPHIA, August 29 [1723].

By Capt. Stockin who arrived here last Week from Barbadoes, we have advice that a Sloop belonging to New York, was arrived there from Guinea, and that the Captain died on that Coast. And that the Sloop was hired to go down to Jamaica with Slaves.

355. GOVERNOR BURNET TO THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1726.¹

NEW YORK, 20 Decr. 1726.

My Lords, . . . I send your Lordships herewith an account of Negroes imported to New York since 1700, which is all that could be found. There are bonds here in the Custom House for those that came directly from Africa, but no Agent of that Company has been of late appointed to demand their dues, which possibly it may be a favour in your Lordships to let the Directors of that Company know, that they may employ some body to demand their ten pr. Cent.

If I get the account from East New Jersey before this vessel sails, I will likewise enclose it. There are few Negroes, if any, imported in West New Jersey, but it is not possible for me to get an account from thence to be sent by this opportunity; but I shall obtain it as soon as can be. . . .

I have just received an account of Negroes from the Collector of Amboy, which I likewise enclose to Your Lordships. . . .

356. PRESIDENT VAN DAM TO THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1731.¹

NEW YORK, 2d November 1731.

May it please Your Lord'pps, . . . 7. An Act to explain part of an Act, entituled, an Act to repeal some parts and to continue and enforce other parts of the Act therein mentioned and for granting several duties to His Majestie for supporting his Govern't in the Colony of New York from the 1st day of September 1728. until the 1st day of Sept'r which will be in the year 1733.²

The reason I had My Lords for the passing of this Act, I humbly beg leave to explain, and were these: a Ship belonging to

[354] ¹ *Boston Gazette*, Sept. 9, 1723.[355] ¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, V. 811, 814.[356] ¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, V. 927. Rip van Dam was acting governor of New York 1731-1732.

² This act laid a duty of five ounces of Seville pillar or Mexican plate, or 40s. in bills of credit, on every negro imported from Africa, and £4 on those imported from any other place (Add. MSS. 33028, p. 250). The act of 1728 was discussed by the Board of Trade, along with several other colonial acts of similar import, and a recommendation that duties be raised by some other means was sent to the colonial governors in October, 1729 (*B. T. Journ.*, 1728-1734, pp. 64-68). The *Weekly Rehearsal*, Nov. 27, 1732, contained an account of the representation of the board copied from the *Political State of Great Britain*, for August, 1732.

this Colony with a considerable number of Negroes on Board her, in her voyage from Africa, touched at Antegua to purchase some provisions and Refreshments but landed none of her Slaves there, and then came to the Province of New Jersey, where there is no duty paid for any Slaves imported, but the owner of the vessel being desirous to import the greatest part of them into this province, if he might be allowed to pay only the duty of five ounces of plate for every head, which seemed to be a doubt in the Act for the settling the Revenue above mentioned being, it was said the ship did not come directly from Africa altho' the intention of the Legislature in that former Act was only to encourage the African Trade and so laid a double duty on slaves imported here from the West Indies, which are generally Refuse and very badd and could hardly be applicable to such slaves coming from Africa and had been nowhere landed although the ship had stop't at some other Port for refreshment before she arrived here; I therefore considered that if I did not pass that Law, none of the Slaves would have been brought hither which would have been a considerable loss to the Revenue and might have encouraged the bringing them in clandestinely, whereby the duty would have been defrauded; so that nothing but these considerations made me consent to that Law. . . .

357. THE BOARD OF TRADE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL, 1735.¹

To the Rt. Hon'ble the Lords of the Committee of

His Majesty's most Hon'ble Privy Council

My Lords, We have considered the humble petition of the Merchants and Traders of the City of Bristol, whose names are thereunto subscribed, referr'd to us by Your Lordships on the 1st day of November 1734 complaining of an Act pass'd in His Majesty's Province of New York intituled, "An Act to repeal the Act and to cancel the Bills of Credit therein mentioned, and grant unto His Majesty several duties for supporting His Majesty's Government in the Colony of New York until the first day of September which will be in the year 1737."

We have been attended upon this occasion by the Agent for the Petitioners and have heard what he had to offer in support of their petition and having considered the said Act and taken the advice of Mr. Fane one of His Majesty's Council at Law thereupon we take leave upon the whole to observe to Your Lordships that by the fol-

[357] ¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI. 32-33. Signed, "Fitz Walter, T. Pelham, Ja. Brundenell, R. Plumer."

lowing Clauses of this Act it is provided that there shall be paid to his Majesty for every slave, (male or female) "of four years of age and upwards, imported directly from Africa, the quantity of five ounces or Sevil Pillar or Mexico Plate, or forty shill: in Bills of Credit made current in this Colony.

For every Negro, Mullatto or Indian Slave (male or female) of four years of age and upwards imported from all other places by land or water, the sum of four pounds in like money. . . ."

As these clauses are greatly prejudicial to the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom, and are likewise expressly contrary to His Majesty's Instructions to the Govr of New York, by which he is directed not to pass any Act for imposing Duties upon Negroes payable by the Importer, or whereby the Trade or Navigation of this Kingdom might be any ways affected, unless a clause be inserted in such Act for suspending the execution thereof 'till his Majesty's pleasure should be known concerning the same, we should for these reasons propose to Your Lordships that the Act in question might be laid before His Majesty for his Disallowance.

But considering the Inconveniencies and Confusion that might arise in the province of New York if this Act which settles funds for the support of His Majesty's Government there should be repealed before other provisions are made for the same purposes, we therefore humbly propose that this Act may be suffered to ly by for the present, and that orders may be immediately sent to His Majesty's Govr of New York to move the Council and Assembly of that Province forthwith to pass a New Law for repealing the three foregoing clauses and for providing and settling other Funds for the like purposes not liable to the same objections.

We take leave to transmit to Your Lordships the Draught of such an Instruction as we have prepared upon these heads for the Govr of New York, which, if Your Lordships should approve it, may be immediately sent to him. But if the Council and Assembly of New York shall refuse to comply with this Instruction, we should then propose that the Act in question may be laid before His Majesty for his Disallowance.²

WHITEHALL Augst-the 6th 1735

358. ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS TO GOVERNOR COSBY, 1735.¹

[WHITEHALL, August 6, 1735.]

Whereas several Merchants and Traders of Our City of Bristol have most humbly petitioned us complaining of an Act pass'd in our

² See *Acts P. C. C.*, III. 422-423.

[358] ¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI. 33-34. William Cosby, governor 1732-1736.

Province of New York entituled "An Act to repeal the Act and to cancel the Bills of Credit therein mentioned and to grant unto his Majesty several Duties for supporting His Majesty's Government in the Colony of New York until the 1st day of Sep'r which will be in the year 1737," laying a Duty of five ounces of Plate or 40s current mony of New York upon every slave (male and female) of four years of age or upwards imported directly from Africa and four pound like mony upon every slave of the same age from any other place for all European or East India Goods Imported with proper certificates from the British Islands in the West Indies, the sum of five pounds in like mony for every £100 value prime Cost which Act having been examined by our Commissrs for Trade and Plantations is found to be directly contrary to the 18th Article of Your Instructions whereby you are expressly forbid to pass any law by which the trade or Navigation of this Kingdom may be any way affected declaring it to be our Royal Intention that no Duties shall be laid in the province under your Government upon British shipping or upon the Produce or Manufactures of Great Britain upon any pretence whatsoever. It is therefore Our Express will and pleasure that you move our Council and Assembly of our said Province forthwith to pass a New Law for repealing the three foregoing Clauses and for providing and settling other Funds for the like purposes not liable to the same objections, or at least that an Exception be made in favour of all Goods whatsoever of the Product or Manufacture of Great Britain; and that no Duty be laid on any Slave Imported payable by the Importer, and you are also to signify our Royal Intention to our Council and the Assembly of our said Province that if they do not immediately comply with this our Instruction we shall repeal the Act now complained of.²

² Instructions similar to these went to most of the colonial governors from this time to the end of the century. See *Acts P. C. C.*, IV. 210, for those to Sir Danvers Osborn, Aug. 10, 1753.

359. THE COUNCIL OF NEW JERSEY TO GOVERNOR LEWIS MORRIS,
1744.¹

8th Decr. 1744.

Sir, . . . The next Bill rejected by the Council, was, A Bill for laying a Duty on Indian, Negroe and Mollatto Slaves, imported into this Colony.

This Bill the Council considered abstractedly from any Instructions your Excellency has in relation to the African Company, which many of the Gentlemen of the Assembly we suppose are not unacquainted with, and only weighed the Advantages and Disadvantages that would arise to the People of this Colony upon that Bill's passing into a Law. By that Bill was plainly intended an intire Prohibition of all Slaves being imported from foreign Parts, no less than a Duty of Ten Pounds being imposed on all grown Slaves imported from the West-Indies, and Five Pounds on all those directly imported from Africa. Upon the most mature Consideration the Council were of Opinion, that if that Bill, or any other Bill, discouraging the Importation of Slaves, should at this time pass into a Law, the People of this Province in general (a few Labourers only excepted) and the Farmers in particular, would be great Sufferers by it, and that for the following Reasons.

1. It is well Known, that a great Number of Labourers went out of this Province on the late Expedition to the West Indies, and that very few of them have returned; That many, for some Time past, have been going, and still are going, on the Privateering Account; by which Means Labourers Wages are become very high, and the Farmers, Trading-Men and Tradesmen, are greatly straitened for want of Labourers to carry on their Business.

2. It is also well Known, that since the Manufacture of Linnens has arrived to any tolerable Perfection in Ireland, we have had very few Servants or Labourers from that Island, and have no Reason to expect many for the Time to come.

3. The present War throughout the German Dominions, and between almost all the Powers on the Continent of Europe, give us Reason to expect no Assistance from that Quarter. And as our Sovereign is deeply engaged in a war with many powerful Princes,

[359] ¹*New Jersey Archives*, first ser., VI. 222-223, XV. 384-385. Lewis Morris, governor of New Jersey 1738-1746. In March, 1714, New Jersey laid a duty of £10 on all negroes imported into the colony, the duty to be imposed for seven years (*ibid.*, first ser., XIII. 541). The reason for the measure Governor Hunter alleged to be the desire to "Encourage the Importation of white Servants for the better Peopeling that Country, a Law something like that in Pensilvania haveing evidently had that effect" (Governor Robert Hunter to the Board of Trade, Aug. 27, 1714, *ibid.*, first ser., IV. 196). In 1739 the New Jersey assembly passed a new duty measure, which was rejected by the council (*ibid.*, XV. 30, 31, 50); in 1744 the assembly renewed its efforts and on Oct. 24 sent to the council a bill which that body rejected on the 26th. *Ibid.*, pp. 343, 345, 351.

we have as little Reason to expect any Number of Servants from the Island of Great Britain. Wherefore we conceive, that it would be more for the Interest of the People of this Colony to encourage at this Time the Importation of Slaves, than by a Law to prohibit them altogether, and therefore we rejected that Bill.²

360. NEWS ITEMS RELATING TO SLAVE TRADE, 1751-1762.

May 13, 1751.¹

To be Sold at Publick Vendue, on Friday the 17th Instant, at 10 o'clock in the Morning, at the Meal Market.

A number of likely Negro Slaves, lately imported in the Sloop *Wolf* directly from Africa. Those that are not disposed of on that Day, will be sold at publick Vendue the Friday following.

August 19, 1751.²

Likely Negroes Men and Women, imported from the Coast of Africa, also the Brigantine *Warren*, with her Apparel, etc. to be sold by THOMAS GREENELL.

NEW-YORK November 25 [1751].³

We hear Capt. Amory a few Days ago, spoke with Capt. Miller in the Ship *Hawke*, of this Port, from the Coast of Guinea; who had been several weeks on our Coast, and were very short of Provisions.

² Cadwallader Colden, in a letter to Micajah Perry which was probably written in 1731, explains the high cost of labor in New York by "the high rate at which Negro's are sold being at about double of their value in the West Indies and Secondly the Great Charge of maintaining them especially in cloaths by reason of a long Winter in which time likewise they can be of little use." *Colden Papers* (N. Y. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, 1918), II. 32.

[360] ¹ *Valentine's Manual* (1866), p. 677, from *New York Gazette*, May 13, 1751. In May, 1751, James Cox sold two negroes brought from the West Indies for £46 each. C. M. Hough, ed., *Reports of Cases in the Vice Admiralty of New York* (1925), pp. 73-74.

² *Valentine's Manual* (1866), p. 684, from *N. Y. Gazette*, Aug. 19, 1751. On May 23, 1749, Governor Clinton wrote to the Board of Trade that fewer slaves than formerly were coming in from the African coast (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI. 510). Anthony Benezet, in his *Historical Account of Guinea* (1771), pp. 119-121, quotes from the anonymous diary of a surgeon who was on a New York slaver in 1750.

³ *Boston Post Boy*, Dec. 2, 1751. The vessel here mentioned, or another *Hawk*, under Captain Waynman, returned to New York from a Guinea voyage in August, 1750 (*News Letter*, Aug. 16, 1750). New York had another connection with the slave trade which sometimes affected legislation. Cadwallader Colden, making plans for the raising of revenue, wrote to Governor Clinton on Aug. 8, 1751: "it [a duty on wines and spirits] can be of no disadvantage to Trade, except in one instance, *vizt.* in the exportation of Spirits from North America to the Coast of Africa, for purchasing of Slaves, in which case, if thought necessary, the duty may be drawn back." *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI. 745.

NEW YORK, May 4, 1752.⁴

To be Sold by Abraham Pereira Mendes, a Parcel of Likely young Negroes, Piemento, Old Copper, Coffee, etc. at the House in Smith's Fly, lately in the Occupation of Roger Pell, Inn keeper. N.B. If any Person has a Mind to purchase any of the Goods mentioned, they may enquire of Mr. Daniel Gomez.

ANTIGUA, March 14 [1761].⁵

On Thursday was brought into the Road of Bassaterre, a Sloop bound from New-York for the Coast of Africa.

NEW YORK, May 25 [1761].⁶

By a Letter from the Coast of Africa, dated 27th of February, we learn of the Arrival on that Coast, of the Schooner *Little Betsey*, Capt. Richards, Brig *Polly*, Aaront King, a Schooner, Capt. Shaw; Sloop, Capt. Molton; Brig, Capt. Nicholls, all of New York. . . . Capt. Shaw was taken, and ransomed for 100 Guineas.

NEW YORK, August 10 [1761].⁷

By Capt. Lyell from the Coast of Africa, we have advice, that Capt. Nicoll, of this port, was not cut off by the Negroes, as was some time ago published; but that he lost 40 of his slaves by an insurrection and saved his vessel.

NEW YORK, October 5 [1761].⁸

Sunday last Capt. Nicoll, whom we lately mentioned to be taken on the Coast coming from Guinea, came to Town from Rhode Island, where he arrived in a Sloop of Capt. Turrel's [Tuell?] given him by the Captain of the French Privateer. It was on the 8th of September, in Lat. 35 20; Long. 67 00, That Capt. Nicoll was taken,

⁴ *Valentine's Manual* (1866), p. 710, from *N. Y. Gazette*, May 4, 1752. Captain Mersyer arrived in New York May 12, 1754, after a Gambia voyage. *News Letter*, May 23, 1754.

⁵ *News Letter*, Apr. 9, 1761. An examination of the *New York Mercury* reveals the following clearances for Africa from New York: 1760, Feb. 4, schooner *Little Betsey*, Abram. Sleet; Feb. 18, sloop *Ruby*, John Chenevard; Mar. 31, snow *Africa*, Robinson Hicks; Apr. 7, sloop *Sally*, Thomas Davis; Oct. 6, brig *Polly*, Arent King; Oct. 13, schooner *King Tontamaca*, George Shaw, *Little Betsey*, Roger Richards; Nov. 4, sloop *Brothers*, Samuel Miller; Nov. 17, brig *Agnes*, John Nicoll; Nov. 24, sloop *Mary*, Jacob Morris. *New York Gazette*, 1761.; Feb. 12, snow *George*, Peter Corne, schooner *Catharine*, John Lewis; July 16, sloop *Generous Kilby*, Thomas Farmer; 1762, Dec. 30, Cooper. The entries from Africa were: 1760, June 20, schooner *Africa*, James Chetham; Aug. 11, sloop *Sally*, David Griffith, Aug. 18, schooner *Little Betsey*, Abraham Sleet.

⁶ *News Letter*, June 4, 1761.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Aug. 20, 1761. A report reached Boston in September that a vessel bound from Guinea to New York with 80 slaves had been seized by a French privateer. *Ibid.*, Sept. 24, 1761.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Oct. 15, 1761.

the Privateer Sloop had 10 Guns, with a gilt Stern, and belonged to Martinico, commanded by one Semina, who was so base as to strip him, and the Passengers of every Thing worth Notice: The Privateer had been out 21 Days, in which she had taken six Prizes, two of them Guinea Men; and that she intended to go off the Coast immediately, having met with bad Weather just before, in which he lost his Boat and Some Guns.

On Tuesday Morning last arrived the Sloop *Sally*, Michal Molton, Master, of this Port. On the 2d of July last he sailed from Annamabo on the Coast of Africa, with 128 Slaves: and on the 1st Instant in Lat. 28, 24, N. Long. 38, 27 W. from London, he was taken by a French Privateer Sloop belonging to Martinico, of 10 four-pounders and 110 Men, called the *Phenix*, Monsieur Mouchell, commander: and after taking out all the slaves and plundering the Sloop, they permitted him to proceed in her (being a dull sailer) to New-York. The Privateer had before taken 4 other Vessels, and then made the best of their Way to Martineco.

NEW YORK, Feb. 4, 1762.⁹

A Schooner belonging to this Port, Lewis Master, we hear, was lately cut off by the Negroes, on the Coast of Africa. Capt. Lewis is arrived at St. Kitts, Master of a Sloop lately commended by Capt. Handy, of this Place, who, with all his Crew, died on the Coast some time since.

361. PETITION OF THE MERCHANTS OF PHILADELPHIA, 1761.¹

A Petition from the Merchants against the Bill for Duty on the Negros.

To the Honourable James Hamilton, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, etc.

The Petition of Divers Merchants of the City of Philadelphia, Trading to His Majesty's Coloneys in the West Indies,

Humbly Sheweth: That we are informed there is now a Bill Before your Honour for your assent, laying a Duty on the importation of Negros, and that it is to take place immediately on the publication.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 4, 1762.

[361] ¹ *Minutes of the Provincial Council*, Pennsylvania Archives, VIII. 576. On Feb. 28, 1761, a bill for laying a duty on negroes and mulatto slaves imported into the province was presented to Deputy Governor Hamilton for his concurrence. He returned the bill with a reprimand for having named in it the officer of enforcement, and with an amendment postponing its operation for six months after passage. His suggestions were accepted and in its final form the measure became a law on Apr. 11, 1761 (*ibid.*, pp. 578-579, 583, 596, 601; *Pa. Arch.: Papers of the Governors*, fourth ser., III. 60-61). In 1767 John Penn, deputy governor, reported to the Earl of Shelburne that this duty, £10 per head, had yielded for the preceding three years £650 annually. *Ibid.*, p. 343.

We, the subscribers, ever desirous to extend the Trade of this Province, have seen, for some time past, the many inconveniencys the Inhabitants have suffer'd for want of Labourers and artificers, by numbers being inlisted for His Majesty's Service, and near a total Stop to the importation of German and other white Servants, have for some time encouraged the importation of Negros, and acquainted our friends and correspondents in several parts of His Majesty's dominions (who are no Way apprehensive of a Bill of this Nature), that an Advantage may be gained by the Introduction of Slaves, which will Likewise be a means of reducing the exorbitant price of Labour, and, in all probability, bring our Staple Commoditys to their usual prices; And as many of us have embarked in this Trade through the motives before mentioned, We humbly beg your honour will take into consideration the hardships we shall Labour under by such a Law taking immediate effect, when we have it not in our power to countermand our Orders or advise our friends; therefore humbly pray that such time may be allowed (before the Law takes place) as your honour shall think most Conducive to extricate your petitioners from the impending danger.

JOHN BELL,
HUMPHRY ROBINSON,
REED AND PETTIT,
WILLIAM COXE,
CHARLES BATHS,
PHILIP KEARNEY, JR.
JAMES CHALMERS,
JOSEPH WOOD,
WILLING, MORRIS AND CO.
THOS. RICHE,
DAVID FRANKS,
HU. DONNALDSON,
PHILADELPHIA, 1st March, 1761.

BENJAMIN LEVY,
HENRY HARRISON,
JOHN AND JOS. SWIFT,
JOHN NIXON,
DANIEL RUNDLE,
FRANCIS AND RELFE,
STOKER AND FULLER,
SCOTT AND McMICHAEL,
JOHN INGLIS,
DAVID McMURTRIE,
SAML. AND ARCHA. MCCALL,
JOSEPH MARKS.

362. NOTICE OF NEW JERSEY SALES, 1761-1764.

May 21, 1761.¹

To be Sold by Stocker and Fuller, and to be seen at Mr. Daniel Cooper's Ferry, West New-Jersey, opposite the City of Philadelphia, a Parcel of likely Negroes.

May 28, 1761.²

Just imported from Barbadoes, in the Ship *William and Mary*,

[362] ¹ *N. J. Arch.*, first ser., XX. 569, from the *Pa. Jour.*, May 21, 1761.

² *N. J. Arch.*, first ser., XX. 573, from the *Pa. Gazette*, May 28, 1761.

George Nicholson, Master, and now lodged at Mr. Daniel Cooper's Ferry, on the Jersey Shore.

A Negroe Man, and two New Negroe Boys, who are to be sold by Willing, Morris and Company. The Purchaser to pay the Duty lately imposed by Act of Assembly, if brought into this Province.

Aug. 6, 1761.³

To be Sold, On Board the Schooner *Hannah*, lying in the River Delaware, very near Mr. Daniel Cooper's Ferry, West New Jersey, opposite the City of Philadelphia, a Cargo of likely Negroes, just imported in said Schooner, directly from the Coast of Guinea. For terms of sale apply to Thomas Riche, David Franks, or Daniel Rundle.

Oct. 22, 1761.⁴

Just imported in the Sloop *Company*, Captain Hodgson, from the Coast of Africa, A Parcel of Likely Negroe Slaves; Which may be seen on board said Sloop, lying off Cooper's Ferry. For Terms, apply to Samuel and Archibald M'Call, and James Wallace and Company.

May 27, 1762.⁵

Just imported from the River Gambia in the Schooner *Sally*, Bernard Badger, Master, and to be sold at the Upper Ferry (called Benjamin Cooper's Ferry), opposite to this City, a parcel of likely Men and Women Slaves, with some Boys and Girls of different Ages. Attendance will be given from the hours of nine to twelve o'clock in the Morning, and from three to six in the Afternoon, by W. Coxe, S. Oldman, and Company. N.B. It is generally allowed that the Gambia Slaves are much more robust and tractable than any other slaves from the Coast of Guinea, and more Capable of undergoing the Severity of the Winter Seasons in the North-American Colonies, which occasions their being Vastly more esteemed and coveted in this Province and those to the Northward, than any other Slaves whatsoever.

³ *N. J. Arch.*, first ser., XX. 598, from the *Pa. Jour.*, Aug. 6, 1761.

⁴ *N. J. Arch.*, first ser., XX. 621, from *Pa. Gazette*, Oct. 22, 1761. Miss Gummere quotes a comment of Anthony Benezet of Philadelphia, which may have been made concerning this cargo: "Those Negroes that were brought last year up the River and sold on the Jersey Shore opposite this City (Philadelphia) were probably of the Fully (Fuli) Nation" (Amelia M. Gummere, ed., *Journal of John Woolman*, p. 30). It may be remembered that Job ben Solomon (this work, II. 420-427) belonged to the Fulis, a people more closely related to the Arabs than to the pure blacks. Since they were rarely made slaves, Benezet is probably mistaken in thinking that any large number of Fulis had been imported in this cargo.

⁵ *Journal of Woolman*, p. 30, from *Pa. Jour.*, May 27, 1762.

Sept. 20, 1764.⁶

Just imported in the Brigantine *Africa*, Francis Moore, master, from the coast of Guinea, and to be sold by Thomas Riche, In New Jersey, opposite Philadelphia, A few likely Negro men, women, boys and girls, very reasonable for cash or short credit. N.B. The said Riche will attend the Sale from 10 to 1 o'clock, and from 2 till 5 in the afternoon.

363. GOVERNOR JOSIAH HARDY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1762.¹

PERTH AMBOY Jany. 20th 1762.

My Lords, . . . I found by these minutes that they intended bringing in a bill to lay a small duty on Negroes imported into this Province, but on a message from me acquainting them that his Majesty's instructions would not allow my assenting to such a Bill, they dropt it; but at the same time they represented to me the inconvenience the Province is exposed to in lying open to the free importation of Negros, when the Provinces on each side have laid duties on them; for which reason great Numbers of Negros are landed in this Province every Year in order to be run into New York and Pensylvania besides overstocking this Country with Slaves of which in the general opinion there are already too many. They have therefore desired I would lay this matter before your Lordships, as they look upon it as a great hardship, I could therefore wish Your Lordships would please to take into consideration and intercede with his Majesty to grant them such relief as in his wisdom he may think fit.²

⁶ *N. J. Arch.*, first ser., XXIV. 422, from *Pa. Jour.*, Sept. 20, 1764.

[363] ¹ *N. J. Arch.*, first ser., IX. 345-346. Governor Hardy (1761-1762) repeated the substance of this communication in a letter to the Earl of Egremont Jan. 22, 1762. *Ibid.*, p. 348.

² The governor's warning did not prevent the assembly from laying a duty on negroes in September, 1762 (*ibid.*, XVII. 333-336). On May 2, 1763, Hardy wrote to the Board of Trade: "By the *Intrepide* Man of War I send the Bills passed at the last Sessions of the General Assembly of this Province in September, there is among them one entituled an Act for laying a duty on Negroes and Mulatto Slaves Imported into this Province, which I would not give my assent to without a suspending Clause not to take effect untill His Majesty's Pleasure shall be known, it may be proper likewise to inform Your Lordships that the reason for laying a higher duty in the Western division than in the Eastern, is that in the Province of Pennsylvania the duty is Ten Pounds proclamation on all Slaves imported, and in New York only Two Pounds currency; this consideration induced the Assembly to make such a difference in the two divisions" (*ibid.*, first ser., IX. 382-383). The measure laid a duty of £2 in the eastern division of the province; £6 in the western division. Since the law could not go into effect until it received royal confirmation, New Jersey continued without a duty, and advertisements for small lots of negroes are not unusual in 1763 and 1764. On July 13, 1764, the Board of Trade wrote to the new governor, William Franklin: "As we have no particular Objection to the Policy of imposing a reasonable duty upon the importation of Negroes, we should have been glad to have laid the Law passed for that purpose before His Majesty for his approbation, but as the Duty is laid payable by the Importer, and a part of it is reserved in Case of re-exportation, it appears to us to be contrary in both these respects to the 26th Article of Your Instructions." This opinion was reported to the coun-

364. JOHN WATTS TO GEDNEY CLARKE, 1762.¹

NEW YORK, 30th March 1762.

Sir, . . . He [Governor Robert Monckton] mentions to me your Scheme² but as I take it for granted to be now all at an end little will be necessary to say on the occasion, but that I should not have had nor still have any objection to be concern'd in it, if they sell reasonable which I cannot imagine they will as things are represented to me. For this market they must be young the younger the better if not quite Children, those advanced in years will never do I should imagine a Cargo of them none exceeding thirty might turn out at fifty pounds a head gross Sales. Males are best. Such a Number as you mention we cannot easily vend, from fifty to a hundred would run high enough, but Virginia could take off a great many. Our Duty is four pound a head from the West Indies forty shillings from Africa. New Jersey pays none at all for which reason the Master might lay a mile or two below the Town and send up word.³ . . .

365. JOHN WATTS TO GEDNEY CLARKE, 1762.¹

NEW YORK 3d April 1762.

Sir, . . . This will barring the Danger of Sea and Enemy, be delivered you by Capt: Joseph Bragg of the Sloop *Deborah* belonging to Mr: Astin. Upon considering the perplexed Circumstances I was in, I could think of no better Method than to take the Cargo

cil on May 22, 1765. Apparently no further action was taken immediately, but in 1769 New Jersey placed a duty of £15 on every imported negro sold in the province, thus virtually putting an end to all slave trade into New Jersey. *Ibid.*, IX. 346 n., 447, XVII. 385.

[364] ¹ *Letter-Book of John Watts, Merchant and Councillor of New York* (N. Y. Hist. Soc., *Colls.*, LXI.), pp. 31-32. John Watts had extensive dealings with the West Indies, South Carolina, and Virginia. Gedney Clarke, son of Francis and Deborah Clarke of Boston and Salem and brother of John Clarke of Salem, was an active merchant of Barbados and at one time surveyor of customs of the Leeward Islands. His interest in Massachusetts is indicated by the fact that he presented to Christ Church of Boston (Old North Church) a chime of bells. Watts's many letters to him bespeak an intimate business connection. He was also a constant correspondent of Henry Laurens, many of whose letters to him will be found in this work, vol. IV., South Carolina.

² Apparently the scheme was for Clarke and Watts to unite in sending a vessel to Africa for slaves for the northern market. On Jan. 2 Watts wrote to Clarke that Astin, a Barbados debtor of his, had sent a sloop to New York with a rum cargo which was to be sold in New York. The sloop was then to be returned to Astin for a voyage to Guinea (*ibid.*, p. 7). That trading in slaves was not new to Watts is shown by the entry for 1751 in the list of New Jersey importations, *post.*, no. 370.

³ "The Dutys on Rum, Wine and Negroes have heretofore supported our Civil List" (John Watts to James Napier, June 1, 1765, *Letter-Book*, p. 355). The remainder of the letter is concerned with shipments of rum and with the unsatisfactory conduct of Astin, located at Essequibo, about whom and to whom Watts frequently wrote. On May 9 Watts wrote: "I take it for granted [you] have not succeeded in your Scheme for purchasing Negroes, nor indeed any thing else, by the best accounts we can get." *Letter-Book*, p. 45.

[365] ¹ *Letter-Book of John Watts*, pp. 36-37.

to myself, a Bottomry Bill on the Sloop, for what may be about the Ballance of my Acct: and send both to you to do as you judge right and fit on all Sides; both as I understand you to be Mr. Astin's friend and as it is proper you should know the grounds upon which I proceed, I send you a Copy of Messrs: Maxwell and Udnys Letter to me and another to Capt: Lowell which paint things in such abominable Colours that I am determined to settle my Affairs with that Gentleman while it is in my Power, and decline any farther intercourse least I should hereafter be dragg'd into a repetition of these vexatious Inconsistancys.

He first proposed that I should fit the Sloop properly for a Guinea Voyage credit him for a Loading and send her to Esequibo, she was accordingly so fitted a Cargo on board (not all that she has at present) and on the point of sailing, when I received Maxwell and Udneys Letter which put an end to that Scheme.

If this proposal faild I was next to take a freight for Barbados if such a thing could be obtained, and if that faild too and nothing better offerd I was even to return her to him in Ballast, so intent was his mind upon the Guinea Voyage after he had persuaded Capt: Bragg to undertake it, who has a thorough experience in that Business. There is a kind of an intimacy between Messrs: Maxwell and Udney and Capt: Bragg, and as soon as he came to understand their representation of Mr: Astin he trembled to think of returning to Esequibo upon Mr: Astins strength only, for fear of being shut up there and both disappointed and deceivd too as he had been before, this led him willingly to throw himself upon your protection, in hopes that something more effectual might be done than he believ'd Mr: Astin could carry through.² . . .

366. NEWS ITEMS RELATING TO SLAVE TRADE, 1763-1767.

NEW YORK, July 25, 1763.¹

Saturday last Capt. Roger Richards arrived here from Africa, in 8 Weeks; where he left the Capts. Waterman and Easton of Connecticut; and Farmar from New-Brunswick.

² The remainder of this letter and the next three or four deal with the affairs of the unfortunate Mr. Astin, but there is no further mention of a Guinea voyage in conjunction with him.

[366] ¹ *Newport Mercury*, July 25, 1763. The *New York Gazette* yields the following clearances to Africa: 1764, Feb. 9, sloop *Little David*, Thos. Cornwell; Aug. 2, snow *Charming Nancy*, Francis Haynes. To these can be added the *Gambia*, John Campbell (*Letter-Book of John Watts*, p. 214); 1765, Aug. 1, sloop *Sarah*, John Reynolds. The *Success*, Richards, and the schooner *Nelly*, Devonshire, entered from Africa on June 27 and Oct. 3, 1765.

NEW YORK, Feb. 10, 1766.²

Capt. Perry, in the snow *Nancy*, from Africa to Santa Croix, of this port, after sailing the second time from the island of St. Thomas, on that coast, being six days out, sprung a leak, which encreased on them so much, that they were glad to quit their vessel, taking with them all their slaves, in number 59, and went on board a Marblehead vessel, and arrived safe at Barbados.

NEW YORK, Dec. 30 [1766].³

The Captains Harrison and Arskine of this Port, are both dead on the coast of Africa.

LONDON [1767].⁴

They write from Senegal, that the crew of the snow *Juba*, of New-York, had mutinied against the captain and officers at Sierraleon, whom they sent on shore in the long boat, but the snow was three days after recovered by one of his Majesty's cruizers.

367. SLAVES BELONGING TO THE MORAVIANS OF PHILADELPHIA, 1766.¹

Negro Slaves and Servants belonging to the Members of the Moravian Congregation in Philadelphia, in 1766.

John Rebo, b. 1721, in Angola, Guinea, Africa. In 1733 taken to Jamaica, W. I., and in 1737 to New York. Baptized Oct. 19, 1747, by Bishop J. C. F. Cammerhoff. . . .

Silpa Fortune (baptized 1761, Anna Elizabeth), b. Jan. 1, 1730.

Tobias, b. 1721, in Ibo Nation, Africa, brought to America in 1763.

Woodridge, b. 1748, in Guinea, Africa, taken to Barbadoes, W. I., 1756, and to Philadelphia in 1764.

Dinah, b. 1740, in Guinea, Africa, brought to Philadelphia in 1756.

Flora, b. 1725, in Ibo Nation, Guinea, Africa, brought to Pennsylvania in 1735.

Rose, b. 1726, in Guinea, Africa, brought here in 1736. . . .

² *Newport Mercury*, Feb. 10, 1766. Captains Logan and Hamilton (who may have been New York or Philadelphia captains) were reported on the coast in 1765. *News Letter*, July 4, 1765.

³ *Mass. Gazette and News Letter*, Jan. 9, 1766.

⁴ *Newport Mercury*, July 20, 1767.

[367] ¹ *Notes and Queries relating to Interior Pennsylvania*, I. 215. Those slaves born in this country have been omitted from the list, the interest of which to this work is in the unusual attempt to make some record of birth of African slaves, and of their landing in America.

368. NEWS ITEMS RELATING TO SLAVE TRADE, 1770, 1797, 1805.

NEW YORK, November 29 [1770].¹

On Wednesday the 21st Inst. arrived here the Sloop *Amity*, Captain David Harrison, in 6 Weeks from the River Gambia. He brings Advice, that Captain Morrison, late of the Brig *Elizabeth*, (belonging to London, but which sailed from this Port about June last) together with his whole Crew, died in that River, where the Brig remained when Capt. Harrison left it.

PHILADELPHIA, February 23 [1797].²

A cause of considerable interest, to the credit of our government, and to the credit of the Jurisprudence of this State, was tried in the district court on Monday; it appeared that the *Lady Walterstorff*, a ship belonging to New-York³ arrived in the Delaware a short time ago, and upon proper information, she was libelled with her tackle, cargo, etc. under a law of the United States prohibiting the traffic in men.⁴

Upon the seizure of the vessel, two of the unfortunate Africans, that had been stolen from their native country, were found on board, together with several suits of iron such as hand-cuffs, neck yokes, leg-bolts, etc. packed up carefully in casks, and written documents completely authenticating the detail of the voyage to Africa, from the first equipment at New-York to her coming into this port, after the sale of a cargo of one hundred and fifty men, it appeared that the ship after leaving New York, took a lading at St. Croix, where they obtained a set of Spanish papers, and under a foreign flag pursued the traffic along the coast of Africa, and returned with the slaves to the same port, where they were all sold, saving only the two persons found on board; one of whom a man nick named Bacchus was brought forward at the trial, he could speak no language but that of his native country, the other, a woman, is hired as a domestic in the Jerseys, both having been liberated. The ship is confiscated and the penalty

[368] ¹ *Mass. Gazette and News Letter*, Dec. 7, 1770.

² *Newport Mercury*, Mar. 1, 1797. New York had not forbidden the trade to her citizens and New York merchants were disposing of slaves in the West Indies, as occasional bits of evidence make unmistakable. The *Union*, Batty (?), of New York arrived at Surinam from Africa on July 11, 1791 (*Salem Gazette*, Sept. 6, 1791). The brig *Eliza*, Barnard, cleared for Africa on Aug. 8, 1792, the *Trusty* and the *Union* entered from Africa on Sept. 26 and Nov. 7 of that year (*N. Y. Jour.*, Aug. 8, Sept. 26, Nov. 7). Among the New York merchants engaged in this traffic were Lynch and Stoughton, correspondents of Perkins and Burling of Cape François (Briggs, *Cabot Family*, II. 481, 482). The *Concord* of New York was captured by the French at the Isles de Los in 1799. *Charleston Gazette*, Oct. 30, 1799.

³ New York had apparently no desire to acknowledge the ownership of this vessel: "New York, March 16. The brigantine *Lady Walsterstorff* lately seized in the port of Philadelphia for a breach of the laws of the United States, it is said is not the vessel called by that name belonging to that port." *Newport Mercury*, Mar. 21, 1797.

⁴ Mar. 22, 1794: "An act to prohibit the carrying on the slave trade from the United States to any foreign place or country." *Statutes at Large*, I. 347.

incurred by the law will be levied on the owner, who is a man of opulence.⁵

July 10, 1805.⁶

The brig *Washington*, capt. Harner, from Philadelphia to the west coast of Africa, was cast away on a reef of rocks off Cape Vine, on the 10th day of May and the brig and cargo lost, but all hands saved and taken prisoners. Capt. Harner came passenger in the sloop *Juliet*, from Goree to Charleston.

⁵ "Philadelphia, March 9. Yesterday the brig *Lindamen*, Captain M'Leran, was seized (on her applying to be cleared out for Santa Cruz) for contravening the law of the United States prohibiting vessels from fitting out in America for the purpose of supplying foreigners with slaves. She is supposed to be owned by the same persons who owned the *Lady Walterstoff*, the ship recently condemned for the like practices. On searching this brig a great quantity of hand cuffs, chains and other shackles were discovered, as well as muskets, swords, shot, standards for net work, etc. some concealed in the well room, and the rest among the ballast." *Newport Mercury*, Mar. 21, 1797.

⁶ *Charleston Courier*, July 10, 1805. This vessel continued in the slave trade, though not in the hands of the Philadelphia owners: "The brig *Washington*, formerly of Philadelphia, but purchased on the Coast by capt. Trask, was cut off by the natives at Ryie, in the River Gambia, on the 1st October. Two of her crew were killed, and one made his escape. The captain was on shore during this transaction. She had on board 38 slaves" (*ibid.*, Jan. 10, 1807). The fact that no New York nor Philadelphia vessels appear in the list of those delivering cargoes of negroes in Charleston between 1804 and 1807 by no means proves that there were no vessels from these two cities engaged in the slave traffic, but rather suggests that they found greater profit in selling in the West Indies. In 1805 the *Benjamin* of New York, Captain Newell, with slaves for Havana, was captured (*ibid.*, May 3, 4, 1805, Dec. 27, 1806). The *Bellona*, 106 days from Africa and in want of food and water, reported on Dec. 27, 1806, was a New York ship.

369. NEGROES IMPORTED INTO NEW YORK, 1715-1765.¹

JUNE 24--DEC. 25, 1715.

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
July 21	<i>Marg't and Mary</i> of this Port	Philip Boyles	Sloop	This Prov. 1706	here 31 Oct. 1706	Jno. Vanbrough, Jno. Vanhorn and Abram Wendell of N. Y.	3	Barbados
Aug. 2	<i>Anne and Mary</i> , of this Port	Tho. Jacobs	"	Prize Condenn'd here 1712	here 30 May 1712	Rip Vandam, Anthony Linch, Alex. Moore and Anthony Ruttgers of N. Y.	38	Coast of Africa
Aug. 9	<i>Success</i> of Bar- bados	Wm. Gibbons	"	Rd. Island 1712	There 6 Aug. 1712	Benja. Dixon, John Smith, Wm. Martindale of Bar- bados	1	Surenham and Barbados
Aug. 16	<i>Nevis</i> of Nevis	Jos. Barker	"	N. Engld. 1714	Nevis July 13, 1715	James Emra of Nevis	5	Nevis
Sep. 28	<i>Jno. and Mary</i> of this Port	Hen. Couzins	"	This prov'c 1714	N. London 12 Nov. last	Jno. Bradick and John Conley of N. Y.	2	Barbados
Oct. 8	<i>Royall Anne</i> of London	Tho. Taylor	Ship	N. England 1714	Boston Sept. 20, 1714	Sd Master and James Gilbert of London and Jno. Gilbert of Boston	3	Madera and Jamaica
Nov. 7	<i>Hope</i> of this Port	Wm. Clarke	Barque	Prize Condemned at Boston 1712	here 10 Dec. 1712	Andr. Freneau, Chas. Crom- line, Abr. Vanhorn and Benjamin Funnel of N. Y.		Barbados

DEC. 25, 1715--DEC. 25, 1716.

Mar. 14	<i>Prince George</i> of Liverpool	Tho. Murgatroyd	Ship	Liverpool 1714	There Apr. 1, 1715	Rich'd Kilsal, Math. Page, Tho. Murgatroyd, Sam'l Richardson and David Tanner of Liverpool	3	Barbados
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[369] ¹ C. O. 5: 1222, New York. The New Jersey importations follow, no. 370. These lists, drawn from the Naval Officers Lists, are intended to include all vessels which brought any negroes into the colony. The returns were usually made on Mar. 25, June 24, Sept. 29, and Dec. 25, but for considerations of space they are here consolidated by years. The frequent references from later to earlier entries of the same vessels are not enclosed in brackets.

Apr. 24	<i>Hope</i> of this port	Sam'l Payton	Barque	Prize Condemn'd at Boston 1712	here 10 Dec. 1712	Benja. Funnel, Andrew Fre- neau, Cha. Cromline and Abram Vanhorn of N. Y.	2	Jamaica
May 17	<i>Mary and Han- nah</i> of this port	Owen Carthy	Sloop	New Jersey 1715	here 7 Sept. last	Will'm Waldron and Andrew Joline	4	Campechey
June 2	<i>Anne and Mary</i> of this port	John Brown	"	Prize Condemn'd here 1712	here 30 May 1712	Rip Vandam, Alex. Moore, Antho. Rutters and Fran- ces Gerbransen of N. Y.	Males 25 Females 17 Child 1	Coast of Affrica
June 30	<i>Seaflower</i> of this port	Isaac Butler	Sloop	New Engl'd 1713	here 2d Nov. 1714	Antho. Linch, Rip Vandam, Antho. Rutters, Alex. Moor	1	Jamaica
" "	<i>Anne</i> of this port	Fran. Warner	"	Conecticut 1713	here 27 Jan. 1713	Rodrigo Pachero, Wm. Wal- ton, Justus Boch and Nath. Simpson of the City	1	Curacoa
Sept. 5	<i>Diamond</i>	Isaac Bedlow	"	This province 1715	here 22d June 1715	Adolph Phillips of this city	3	Curacoa
" 28	<i>Loyallty</i> of Liver- pool	John Pluckinton	Ship	Liverpool 1715	there 3d Jan. last	Com. Pluckinton <i>cum aliis</i> of Liverpool	2	Barbados
Oct. 29	<i>Hamilton</i> of this port	Thos. Stone	"	Here 1713	Here July 20, 1715	Jno. Moor, Stephen DeLancey and Peter Barbarie of the City	4	Jamaica

MAR. 25-DEC. 25, 1717.²

Apr. 2	<i>Jamaica</i> Pacquet of this port	Peter Rolland	Sloop	here 1713	here 11 Nov. 1713	Jon. Rolland, Aug't Jay, Abra. Joneau and Benja. Godfrey of this City	4	Jamaica
Apr. 3	<i>Swallow</i> of Port of Liverpool	Robt. Hays	"	In Connecticut 1714	here 14 Nov. Last	Wm. Cheshire and Benja. Forster of Liverpool	1	Saltertudas
Apr. 27	<i>Expedition</i> of this port	Jon. Hickford	Brigant	In N. Engl'd 1715	here 28 Mar. 1716	John Vanderhule, Wm. Pro- voost, Jon. Rosevelt, Jacob Rosevelt and Corn. Van Horn of this City	8	Barbados
May 3	<i>Diamond</i> of this Port	Isaac Bedlow	Sloop	here 1715	here 22 June 1715	Adolph Phillips of this City	3	Curacoa

² For the quarter Dec. 25, 1716-Mar. 25, 1717, there are no entries.

MAR.25-DEC. 25, 1717.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
July 2	<i>Illustrious</i> Galley of Bristol	Henry Evans	Ship	R. Island 1716	Bristol Nov. 21, 1716	Wm. Evans, Jno. Teague and his Majesties Subjects and Inhabitants of Gt. Britain	1	Barbados
" 27	<i>Wall of Bermuda</i> ¹	Jno. Trot	Sloop	Bermuda 1716	there 6 Nov. last	Sd. Master of Bermuda and Tobias Wall of Nevis	6	Bermuda
Aug. 3	<i>Mary</i>	Florent'a Cox	"	"	Nevis	John Woodley of Nevis	2	Nevis
" 5	<i>John and Anne</i> of this Port	Rich'd Vivian	"	New Engl'd 1712	13 June last here 3 Jan. 1712	Abr. D. Pyster, Ger. Beck- man, Sam'l Bayard, Rip Vandam, Thos. Torpey and John Read per Endorse- ments of this City		Nevis ³
" 22	<i>Dove</i> of this Port	Ezek. Bonyot	"	Conecticut 1716	here Aug. 28, 1716	Jno. Auboyneaux, Chs. Crumline, Sd. Master and Will Lecount of this City	2	Jamaica
" 23	<i>Dragon</i> of this Port	Jno. Larrance ⁴	Brig't	Bermuda 1702	here Dec. 1, 1714	Sd. Master, Jno. Vanhorne, Garret Vanhorne, Abr. Van- horne, Andr. Fresneau and Barr't Ryndert of this City	106	Coasts of Affrica
Sept. 2	<i>Good Intent</i> of this Port	Pet'r Morgat	Sloop	N. England 1715	R. Island 18 Sept. 1716	David Minsviele, Benja. Fan- nil, Andr. Fresneau and Thos. Bayeaux of this City	2	Guadelupe
Sept. 12	<i>Catherine and Mary</i> of this Port	Jno. Cracraft	Sloop	N. England 1714	here 13 Oct'r 1714	Jno. Vanhorne, Gar't Van- horne, Abr. Vanhorne and Andrew Fresneau of this City	60	Coast of Af- fricka
" 12	<i>New York Pos- tillion</i>	Den's Downing	Ship	here 1716	here 27 July 1716	Wm. Walton, Nat'l Simson of N. Y. with Richard Jane- way of London	100	"

³ This vessel carried negroes but the number is not given.⁴ "New York, Aug. 26 [1717] . . . Capt. Lawrence arrived from Guinea, three months Passage; we daily expect a Ship and a Sloop from thence with more Slaves." *News Letter*, Sept. 2, 1717.

" 13	<i>Huntington</i> of this Port	Jno. Vanbrughen	Sloop	here 1717	here 24 May last	Garrit Vanhorne and Corn'ls Vanhorne of this City	16	Barbados
" 16	<i>Seafflower</i> of this Port	Sim'n Parker	Sloop	N. England 1713	here 17 May last	Rip Vandam, Mary Lynch, Wido. Relict of Anthony Lynch of this City late deceased, Pet'r Lynch, Sa' Lynch, Ma'r Lynch the Child'n and Thos. Lynch of this City	7	Barbados
"	<i>John</i> of Jamaica	Thos. Pope	"	here 1713	here 21 Mar. 1716/7	John Rolland of this City, John Evans of Jamaica	1	Jamaica
Oct. 11	<i>Charlotte</i> of this Port	Andrew Law	Pink	British 1712, condemn'd here for illegal trade 8 Dec. last per Registry	here 12 Jan. last	Henry Cuyler, Moses Levey, Sam Levey, Jac. Franks of this City	2	Barbados
" 10	<i>Fancy</i>	Jere. Spencer	Sloop	Bermuda 1712	Nevis Oct. 3, 1715	Jno. Woodley, Tobias Wall of Nevis and Simon Brown of Barbados	1	St. Christoph'r
" 14	<i>Sarah</i> of this Port	Jacob Kevistead	"	Conecticut 1716	here 20 July last	Same as <i>Seafflower</i> above	2	Barbados
Nov. 13	<i>Dart</i> of this Port	Midleton Billop	"	" 1716	here 18 April last	Jno. Moore, Steph. DeLancey and Pet. Barberie of this City	1	Jamaica
" 25	<i>Hope</i> of this Port	Elisha Bennet	Barq.	prize condemn'd at Bost'n 1712	here 10 Dec. 1712	Benj. Fanneil, And'w Fresneau, Chas. Cromlin and Abr. Vanhorn of this City	2	"
" 26	<i>Mary</i> of Antigua	James Cowston	Sloop	Boston 1714	Antigua Sep. 7, 1716	Christoph'r Stoodley of Antigua	1	Antigua

DEC. 25, 1717-DEC. 25, 1718.

Feb. 17	<i>Huntington</i> of this Port	Jno. Vanbrugh	Sloop	Here 1717	Here 24 May last	Gar't Vanhorne and Cornelius Vanhorn of this City	1	Barbados
28	<i>Hamilton</i> of this Port	Thomas Stone	Ship	Here 1713	Here 20 July 1715	See the <i>Dart</i> above	3	Jamaica
Mar. 3	<i>Neptune</i> of Weym'th in Great Britain	Thomas Gallop	"	Boston 1716	8 Nov. 1716 there	sd. Master	3	London and Antigua

DEC. 25, 1717-DEC. 25, 1718.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Ap. 4	<i>Charlotte</i> of this Port	Andrew Law	Pink	See Oct. 11, 1717	here	Abr. Delmena of this City	9	Barbados
" 17	<i>Rachel and Anne</i> of this Port	John Veare	Sloop	New Engl'd 1711	13 Oct. 1713		3	Bahamas
" 18	<i>Jno. and Mary</i> of this Port	Jno. Theobalds Jun'r	"	Conecticot 1717	here 12 Aug. last	Sd. Master, Jac'b Rosevelt and Lawr'ce Vanbuskirk of this City	2	Saltertudas ⁵
" 19	<i>Anne</i> of this Port	Dan'l Masse	"	Here 1717	here 14 Nov. last	Jno. Rolland and P'er Vallette of this City	16	Jamaica
" 24	<i>Dove</i> of this Port	Ezekiel Bonyot	"	Conecticot 1716	here 28 Aug. 1716	Jno. Auboyneau, Ch's Cromlin, s'd Master and Wm. Lecount of this City	1	"
" 26	<i>Seaflower</i> of this Port	Sim'n Parker	"	N. Engl'd 1713	here 17 May last	Rip Vandam <i>cum aliis</i>	5	Barbados
" 29	<i>Phillipsburg</i>	Allane Jarrat	Ship	Here 1715	here 13 Oct. 1715	Adolph Phillips of this City	5	Africa
May 6	<i>Mary</i> of this Port	Rout Wessels	Sloop	here 1716	here 4 July last	Said Master	5	Barbados
" 13	<i>Caracoa</i> Pacq't of this Port	Math. Furber	"	Conecticot 1716	here 22 Oct. 1716	Moses and Sam Levy of this City	3	Jamaica
" 14	<i>John and Anne</i> of this Port	Rich'd Vivian	"	N. England 1712	here 9 Aug'st last	Sam'l Bayard, Rip Vandam, Col. Depeyster and Jno. Read of this City	2	Caracoa
May 17	<i>Smal Gains</i> of this Port	Julian Prielean	Sloop	Bermudas—1715 here condemn'd for illegal trade per Registry	here 2 Nov. last	Francis Vincent of this city	3	Exuma
" 23	<i>Mary</i>	Flor. Cox	"	Bermuda 1716	there 13 June last	Jno. Woodley of Nevis	5	Nevis
" 26	<i>George</i> of London, Eng.	Giles Ellis	Ship	N. Engl'd 1709	Lond'n 1 Oct. 1714	Herman Louiss of London	12	Antigua

⁵ The two negroes are described as children.

June 4	<i>Huntington</i> of this Port	Jno. Vanbrugh	Sloop	Here 1717	here 24 May 1717	Gar't and Corn. Vanhorne of this City	32	Barbados
" 13	<i>Swallow</i> of this Port	Pet'r Gandy	"	Virginia 1710	here 16 Oct'r last	Ben. Funnel, And'w Fresneau, Rene Hett of this City and Ja's Renaudet and Pet'r Morine of the same pl.	1	St. Christophers and Granada
" 18	<i>Eagle</i> of this Port	Edw'd Wright	Bright	Conecticut here condemned for illegal trade 16 Aug. 1715	here 21 Aug'st last	Jno. and Jo's Reade and Wm. Walton of this City	63	Virginia and Barbados
July 2	<i>Samuel</i>	John Webb	Sloop	Philadelphia 1715	Barbados Mar. 7, 1717	Jos. Young of Barbados	30	Barbados
" 3	<i>Eagle</i> Gally of this port	Robt. Leonard	Ship	N. England 1716	here 1st March last	Sd. Master, Barrent Rhinders, Phil. Cortland, Thos. Lynch and Antho. Duane of this City	31	"
" 8	<i>Elizabeth</i>	Tho. Gally	Sloop	Here 1715	Antigua Mar. 6, 1717/8	Fran. Delap of Antigua	14	Antigua
" 14	<i>Seaflower</i> of this port	Phillip Boyles	Sloop	Coneticutt 1715	here Feb. 28, 1715	Jno. and Cornelius Vanhorn of this city	3	St. Thomas
" 18	<i>Expedition</i> of this port	Timo. Low	Briggt	New England 1715	here Mar. 28, 1716	Jno. Vanderhule, Wm. Provost, Jno. and Jacob Rosevelt and Cornel. Vanhorn of this City	11	Barbados
" 24	<i>Anne</i> of this port	Dan'l Masse	Sloop	Here 1717	here 14 Nov. last	John Rolland and Peter Vallett of this City	2	Jamaica
" 26	<i>Fairfield</i> of New England	Nathan Jarvas	"	New England 1715	Boston July 14, 1715	Saber Crowel, Jno. Bur, Rob. Silleman, Gideon Allen of New England	21	Antigua and Statia
" 26	<i>Sarah</i> of this pt	Jas. Rushworth	Sloop	Conecticut 1716	here 13 March 1717	Tho. Linch, Rip Vandam, Rob. Lurting and Jno. Bassett of the City	8	Jamaica
" 28	<i>Revenge</i> of Jamaica	Wm. Mogerette	"	Condemnd at Jamaica by the Name of <i>Young Frederick</i> 24 Nov. 1715 for Detent'n Seamens wages and other Sums of Money disburst on Acco'tt of the Vessel. Registered at Jamaica 10 Dec'b 1715	Jamaica by the 13 March 1717	Wm. Hayman, Ed. James and Jno. Beswick of Jamaica	41	"

DEC. 25, 1717-DEC. 25, 1718

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Aug. 6	<i>Catherine and Mary</i> of this Port	See Sept. 12, 1717					64 ⁶	Coast of Africa
" 9	<i>Hamelton</i> of this port	Tho. Stone	Gally	here 1713	here July 20, 1715	Jno. Moore, Steph. Delancy and Peter Barberie of this City	11 ⁷	Barbados
" "	<i>Charlotte</i> of this port	See Oct. 11, 1717					24	"
" 11	<i>Portsmouth</i> of Antigua	Wm. Marshall	Sloop	New England 1713	Antigua 14 Sept. last	Rich'd Sherwood of Antigua	5	Antigua
" 13	<i>Pinetree</i> of this port	Jno. Margeson	"	here 1717	here Aug. 12, 1717	Lancaster Lyme, Coll. Robt. Lurting of New York and Mich. Kerny of Virginia	1	Barbados
Aug. 15	<i>Jenny</i>	Henr. Gibbs vizt. Chr. Simpkins	Snow	Rd. Island 1715	Barbados 21 May last	Henry Gibbs of Barbados	8	Saltitudas and Barbados
" 16	<i>Cornelia</i> of this port	Tho. Hook	Sloop	here 1716	here July 14, 1716	said Master and Jos. Ward of Barbados	1	Barbados
" 18	<i>William</i> of this port	Will'm Ellison	"	here 1717	here 28 Sept. 1717	Jno. Ellison Jun'r and " Sen'r. of this City	1	"
" 26	<i>Huntington</i> of this port	See June 4, 1718					15	"
" "	<i>John and Anne</i> of this port	See May 14, 1718					11	"
Sept. 13	<i>James</i> of this port	Jno. Herald	Sloop	this province 1717	here 5 May last	William Sell of this province	1	Boston

⁶ A note adds: "45 for transportation to Virginia."
⁷ These were "for N. Jersey."

Oct. 11	John of Jamaica	Tho. Batchelor	Sloop	here 1716	here	John Rolland of this City and John Evans of Jamaica	2	Jamaica
" 21	Eagle of this port	James Eustace	Brigg'tt	Coneticutt 1704 condemnd here 16 Aug. 1715	here Mar. 21, 1716/7	John Read, Wm. Walton and Jos. Read of this City	17	Barbados
" "	Weymouth of this Port	Alex. Phenix	Sloop	New Engl'd 1711	here 21 Aug. last	Timothy Tilly and Abram Vanleck	2	Curacoa
" 24	Seaflower of Antigua	Mathew Furber	"	Philadelphia 1715	5 feb'r last Antigua	John Banker of this City	3	St. Thomas's
Nov. 14	Anne of this port	Dan'l Masse	"	here 1717	23 July 1715/6 here Nov. 14, 1717	John Rolland and Peter Vallett of this City	1	Jamaica

DEC. 25, 1718-DEC. 25, 1719.

Mar. 16	Anne of this port	Dan'l Massey	Sloop	here 1717	here	John Rolland and Peter Valette of this City	8 Children	Jamaica
" 24	Seaflower of Bermuda	Seth Hawkes	"	Bermuda 1718	14 Nov. 1717 there 24 Oct. last	sd. Master, Maj'r Wm. Stone of Bermudas	2	Bermuda
Apr. 1	Hope of this port	Abram Landford	"	here 1718	here	And. Freneau, Rennie Hett and said Master	3	Surenham ^s
" 8	Princes of Rd. Island	Isaac Prince	"	Rd. Island 1718	10 May last there	Sd. Master and Will'm Sandford of Rd. Island	3	"
May 2	Seaflower of this pt.	Phillip Boiles	"	Coneticut 1715	8 November last here	Jno. and Corn'l Vanhorn of this City	4	Curacoa
" 22	Mary of this Port	Vincent Bodine	"	New Jersey 1714	28 feb. 1715 here	John Clarke of this City	1 Man	Statia
June 12	Weymouth of this Port	Allex Phoenix	"	New England 1711	July 1, 1717 here	Tho. Evans, Abr. Vanleck and sd. Master	1	Curacoa
" 15	Hunter Gally of this Pt	Henry Coerteen	Ship	Condemn'd at Jamaica 15 feb, 1708	4 April last here	Sd Master, Barent Rhinders, Tho. Linch and Cornel. Vanhorne of this City	10	Jamaica
" 17	Hampstead of this pt	John Mattlow	Sloop	this province 1718	16 Oct. 1718 here	Wm. Pinfold and Wm. Walton of this City	19	"
June 18	Mary of this port	Jacob Sarley	Sloop	New England 1718	7 August last here	Abram Vanhorne and David Provost of this City	6	Barbados
" "	Ruby of this port	Isaac Butler	"	Coneticut 1714	30 July last here	Justus Boch, Wm. Walton, Cornel. Low of this City and Benj. Wyncope per Endorsm't	3	Jamaica
" 19	Society of New England	Nath. Paine	"	New England 1718	18 May 1715 here 12 Nov. 1718	said Master Nath. Paine Esqr. of New England and Sam Clark of Jamaica	18	[Not given]

DEC. 25, 1718-DEC. 25, 1719.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Oct. 7	<i>Weymouth</i> of this pt.	See June 12, 1719						
Nov. 12	<i>Charlotta</i> of this pt.	Andrew Law	Pink	Brittish 1712 Condemn'd here Dec. 8, 1716	here Jan. 12, 1716	Henr. Chuyler, Moses Levy, Jacob Franks and Nath. Simpson of the City	2	Curacao
" 16	<i>Seaflower</i> of this port	See May 2, 1719						
" 24	3 <i>Sisters</i> of Barbados	Nich. Webb	Sloop	Rd. Island 1715	there Jan. 3, 1715	Rob. Gardner, Wm. Lymes, Thos. Bedford and Francis Pike	6	Barbados
" 26	<i>Mary</i> of this port	Jos. Willson	"	this province 1719	here 5 Sep. last	Wm. Walton of this City	4	Jamaica
Dec. 1	<i>Endeavour</i> of N. Providence	Rich'd Brask	"	Coneticut 1715	N. Providence 17 feb. last	Peter Courant of New Providence	2	Curacao
" 9	<i>Mary</i>	Nath. Owen	"	Philadelphia 1715	there 8 July last	Jno. Vanlair Jun'r, Geo. Fitchwater, Jos. Redman, Tho. Denton, Rob. Ellis and Tho. Miller of Philadelphia	5	Jamaica

DEC. 25, 1719-DEC. 25, 1720.⁹

Mar. 11	<i>Expedition</i> of this pt.	Peter Bedlow	"	New England 1712	here 28 Nov. 1716	Theodore Fauconier, George Clarke, Rip Vandam and Peter Fauconier of the City	1	St. Thomas's
April 4	<i>Expedition</i> of this p't.	Sam'll Lawrence	Brigg'tt	New Engl'd 1715	here 28 March 1716	Wm. and David Provost and Abram Vanhorne	5	Barbados
" 6	<i>Hope</i> of this p't.	Abram Sandford	Sloop	here 1718	here 10 May 1718	Andr. Freneau, Rennie Hett and sd. Master	2	Surenham
" 14	<i>Abigall</i> of this p't.	Wm. Jarrat	"	Philadelphia 1710	here 5 Oct. 1715	Moses Levy, Jacob Franks, Jacob Van Cortland and Adolph Phillips of this City	1	Jamaica

⁹ Kohler, in "Jewish Life in New York before 1800" (Am. Jewish Hist. Soc., *Publications*, II. 84), writes of a slave ship from Guinea belonging to "Simon the Jew," which was expected in New York in the fall of 1720. Apparently the vessel referred to is not in this list.

"	"	Sarah of this p't.	Josias Smith	"	Coneticut 1716	here 17 June last	Tho. Lynch and Rip Vandam of the City	1	St. Christo- pher's Jamaica
"	18	Hunter Gally of this p't.	See June 15, 1719	"	Rebuilt here 1716			2	
May	6	Friends Adventure of Barbados	Tho. Thatcher	Brigg'tt	New England 1716	Boston 24 May 1718	Jos. Ward of Barbados, Jno. and Sam'll Wainwright of New England	1	Surenham
"	23	Jno. and Eliz. of this p't.	Matth. Furber	Sloop	here 1710	here 10 Nov. 1718	Said Master and Jno. Roll of this City	6	S'th Carolina
June	27	Expedition	See March 11, 1720	"				1	St. Thomas's
July	4	Eliza of Boston	Phil'p Rawling	Brigg'tt	Plantacon 1716	Boston 26 Jan. 1719	Peter Luce of Boston	5	St. Christo- pher's
"	7	Rubie of Ber- muda	Rich'd Leacraft	Sloop	Bermudas 1719	there 9 April 1720	Paul Painter and Jona. Birch of Bermuda	4	Antigua
"	18	Hamilton of Nevis	James Hester	"	Bermudas 1717	Nevis 20 July 1717	Jeffry Meriweather, Azariah Pinney and Nich. Bur- roughs of Nevis	2	Nevis
"	20	Anne of this port	See March 16, 1719	"				13	Jamaica
"	14	The Hester	John Hall	"	Rd. Island 1715	S'th Carolina 16 June 1719	John Marshall	5	S'th Carolina
Aug.	2	Huntington	See June 4, 1718	"				4	Barbados
"	6	Peter of this port	Midleton Billop	"	here 1716	here 17 Nov. 1716	Peter Barberie Steph'n De- lancy, Jno. Moor of this City and Peter Solegre of St. Christophers	3	Jamaica
"	8	Expedition of this p't.	See April 4, 1720					5	Barbados
Oct.	3	Cornelia of this Port	Thos. Hook	Sloop	here 1716	here 14 July 1716	Sd. Master and Jos. Ward of Barbados	6	Jamaica
Nov.	3	Huntington of this pt.	Jno. Vanbrough	"	here 1717	Here 24 May 1717	Garr'tt and Cornelius Van- horne of this City	1	Barbados
"	12	Phillipsburgh of this pt.	Mich Thody	Ship	here 1715	here 13 Oct. 1715	Adolph Phillips of this City	3	"
"	19	Expedition of this pt.	See March 11, 1720					1	St. Thomas's
"	22	Hampstead of this port	John Ticker	Sloop	this province 1718	here 7 Aug. 1718	Wm. Pinfold and Corn. Wal- ton of this City	2	Jamaica
Dec.	1	Rose of this port	John Martin	"	N. England 1714	Rd. Island 7th March 1718	Adolph Degrove, sd. Master and Joest Godires	3	"

DEC. 25, 1720-DEC. 25, 1721.

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Mar. 16	<i>Expedition</i> of this p't.	Peter Bedlow	Sloop	N. England 1712	here 28 Nov. 1716	Rip Vandam, Hen. Chuyler, Walter Thong and Jos. Rob- inson of this City	3	St. Thomas's
Apr. 11	<i>Eagle</i> of this port	See Oct. 21, 1718						
" 18	<i>Expedition</i> of this pt.	See April 4, 1720						
" 28	<i>Success</i> of Ber- muda	Perient Spoffert	Sloop	Bermudas 1719	there 22 July 1719	Sam'll and Perient Spoffert of Bermuda	8	St. Christo- pher's and Eustatia Barbados
May 8	<i>Thomas</i> of this port	Jno. Browne	Scooner	here 1720	here 11 Aug't 1720	John Ellison Sen'r of this City	1	S'th Carolina
" 9	<i>3 Brothers</i> of the pt.	Ezekiel Bonyott	Sloop	New Engl'd 1712	here 23 March 1713	Abr., Garr'tt and Jno. Van- horne and Andr. Freneau of this City	5 ¹⁰	Barbados
May 9	<i>George</i> of this port	John Veare	Sloop	New Engl'd 1711	here 13 Octo. 1718	Rob. Lurting of this City	2	Jamaica
June 5	<i>Crown</i> Gally of London	Dennis Downing	Ship	here 1716	London 19 feb. 1719	R'd Janaway, Isaac Levy of London, Wm. Walton and Nath. Simpson of this City	117	Coast of Af- frica
" 12	<i>Phillipsburgh</i> of the p't.	See Nov. 12, 1720						
July 14	<i>George</i> of this port	Math. Woolf	Sloop	Rd. Island 1715	there 5 Oct. 1720	Said Master	8	Barbados
" 18	<i>Hamilton</i> of this p't.	And. Bissett	Gally	here 1713	here 20 July 1715	John Moor, Steph. Delancy and Peter Barberic	1	Barbados
" "	<i>Friendship</i> of this p't.	R'd Vivian	Sloop	N. England 1712	here 2 June 1720	John and Jos. Read and William Walton of this City	3	"
" "							1	"

¹⁰ To this is added: "and 1 Mulatto Child."

" 20	Expedition of this p't.	See March 16, 1721	See Nov. 22, 1720		1	St. Thomas's Jamaica
" "	Hampstead of this p't.	Thos. Randall	See April 4, 1720		2	Barbados
" 31	Expedition of this p't.				15	"
Aug. 5	Huntington of this p't.	See Nov. 3, 1720 with two additional owners viz. and Registered May 10 instead of 17 [24] as Nov. 3, 1720.			16	St. Eustatia
Sep. 18	Overplus of Bermuda	Mansfield Tucker	Sloop	Bermudas 1717	1	Barbados
Oct. 17	Hope of this port	Abram Butler	"	here 1718	2	"
" 21	Expedition of this p't.	See April 4, 1720			9	"
Nov. 3	Huntington of this p't.	See Aug. 5, 1721			2	"
" 23	Jno. and Eliz. of this pt.	John Ball	Sloop	here 1718	1	S'th Carolina

MAR. 25-DEC. 25, 1722.¹¹

Apr. 2	Hope of this port	Abram Buttler	Sloop	here 1718	4	Jamaica
" 20	Thomas of this pt.	Wm. White	Scooner	here 1720	1	"
May 25	Jno. and Catharine	John Tudor	Sloop	N. Carolina 1719	4	Barbados
31	Huntington of this pt.	See Aug. 5, 1721			7	"
June 19	His Majesties Ship Grayhound	Capt. Edw'd Smith	Comand.	Reports	34	West Indies Jamaica
June 30	Jolly of this port	John Tickell	Sloop	here 1719	5	"
July 2	Nassau of this pt.	Terit Lester	Brig't	Condem'd here Sep. 9, 1720	1	St. Thomas's
Aug. 9	Margaret of this p't.	Peter Symons	Sloop	here 1720	12	Jamaica
" 15	Jacob	Jacob Phenix	"	here 1721	6	"
" 17	Catherine of this pt.	Peter Bedlow	"	" "		

¹¹ C. O. 5: 1223, N. Y.

MAR. 25-DEC. 25, 1722.
(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Aug. 20	<i>Eliza</i> of Bermuda	Jos. Young	Sloop	Bermuda 1715	there 25 May 1715	Jno. Piniston, Jos. Williams, Eliz. Walker and Elisha Woolrich	1	Jamaica
Sept. 7	<i>Jno. and Cath- rine</i>	Jno. Tudor	"	N'th Carolina 1719	Berbados 6 Apr. last	Tho. Tudor and John Van- horne of this place	2	Berbados
" 8	<i>Hopewell</i>	Jno. Ablin	"	Rd. Island 1716	here 21 May last	Cha. Stay and Garr't Van- horne	1	Surenham
Oct. 4	<i>Seafflower</i>	James Craig	Sloop	Coneticut 1717	here 22 Sep. 1720	Rip Vandam, Wm. Donbar, Rob. and Thos. Lurting	1	Antigua
Nov. 3	<i>Hope</i> of the p't.	Abram Buttler	"	here 1718	here 10 May 1718	And. Freneau, Rennie Hett, Garr't Vanhorne and sd. Master	3	Berbados
Dec. 13	<i>Jolly</i> of the p't.	John Tickell	"	here 1719	here 10 May 1721	said Master	8	Jamaica

MAR. 25-DEC. 25, 1723.¹²

Apr. 8	<i>Jacob</i> of the p't.	See Aug. 15, 1722	Sloop	Pensilvania 1717	Berbados 22 Aug. 1722	Timothy Pinder and Tho. Cheesman	9	Jamaica and Berbados
" 22	<i>Sarah</i>	Christop'r Bur- rows	Sloop	Coneticut 1715	here	Stephen Delancy	2	Anguilla Berbados
May 6	<i>Albany</i> of this p't.	Isaac Johnson	Brig't	Bermudas 1719	3 Augt. 1713 [?] there	Florentia and Jerome Bur- rows, Rach'l. Seymer and Jno. Conyars	2	Jamaica and Bermudas
June 20	<i>Prudence</i>	Ja. Seymour	Sloop		2 Mar. 1719	Wm. and David Provost and Abram Vanhorne	8	Berbados
" 22	<i>Expedition</i>	Sam'l Lawrence	Brig't	N. England 1715	here 12 May 1722	said Master	5	Antigua
June 25	<i>Mary Anne</i>	John Brett	Scoon'r	New Hampshire 1719	Virginia 17 Nov. last	Peter Malory, Jno. Jennings, Josias Forster and Jno. Gibbs	3	Turks Isld. and Bermudas
July 1	<i>Eliz. and Anne</i>	Rd. Leycroft	Sloop	Bermudas 1717	there 29 Jan'r 1717		1	

¹² For Dec. 1722-Mar. 25, 1723, there are no entries.

Aug. 2	<i>Anne and Catharine</i>	John Fred	"	here 1722	here 6 Aug't 1722	Math. Clarkson, Phil. French and Paul Richards	6	Coracoa
" 12	<i>Jolly</i> of this port	See Dec. 13, 1722	Sloop	Bermuda 1721	Jamaica 10 July last	Peter Vallet of Jamaica and " " this place	7 11	Jamaica "
" 13	<i>Jacob</i> of this port	See Aug. 15, 1722	Sloop	Virginia 1709	here 8 Aug. 1722	Nath. Bell, Peter Britton and said Master	12 4	" Bermudas
" 19	<i>Speedwell</i> of the p't.	Francis Gottier	Scooner	here 1723	here 1 June last	Justus Bosch and sd. Master	12 ¹³	Jamaica
" 21	<i>Mary Anne</i> of the p't.	Wm. Smith	Snow	here 1722	here 11 Mar. last	Cornel. Vanhorne, Jno. Mk- Every and Wm. Gurmet	2	Antigua
" "	<i>Stanhope</i> of the p't.	Jno. Delap	Sloop	Bermuda 1714	there 15 July 1714	Benja. Hinson of Bermuda	5	Jamaica
" 26	<i>Benja.</i> of Ber- muda	Benja. Hinson	"	here 1723	here 28 Mar. last	Garrt and Cornel. Vanhorne, Cornel. Sandford, Gerrard Beekman and John Cornwell	3	"
" "	<i>Good Intent</i> of this p't.	Daniel Massey	"	Rd. Island 1717	here 1 June 1719	Said Master	1	Boston
Sept. 24	<i>Endeavour</i>	Rich'd Robinson	Sloop	Here 1722	Here 8 Nov. last	Rip Vandam, Walter Thong, Jos. Robinson, Henry Chuy- ler	2	Affrica and Ja- maica
Oct. 24	<i>Burnet</i> of this port	Edw'd Sanders	"	N. England 1714	Here 14 Octo. 1714	Jno., Garr't, and Abram Van- horne and Andrew Freneau of the City	3	Jamaica
" 25	<i>Cathrine and</i> <i>Mary</i> of this pt.	Henry Row	Ship	Here 1715	Here 13 Octo. 1715	Adolph Phillips	3	Barbados
" ?	<i>Philipsburgh</i> of the pt.	Mich. Thody						

MAR. 25-DEC. 25, 1724.¹⁴

Apr. 1	<i>Hamilton</i> of this port	Andrew Bissett	Gally	here 1713	here 20 July 1715	Stephen Delancy, Jno. Moor and Peter Barberie	1	Barbados
" 8	<i>Jacob</i>	See Aug. 15, 1722					4	Jamaica and Hispaniola
Apr. 16	<i>Samuel</i> of this p't.	Tho. Fitch	Ship	here 1721	here 9 Apr. 1722	Edw'd Burling and Sam Fitch	1	London
" 21	<i>William and</i> <i>Thomas</i>	John Tickell	Sloop	here 1723	here 14 Nov. last	William Walton and sd. M'r	2	S'th Carolina

¹³ "Negroes and Indian Slaves."¹⁴ No entries for Dec. 25, 1723, to Mar. 25, 1724.

MAR. 25-DEC. 25, 1724.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
May 15	<i>Henry</i> of Bermuda	Bristow Brown	Sloop	Bermuda 1714	there 4 Aug. 1719	Elias Clark, Jno. Trimmingham, Nath. Butterfield Sen'r and Jun'r and Jno. Butterfield of Bermuda	1	Bermuda
" 21	<i>Newbery</i>	Jno. Woodbridge	Brigg't	N. England 1710	Salem 3 Dec. 1712	John Turner, Sam. Brown and Josiah Walent of Salem	3	Antigua
June 3	<i>Mary</i>	Rob. Bulcock	"	Ireland 1719	Berbados 23 Mar. 1722	Kingston Townsend, John Burk of Barbados	2	Berbados
" 10	<i>Peters</i> of Jamaica	John Marston	Sloop	Bermuda 1721	Jamaica 12 July last	Peter Vallet of this place, Do. of Jamaica and sd. Master	15	Jamaica
June 15	<i>St. Andrew</i> of Bermuda	Tho. Forster	Sloop	Bermuda 1723	There 18 Nov. last	Rob. Dinwiddie of Bermuda	2	Bermuda
" 19	<i>Thos. and Mary</i> of this p't.	John Browne	Scooner	here 1721	here 19 Octo. 1721	said Master	1	Berbados and St. Thomas's Jamaica
" "	<i>Elizabeth</i>	Abram Buttler	Sloop	Philadelphia 1718	Jamaica 15 feb. last	said Master	2	Jamaica
July 2	<i>Hester</i> of this port	James Coden	"	here 1723	here 14 June 1723	said Master	2	Rhode Island
" 7	<i>Dighton</i> Gally of Boston	John Ruggles	Ship	N. England 1720	Boston 10 Mar. 1720	James Emra and said Master	5	Nevis
" 9	<i>Jacob</i> of this p't.	Jacob Phenix	Sloop	here 1721	here 23 Apr. 1722	William Walton of this city	4	Jamaica
" 17[?]	<i>William</i> of this port	William Ellison	"	here 1717	here 8 Nov. 1721	said Master	1	"
Aug. 3	<i>Grayhound</i> of Boston	Robert Peat	Ship	N. England 1716	Boston 28 July 1722	sd. Master Ben. Edwards, Ebenezer Hough and John Logg	4	"
" 13	<i>Mary and Anne</i> of this p't.	Wm. Smith	Scooner	Here 1723	here 1 June 1723	Wm. Smith and Justis Bush	1	Berbados

Sep. 10	<i>Tryall</i>	Wm. Baker	Sloop	New England 1723	St. Christoph'rs 3 June last	Francis Birmingham	1	St. Eustatia
Sep. 22	<i>Eliza and Martha</i>	John Gibbs Jun'r	Sloop	Bermuda 1720	There 24 July 1721	Jno. Gibbs Jun'r, Cornel. Hinson, Cha. Conyars and Peter Mallory	1	Barbados
" 28	<i>Cathrine and Mary of this port</i>	And. Mansfield	"	Here 1724	Here 11 May last	James Darcy and John Searle	2	Jamaica
Oct. 13	<i>Hopewell</i>	Jno. Woodside	Brigg'tt	Prize condemn'd here 1720	here 31 Octo 1720	Barrent Rhynders and John Vanhorn of this City	2 ¹⁵	Madera
" "	<i>Tho. and Mary of the p't.</i>	Sam'l Burdett	Scooner	here 1721	here 19 Octo. 1721	John Brown of this City	1	Antigua
" 26	<i>Fancy of R. Island</i>	Joseph Cook	Sloop	R. Island 1724	there 30 Mar. last	Johnathan Thurston and Rob. Bennet of R. Island	4	R. Island
Nov. 18	<i>Samuel</i>	Tho. Fitch	Ship	here 1721	here 9 Apr. 1722	Edw'd Burling and Sam'l Fitch	1	London
" 30	<i>Allida of this p't.</i>	John Brown	Scooner	here 1724	here 5 Aug. last	Abr. Depeyst Jun'r, Rip Van- dam, Fred. Corland, sd. Master and Stephen Byard	1	St. Thomas's

DEC. 25, 1724-DEC. 25, 1725.

Dec. 30	<i>Mary of this p't.</i>	Dennis Laurance	Sloop	here 1724	here 12 June last	Wm. Walton sen'r and Jun'r	2	Jamaica
Mar. 24	<i>Hamilton of the p't.</i>	And. Bissett	Gally	here 1713	here 20 June 1715	Jno. Moor, Steph. Delancy and Peter Barberie	1	St. Xphers and Eustatia
—	¹⁶ <i>Jacob of this port</i>	Wm. Jeggles	Sloop	Here 1721	Here 23 Apr. 1722	William Walton	1	Jamaica
—	<i>Mary of this port</i>	Jno. Marston	Sloop	Here 1724	Here 20 Nov. last	Enoch Stephenson, Augustus Jay, Peter Vallett and said Master	8	Jamaica
—	<i>Burnet</i> " " "	Jno. Muttlow	"	Here 1722	here 28 Nov. 1722	Rip Vandam, Walter Thon, Jos. Robinson and Henry Chuyler	1	St. Thomas's
—	<i>Lady Anne of Jamaica</i>	Charles Cliff	"	here 1723	Jamaica 18 Dec. last	The Hon'ble Marquess Du- quessne	3	Hondoras
—	<i>2 Friends of this port</i>	Edw'd King	"	here 1721	R. Island 22 June last	Wm. Barnes and said Master	1	Rd. Island

¹⁵ "Returned."

¹⁶ The volume is so tightly bound that these dates cannot be read.

DEC. 25, 1724-DEC. 25, 1725.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
—	<i>Mary</i> of this port	Wm. Beckman	Sloop	here 1719	here 28 July 1719	said Master	1	Boston
—	<i>Mary and Anne</i> of this port	Wm. Smith	Scoon'r	here 1723	here 1st June 1723	Wm. Smith and Justus Bosch	1	Barbados
—	<i>Dolphin</i> of this port	Ichabod Lontitt	Sloop	here 1724	here 19 June 1724	Paul Richards, Phillip French and Matthew Clarkeson	3	Curacao
—	<i>Johanna</i> of Lon- don	Tho. Pointer	Ship	N. England 1716	London 17 May 1723	sd. Master, Jos. Hughes and James Methurst	3	Antigua
—	<i>Francis and Cath- rine</i> of this port	John Young	Brigg'tt	here 1724	here 19 feb. last	Jno. Moore and Peter Bar- berie	1	Barbados
—	<i>Hopewell</i> of this port	Jno. Woodside	"	Prize Condemn'd here 1720	here 31 Octo. 1720	John Vanhorne and Barnet Rhynders	1	Madera
—	<i>Swallow</i> of this port	Allex. Phenix	Sloop	Philadelpa. 1718	here 14 Dec. last	Rennie Hett, And. Ferneau, David Clarkson and Garr't Vanhorne	1	Barbados
June 25	<i>Jacob</i> of this port	Jacob Phenix	Sloop	here 1721	here 23 Apr. 1722	William Walton	1	S'th Carolina
July 2	<i>Rubie</i> of Ber- muda	Rich. Leacraft	"	Bermuda 1724	there 13 May 1724	said Master, Jonathan Birch, Paul Painter and Painter Burrows	11	Jamaica
" 14	<i>Three Friends</i>	George Mackee	"	Conecticut 1724	Antigua 29 Apr. last	Jno. Barboline, Jno. Green and James Read	4	Antigua
" 23	<i>four Sisters</i> of this p't.	Wm. White	"	New England 1721	here 2 Dec. last	Moses Levy of this city	117	Curacao
—	<i>Tryall</i> of this port	Vincent Bodine	"	New England 1723	St. Christoph'ers 3 June 1724	Francis Birmingham	1	St. Eustatia
—	<i>Mary</i> of this port	Sam Davis	Sloop	New England 1721	Boston 3 feb. Last	Nich. Governour	2	Nevis
—	<i>Wheele of Fortune</i>	Jesper Bush	"	here 1712	here 19 May 1713	said Master	2	Rd. Island

17 "Mulatto."

—	<i>Tho. and Mary of Bermuda</i>	Tho. Frith	“	Bermuda 1725	there 3d May last here 14 Octo. 1714	Tho. Gilbert Sen'r and Jun'r	1	Bermuda
Aug. 14	<i>Cathrine and Mary of this port</i>	Henry Roe	“	New England 1714	here 19 Mar. 1723	Jno., Garret and Abraham Vanhorn and And. Freneau	33	St. Eustatia
“ 18	<i>Speedwell of this port</i>	Arnot Schermerhorn	“	here 1719	here 24 Dec. last	Rob. Griffith and said Master	1	Boston
“ 20	<i>Jolly of this port</i>	Rob. Theobalds	“	New England 1721	Nevis	Christop'r Banker, Abram Linsen and said Master	23	St. Eustatia
“ 23	<i>Hamilton of this port</i>	George Sharp	“	Bermuda 1717	4 May 1724	Mary Pinney	6	Nevis
“ 31	<i>Duke of Portland</i>	Isaac Vandam	Ship	here 1724	here 1 June 1724	Rip Vandam	6	Berbados
“	<i>Mary of this port</i>	Jno. Marston	Sloop	here 1724	here 20 Nov. last	Enoch Stephenson. Augustus Jay, Peter Vallett and said Master	8	Jamaica
Sep. 1	<i>Mary of this port</i>	DennisLawrance	Sloop	here 1724	here 12 June 1724	Wm. Walton, Sen'r and Jun'r.	5	Jamaica
—	<i>Francis and Cathrine</i>	John Young	Brigg't	“	here 19 feb. last	Peter Barberie and John Moor	8	Berbados
Oct. 9	¹⁸ <i>Penellopy</i>	Wm. Benson	Snow	Lancaster 1720	Liverpool 4 May 1724	Doding Bradsall, sd. Master, Rich. Gilpin Sawery, Wm. Sawery and James Penny Thomas Hopkins	8	Berbados
Dec. 12	<i>Anne of this p't.</i>	Garrett Garretse	Sloop	R. Island 1724	there 19 Nov. last	William Orem	59	Affrica
“ 24	<i>Glassco of Bermuda</i>	Dan. Hubbard	“	Bermuda 1725	there 27 Octo last	Evan Drumand	2	Bermuda
“ 4?	<i>Norris of this pt.</i>	David Seabury	“	Coneticutt 1724	here 6 Jan last		1	Martinique

DEC. 25, 1725—DEC. 25, 1726.

Dec. 25 or Jan. 25 Feb. 19	<i>Good Intent of this port</i>	Walter Kippin	Ship	here 1725	here 8 May 1725	Tho. Franks, Nathan Gridley, James Bolt, Joseph Cale and said Master	1	Berbados
“ 19	<i>Abigall of this pt.</i>	Wm. Jarratt	Sloop	Philadelphia 1710	here 5 Octo. 1715	Adolph Phillips and Moses Levy	2 boys	Martinique
Mar. 28	<i>Mary and Anne of this port</i>	Wm. Smith	Scooner	here 1723	here 1st June 1723	Wm. Smith and Justus Bosch	5	St. Thomas's

¹⁸ C. O. 5: 1224, N. Y.

DEC. 25, 1725-DEC. 25, 1726.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Apr. 6	<i>Jolly</i> of this pt.	Sam'l Laurance	Sloop	N. England 1721	here 17 Jan. 1725	David Provoost, Jno. Brown and said Master	1	Barbados
" 13	<i>Jacob</i> " "	Jacob Phenix	"	here 1721	here 23 Apr. 1722	William Walton	2	Jamaica
" 29	<i>two Brothers</i> of this port	Jesse Kierstead	"	N. England 1717	Boston	Jacob Kierstead, Abraham Vanvleck and said Master	1	Barbados
May 10	<i>Mary</i> of this p't.	Wm. Ellison	Sloop	here 1725	26 June 1721	said Master	2	St. Eustatia and Mounserat
" 26	<i>Tho. and Mary</i> of this port	Fran. Judkin	Scoon'r	here 1721	26 June Last	John Browne	2	St. Thomas's
July 1	<i>Sincerity</i> of Ber- muda	Ralph Dawes	Scoon'r	Bermuda 1724	19 Octo 1721 there	Geo. and Thomas Smith	1	Barbados
Aug. 2	<i>Mary and Ellinor</i> of Bermuda	John Mitchell	Sloop	"	2d Nov. 1724 there	Samuel Spofforth, Thomas Withers and Thos. Harrison	2	Bermuda
" 12	<i>Speedwell</i> of Ber- muda	Edw'd Todd	"	Bermuda 1723	24 Mar. 1724 there	Edw'd Styles, Wm. Mallory, Rich'd and Angelina Hunt	1	Barbados
" "	<i>Sarah and Eliza- beth</i> of Bermuda	Edw'd Burrows	"	Bermuda 1721	8th Jan. 1723 there	Michael and Edw'd Burrows and Jeremy Wells	1	Bermuda
" 15	<i>Elizabeth</i> of this port	Henry Roe	Brigg'tt	here 1726	13 Mar. 1721 here	Garr'tt Vanhorne and sd. Master	31	Jamaica
Aug. 16	<i>Rubie</i> of this p't.	John Fred	Sloop	here 1725	14 April 1726 here	Wm. Walton and said Master	45	Jamaica
Sept. 12	<i>Bruce Hope</i> of Bermuda	Rob. Carthcart	Brigg'tt	Bermuda 1725	1 Dec. 1725 there	Thomas Handy and Robert Dinwidde	1 ¹⁹	Bermuda
" 15	<i>Francis and Cath- rine</i> of this port	John Young	"	here 1724	21 May 1725 here	Peter Barberie and Jno. Moor	4	Barbados
" 24	<i>Marg't and Mary</i> of this pt.	Peter Simmons	"	here 1723	19 feb. Last here	Jos. Robinson and Wm. Barnes	2	"
" 26	<i>Walter</i> of this pt.	James Darcey	Scooner	here 1726	6 Jan. 1723 here	Tho. Thong and said Master	12	Jamaica

¹⁹ "Woman."

"	27	Three Friends of Connecticut	Geo. Mackee	Sloop	Coneticutt 1724	Antigua 1 May 1725	Jno. Barboline, James Reed and Jno. Green	4	Antigua
Oct.	4	Mary of this port	Dennis Laurence	Sloop	here 1724	here	William Walton	5	Jamaica
"	"	Jacob " " "	Wm. Smith	Scooner	here 1725	here	Mordica and Daniel Gomes	1	"
"	10	Morning Star of this port	Andrew Marscollock	Sloop	here 1721	here	Andrew Marscollock Sen'r and Jun'r with John Rall	4	"
"	12	Sarah Gally of Bristol	Organ Furnell	Ship	Bristol 1720	16th July last	Geo. Packer, Rich'd Farr, Tho. Roach, Christop'r Redwood, Tho. Ross and sd. Master	1	Barbados
"	13	Mary of the pt.	Jno. Marston	See Aug. 14, 1725				9	Jamaica
Nov.	16	Endeavour of Jamaica	John Dudley	Sloop	Jamaica 1726	there	Hendrick Tinhoven, Tho. Day and John Dudley	32	S'th Carolina
"	29	4 Sisters of this port	Wm. White	"	New England 1717	2d Aug't 1726	Moses Levy	1	St. Thomas's
Dec.	19	Francis and Catherine of this pt.	John Young	Brigg't	here 1724	here	Peter Barberie and John Moor	3	Jamaica

DEC. 25, 1726-DEC. 25, 1727.

Feb.	17	Jolly of the p't.	Rob. Theobalds	Sloop	Coneticut 1724	Boston 17 inst	Abram Linsen, said Master, Christop'r Bankir and Peter Ruttgers	4	St. Thomas's
Mar.	18	Eliza. " " "	Henry Roe	Brigg'tt	here 1725	here	Garr'tt Vanhorne and sd. Master	3	Curracoa
"	20	Jacob " " "	See Oct. 4, 1726	Scooner	Coneticut 1726.	here	Justus Bosch and Jno. Abrams	4	Jamaica
"	23	Anne and Eliza of this p't.	Tho. Ware			11 Nov. 1726	Rip Vandam, Henry Cuyler, Joseph Robinson and Walter Thong	12	"
April	7	Burnett of this port	John Muttlow	Sloop	here 1722	here	Peter Barberie and Jno. Moor	120	Barbados
"	12	Fran. and Catherine of this port	John Young	Brigg'tt	here 1724	here	Benj. Derihett and Henry Hargrove	7	Jamaica
"	19	Prince Frederick of S'th Carolina	Tho. Witter	Sloop	Coneticutt 1722	19 feb. Last	Justus Bosch and Wm. Smith	2	S'th Carolina
"	28	Mary and Anne of this port	Sam'l Harvey	Scooner	here 1723	13 Mar. 1724		2	Jamaica

20 "Woman."

DEC. 25, 1726-DEC. 25, 1727.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
May 9	<i>Three Friends</i> of Antigua	Geo. Mackee	Sloop	Coneticut 1724	Antigua 1st May 1725 here	John Barton, James Reade and John Green	7	Antigua
" 17	<i>four Sisters</i> of this port	James Macken-toosh	"	N. England 1717	2 Dec. 1724 here	Moses Levy	4	Jamaica
" 12	<i>Marg't and Mary</i> of this port	Peter Simmons	Brigg'tt	here 1723	6 Jan. 1723 here	Jos. Robinson and Wm. Barnes	7	St. Thomas's
" 18	<i>Ranger</i> of this port	Joseph Royall	Scooner	here 1726	24 Octo. 1726 here	Stephen Byard, Hen. Cuyler, Peter Byard and said Master	2	Antigua
" 24	<i>Walter</i> of this port	Sam. Burdett	"	" "	12 May 1726 here	Tho. Thong and said Master	9	Jamaica
" 30	<i>two Sisters</i> of this port	Josias Smith	Sloop	" "	20 May 1726	Renne Hett, said Master, Jno. Waldron and Abr. Lynson	1	Barbados
June 2	<i>Dolphin</i> of Bermuda	John Stead	Sloop	Bermuda 1727	there	Jos. Jones, Henry Corbusier and James Maydman	2	Bermuda
June 5	<i>Mary</i> of this p't.	Henry Lawrance	Scooner	here 1726	6 April 1727 here	Jno. Brown, Ben. Eldridg, Alexander Moor and sd. Master	1	Curracoa
" 8	<i>Jolly</i> of this port	Rob. Theobalds	See Feb. 17, 1727				1	St. Thomas's
" 19	<i>Mary</i> of this pt.	Jno. Marston	See Aug. 3, 1725				18	Jamaica
" 20	<i>Warwick</i> of Jamaica	Jno. MackPher-son	Sloop	Bermuda 1719	27 Octo. 1726		14	"
" "	<i>Bruce Hope</i> of Bermuda	Rob. Cathcart	Brigg'tt	Bermuda 1725	Jamaica 19 May 1727 there	James Lynch, Christopher Garvey and said Master	1	Bermuda
Aug. 9	<i>Swallow</i> of this pt.	Wm. Jeggles	Sloop	here 1726	21 May 1725 here	Jno. Jennings and Tho. Handy	2	Jamaica
" 11	<i>King George</i> of this port	Sam'l Payton	Snow	here 1725	15 Dec. 1726 here	William Walton Sen'r and Jun'r and Jacob Walton	35	Jamaica and Eustatia
" 14	<i>Anne and Eliz.</i> of this p't.	Tho. Ware	Scooner	Coneticut 1726	14 May Last here 11 Nov. 1726	Garr'tt Vanhorne and sd. Master Justus Bosch and Jno. Abrams	8	St. Thomas's

"	"	Jane of Barbados	Wm. Glover	Sloop	Coneticut 1723 here 1723	Philadelpa. 13 Sep. 1726 here	Stephen Thompson and Jno. Burk	10	Barbados
Sep.	2	Mary and Anne of this p't.	Sam'l Harvey	Scooner	here 1723	1 June 1723	Justus Bosch and Wm. Smith	1	Jamaica
"	4	Prince Frederick of S'th Carolina	Tho. Witter	Sloop	Coneticutt 1722	S'th Carolina	Benjamin Deryhett and Henry Hargrove	1	New Provi- dence
Sep.	11	Duke of Portland of this port	Michael Thody	Ship	here 1724	13 Mar. 1724 here	Rip Vandam	4	Barbados
"	20	Abigail of this p't.	Ichabod Lontitt	Scooner	here 1726	1 June 1724 here	Adolph Phillips and Moses Levy	4	Curacao
"	25	Prospect of Lon- don	John Bowers	Ship	River Thames 1726	10 May 1727 London	Permfort Miller, Samuel Bar- nard and Comp'y	31	Jamaica
Oct.	11	Jacob of this port	Wm. Smith	Scoon'r	In this Prov'ce 1725	23 Mar. 1726 here	Mord. Gomez of this City and Do. " " Jamaica	1	Jamaica
Nov.	20	Eagle of this port	Dan'l Bloom	Snow	Here 1724	16 July 1725 Here	Jos. and Jo'n Reade and Wm. Walton of this City	15	"
"	27	Peter and John of this port	And'w Bissett	Brig't	Here 1726	16 March 1724 Here	Jon. Moore and P'r Barberie of this City	2	"
"	"	Blessing of Ber- muda	Fr's Morgan	Sloop	In Bermuda 1727	4 March last there	Ephraim Gilbert and Jas. Janny	3	Bermuda
Dec.	14	Patience of this port	Vin'ct Bodin	"	here 1725	8 inst. here	Rod. Pachero of this City	1	Curacao
"	"	James and David of Newport	Ja's Coden	"	R. Island 1727	28 Sept. 1725 there	Said Master and Dav. Gomez of this City	1	R. Island

DEC. 25, 1727-DEC. 25, 1728.

Mar.	4	Patience of this port	See Dec. 14, 1727					1	S'th Carolina
"	19	Duke of Portland of this port	See Sept. 11, 1727					28	Jamaica
"	22	Swallow of this port	See Aug. 9, 1727					6	"
Apr.	5	Old Soldier of Berm'da	Isaac Cox	Sloop	Bermuda 1727	there 15 July last	Walt Mitchell, Hen. Cor- busier and Wm. Mitchell	3	Bermuda
"	12	Mary of this port	Wm. Beekman	Scoon'r	Here 1727	Here	Wm. Smith and Sarah Rowll of this City	1	Boston
"	"	Two Friends of this port	Hen. Fuller	Sloop	Conecticot 1724	15 Dec. last Here	Jas. Henderson and Anth. Duane of this City	5	Antigua
"	17	Norris of this Port	Alex. Hume	Sloop	Here 1726	4 March 1726 Here	Jon. Moor and P'r Barberie of this City	3	Barbados
May	7	Peter and John of this Port	And'w Bisset	Brig	Here 1726	4 March 1726 Here		3	"

DEC. 25, 1727-DEC. 25, 1728.
(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
May 8	<i>Two Sisters</i> of this Port	Josias Smith	See May 30, 1727—	with an additional owner of Tulem Cruger			2	Berbados
" 10	<i>Susanah</i> of Bermuda	Steph'n Burrows	Sloop	Bermuda 1727	there 14 Nov. last	Paynt'r Burrows, P'r Payntor and Steph'n Burrows	1	Bermuda
June 17	<i>Mary</i> of this Port	Jon. Marston	See Aug. 31, 1725	Here 1726	Here	sd. Master and Gar't Vanhorn of this City	30	Jamaica
" 22	<i>Elizabeth</i> of this Port	Hen. Row	Brig't	N. England 1723	14 April 1726	Thos. Tailor of Bost'n and Walt'r Scott of London	9	"
July 18	<i>Olive branch</i> of London	Jos. Hoskoll	Brig't	Here 1727	16 Sept. 1726	Wm. Smith and Sarah Borrell of this City	4	Madeira and Barbados
" 30	<i>Two friends</i> of this Port	Sam'l Harvey	Scoon'r	Rd. Island 1727	Here	Jas. Coden and said Master	4	Antigua
Aug. 9	<i>Mary</i> of this Port	Jon. Deane	Sloop	In this Prov'e 1726	15 Dec. last	Nich's Bayard, Rip Vandam, St. Bayard and per Endorsement Samuel Bayard Jun'r of this City	1	Boston
Sept. 3	<i>Black Eyd Susan</i> of this Port	Phil. Cockrem	"	N. Engl'd 1726	Here 9 May last	sd. Mast'r of Gr't Britain, Jon. Marshall of Boston, Simon Alderson of N. Carol'a	1	Curacoa
" 4	<i>Dolphin</i> of Boston	Mich. Martin	Scoonr	N. Jersey 1726	Boston 7 Nov. 1727	Jon. Emott, Wm. Rickets, Ebenezer Johnston, Edw'd Vaughan	2	Mountserat
" 14	<i>Westmorland</i>	Ben. Bill	Sloop	Here 1724	there 14 March 1726	Jno. Moor of this City	5	Jamaica
" 27	<i>Francis</i> of this Port	Jon. Young	Brig		Here 5 June last (1728)		8	"

DEC. 25, 1728-DEC. 25, 1729.

Feb. 9	<i>Two friends</i> of this Port	See July 30, 1728	Scoon'r	Here 1721	Here 19 Oct. 1721	Jon. Brown	1	Antigua
" 13	<i>Thos. and Mary</i> of this Port ²¹	Fr'cis Judkin	Scoon'r	Here 1721	Here 19 Oct. 1721	Jon. Brown	2	St. Thomas

²¹ The months omitted here cannot be read. Because of the ambiguity in the headings of the manuscript it is impossible to determine whether January and March below belong to 1729 or to 1730.

18	Mary of this Port	Jacob Kip	Sloop	In this Prov'ce 1724 Here 1727	Here 12 June 1724	Wm. Walton Jun'r and Sen'r of this City	1	Carthagera
23	Rubie " "	Andrew Marschalk, Jun'r	"	Here 1727	Here 31 Jan'y last	Sd. Master, And. Marschalk Sen'r and P'r and Fr'cis Marschalk of this City	5	Jamaica
28	Speedwel " "	Arnout Schermerhorn	"	here 1719	Here 19 March 1723	sd. Master and Rob. Griffith of this City	1	Boston
	Mary " "	Thos. Ware	"	N. Engl'd 1721	Boston 3d febr'y 1724	Nich's Gouverneur and per Endorsm't Rog'r Groves of this City	1	Jamaica
Jan. 20	Pr'ce William of this Port	Wm. Smith	Scoon'r	Here 1726	Here 3 Augt. 1726	P'l Richard, Dav. Clarkson, Ro't Livingston, Matt. Clarkson and M. Levy of this City	1	Jamaica
" 25	Thos. and Mary of this Port	See above					1	St. Thomas
Mar. 12	Anna " "	Ebenez. Wyatt	"	Conecticut 1728	Here 15 Aug'st last	Ben. Deharret Sen. of this City, Ben. Deharret Jun. of S. Carolina	1	S'th Carolina
" 22	Essex " "	Thos. Fitch	"	In this Prov'ce 1727	Here 15 Nov. 1727	Jas. Burling and Edw'd Bur- ling of this City	1	Antigua
" 3	Two friends of this port	Jos. Morgan	See July	30, 1728			2	"
Apr. 3	Rubie of this port	Wm. Geddes	Sloop	In this Prov'ce 1725	Here 1 Dec. 1725	Wm. Walton of this City	2	Coracoa and Jahaica
" 9	Susanah of Ber- muda	Hen. Young	"	Bermuda 1727	Here 14 Nov. 1727	Painter Burrows, P'l Painter and Steph'n Burrows	4	Bermuda
" 11	Samuel of this port	Pet'r Morgat	Brig't	Here 1727	Here 2 Apr. 1728	sd. Master, Mord. and D. Gomez, Jon. Suar'l and Sam'l Pintard of this City	2	Coracoa
" 22	John and Mary	Wm. White	Sloop	Conecticot 1727	N. London 30 Augst 1727	Jos. Alison of this City	1	Jamaica
" 23	Don Carlos of Bristol	Thos. Tannatt	Ship	Bristol 1714	there 17 Augst. last per Endorsm't	Ro't Addison and Hen. Lloyd, his Ma'ties Subj'ts of Gr't Brit'n	47	Antigua

DEC. 25, 1728-DEC. 25, 1729.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Apr. 24	<i>Cath'n and Mary</i> of this Port	Hen. Beekman	Sloop	Here 1728	Here 26 June last	Rich'd Vandam, Thos. and Rip Thong and Nath. Mars- ton of this City	7	Barbados
" 25	<i>Dove</i>	Jacob Sarly	"	Conecticot 1727	There 31 Aug'st 1727	Thos. Robinson, Sam'l Betts, Abel Collins, Jos. Frisel	1	Cape Francois and Jamaica
" 28	<i>Rubie</i>	See Feb. 23, 1729	"	Conecticot 1722	S'th Carolina 3 March 1724/5	Ben. Deharie Jun'r and Hen. Hargrave	3 2	Jamaica S'th Carolina
May 2	<i>Pr'ce Frederic</i> of S'th Carolina	Geo. White	"				11	Barbados
" 9	<i>Francis</i> of this port	See Sept. 27, 1728	"				1	Bermuda
" 14	<i>Little Marys</i> of Bermuda	Jon. Bethell	"	Bermuda 1727	there 9 May 1727	Jon. Jennings and Dan'l Stiles of Bermuda	1	Jamaica
" 19	<i>Mary</i> of this port	Thos. Ware	Sloop	N. Engl'd 1721	Boston 3d febr'y 1724	Nich's Gouverneur and per En- dorsm't Rog'r Groves of this City	1	
" 21	" " "	Jon. Vanpelt	Sloop	Here 1726	Here 23 Jan. last	sd. Master and Jon. Vanpelt Sen'r of this City	2	N'th Carolina
May 24	<i>Two Sisters</i> of this Port	Ro't Theobalds	Sloop	Here 1726	Here 16 March 1728	Telem Cruger, Jon. Waldron Sen'r, Abr'm Lynsen and per Endorsement Xtoph'r Banker of this City	1	Barbados
" 28	<i>Walter</i> of this port	Gar't Garetse	Scoon'r	" "	Here 12 May 1726	Thos. Thong and per En- dorsm't sd. Mast'r	5	St. Thomas
June 3	<i>Abigail</i> of this port	Ichabod Lontit	Sloop	" "	Here 10 May 1727	The Execut'rs M. Levy dece'd and Jacob Frank of this City per Endorsm't	4	Serenhaim
" 12	<i>Thos. and Mary</i> of this Port	See above	"				1	St. Thomas
" 23	<i>Unity</i> of Ber- muda	Jos. Evans	"	Bermuda 1729	There 19 May last	Steph'n Painter, P'l Paint'r Sen'r and Jun'r and said Master	3	Bermuda

"	<i>Blk Ey'd Susan</i>	Jon. Hinman	"	Virginia 1721	Phila. and Lewis 25 March and 14 April 1725 Here 10 Dec. 1726	sd. Master and Ro't Shank- land of Lewis	1	Lewis <i>sup.</i> Del- aware
June 23	<i>Burnet</i> of this port	Hén. M. Bride	Snow	this Prov'ce 1722	Here	Corn's Vanhorn Sen and Jun'r M. Evers of this City	1	St. Christoph'rs and Eustatia
June 28	<i>John</i> of this Port	And. Bisset	Brig't	Here 1726	Here 5 June 1728	Jno. Moor of this City	8	Berbados
July 8	<i>Friendship</i> of Bermuda	Wm. Burrows	Sloop	Bermuda 1726	There 10 March 1726	Thos. and Jos. Hunt and said Master	2	"
" 10	<i>Anne</i> of this port	Jon. Bedford	"	Here 1728	Here 21 March last	Dav. and Matt. Clarkson of this City	3	Coracoa
" 19	<i>Judith and Re- becca</i> of this port	Jon. Clarke	Scoon.	" "	Here	said Master	3	Jamaica
" 22	<i>Mary</i> " " "	Jacob Kip	Sloop	In this Prov'ce 1724	3 April last	Wm. Walton Jun'r and Sen'r of this City	1	"
Augst 2	<i>Anne and Elisa</i> of this port	Mansfield Tucker	Scoon'r	Conecticot 1726	Here 12 June 1724	Just's Bosch, Jon. Abrams of this City and per En- dorsm't Hen. Rush	9	Antigua
" 19	<i>Mary</i> " " "	Edwin Wills for Dug'd Camp- bell dece'd.	Ship	Here 1725	Here 2 Nov. 1727	Dud. Campbell, Ar't Schuy- ler, Ant. Rutgers, Jon. Walter, Rod. Pachero of this City	10	Madeira and Jamaica
" 25	<i>Samuel</i> " " "	See Apr. 11, 1729					23	Antigua Jamaica
" "	<i>Cath'n and Mary</i> of this port	See Apr. 24, 1729					1	"
" "	<i>Pr'ce William</i> of this port	See Jan. 20, 1729					2	"
" 27	<i>Content</i> of Ber- muda	Jon. Wills	Sloop	Bermuda 1726	There 29 April 1726	Jon. Harvey, Ro't White, Joseph Catling and Nath'l Bascomb	4	Berbados
Sept. 2	<i>Francis</i> of this port	See Sept. 27, 1728					1	Jamaica
" 8	<i>Phoebe</i> of this port	Thos. Barnes	Sloop	In this Prov'ce 1727	Here 27 Oct. 1727	said Master	4	R. Island
Oct. 9	<i>True Blue</i>	Jon. Williams	Sloop	Bermuda 1714	Antigua 15 July last	Thos. Tarleton of Liverpool	10	Antigua and Mountserratt
" 27	<i>Sarah</i> of Ber- muda	Rich'd Newbold	"	Bermuda 1729	There 5 June last	Florent'a Seymour, Thos. Forster, Jos. Appelby and Martha Forster	7	Berbados

DEC. 25, 1729-DEC. 25, 1730.

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Feb. 10	<i>Exchange</i> of Bermuda	Geo. Seacraft	Sloop	Bermuda 1728	There 28 May 1728	Jon. Gibbs Jun'r and Sen'r, Eph'm Gilbert and Pet'r Mallory	3	Antigua
" 13	<i>Lancashire</i> of Bermuda	Thos. Forster	"	Bermuda 1729	There 22 Sept. last	Wm. Mitchell, Sam and Robert Spofforth of Bermuda	5	Bermuda
" 21	<i>Charm'g Philas</i> of this port	Smith'n Ratsey	Snow	In this Prov'ce 1727	Here 19 Dec. 1727	Jacob Franks and per Endorsm't, sd. Master	1	London
Mar. 12	<i>Rose</i>	Jonath'n Tucker	Sloop	Bermuda 1725	There 26 Jan'y 1725/6	Nath. and Ben Butterfield and Fr'cis Jones of Bermuda	1	Jamaica
" 18	<i>Mary</i> of this port	Hen. Lawrence	Scoon'r	Here 1726	Here 27 Oct. 1726	Jon. Brown, sd. Mast'r, Alex. Moor, Ben Eldridge	2	Coracoa
" 19	<i>Elisabeth</i> of this port	Hen. Row	Brign.	Here 1726	Here 14 April 1726	sd. Mast'r and Gar't Vanhorne of this City	3	Antigoa
" 22	<i>Anne and Elisa</i> of this port	See August 2, 1729					1	Berbados
" 24	<i>Mary</i> of this port	Edw. Wills	Sloop	R. Island 1727	Here 9 May 1728	Jon. Deane of this City	1	Boston
Feb. 5	<i>Duke of Port'd</i> of this Port	See Sept. 11, 1727					2	Jamaica
" "	<i>Francis</i> of this Port	Wm. Smith	Scoon'r	Here 1729	Here 25 Sept. last	sd. Mast'r, Nath. Gilbert, Steph'n Bayard and Phil Livingston of this City	9	Antigua
" 23	<i>Essex</i> of this Port	See Mar. 22, 1729					1	Berbados
" 23	<i>Speedwell</i> of this Port	See Feb. 28, 1729					1	Boston
Mar. 24	<i>Providence</i> of this Port	Alex. Phoenix	Sloop	N. London 1727	Here 23 Oct'r last	sd. Master and Jacob Golst of this City	2	Jamaica
" "	<i>Jacob</i>	Jacob Phoenix	"	This prov'ce 1721	Here 23 Apr. 1722	Wm. Walton of this City	31	St. Christoph'rs

Apr. 13	<i>Elisabeth</i> of this port	And. Mansfield	Scoon'r	This Prov'ce 1727	Here 28 feb'y 1727	P'l and Jon. Richard of this City	2	Surenham
" 21	<i>Rubie</i> of this port	See Feb. 23, 1729	Sloop	Conecticot 1726	Antigua 26 Jan'y last	Sam'l Archibald and Wm. Smith of Antigua	1	Jamaica
" "	<i>Mary Anne</i>	D. Rickford					1	Antigua
" 23	<i>Anne and Elisa</i> of this port	See August 2, 1729	Sloop	This Prov'ce 1726	Here 15 Dec. 1726	Jacob Walton and Wm. Walton Sen'r and Jun'r	4	St. Thomas
" 29	<i>Swallow</i> of this port	Wm. Jeggles					3	Jamaica
" 30	<i>Samuel</i> of this port	See April 11, 1729					2	Barbados
May 2	<i>Phoebe</i> of this port	Ebenes. Wyatt	"	This Prov'ce 1727	Here 27 Oct. 1727	Thos. Barnes and per Endorsement, Hen. Cruger of this City	1	Coracoa
" 8	<i>Speedwell</i> of this port	See Feb. 28, 1729					2	Boston
" "	<i>Thos. and Mary</i> of this port	See Jan. 25, 1729					3	St. Thomas
" 28	<i>Elisabeth</i> of this port	Hen. Row	Brig.	Here 1726	Here 14 April 1726	sd. Master and Gar't Vanhorn of this City	6	Antigua
" 30	<i>Lamb</i>	Jno. Blaker	Scoon'r	" "	Maryland 27 feby. 1728	said Master	3	Barbados
June 13	<i>Francis</i> of this port	J'on Young	Brig.	Here 1724	Here 5 June 1728	Jon. Moor of this City	2	"
" 23	<i>Joanna</i> of this port	Sam'l Payton	"	Here 1728	Here 6 July 1728	sd. Master and Gar't Vanhorne of this City	1	Jamaica
July 7	<i>Charm'g Philips</i> of this Port	See Feb. 21, 1730					1	Jamaica
" 10	<i>Jacob</i>	Jacob Phoenix	Sloop	This Prov'ce 1721	Here 23 Apr. 1721	Wm. Walton of this City	1	St. Christoph'rs and St. Eustatia
" 11	<i>Two friends</i> of N. York and Antigua	Jon. Sutcliffe	Scoon.	Here 1727	Here 16 June 1729	sd. Master, Anth'y Web of this City w'th Edw'd and Jon. Gregory of Antigua	9	Antigua
July 11	<i>Hum bird</i>	Pet'r Maul	Sloop	Conecticot 1727	R. Island 16 Oct. last	Geo. Dunbar of R. Is'd.	1	Boston
" 14	<i>Nonsuch</i> of this port	Jon. Smith	Brig.	Here 1727	Here 2 Oct. 1727	Phil. French, Enoch Stephenson, Abr'm De Peyster and per Endorsm't Dav. Clark-son	6	Coracoa

DEC. 25, 1729-DEC. 25, 1730.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
July 21	<i>Anne</i> of this port	Thos. Hill	Sloop	Here 1728	Here 21 March 1728	David and Matth'w Clarkson of this City	2	Jamaica
" 24	<i>Duke of Portland</i> of this port	Jon. Mutlow	Ship	Here 1724	Here	Rip Van Dam of this City	10	"
Aug. 4	<i>Essex</i> of this port	Thos. Fitch	See Mar. 22, 1729(?)		1 June 1724		1	Antigua and P'th Amboy
" 6	<i>Mary</i> of this port	Wm. Beekman	Sloop	Here 1719	Here	said Master	1	Boston
" 8	<i>Westmorland</i> of this port	Jas. Vaughan	"	N. Jersey 1726	28 July 1719 Here 11 Oct. 1728 formerly N. Jersey	sd. Mast'r, Wm. Rickets, Wm. Crow of this City and Ebenez'r Johnston of N. Jersey	3	Jamaica
June 26	<i>Francis</i> of this port	Wm. Smith	Scoon'r	here 1729	14 March 1726 here 25 Sept. last	Sd. Master, Nath. Gilbert, Steph. Bayard and Philip Livingston	16	Antigua
Aug. 17	<i>Katharine</i> of this port	Jac. Keirstede	Sloop	Conecticot 1730	there 22 Apr. last	Pet'r Livingston and Philip Levingston of this City	7	Jamaica and Hispaniola
" 19	<i>Thos. and Mary</i> of this port	Fr'cis Judkin	Scoon'r	Here 1729	Here 18 Nov. last	Jos. Robinson of this City and Wm. Barnes his Ma'ties Subj't at St. Thos.	1	St. Thomas
" "	<i>Katharine</i> of Nevis	Ro't Sharpers	Sloop	Boston 1730	there 26 May last	Tim. Prout of Boston and Jas. Emra of Nevis	1	Nevis
" 26	<i>Pr'ce fredric</i> of S'th Carolina	Geo. White	"	Conecticot 1722	S'th Carolina 13 March 1724/5	Ben. Deharies Jun'r and Hen. Hargrave	2	S'th Carolina
" 28	<i>Dolphin</i> of this Port	Jon. Marston	Brig.	Here 1729	Here 14 Oct. last	P'r and Aug. Jay, P'r Valet, Fred Vancourtland and Na- thaniel Marston of this City	5	Jamaica
Sept. 14	<i>Anne</i> of this port	Jon. Hunt	Sloop	R. Island 1726	Here 27 Sept. 1729	Thos. Jefferys of this City	4	Jamaica

"	22	Unity of Bermuda	Hen. Young	See June 23, 1729				
"	28	Byam of this port	Mich. Thody	Scoon'r Here 1726	Here 22 May last	Sd. Master, Nath. Gilbert, St'n Bayard and Phil. Livingston of this Prov'ce	2	Coracoa
"	"	Trial of this Proce	Jon. Lush	" In this Prov'ce 1728	Here 31 Dec'r last	Amos Willes of this Prov'ce	13	Antigoa Barbados

MAR. 25-DEC. 25, 1731.²²

Apr.	8	Nights Ramble of this port	Tho. Barns	Sloop	In this Province 1730	Here 1st Octo. last	said Master	1	Boston
"	21	Byam of this port	Mich. Thody	Scooner	Here 1726	Here 22 May last	said Master, Nath. Gilbert, Steph. Bayard and Phil. Livingstone of this City	4	Antigoa
"	26	Francis of this port	Wm. Smith	"	Here 1729	Here 25 Sept. 1729	Same as above with this master, Wm. Smith not Thody	6	"
"	27	Anne and Eliza of this port	Alex. Phenix	"	Conecticot 1726	Here 11 Nov. 1726	Just's Bush and per Endorse- mt said Master	11	Barbadoes
May	17	Pearl of this port	Jo. Fred	Sloop	N. England 1727	Here 19 feb. 1727	Said Master per Endorsem't	7	Jamaica and St. Thomas
"	"	Mary of this port	Tho. Ware	"	N. England 1721	Boston 3d feb. 1724	Nich. Gouverneur and per En- dorsemt. Ben. Hildreth, D. C. and Mord. Gomez of this City	4	Jamaica
"	19	Mary of Navis	Hugh Wentworth for Jer. Good-ridge	"	Bermuda 1728	There 31 Dec. 1728	Sam'l Spofforth of Bermuda and John Woodley of Navis	3	Navis
"	31	Duke of Portland of this port	Jo. Multon	Ship	Here 1724	Here 1 June 1724	Rip van Dam of this City	3	Jamaica
"	31	Dolphin of this port	Jo. Marston	Brign.	Here 1729	Here 14 Octob. 1729	Peter and Aug. Jay, Peter Valet, Fred Van Courtland and Nath. Marston of this City	25	Barbados
June	9	Antigoa Gally	Ro't Sutcliffe	Ship	N. Engld. 1730	N. Castle Newhampshir 27 Janry. 1730/1	Sd. Master Tho. Stephens, Ed. Gregory of Antigua	14	Antigoa
"	21	Nonsuch of this port	Wm. Smith	Brig.	Here 1727	Here 2d October 1727	Phil. French, Enoch Steven- son, Ab'm Dpuyster per Endorsm't Da. Clarkson	1	Madeira

²² C. O. 5: 1225, N. Y.

MAR. 25-DEC. 25, 1731.
(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
June 30	<i>Unity</i> of Ber- muda	Hen. Young	Sloop	Bermuda 1729	There 19 May 1729	Steph. Painter, P't Painter Jun'r and Sen'r, Jos. Evans	1	Caracoa and Bernuda Jamaica
July 7	<i>Katharine</i> of this port	Jac's Keirsted	"	Connecticot 1730	There 22 April 1730	Peter and Phil. Livingston of this city	6	Jamaica
" 13	<i>Dove</i> of N. Provi- dence	John Wyching- ham	"	N. Providence 1731	There 28 May last	Sam'l Vincent of this City	7	N. Providence
" "	<i>Swallow</i> of this port	Wm. Jeggels	"	This Province 1726	Here 15 Dec. 1726	Jacob Walton, Wm. Walton Sen'r and Jun'r	6	St. Christo- phers Jamaica
" 27	<i>Anne</i> of this port	Thos. Hill	"	Here 1728	Here 21 March 1728	Da. Clarkson and Matt. Clarkson of this City	8	Jamaica
Aug. 10	<i>Albany</i> of this port	Burger Lipkins	"	This Province 1730	Here 3 Octob. last	sd. Master <i>Jurat</i> that Garret Vanhorn of this City	3	Barbados
" 19	<i>Garret</i> of this port	Phil. Fiott	"	This Province 1727	Here 23 Dec. 1727	Garret Vanhorn of this City per Endorsement	2	Surenham
" 20	<i>Anne and Eliza- beth</i> of this port	Alex. Phenix	Scooner	Conecticot 1726	Here 11 Nov. 1726	Just's Bosch per Endorsement sd. Master	1	Jamaica
Aug. 23	<i>Pelican</i> of Lon- don	Bedford Parker	Ship	Suffolk G t. Brit'n 1714	London 16 April 1716		4	Mountserat
" 26	<i>Elizabeth</i>	Edw'd Fettle	Sloop	This Province 1729	Here 1 June last	Jacob Mott of this Province	1	S't Carolina
Sept. 14	<i>Mary</i> of this port	Josias Smith	"	This Province 1730	Here 24 feb. last	Rip Van Dam of this City	3	Barbadoes
" 15	<i>Francis</i> of this port	See April 26, 1731					24	Antigua
" 22	<i>Dolphin</i> of this port	See May 31, 1731					2	Jamaica
Sept. 27	<i>Catharine</i> of this port	Jasp'r Farmer	Ship	Here 1730	Here 1 Aug'st 1730	Jo. Watter of this City, Arnot Schuyler of N. Jersey	130	Affrica and Perth Amboy

²³ The list of owners is: "Lewis Parker Jun'r, Rich. and Jo. Isles, Jo. and Ja. Langerwood, Jo. Foord, Wm. Reilly, Wm. Davis, Wm. Cosins, Wm. Maycock, Jo. Fra's and Thos. Philips of London, Jo. Dawson, L. Parker Sen'r, Ro't Parker, Geo. Tickner, Rich. Devon of Rams-
gate, Rich. Turner, Thos. Rosier, Wm. Parkerland and Jo. Simpson of N. Castle on tine."

"	28	Unity of this port	Jo. Hunt	Scooner	N. Jersey 1727	Here 15 June last	sd. Master, Obad'a Hunt, Jos. Boyd'n Jamain and Martin Burger of this city	1	St. Lucia
Oct.	5	William of this port	Jacob Phoenix	Brig'n	This Province 1731	Here 24 June last	Jacob Walton, Wm. Walton Sen'r and Jun'r of this City	2	Barbados
"	"	Swallow of this port	See July 13, 1731					5	Jamaica
Nov.	10	Joanna of this port	Sam'l Payton	Brig'n	Here 1728	Here 6 July 1728	sd. Mast'r and Garr't Van- horn of this City	6	"
Dec.	4	Ann of this port	Thomas Hill	Sloop	" "	Here 21 March 1728	Da. and Mat'w Clarkson of this City	5	"

DEC. 25, 1731-DEC. 25, 1732.

Feb.	29	Katharine of Nevis	Robert Sharpless	Sloop	Boston 1730	There 26 May 1730	Timothy Prout of Boston and James Emra of Nevis	1	Nevis
Mar.	29	Peter and John of this port	Jon. Lawrence	Brig't	here 1730	here 9th Nov. 1730	Jno. Brown, Gul. Verplank and John Du Wint of this City	5	St. Thomas
Apr.	13	Mary of this port	Bart. Bratt	Sloop	This province 1730	here 24th of Feb. 1730	Rip Van Dam of this City	2	Jamaica
"	"	Duke of Portland of this port	See May 19, 1731					5	"
May	2	Swallow of this port	See July 13, 1731					1	Hispaniola
"	22	Squirrel of Mt. Serrat	James Colling- wood	Sloop	Connecticut 1729	there 24th Nov. 1729	Samuel Booth of Connecticut and Nath. Webb of Mon- serratt	2	Mt. Serrat
"	23	Mary of Nevis	See May 19, 1731					4	Nevis
June	6	Albany of this port	See Aug. 10, 1731					8	Barbados
"	10	Dolphin	See May 31, 1731					8	Coracoa
"	14	Elizabeth of this port	Henry Rose	Brig'n	Here 1726	Here the 14th Aprill 1726	sd. Master and Gar't Van- horn of this City	10	Antigua
"	20	Mary of this port	Francis Boswell	Scoon'r	" "	Here 27 Octr. 1726	John Brown, Hen. Lawrence, Nath'l Marston Jun'r and Gul. Verplantz per Endorse- ment	2	"
July	3	Charming Joanna of Bermuda	Wm. Seymour	Sloop	Bermuda 1731	there 7th Oct. last	Wm. Seymour Sen'r, Florenta Seymour and per Endorsm't David Provost of this City	8	Barbados

DEC. 25, 1731-DEC. 25, 1732.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
July 17	<i>Rebecca</i> of this port	Jno. Young	Brig.	here 1731	here 30th Aug't last	John Moore of this City	5	Barbados
"	<i>Peter and John</i> of this port	See Mar. 29, 1732					1	St. Thomas
"	<i>Neptune</i> of Bermuda	Francis Fubert	Sloop	Bermuda 1728	there 27 Sept. 1728	Henry Corbusier, Walter Mitchell and Joseph Jones	2	Bermuda
" 21	<i>Katharine</i> of this port	See July 7, 1731					51	Jamaica
Aug. 5	<i>Mary</i>	John Mitchel	Sloop	Virginia 1730	there 8 Feb. 1730	Said Master and Solomon Sears of Bermuda	6	"
" 8	<i>Younger Brother</i>	Nicholas Rock	"	R. Island 1728	there the 11th August 1731	Said Master of Waterford in Ireland	1	St. Eustacia
" 21	<i>Providence</i> of this port	Jon. Davis	"	Here 1732	Here 21 April last	Marin's Eq't. and per Endorsmt Rich'd Van Dam of this City	1	Coracoa
Sept. 23	<i>Patience</i> of this port	Vincent Bodin	"	Here 1725	here 28 Sept. 1725	Rod. Pachego of this City	1	South Carolina
Sept. 23	<i>Thomas</i> of this port	John Stevens	Brigt.	This Province 1731	here 9th Sept. 1731	Said Master, John Grossbeek Jun'r, Thos. Bayeaux Jun'r, Edward Holland of this province and David Minville of Barbados	3	Barbados
" 28	<i>Anne</i> of this port	See July 27, 1731					4	Jamaica
Oct. 20	<i>Rebecca</i> of this port	See July 17, 1732					3	Jamaica
" 25	<i>Elizabeth and Mary</i> of this port	Ichabod Lontiit	Sloop	This prov'ce 1732	Here 17 July last	sd. Mas'r, Jon. Haviland, Wm. Haviland and Corn's Euretse	4	"
Dec. 21	<i>Union</i> of N. Jersey	Lewis Thibou	Scoon'r	N. Jersey 1730	there 8 Mar. 1730	Jon. Low, David and John Ogden of New Jersey	1	Antigoa

Feb. 21	<i>Rebecca</i> of this port	See July 17, 1732						1	Jamaica
Mar. 9	<i>Neptune</i> of Bermuda	See July 17, 1732						2	Jamaica and Bermuda
" 14	<i>Revenge</i> of this port	Albertus Bosch	Sloop	This Province 1732	here 6 Nov. last	Wm. Smith of this City, Henry Benin of Antigua said Master		1	Antigua
" 19	<i>Catherine</i> of this port	Mathew Wolfe	"	Rd. Island 1730	here 29 Aug. last			2	Jamaica
Apr. 7	<i>Albany</i> of this port	John Davis	Sloop	This Prov'e 1727	here 23 Dec. 1727	Gerr't V'n Horne of this City per Register		15	Jamaica
" 9	<i>Katherine</i> of this port	See July 7, 1731						5	"
" 19	<i>Nonsuch</i> of this port	See June 21, 1731						11	"
Apr. 23	<i>Success</i> of N. Providence	Wm. Higgs	Sloop	This prov'ce 1732	There 24 Mar. last	sd. Master		3	Bermuda
" 30	<i>James and Henry</i>	Hen. Bow	"	Here 1732	Here 16 Nov. last	sd. Master, Ab'm and Jam. Vanhorne and Hen. Myers Jun'r		19	Jamaica
" "	<i>Dolphine</i> of this port	Geo. Duncan	Brig't	Here 1729	Here 14 Oct. 1729	Pet. and Aug. Jay, Peter Valet, Fred V. Cortlant and Nath. Marston of this City		6	Antigua
May 7	<i>Mary</i>	Jon. Mitchel	Sloop	Virginia 1730	There 8 Feb. 1730	sd. Master and Solomon Sears of Boston		10	Jamaica
" 10	<i>Thos. and Mary</i>	Fra. Judkins	Scoon'r	here 1729	here 18 Nov. 1729	Jos. Robinson of this City and Wm. Barnes his Mat'ies Subject of St. Thomas		1	St. Thomas
" 21	<i>Lyon</i>	Edw'd Oliver	Sloop	Here 1730	Jamaica 4/10 July last	Ben. Hume of Jamaica		12	Jamaica
" 25	<i>Sea Flower</i> of Jamaica	Wm. Axon	"	Bahama Islands 1729	Jamaica 8/9 July 1731	Roger Reading and Robert Galbreth of Jamaica		1	Carocoa
July 13	<i>Catherine</i> of this port	See Sept. 27, 1731						100	Africa and P'th Amboy
26	<i>St. Michael</i>	Nich's Clarke	Brig'n	Virginia 1729	there the 9th feeb'ry 1729	Jon. Ellegood of Virginia		1	Barbados
Aug. 4	<i>Princess Ann</i>	Jon. Young	"	This Province 1733	Here the 18 Aprill last	Jon. Moore of this City, Blenny Harper and D'l Moore of Barbadoes		1	"

DEC. 25, 1732-DEC. 25, 1733.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Aug. 20	<i>Katherine</i>	Matt. Wolf	Sloop	R. Island 1730	there the 29th August 1732	said Master	1	Jamaica
" 21	<i>Heron and Dolphin</i> of Bermuda	Dan'l Hubbard	"	Bermuda 1729	There The 22d Sept. 1729	Alex'r Heron, Walt. Mitchel, Step'n Judkins and Ben. Wright	1	Antigua and Bermudas
Aug. 23	<i>Katharine</i> of this port	See July 7, 1731					50	Jamaica
" 27	<i>James and Henry</i>	See April 30, 1733					3	Antigua
Sep. 10	<i>Thos. and Mary</i> of this port	See May 10, 1733					1	St. Thomas
" 15	<i>Speedwell</i> of Lewis	John Painter	Sloop	on Delaware 1730	at Lewis and Philada. Aprill the 18th 1730	Said Master and John Miers of Lewis Town	1	Lewis on Dela- war
" 24	<i>Rebecca</i> of this port	Andrew Mans- field	Brig.	Here 1731	Here the 30th August 1731	John Moore of this City	2	Jamaica
Oct. 10	<i>Dolphin</i> of this port	Geo. Duncan	See April 30, 1733				1	Antigua
" "	<i>Riddle</i> of Ber- muda	George Seacraft	Sloop	Bermuda 1732	there the 22d feb. last	Said Master, Wm. Riddle and William Alboy of Bermuda	1	Bonira ²⁴ and Coracoa
" 19	<i>Revenge</i> of this port	See March 14, 1733					4	Antigua
" "	<i>Mary</i> of this port	Josias Smith	Sloop	This Province 1730	Here the 24th feb. 1730	Rip Van Dam of this city	1	Jamaica

DEC. 25, 1733-DEC. 25, 1734.

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Feb. 13	<i>Benja'n</i> of this port	Ab'm Skinner	Brig't	Here 1727	Here June 5, 1732	said Master and per En- dorsement David Provoost, Hen. Cuyler and Xtoph'r Bancker of this City	1	Antigua

²⁴ Bonaire, one of the Dutch West Indies.

" 15	Rebecca of this port	Andrew Mansfield See June 21, 1731	"	Here 1731	Here Aug. 30, 1731	John Moore of this City	2	Jamaica
Mar. 7	Nonsuch of this port						11	"
" 18	Jo'n and Eliz.	Jno. Lawrence	Sloop	Conecticut 1730	R. Island 1st 9'br last	Thos. Lawrence and John Brown of this City	1	St. Thomas
Apr. 22	St. Andrews of Bermuda	Wm. Keel	Sloop	Bermuda 1733	There the 4th Aprill Instant	Wm. Riddel and sd. Master of Bermuda	2	Bermuda
May 8	Hope of this port	John Bedford	Brig	here 1719	here the 23d 8br. 1721	Abraham Vanhorne and per Endorsement Benjamin Dehairst of this City	2	Jamaica
" 10	Mary of Nevis	See May 19, 1731					3	Nevis
" 18	Katharin of this port	See July 7, 1731					4	Jamaica
" 30	King George of this port	Robt. Hood	Snow	Here 1725	Here the 27th 8br 1727	Wm. Walton and per Endorsm't Jacob Lasley and David Provost of this City	4	Coracoa
June 10	Happy of Bermuda	Ed. Burrows	Sloop	Bermuda 1733	there the 4th Feb'y Last	Jos., Thos. and Kisiah Hunt, Ed. Burrows and Dan'l Hinson of Bermuda	1	Antigoa
" 18	Mary of this port	Jos. Smith	"	This Provice. 1730	Here 24th feb. 1730	Rip Van Dam of this City	7	Berbadoes
July 17	Johannah of this port	Sam'l Payton	Brig'n	Here 1728	here 6th July 1728	said Master and Garrett Vanhorn of this City	1	Coracoa
31	Jamaica Pacquett of this port	Jacobus Kiersted	"	This Province 1733	Here 25 Aug. last	Robt. Livingstone Jun'r and Phill Livingstone of this province	4	Jamaica
Aug. 5	Mary of this port	L. Thibou	Sloop	Here 1724	Here 12 June 1724	Wm. Walton Sen'r and Jun'r of this City	1	St. Christophers
" 7	Mary of Nevis	See May 19, 1731					2	Nevis
" 13	Catharine of this port	Thomas Vater	Brig'n	Here 1727	Here 19 April 1727	Phil Cortlandt, Henry Cuyler, and Xpher Banker of this City	1	Barbados
" 14	Royal Ranger of New Providence	Rich'd Fowle	Sloop	N. Providence 1732	N. Providence 4 Jan. 1732	Jeremiah Burrowes of New Providence (Bahama Isl'ds)	1	Coracoa
Sep. 2	Warwick of Bermuda	Jno. Darrell Jun'r	"	Bermuda 1730	There 10 March 1736	Jno. Darrell Jun'r, Moore Darrell and Wm. Riddel	1	St. Lucia

DEC. 25, 1733-DEC. 25, 1734.
(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Oct. 18	<i>Catherine</i> of this port	Philip Fiot	Sloop	New Jersey 1734	Here 23d Sept. last	said Master	1	Rh. Island
Nov. 21	<i>Prince William</i> of Bristol	Thos. Bayo	Ship	Bristol, Great Britain 1731	There 10 Feby. 1731	John Daltera, Wm. Hare, Thos. Caster, John Morgan, Organ Furnell and Joseph Fowle of Bristol	2	Jamaica

DEC. 25, 1734-JUNE, 1736.

Mar. 17	<i>Katherina</i> of this port	Henry Tuckniss	Sloop	Conne'tt 1732	Here 19th February 1732	Robt. and Phill. Livingston of this City	6	Jamaica
Mar. 28	<i>Rebecca</i> of this port	See Feb. 15, 1734					6	"
May 8	<i>Rebecca</i> of New Jersey	Mathew Smith	Sloop	Salem, N. Jersey 1730	there 25 Novem'r 1730	Molachi Davis of Salem in the west Division of N. Jersey	1	St. Christophers
" 13	<i>Royal Ranger</i> of New Providence	See Aug. 14, 1734					7	Coracoa
" 15	<i>Hester</i> of this port	Nicholas Garrison	Sloop	Here 1733	Here 1734	Paul Richard, Mordica and David Gomez	1	St. Thomas
" 17	<i>Jamaica</i> Pacquet of this port	See July 31, 1734					55	Jamaica
" 19	<i>Midnight</i> of this port	Thomas Barns	"	" "	Here 27 Nov. 1733	said Master	2	S'th Carolina
June 2	<i>Mary</i> of this port	Patrick Neelson	"	Here 1734	Here 8 June 1734	James Dorcey of this city	19	Jamaica
July 7	<i>Catherine</i> of this port	Henry Tuckness	"	Conecticut 1732	Here Feby 19th 1732	Philip Livingston	2	"

July 8	Three Bros of this port	Benja. Keirsted	Brig't	Virginia 1728	There Octo. 21, 1728	William Godfery of Virginia and Benjamin Bartlett of Maderas	1	"
" 28	Royal Ranger of New Providence	See Aug. 14, 1734					2	Curacoa
" 30	Catherine of this port	Thom. Ware	Sloop	here 1718	here June 25, 1731	Rip Van Dam of this city and said Master as per Endorsm't	5	Jamaica
Aug. 13	St. Peter of this Port	John Hunt	Brig.	Conecticut 1735	here April 28, 1735	Abraham Vanhorne Ju'r and John Provoost of this City with sd. Master	7	Jamaica
" 28	Hester of this Port	Nicholas Garri-son	Sloop	here 1733	here April 27, 1734	Paul Rich'd and Dav'd Gomez	2	St. Thomas
Oct. 13	Jama. packet of this port	See July 31, 1734					2	Jamaica
" 27	Rebecca of this port	See Feb. 15, 1734					3	"
Jan. 5	Princes Ann of this port	John Young	Brig't	This Province 1733	here April 18, 1733	John Moore of this City and Bleny Harper and Dan'l Moore of Barbadoes	2	"
April 2	Happy of Bermuda	See June 10, 1734					1	Bermuda
" 6	Patience of this port	Jos. Good	Sloop	Here 1725	Here 28 Sept. 1725	Roderigo Pajaco of London	1	Bay of Honduras Jamaica
" 13	Rebecca. of this port	See Feb. 15, 1734					7	
May 22	Olive Branch of Bermuda	Thomas Durham	Sloop	Bermudas 1731	there 26 Feb. 1731	Rich'd Durham, Jos., Thos. and Keziah Hunt, Wm. Burrows	3	Coracoa
" 28	Happy Return of this port	John Lawrence	"	N. Engl'd 1723	there 19th July last	Sam'el Broadhurst and sd. Master of this province	1	St. Thomas

MAR. 26, 1737-MAR. 25, 1738.

Apr. 16	Enterprise	Oliver Leacraft	"	Bermuda 1727	St. Xstophers 10 May 1736	Messrs. Rich'd and Paul Boyd of London and Rich'd Rowland of Xstophers sd. Master	15	St. Xstophers
May 6	Eliza and Mary of Boston	Josiah Jones	Scoon'r	New England 1724	New England 1 March 1732		2	New Providence Antegoa
" 31	Albany of this port	John Davies	Sloop	This Province 1727	Here 23 Dec'r 1727	Garret Vanhorne of this City per Endorsement	5	

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
May 31	<i>Unity</i> of Ber-	Stephen Paynter	Sloop	Bermuda 1736	there 7 June 1736	sd. Master, Wm. Leacraft and Paul Painter	1	Jamaica
"	<i>Union</i> of this port	Henry Lawrence	Brig't	New Jersey 1730	Here Octob. 26, 1734	Nath. Marston Jun'r, Thos. Marston, Abr. Lansing, Jno. Cruger and sd. Master of this City	2	Antegoa
June 2	<i>Mary</i> of this port	Hugh Wentworth	Sloop	Bermuda 1728	Here this day	sd. Master and Wm. Exon of this City	15	Coracoa
" 15	<i>Prudent Betty</i> of this port	Jacob Phoenix	"	New England 1731	Jamaica 11 April 1737	Henry Cruger, Jacob Phoenix of New York	1	Jamaica
"	<i>Rebecca</i> of this port	See Feb. 15, 1734					9	"
" 27	<i>Midnight</i> of this port	See May 19, 1735					2	Sth Carolina
" 28	<i>Speedwell</i> of New Jersey	Peter Allaire	Sloop	New Jersey 1735	there 10 July 1735	John Gray of New Jersey	7	St. Christo- phers
July 6	<i>Bird</i> Gally of London	William Hinton	Ship	Boston 1736	there 14 July 1736	²⁵	3	Mountserrat and Angiula
" 23	<i>Richmond</i>	Daniel Hubbard	Sloop	Bermuda 1736	Jamaica 19 April 1737	Gersham Ely	9	Jamaica
"	<i>Revenge</i>	Albertus Bosch	"	This Province 1732	Here 6 Nov. 1732	Wm. Smith of this City and Henry Bonmi	2	Antigoa
Aug. 8	<i>Free Mason</i> of this port	Thomas Parmy- ter	Sloop	New England	S'th Carolina May 19, 1737	David Provoost Jun'r of this City	2	New Provi- dence and S'th Carolina
"	<i>Jno. and Eliza</i>	Francis Rosewell	Sloop	Conecticut 1730	Rd. Island Nov. 1, 1733	Thos. Lawrence and John Brown of this City	1	Coracoa
" 23	<i>Thomas</i> of this port	John Stephens	Brig't	This province 1731	Here 22d June 1734	²⁶	3	Jamaica

²⁵ The owners are: "Thos. Oxrand [?], Jno. Osborn of Boston and Sam'l Slydobbottam, Thos. Wright and Micha. Bird of London."
²⁶ Owners: "S'd Master, James Favies, Jun'r, John Groosbeck of New York and Joseph Mico of London."

Aug. 29	<i>Hester</i> of this port	Nicholas Garret-son	Sloop	Here 1736	Here 29 Dec. last	Paul Richard, Mordecai and David Gomez	1	St. Thomas
Sep. 2	<i>Olive Branch</i> of Bermuda	See May 22, 1736					1	Jamaica
Oct. 17	<i>Don Carlos</i> of this port	Abraham Kip	"	This province 1736	Here 20 Dec. last	Jacob Walton and Wm. Wal-ton Sen'r and Jun'r	9	St. Augustin
" 27	<i>Free Mason</i> of this port	See Aug. 8, 1737					1	S'th Carolina
" 29	<i>Anne</i> of this port	Thomas Seymour	"	This province 1731	S'th Carolina 11 Sept. 1734	Wm. and Gill'n Verplank, Anth. Rutgers and Jno. Hinman	2	Jamaica
Nov. 16	<i>Rebecca</i> of this port	See Feb. 15, 1734					2	"
" "	<i>St. Andrew</i> of Bermuda	Geo. Seacraft	"	Bermuda 1733	Jamaica 6th October 1735	sd. Master and Wm. Riddell of Bermuda	2	"
Mar. 6	<i>Georgia Pacquet</i>	John Lush	"	This province 1734	20 Sept. 1736	sd. Master, Anth. and Peter Rutgers, Xstopher Banker and David Provoost	1	S'th Carolina

MAR. 25, 1738-DEC. 25, 1739.²⁷

Mar. 27	<i>St. Peter</i> of this port	John Hunt	Brig.	Conecticut 1735	Here 28 Apl. 1735	sd. Master and per En-dorsm't Obadiah Hunt and Jos. Cowley	12	S'th Carolina
Apr. 21	<i>Industry</i> of Ber-muda	Hubbard Outer-bridge	Sloop	Bermuda 1736	there 21 Dec'r 1736	sd. Master and Stephen Outerbridge	4	Antegoa
May 5	<i>Georgia Pacquet</i>	John Lush	"	This province 1734	Here 20 Sept. 1736	sd. Master, Anth'n and Peter Rutgers, Xstopher Banker, David Provoost of this City	7	S'th Carolina
" 8	<i>Jean</i> of Bermuda	Nath'l Henson	"	Bermuda 1735	Here 20 Oct. 1736	Rich'd Durham and Thomas Hunt of this City	1	St. Thomas's and Spanish Town
" 31	<i>Mary</i> of this port	Robert Ratsey	Ship	Here 1725	Here 15 Dec. 1725	Jno. Walters, Pet'r and Ado-niah Schyler, Anth. Rutgers of this City and Rod. Pajaco of London	9	Jamaica

²⁷ C. O. 5: 1226, N. Y. The entries for 1739-1741 are also to be found in C. O. 5: 1227, N. Y.

MARCH 25, 1738-DEC. 25, 1739.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
June 3	<i>St. Andrew</i> of Bermuda	George Seacraft	Sloop	Bermuda 1733	Jamaica 6 Octob'r 1736	sd. Master and Wm. Riddle of Bermuda	2	Jamaica
" 5	<i>Cathrine</i> of this port	Thomas Ware	"	New Jersey 1736	Here 31 Octob'r last	Ab'm Vanhorne Jun'r of this City	3	Cape Verde in Africa
" 8	<i>Turtle Dove</i> of this port	Daniel Bloom	Brig't	Conecticut 1737	Here 15 Dec. last	Nath. Marstin, James Searle, and Nich. Bayard of this City	10	Jamaica
" 10	<i>Nightingale</i> of this port	Samuel Tingley	Sloop	N. Engl'd 1737	Here 2 Dec. last	Thos. Barnes of this City	3	Georgia
" 13	<i>Unity</i> of Bermuda	Paul Painter	"	There 1736	There 7 June 1736	Step'n Painter, Wm. Leacraft and sd. Master	1	Bermuda
" 19	<i>Unity</i> of Bermuda	Richard Henson	"	Bermuda 1734	there 26th July 1734	Paul Painter Jun'r and Sen'r, Ruth Evans	2	Barbadoes
" 26	<i>Torbay</i> of Bristol	George Frewin	Ship	Boston 1733	there 5th June 1733	sd. Master and Jno. Teague of Bristol	8	Antegoa
July 3	<i>Delight</i> of Bermuda	Stephen Burrows	Sloop	Bermuda 1737	there 2d June 1737	sd. Master, Jno. Henry and Thos. Gilbert, Thos. Jenoux and Paul Frimingham	1	Jamaica
" 10	<i>Georgia</i> Pacquet of this port	See May 5, 1738					18	S'th Carolina
" 24	<i>Margaret</i> of this port	James Nevin	Sloop	Here 1737	Here 3d Mar. last	Hen. V'n Borssum, Jas. Darcy, Corn's Kortwright, Wyn'ts Vangant, Edw'd Man and sd. Master	2	Jamaica
31	<i>Jno. and Eliza</i> of this port	Francis Bosewell	"	Conecticut 1730	R. Island 1 Nov. 1733	Thos. Lawrence and Jno. Brown of this City	3	St. Xtophers
Aug. 5	<i>Blessing</i> of Bermuda	Thos. Wells	"	Bermuda 1735	there 15th Apr. 1736	Jn. Wells, Rich'd Methelin and Mary Bassett	3	Jamaica
Aug. 15	<i>Mary</i> of this port	William Boyd	Sloop	This prov'ce 1730	Here 24th Feby. 1730	Rip Van Dam of this city	2	Jamaica

Aug. 30	<i>Two Brothers</i>	Peter Canon	Sloop	This prov'ce 1736	Here 25th May 1736 Phila.	Jno. Aspinwall and Jno. Canon Edw'd Lloyd of London	1	S'th Carolina
"	<i>Mary</i> of London	Thos. Jones	Snow	Pensilvania 1737	24 Mar. 1737/8 Here	sd. Master and Anth. Rut- gers of this City	6	Antigua
Sep. 6	<i>Midnight</i> of this port	James Tucker	Sloop	This prov'ce 1733	12 Jan'y last Here	David and Math. Clarkson of this City	4	S'th Carolina
"	<i>Anne</i> of this port	Thos. Hill	Sloop	Here 1728	21 Mar. 1728 Here	Jno. Lush, Anth. and Pet'r Rutgers, Xtopher Banker and Dav. Provoost of this City	3	Jamaica
" 18	<i>Georgia pacq't</i> of this port	Burdet Pilkington Fleetwood	"	This prov'ce 1734	28 Sept. 1736		5	S'th Carolina
Oct. 23	<i>Unity</i> of Ber- muda	Stephen Painter	"	Bermuda 1734	there 26 July 1734	Paul Painter, Jun'r and Sen'r Ruth Evans	1	Madeira
"	<i>Frances</i> of Ber- muda	Benja. Stiles	"	Bermuda 1738	there 28 Mar. last	sd. Master, Mary Stiles and George Gibbs	1	Bermuda
" 27	<i>Mary</i> of this port	Josias Smith	Ship	Here 1725	Here 15 Dec. 1725	Jno. Walter, Pet'r and Ado- niah Schyler and Anth. Rut- gers of this City and Rod. Pajaco of London	1	Jamaica and Hispaniola
" 31 Nov. 25	<i>Two Brothers</i> <i>Bettsey</i> of —pool	See Aug. 30, 1738 Robt. Tavernor	Brigt	New Engl'd 1733	London 21 Feb'y 1734 and Bristol 26 Aug. 1737	sd. Master of Pool, Rich'd Pinnell and Jno. Pelly of London	1 3	S'th Carolina Antegoa
Feb. 21 Mar. 2	<i>Mary</i> of this port <i>Jean</i> of Bermuda	See Aug. 15, 1738 Nath'n Hinson	Sloop	Bermuda 1735	Here 20 Octob. 1736	Rich'd Durham and Thos. Hunt of this City	6 1	Jamaica Bermuda
" 19	<i>Anne</i> of this port	Robt. Griffith Jun'r	"	This prov'ce 1738	Here 10 Aug't last	Rob't Griffith of this City	1	Boston and Marth Viny'd Jamaica Jamaica
" 23 Apr. 16	<i>Anne</i> of this port <i>Charity</i> of this port	See Sept. 6, 1738 Josias Smith	Sloop	Here 1738	Here 1 Dec. last	Wm. Smith of this City	16 2	Turks Isl'd.
"	<i>Hopewell</i> of Ber- muda	Elias Young	"	Bermuda 1738	11th Apl. 1739	sd. Master, Jno. Tucker and Pet'r Mallory	1	Antigua
"	<i>Anne</i> of this port	John Aderly	"	Bermuda 1732	Here 29 Nov. last	Henry Cuyler Jun'r and Sen'r of this City	1	Sp. Town and St. Tho. in Virg'n Islands
May 10	<i>Sea Horse</i> of this port	Thos. Handlin	Brig'n	N. Engl'd 1737	Here 8 June last	Jos. Robinson and Jon. Moore of this City	4	

MAR. 25, 1738-DEC. 25, 1739.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
May 10	<i>Wm.</i> of this port	Wm. Richard	Sloop	N. Engl'd 1738	Here 18 Dec. last	Edw'd and Aust'n Hicks of this City	3	Jamaica
June 6	<i>Mary and Marg't</i> of Bermuda	Thos. Vardell	"	Bermuda 1736	There 13 Dec. 1736	Wm. Burrows, Jos. Hunt, D'l Hinson and Thos. Fowle	1	St. Thomas
" 13	<i>Retrieve</i> of Ber- muda	D'l Burch	"	Bermuda 1739	There 25 May last	Thos. Seymour, Corn's Wil- liams, Ch. Willis, Robt. Burr	5	Bermuda
" "	<i>Elizabeth</i> of this port	Jno. Richard	"	This Prov'ce 1738	Here 4 May 1738	P'l Richard, Dav. and Mord'a Gomez of this City	11	St. Thomas and Sp. Town in Virg'n Islds.
July 9	<i>Wheel of Fortune</i> of this port	Albert Bosch	Sloop	Here 1733	Here 5 Jan. 1736	Jasp'r Bosch	7	Boston
" 20	<i>Margaret</i> of this port	Jas. Nevin	"	" 1737	Here 3 March 1737	Henry V'n borssom, Jas. Darcey, Corn. Kortright, Wyn't Vansant of this City	1	Barbados
" 21	<i>Unity</i> of Liver- pool	Thos. Heysham	Ship	Liverpool 1725	There 18 Feb'ry 1736	James Kennan and Jas. Has- elden	2	Jamaica
Aug. 6	<i>Charity</i> of this port	See Apr. 16, 1739					18	"
" "	<i>Ebenezer</i> of Lon- don	John Macky	Brig'n	Boston, N. Eng- land 1738	There 18 Nov. last	Xthop'r Kilby of Boston, <i>Jurat</i> , Henry Lang and Kath'n Forman of London	3	"
" 31	<i>Hester</i> of this port	Abr'm Brasher	Sloop	here 1736	here 29 decem'r 1736	P'l Richard, Mord. and Dav. Gomez of this City	3	St. Thomas
Sept. 3	<i>Margt. and Mary</i> of this port	Ben. Morgan	Sloop	N. Jersey 1738	here 10 July last	sd. Master and John Tibout of this City	1	S'th Carolina
" "	<i>Black Joke</i> of Bermuda	Ben. Beak	"	Bermuda 1739	There 14 May last	Henry Tucker, Wm. Riddel and Sam'l Lightbourn	4	Bermuda
" 22	<i>Two Brothers</i> of this port	Pet'r Cannon	"	This prov'ce 1736	here 1 decem'r last	sd. Master and John Scher- merhorn of this City	1	S'th Carolina

Oct. 13	<i>Sarah</i> of this port	John Cannon	Sloop	N. England 1734	Boston 12 May 1738 here	said Master	1	Boston and Rhode Isl'd Jamaica
Nov. 2	<i>Prince Frederick</i> of this port	Pat. Nealson	Brig.	This province 1725	15 Novm'r 1725	M. Levy, Robt. Livingston, David and Matt. Clarkson and P'l Richard of this City ²⁸	4	Jamaica
" 15	<i>Antigua</i> pacq't of this port	Hen'y Lawrence	"	This province 1739	here 2d July last		2	Antigua
Dec. 3	<i>Affrica</i> of this port	Mansfield Tucker	Sloop	This province 1738	here 4 Aprill last	Abraham Vanhorn Jun'r of this City	1	Jamaica

DEC. 25, 1739-DEC. 25, 1740.

Mar. 21	<i>Dove</i> of Bermuda	John Morgan	Sloop	Bermuda 1738	There 16 Oct. 1738	Wm. Riddel and Jon. Gibbs	1	Jamaica
Apr. 9	<i>Royal Ranger</i> of New Provid'ce	Rich'd Fowle	Sloop	New Providence 1732	There 4 January 1732	Jere. Burrows of New Provi- dence, Bahama Islds.	1	Bermuda
" "	<i>Mary and Marg't</i> of Bermuda	Thos. Fowle	See June 6, 1739				1	"
" 15	<i>Margaret</i> of this port	See July 20, 1739					2	Barbados
Apr. 28	<i>Esther</i> of this port	Leon'd Lispernard	Bilnid'r	This prov'ce 1733	here 2 Nov. 1733	P'r and Jon. Schuyler and John Walter of this City	1	Jamaica
" 30	<i>Don Carlos</i> of this port	Abraham Kip	Sloop	This province 1736	here 20 decem'r 1736	Jacob Walton, William Wal- ton, Sen'r and Jun'r	4	Coracoa
May 19 ²⁹	<i>Ranger</i>	Sam'l Bayard	"	R. Island 1737	There 7 Aug'st last	Abr'm De Peyster, John Schuyler and Gul'n Ver- plank of this City <i>Jurat</i> , sd. Master	2	Antigua
" 28	<i>Retrieve</i> of this port	John Seymour	"	Bermuda 1739	here 24 decem'r last	Theophil's Elsworth and and Thos. Seymour of this City	2	St. Christo- phers
" "	<i>Elisabeth</i> of this port	Nich. Garison	See June 13, 1739				1	St. Thomas and Virgin Islands
June 9	<i>Legunea</i> of this port	Jacob Phoenix	Ship	This Province 1739	here 7 July last	sd. Master, Hen'y Cuyler, Hen. and Jon. Cruger Jun'r of this City	10	Jamaica
" 18	<i>Antigua</i> Pacq't. of this port	Henry Lawrence	Brig'n	" "	here 2 July last	See Nov. 15, 1739	4	Antigua

²⁸ Owners: "s'd Master, St'n and Nich's Bayard, Nath. Marston, Abr'm Lynsen of this City, Wm. Fernel of Antigua."²⁹ A private man-of-war captured the *Solitude* and the *Lady of Victory*, with 8 and 11 slaves, probably negroes, who were brought in to New York May 19.

DEC. 25, 1739-DEC. 25, 1740.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
June 28	<i>Frances</i> of Bermuda	John Mallory	Sloop	Bermuda 1734	There 3 decem'r 1734	William Mallory Sen'r and Jun'r and Wm. Riddle	1	Bermuda
July 4	<i>Elisabeth</i> of Bermuda	Rich'd Mathelin Jun'r	"	Bermuda 1739	There 4 March last	Rich'd Mathelin	9	St. Christoph's Jamaica
Aug. 12	<i>Charity</i> of this port	John Sturrupe	See Apr. 16, 1739				1	"
" 29	<i>Jamaica</i> pacq't of this port	Wm. Boyd	Brig.	This province 1733	here 25 Aug. 1733	Robt. Livingston Jun'r and Phil.	4	"
" 30	<i>Dolphin</i> of this port	Rich. Jeffery	"	here 1729	here 14 Oct. 1729	P'r and Aug'st Jay, Pet'r Valet, Fr'd V'n Courtland and Nath'l Marston of this City	2	Antigua
Sept. 1	<i>Hester</i> of this port	See Aug. 31, 1739 ³⁰					1	St. Thomas and S p . T o w n Virgin Isld.
" 23	<i>Charming Joana</i> of Bermuda	Jos. Conyers	Sloop	Bermuda 1731	there 5 Dec. 1734	Wm. Seymour and David Provost of this City per Endorsement	2	Antigua
Oct. 23	<i>Olive branch</i> of Bermuda	John Wadson	Sloop	Bermuda 1739	There 5 March last	Thos. Hunt, Rich'd Durham and Nath. Marston of this City ³¹	3	Jamaica
Nov. 8	<i>Mary</i> of this port	Hugh Wentworth	"	Bermuda 1728	here 2 June 1737		1	"
" 18	<i>Antigua</i> pacq't of this port	See Nov. 15, 1739					2	Antigua
Dec. 23	<i>Mary</i> of Bermuda	Ben. James	Sloop	Bermuda 1739	There 7 March 1739	Fr'cis Jones and John Sears	1	Jamaica

³⁰ This entry states that the ship was built in New Jersey and registered in New York, Feb. 18, 1740.³¹ Owners: "sd. Master and Wm. Exon of this City and p'r Endorsm't James Gordon and Wm. Wells of St. Christophers."

Jan. 5	<i>Jamaica</i> pacq't of this port	See Aug. 29, 1740	Ship	here 1727	here 20 Sept. 1727	John Walter of this City and A. Schuyler of N. Jersey said Master	2	Jamaica
"	<i>Arent</i> of this port	Alex. Phoenix	Sloop	This province 1739	here 10 Sept. last		1	"
March 21	<i>Swallow</i> of this port	Henry V'n Bors- som	Sloop	New Providence 1735	There 17 May last and pr acknowled'mt of property 21 Aug'st foll here 21 March 1728	Wm. Lassere of S'th Carolina	1	S'th Carolina
Apr. 1	<i>Sea Nymph</i> of S'th Carolina	Jonath'n Wick- ham	Sloop	here 1728		Dav. Clarkson and per En- dorsm't Enoch Stevenson of this City	2	Jamaica
May 8	<i>Anne</i> of this port	Thomas Hill	Sloop	See May 10, 1739.			1	St. Thomas
"	<i>Seahorse</i> of this port	Joseph Haviland	Sloop	This Province 1739	here 21 Feby last	Richard Annely and Fran's Lewis of this City	10	Jamaica
" 20	<i>Mary</i> of Bermuda	See Dec. 23, 1740	"	Connecticut 1739	here 16 June 1740	Sam'l Bourdet and Stn. Faniere of this City	1	Coracoa
May 22	<i>Speedwell</i> of this port	Elias Rice	"	Bermuda 1740	There 15 Dec. last	Dav. Whitney, Gen'l Jones, John Butterfield, Jon. Taylor	1	Georgia
June 1	<i>Stephen</i> of this port	John Adderly	Sloop	Bermuda 1737	There 28 Oct. 1737	Fra. Jones, Ralph Voden of London, James Dickenson and Sam'l Burrows of Ber- muda	3	Jamaica
" 23	<i>Anne</i>	James Smith	Sloop				1	Bermuda
June 27	<i>Anne</i> of Bermuda							
July 8	<i>Margaret</i> of this port	John Walker	Brig'n	This Province 1736	here 21 Nov. 1738	Henry V'n Borsom, Mich. Thody, Corn. Kortright, Wynt. Vansant of this City	7	Antigoa
" 20	<i>Anne</i> of this port	John Machet	Sloop	"	here 7 May 1739	sd. Master, Humph'y Jones and Benja. Moore of this City	1	Coracoa
Aug. 3	<i>Oswego</i> of this port	John Waddell	Ship	"	here 20 Dec. 1736	Henry Cuyler, Phil. and Robt. Livingston of this City	14	Jamaica
" 31	<i>Greenwich</i> of this port	John Bush	Sloop	Connecticot 1740	here 21 March last	Henry and Just's Bush of this Province	1	"
Sept. 4	<i>Susanah</i> of this port	John Lissley	"	This Province 1735	here 30 June last	Joshua Amy of this City	4	Rhode Island

DEC. 25, 1740-DEC. 25, 1741.

(Continued)

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Sept. 25	Anne of this port	See Sept. 6, 1738				Dav. Clarkson and per Endorsement of this City	1	Jamaica
Nov. 18	Ancram of this port	William Boyd Jun'r	Brig.	This Province 1740	here 4 April last	Robt. Livingston of this port	3	Jamaica
MAR. 25, 1742-JUNE 24, 1743. ³²								
Apr. 30	Griffin of this port	Dan'l Gardiner	Sloop	New England 1742	Boston 25 March 1742	Wm. Griffith, Dav. V'n horn and Robt. Brown of this City	2	Boston
June 9	Mary of Bermuda	John Vickers	"	Bermuda 1742	there 15 May last	Henry Corbusier, Sam'l Spof-ferth, Jerr'h Penniston Jun'r Cath. Horton	1	Bermuda
July 19	Happy of this port	Will'm Steed	"	Bermuda 1740	here 25 Feby last 1740	Henry Cuyler and Henry Cuyler Jun'r of this City	4	Jamaica
" 26	Antegoa pacq't of this port	Thos. Vater	See Nov. 15, 1739				4	Antegoa
Sept. 30	Elizabeth of this port	Pet'r Alboy	Sloop	This province 1738	Here 4 May 1738	Paul Richard, Mord. and David Gomez of this city	3	Span. Town and St. Thomas Jamaica
Apr. 11	Oglethorpe of this port	Sam'l Tingley	"	This province 1735	Here 14 July 1738	Jac'b Franks of this City	1	Jamaica
" 20	Mary of this port	Rich'd Vezey	"	Bermuda 1742	Here 19 Oct. last	Hen. and Jno. Cruger Jun. of this City	2	St. Xtoph'rs
June 18	Sea Horse of this port	See May 10, 1739					4	Tortola and St. Thomas

³² Dec. 25, 1741-Mar. 25, 1742, no entries.

MAR. 25, 1748-1750.

May 14	<i>William</i> of this port	Jno. Smith	Brig't	Here 1746	Here 26 Sept. last	Jno. and Wm. Smith with Jno. Jauncey and per Endorsm't Ab'm Lynsen of this City	4	Jamaica
Aug. 18	<i>Jane</i> of this port	Abm. Kittletas	Snow	This province 1746 New England 1749	Here 12 Aug. 1746 Boston	Jacob Sarly and Jos. Haynes of this City	5	Jamaica
Oct. 23	<i>Polly</i> of this port	Edw'd McAlliston	Scoon'r		1 Jan. 1750	Dav. Algeo of this City	4	Antigua

APR. 5-OCT. 10, 1754.³³

May 8	<i>York</i> of this port	Wm. Mercier	Biland	Dover 1746	London 18 Feb. 1753	Thomas Greenel with Christopher Robart of this City	26	London and Coast of Africa
" 24	<i>Rebecca</i> of this port	Dan'l Thorn	Sloop	Here 1750	Here 8 Oct. 1750	said Master, William Griffith, Garrat Couzine and Sam'l Bridge of this City	23	African Coast
Sept. 13	<i>Polly</i> of this port	Paule Miller	Sloop	Conecticot 1746	Here 5 Jan. last	Jasper Farmer with Nath'l Marston of this City	7	Africa
" 16	<i>Sarah and Elizabeth</i> of this port	Peter Corne	"	This Province 1750	Here 21 Feb'y 1750	Thomas Byowan and per Endorsm't Mess'rs Philip Livingston, John Waddie and said Master of this City	9	"

APR. 5-OCT. 5, 1763.³⁴

July 4	<i>Gen'l Monckton</i> of this port	Andrew Campbell	Ship	French Prize as pr. Reg.	here 13 Oct. 1762	Godardys Van Zolingan with Peter R. Livingston of this City	4	Antigua and Mountserat
July 18	<i>Charm'g Sally</i> of this port	Rog's Richard	Brig	N'th Caro'a 1760	here 26 feby. 1760	Samuel Dwight with Samuel Bridge of this City	103	Africa
" 30	<i>Hawk</i> of Barbados	Cha. Jenkins	Ship	Virginia 1763	there 3 March last	said Master and Jno. Wickham and Son of Barbadoes	5	Barbados

³³ C. O. 5: 1227, N. Y. From Oct. 10, 1753, to Apr. 5, 1754, there are no entries.
³⁴ C. O. 5: 1228, N. Y. From Oct. 10, 1754, to Oct. 5, 1755, there are no negro entries. The lists for the years between 1755 and 1763 are missing.

APR. 5, 1764-JAN. 5, 1765.³⁵

Date	Ship	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
June 30	<i>Fanny</i> of this port	Marim Herbert	Brig	Virginia 1762	here 10 Dec. 1763	Thomas Seymour of this City	30 New Negroes	Antigua
Dec. 21	<i>Abraham</i> of this port	John Handerson	Sloop	Connecticut 1761	Here June 18, 1764	Peter Bernson, Abr'm Lott, Is'c Low of this City	5	Barbadoes

370. NEGROES IMPORTED INTO NEW JERSEY, 1718-1757.¹

An Acco't of what Negroes appears by the Custom house books to be imported into the Eastern Division of this Province from the Twentieth Day of June 1698, to the Twenty Second day of December 1726.

Date	Name	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owner	Negroes	From
1718, Septem'r 22d	<i>Temperance</i>	Benjamin Sherman	Brigantine				8	Barbados
1720	<i>John and Mary</i>	Peter Gandy	Sloop				8	Barbados
1721 Octo'r 23d	<i>George</i>	Mathew Wolfe					50	Bb'dos, St. Martin's

³⁵ There are no entries for Oct. 10, 1763, to Apr. 5, 1764, and for July 5 to Sept. 29, 1764.
[370] ¹ *New Jersey Archives*, first ser., V. 152. "From 1698 to 1717 inclusive there were none imported." "These do Certify that the above Contains a True Acco't of all the Negroes which appear to be Imported into this District During the Time herein Specified, and that it Doth not appear to me that any Negro's have been Imported from Affrica or Madagascar. Dated Att the Custom house at the Perth Amboy This Twenty Second Day of Decem'r 1726."
The table contains columns for Africa and Madagascar, but as no items appeared in these columns, they are omitted. In order to economize space the manuscript headings have been removed and where necessary the years have been inserted in brackets.
ROBT. HINE COLLR.

1722, 7b'r 3 ² Dec.	26	<i>John and Catherine of Barbados Phillipsburg of N. York</i>	John Tudor Michael Thody	Sloop	North Carolina 1715 N. York 1715	Barbados Apl. 6th, 1722 N. York Oct. 13, 1715	John Vanhorn Jun., John Tudor Adolphus Phillips	17 1 Man	Barbados
1725 April 20th		<i>Brunswick</i>	John Musket	Sloop				5	Barbados
July	24	<i>Dove of Barbados</i>	John Webb		Connecticut 1722	Boston Nov. 15, 1723	John Webb	8	Barbados
1726 Apr.	30	<i>Anne and Judith</i>	Sam'l Vincent	Scoon.	E. Jersey 1724	E. Jersey June 7, 1725	Gab. Still and Sam. Vincent	4	French West Indies
May	15	<i>Mary</i>	Denis Lawrence	Sloop				4	Jamaica
June	27	<i>Seaflower</i>	Samuel Fitz- rondolph	Sloop	E. Jersey 1725	Here Aug. 24, 1725 there	John Heard	7	Antigua
July	25	<i>Anne of N. York</i>	Garrit Garritts	Ship	Rhode Island 1720 here 1724	Nov. 19, 1724 here	Thomas Hopkins	3	Jamaica
Aug.	12	<i>Lark</i>	James Toy	Sloop		Feb. 25, 1724	John Parker and And'w Johnston	1	Jamaica
[1727] Aug.	28	<i>Rope of Boston</i>	William Maxwell	Sloop	Boston 1726	there Nov. 1, 1726	William Maxwell	10	St. Christo's
Sep.	9	<i>Westmorland of Eliz'th Town</i>	Jo's Emot[Ernst?]	"	E't N. Jersey 1726	N. York Mar. 14 [?]	Jos. Emot, Wm. Rickets, E. C. Johnston, Edw. Vaughan	4	Jamaica
[1733] July	9	<i>Catherine of New York</i>	Jasper Farmer	Square Sternd	N. Y. 1730	N. Y. Aug. 1, 1730	John Walter, John Schyler, Peter Schyler, Adoniah Schyler	Entred for 130	Angola In Africa
[1734] May	6	<i>Hope of New York</i>	John Bedford	Brigantine Square Sternd	New York 1719	New York, Oct. 23, 1721	Abraham Vanhorn, Benja- min D'herriett	32	Jamaica

² From this point on the list has been compiled from C. O. 5: 1035.

The Middle Colonies

Date	Name	Master	Kind	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
[1740] May 15	<i>Ranger</i>	Sam'l Bayard	Sloop	Rh. Island 1737	Rh. Island 1739	Abram Depayster, Jno. Schuyler and Gulian Verplank	40	Antigua
May 28	<i>Retrieve</i>	John Seymour	Sloop	N. York 1739	N. York Dec. 4, 1739	Theophilus Ellsworth and John Seymour	38	St. Christo's
June 16	<i>Antigua Pacquet</i>	Henry Lawrence	Brig	N. York 1739	N. York July 2, 1739	Step. and Nich. Bayard, Nath. Marston, Abram Lyell, Henry Lawrence and Wm. Furnell	25	Antigua
[1741] July 6	<i>Two Bro's</i>	Jas. Smith	Sloop	N. York 1738	N. York Aug. 5, 1739	Jeremiah Williams	10	Rh. Island
[1748] June 2	<i>New Brunswick</i>	Rich Gibb	Schooner	New Jersey 1747	P. Amboy, Dec. 1, 1747	Rd. Gibb and Jas. Nielson	4 boys	Rh. Island
June 22	<i>Elizabeth</i>	Jonath'n Groves	Sloop	Rh. Island 1748	New Port June 7, 1748	Joseph Hammond	6	Rh. Island
1749 July 21	<i>June and Hester</i>	John Bisset	Sloop	New York 1746	New York, Dec. 23, 1748	John Bisset and John Johnson	24	Jamaica
1750 June 7	<i>Elizabeth</i>	Sam'll Sarjant	Briganteen	New Jersey 1749	P. Amboy, Sep. 29, 1749	John Johnston	50	Antegua
Oct. 17	<i>Prudence</i>	Jacob Anderson	Sloop	N. Jersey 1743	N. York Feb. 25, 1743	Joseph Foremon	2	N. Carolina
1751 Apr. 30	<i>Virgin</i>	Jos. Smith	Sloop	New York 1744	New York, Apr. 14, 1748	John Watts, Henry and John Cruger	34	St. Christophers
June 17	<i>Charm'g Betty</i>	Wm. Emott		New Jersey 1748	P. Amboy Nov. 10, 1748	Sam. Woodruff, Hump'y Jones, Jacob De Hart	11	Barbados
1757 July 20	<i>Williams</i>	Dav'd Griffith	Sloop	New York 1754	New York Feb. 28, 1754	Rice Williams and sd. Master	50	Coast of Guinea
	<i>Sally</i>	Thos. Farmer	Schooner	Boston 1755	P. Amboy Oct. 14, 1762	Samuel Kemble, Francis Brasier, Barnardus Lagrange, John Slaght	24	Africa

INDEX

Bibliographical references are entered but once; they refer to the first mention in the notes of the work or collection referred to. The names of African traders, captains, merchants, purchasers of slaves, seamen, and vessels, when little information is contained in the text, are grouped under these headings.

- Abaca, Bahamas, 381
Abby, Winter, 98n.
Abeona, Mass., 36on.; suit, 82n., 84-97
 Abolition of slave trade, enforcement, 84, 98-101, 348-352, 379n., 392, 402; English, 83n., 98n.; legislation, 72-73, 81-90, 98n., 289-290, 341, 343-344; Middle Colonies, 407, 408, 457n.; movement, 20, 76-78, 334-336, 342-343, 345, 407, 409, 415n.; New England, 3, 17n., 19, 82n., 89-90, 98n., 289-290, 343-344; opposition, 85, 335-336, 342-343, 382n.-383n.; societies, 83n.-86
 Accounts, African, 123-130, 277-284; merchants, 26-27, 30-35, 140, 190-193, 238, 239, 276; slave vessels, 56-58, 69-70, 132-133, 146, 149, 151-166, 175-183, 190-193, 196-200, 207-209, 217-220, 227-240, 266-267, 285, 325, 346-347, 359-360, 383-387, 404
 Accra, Africa, 370; Danes, 325-326; slaves from, 388-391; trade, 159, 316-318, 320-321, 323-324
 Accy (Ackey), *see* Currency, African
 Acoaxet, R. I., 348
Active, R. I., 244n., 249, 260, 265n.
 Acts, African trade, 3, 301, 341, 345, 456; Congress, 92n., 342n., 382-383n.; Grenada, 294n.; Massachusetts, 35-36, 38, 73, 82n., 89-95, 98n., 99, 101n., 358; New Jersey, 408, 450-451, 456n.; New York, 407, 446-447; Parliament, 24, 175, 310n., 312, 319, 403, 442n.; Pennsylvania, 409, 445, 446; Rhode Island, 108-109, 111-115, 122-123, 289-290, 333n., 343-344; *see also* Legislation
Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, 18n.
Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, 116n.
 Adams, Richard (Va.), accounts, 190-193, 238, 239; letters to, 193-194, 214, 260
 Adams, Samuel [1] (Boston), 52
 Adams, Samuel [2], 73n., 99
 Adams and Griffin (Va.), 240, 246n., 254-255
 Adamson, *Capt.* — (Mass.), 99-100
 Admiralty, jurisdiction, 92, 97, 328; papers, 136n.
 Admiralty Court, cases, 52-65, 92, 96, 97, 102-108, 116-117, 172, 388-404, 435n.; memorials, 46, 436-438
Adventure, 70n., 207, 218, 219, 246n., 379; Champlin, 293-295, 300-302, 309; Tuell, 257n., 259, 266-267
 Advertisements, cost, 384, 385; slave sales, 19, 21, 25-32, 36-40, 50-51, 65-68, 77, 116, 117, 143-144, 171n., 185, 203n., 407n., 408n., 451-452, 454-456; vessels, 70n.
Affrican, cost, 143n.
Africa (Affrica), All, 209, 214, 215, 221-222, 225-227n.; Fletcher, 253, 257, 263; Moore, 456; Rhodes, 42-46; Robinson, 81
 African Merchant, *Treatise upon the Trade from Great-Britain to Africa*, 76n.
 African prince, 183n.
 "African Slave Trade in Colonial Times," by G. C. Mason, 68n.
 African traders, 88n., 177, 179, 180, 194, 223, 277, 280, 283, 314, 363, 365; *see also* next title
 African traders (list): Archer, William, 227; Baillie and Key, 151; Boardwell, Richard, 151; Clow, Patrick, 151; Currantee, John, 177, 178n.; Dickinson, Thomas, 127; Dowdall, George, 151, 156; Fitzroy, *Lord Augustus*, 177, 178n.; Gomar, André, 151; Hall, George, 151; Hall, Richard, 151; Harris, William, 151; Hohard, 391; Holman, John, 151; Key, Baillie and, 151; Lammara, M. M., 277; Langston, John, 151; Lawrence, 101; Levis, *Padre*, 151; Lewis, 55; Lustree, James, 364; Mince, James, 280; Morrison, Andrew, 151; Morton, Aaron, 364; Nichols, Jonathan, 125n.; Norie, William, 151; Ord, William, 151; Ordrich, James, 161; Ormond, John, 82n.; Parken, Thomas, 280; Pintard, Harry, 280; Pistuel, 151; Posson, Lewis, 280, 283; Potter, James, 151; Riches, 307; Ross, Alexander, 151; Sharpless, Thomas, 277; Simson, Robert, 151; Skinner, William, 151; Small, 364; Smith, Hannah, 364; Tomson, George, 151; Tweed, James, 151; Venhorgen, Cornelius, 232; Wallis, John, 151; Web, 364; Wright, 151.
 Agar, Africa, customs, 125, 236
 Age of slaves, 37, 51, 66, 172, 421-423, 429, 432, 444n., 457
 "Agitation against the Slave Trade in Rhode Island," by Elizabeth Donnan, 335n.
 Agriculture, New Netherland, 405, 410-411, 415, 421, 426, 427
 Albany, N. Y., 107n., 412n.
 Alexander, James, 407n.
 Alford, Benjamin (Boston), 24
 Alford, James (Boston), 27
 Alford, John (Boston), 27, 51
 All, *Capt.* Abraham (Newport), 130n., 209, 211-214, 221-222, 225-226, 244n., 246n.

- Allampo, Africa, 158
 Allen, John (Boston), 13n., 17n.
 Allen, Paul, 336n.
 Allen and Master (Marlar, Marlas), merchants, 194, 253, 299
 Allison, Robert, interloper, 438
 Almy, Christopher (R. I.), 116n.
 Alrich, Pieter (New Netherland), 433
 Amanda, Africa, 320
 Amboy, *see* Perth Amboy
 Ambrose, *Capt.* — (Newport), 358, 368, 369, 373, 378
 American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, 52n.
American Historical Record, 68n.
 American Jewish Historical Society, *Publications*, 415n.
 American Revolution, and slave trade, 3, 289-290, 295n., 302, 310-313, 315-316, 318n.-320, 328, 332n., 407n.
American State Papers, Foreign Relations, 392n.
 Ammunition, 58, 69, 107n., 123-130, 147, 253, 280, 281, 283, 361, 418, 461n.
 Amory, T. C., *Life of James Sullivan*, 85n.
 Amory Manuscripts, 75n., 118n.
 Amsterdam, 417, 419
 Amsterdam Chamber, Dutch West India Company, 406, 422, 432, 434; letters from, 412, 414-415, 425-427, 429; letters to, 412, 420-421, 429, 433; resolution, 415n.
 Anamabo, Africa, 75n., 186, 236, 289n., 373; letters from, 130, 135n., 217n., 311; slaves from, 74, 144, 184, 271-272, 277, 309, 353n., 375; trade, 46, 76n., 125-130, 144, 158, 165-166, 179, 180, 183, 198, 206n., 210, 211n., 213, 223, 229-237, 244, 246n., 248n., 249, 254, 255, 259-262n., 264, 265, 271, 286, 291, 294, 307n., 311, 313-317, 320-321, 324, 326, 367-373, 380, 390n., 453; vessels for, 209n., 295
 Anashan, Africa, customs, 125, 236
 Anderson, Adam, *Origins of Commerce*, 131n.
 Anderson, Threlfal and, Grenada, 248-249, 259, 294, 299, 300-302n.
 Andros, *Sir* Edmond, report, 435n.
 Anegada, W. I., 401
 Anglesey, Arthur Annesley, 1st earl of, 14
 Anglo-Dutch War, 406, 429
 Angola, Africa, 47, 423; Dutch trade, 411, 412; slaves from, 443, 459, 511; trade, 406, 412n., 425; voyage to, 422, 423, 430
 Anguilla, vessels from, 474, 500
Ann, case, 388-393; Newport, 264-265, 271-276, 293, 295
Annals of Congress, 380n.
Annamaboa, Newport, 174, 184
Anstis, 101n., 138-139
 Antigua, 26, 28, 36n., 203n., 213, 441, 469, 478; letters from, 135, 136; merchants, 48, 49n., 468, 489, 495, 505n.; plantation, 121n.; planters, 118n., 245; rum, 31n.; slave prices, 199, 201, 210n.; slave sales, 198, 199-200; vessels at, 201, 447; vessels for, 9n., 136, 213, 226; vessels from, 465-468, 471, 474-478, 481, 482, 484, 485, 487-503, 505-507, 509-512
 Antislavery sentiment, 8n., 17n., 19, 72-73, 78n., 83n., 334-336, 341, 348n., 350
 Appam (Oppam), Africa, 74, 223-224, 320
 Appolonia, *see* Cape Appolonia
Archives of New Jersey, 407n.
 Ardra, Africa, 122n., 413
 Armitage, *Capt.* Jonathan (Boston), 41, 52
Armstadt, Collins, 340n.
 Arnold, J. H., 393
 Arnold, Oliver, deposition, 55n.
 Arnold, S. G., *History of Rhode Island*, 53n.
 Artisans, 66, 67n., 94, 98n., 137
 Aruba, *see* Oruba
Ascension, accounts, 359-360
 Ashanti, Africa, wars, 259, 318, 324
 Ashley, John (Africa), 98n.
 Aspinwall, William (Mass.), 9n.
Aspinwall Notarial Records, 9n.
 Assembly of the XIX., Dutch West India Company, 410n.-411n.
 Assiento, 115n., 141n.
 Association of 1774, 296n., 301, 302, 310n.
 Astin, — (Barbados), 457, 458
 Athenian Oracle, 19
 Athenian Society, 19n.
 Atherton, *Capt.* — (Mass.), 9
 Atkinson, *Capt.* William, 27, 31n.; instructions, 36-38
 Auchmuty, Robert N. (R. I.), 382
 Austin, George (Charleston), 147n.; letter to, 166-167
 Austin and Laurens (Charleston), 159, 161n.-164; letters to, 171, 173
 Avery, John (Boston), 67, 68
 Ayrault, Stephen, jr. (Newport), 136; letter from, 148-149; letters to, 130-131, 144, 300
 Ayrault, Wilkinson and (Newport), 70, 148n.
 Ayre, *Capt.* William, trade, 177
 Badger, *Capt.* Bernard, *Sally*, 455
 Bahama Islands, 189n., 190, 381; shipbuilding, 495; shipowners, 497, 505; vessel from, 466
 Baker, *Capt.* — (R. I.), 370, 378
 Baker, Darius, "Newport Banisters," 137n.
 Baldridge, *Capt.* Adam, 441
 Ball, *Capt.* Robert (Boston), 36n., 38n.-40n., 51n., 65n.-67, 72
 Banana Islands, Africa, 53-55, 58-60, 63, 100, 101, 118, 210, 364
 Bance Island, *see* Bence
 Bannister (Banister), John, Newport merchant, 137, 144, 147n.; letters from, 140-143
 Bant, *Capt.* Gibert (Boston), 25
 Bant, John, accounts, 239
 Bant, William (Boston), 38n.
 Barbados, 6, 12-14, 32n., 47, 107, 149, 152, 245, 249, 320, 435; duties, 46; letters from, 74-75, 144, 183-184, 226; merchants, 30, 32, 39, 75n., 110, 184, 194-195, 201, 202, 246, 247, 261n., 294, 299, 301, 309, 318, 457n., 462, 468, 471, 494, 495, 509; *Othello*, 197, 198n., 201, 202, 238; rum, 49, 187; slave prices,

- 144n., 244n., 258, 267, 301n.; slave sales, 196, 247, 266-267, 285; slaves for, 9n., 43, 139, 148, 258, 270n., 443; slaves from, 2, 24, 25, 33, 38, 40n., 66, 110, 114n., 454, 459, 462; sugar, 39; vessels for, 42, 72n., 121n., 167, 214n., 227n., 260, 299, 317, 318, 439, 458, 459; vessels from, 41, 67, 139, 213, 241, 446, 462-484, 486-489, 491-495, 497, 502, 504, 505, 509-512; vice admiralty court, 103, 107-108; voyage to, 9n.-12
- Barbice, trade, 204
- Bardine (Bardin, Bordine), *Capt.* Charles (Newport), 130n., 209, 254, 259-262, 307
- Barnard, Jonathan (Boston), 27, 34; *see also* Bernard
- Barnsdale (Barnsdell), Mary (Boston), 39, 40
- Barnstable, Mass., court, 350
- Bars, *see* Currency, African
- Bartholomew, Thomas, 398; deposition, 399-402
- Bassaterre, vessel at, 452
- Bates, *Capt.* Merrit, affidavit, 389
- Bathey, John, deposition, 55n.
- Bathey, *Capt.* Joseph (R. I.), 338, 339
- Baugh, John (Africa), 177
- Bawden, John (London), 435
- Baxter, George (N. Y.), 412n.
- Bayley, Jonah (R. I.), 133n.
- Baynes, Paul, *Commentary on the First Chapter of the Ephesians*, 17n.
- Beach, Edward (St. Croix), 219, 220
- Beaver, currency, 426-428, 434; *see also* Currency, Dutch
- Beck, —, vice director, Dutch West India Company, Curaçao, 429; letter from, 430-431; letters to, 420-421, 427, 431-433
- Bedford, Paul, account, 152
- Beekman, David (St. Croix), letter from, 245-246
- Beer (Beard), *Capt.* — (Mass.), 51
- Beggar's Benison*, Boston, 76n.
- Begining*, Boston, 9n.
- Belcher, Andrew (Boston), 16n.
- Belcher, Edward, death, 210n.
- Belcher, Jonathan (Mass.), governor, 16n., 38, 40n., 48n.
- "Belcher Papers," 48n.
- Belknap, —, 17n.
- Belknap, Jeremy, 72n., 76n., 82n.
- Bell, Charles (Cape Coast Castle), 165-166, 234, 262, 294, 304, 307, 332
- Bell, *Dr.* John, letter from, 323-325
- Bellomont, Richard Coote, *earl* of, 438-442
- Bence (Bance) Island, Africa, 100, 158, 172, 207, 364
- Benezet, Anthony, 410, 455n.; *Historical Account of Guinea*, 451n.
- Bennington *see* Remington
- Bentley, William, cited, 84n.; *Diary*, 82n.
- Bergist, John de (St. Eustatius), 48
- Bermuda, shipbuilding, 465, 466, 471, 474-476, 478-480, 482-488, 491-494, 496, 497, 499, 500-508; shipowners, 469, 472, 473, 476, 478, 484-486, 488, 491-494, 496, 497, 501, 502, 507; vessels, 464, 469, 472, 474-480, 482-488, 491-497, 499-507; vessels from, 464, 469, 472, 474-476, 479, 480, 482-486, 494-497, 499, 502-508
- Bernard (Barnard), and Montague, Hibbert (Jamaica), 302, 303, 306, 308, 311n., 312, 318, 329
- Bernard, Francis (Mass.), governor, 73
- Berry, Scott, capture, 444n.
- Betsey*, 88n., 378; Briggs, 208-209, 211-212, 213, 215; DeWolf, 340
- Betty, Coggeshall, R. I., 118
- Biafra, bight of, Africa, 74
- Bigelow, Bruce M., 123n., 257n., 265n.; "Aaron Lopez, Colonial Merchant of Newport," 205n.
- Bight, Africa, 292, 415, 418
- Bill, *Capt.* Jacob, 109
- Billop, *Capt.* Christopher, petition, 435-436
- Bills of exchange, use, 10, 43-45, 75n., 98, 150, 157, 164n., 167, 171, 173, 181-182, 184, 190-195, 204, 211-214, 239, 242, 247, 249, 251, 253, 262-265n., 267, 269, 274-276, 278, 287, 294, 296-306, 310-312, 327, 330, 332, 333, 346, 347, 359, 380, 432
- Bills of lading, 28, 272n., 392n., 396n., 398, 431, 444n.; of slave vessels, 147-148, 185, 187, 188, 269-272, 420
- Binney, *Capt.* — (Boston), 67, 68n., 70n.
- Binning, John (Boston), 27
- Birchall (Burchall), *Capt.* George, 52-63
- Bisset, *Capt.* William, affidavit, 390
- Black Eagle*, *see* *Swarten Arent*
- Blackinridge, *Capt.* John, 129
- Blanchard, H. (Boston), 33, 68
- Blandle, *see* Blundel
- Blaney, —, death, 42
- Bligh, *Lieut.* George, 394, 395
- Blockade, South America, 102, 104, 107-108, 388, 389, 392
- Blossome*, voyage, 5
- Blue Ball, Sign of, Boston, 25
- Board of Accounts, Dutch West India Company, 410-411
- Board of Trade and Plantations, duty acts, 406, 409, 449; instructions, 123n.; letters from, 25n., 438-439, 444n., 447-449, 456n.; letters to, 23-25, 109-110, 406-407, 408, 438-441, 445-447, 450n., 451n., 456; remonstrance to, 203-205; reports, 1, 2, 406, 440
- Body of Liberties, Mass., 4
- Bolton, Charles, 152
- Bonaire, Dutch West Indies, 418, 496
- Bonnin, Henry (Antigua), 136n.
- Bonny, Africa, 292
- Bontemantel, J., Dutch West India Company, 429n.
- Bordine, *see* Bardine
- Bordeaux, 183, 184
- Boss, *Capt.* Edward, 81, 337n.
- Boss, Joseph, 209
- Boston, Mass., 107n., 227n., 249n., 344n., 349, 391n., 441, 471; captains, 17, 27, 39-40, 50n., 51n., 66-68n., 70n.-76, 186, 208n., 210, 261, 309; churches, 6n., 457n.; courts, 46, 49n.,

- 89n., 116n.; customs collector, 138n.; customs entries, 17, 25n., 28n., 29n., 36n., 38n., 39n., 50n., 51n., 66-67, 70n.-73n., 75n.; insurance, 101n.; merchants, 9n., 16n., 23, 25, 26-30, 38n., 50, 52n., 63, 68n., 81n., 82n., 88, 98, 99n., 103, 104, 107, 134n., 137n., 144n., 148-149, 187, 252, 257, 347, 457n., 462, 471, 484, 490, 493, 495, 500n., 504; newspapers, 207; prize case, 465; rum, 98, 255, 260; selectmen, 20n., 41; servants, 21-23; shipbuilding, 465, 490, 493, 500, 502, 504, 511, 512; slave importation, 14n.-16n., 21-24, 30-35, 109-110; slave sales, 19, 21, 25-29, 36n., 38-40, 50-51, 65-70; smallpox, 15, 41; Tea Party, 187n.; town meeting, 73n.; trade, 9, 148-149, 253; vessels, 1, 9n., 26n., 36n., 47, 67n., 70n., 76n., 80n., 99-101, 118n., 136n., 252, 254, 256n.-258, 266n., 341n., 348, 353-358, 360n., 370, 462, 467, 471, 476, 478, 481, 484-486, 499, 505, 509, 511, 512; vessels from, 468, 475, 478, 479, 483-485, 488-491, 503-505, 507, 508; wharves, 29, 32n., 50, 66, 68
- Boston Marine Insurance Society, 101n.
 Boston Port Bill, 289n., 291
 Bosworth, Samuel (R. I.), collector, 380n.
 Bourk, *Capt.* James, 265n., 269n.
 Bourn, James, letter from, 333; *see also* Bourk
 Bourryau, Zachariah, 134
 Boyd, *Capt.* Richard (Marblehead), 71n.
 Boylston, Thomas (Boston), 73n., 257
 Brabner, Alexander (St. Croix), 241-243
 Brabner and Gow (St. Croix), 183
 Bradford, William (R. I.), governor, 340n., 354-355, 357
 Bradstreet, Simon (Mass.), governor, 14-15
 Bragg, *Capt.* Joseph, *Deborah*, 457, 458; *see also* Briggs
 Brailsford, Middleton and (Charleston), 163, 169n.
 Bram's Point, 189n.
 Brandy, cargoes, 49, 203-204, 312, 314, 315, 318-319, 322, 390
 Brattell, *Capt.* James (R. I.), 338
 Braxton, Carter (Va.), collector, 194, 195
 Brazil, 370, 394, 406, 411, 412n.
 Breed, Ephra, 32n.
 Brew, Richard (Anamabo), death, 320; suit, 270-271; trade, 76n., 165-166, 177, 178n., 180, 184, 187n., 194, 223-225, 232, 244, 248n., 250, 253n., 260n., 261, 307, 309, 314
 Brewster, John (Boston), 30n.
 Brewsters, Mass., 18
 Brewton, Miles (S. C.), letter from, 269
 Brewton and Smith, letter to, 268-269
 Bridges, James (Greencastle, Ind.), 361n.
 Bridgetown, Barbados, 41, 74-75
 Briggs, L. V., *History and Genealogy of the Cabot Family*, 81n.
 Briggs, *Capt.* Nathaniel (Newport), voyages, 208-209, 211-216, 221, 226, 244n., 246-247, 258, 264-265, 270, 272, 293, 337-339, 348n., 349
 Bristol, Eng., 118n., 310, 312; captains, 314, 320, 324; merchants, 192, 221, 296, 309, 498, 502; petitions, 351n., 447-449; shipbuilding, 481, 485; vessels, 49, 55, 56, 60, 136n., 172, 209n., 313n., 341n., 464, 485, 498, 502
 Bristol, R. I., 271, 404n.; captains, 378n.; collector, 340n.; *History*, by W. H. Munro, 379n.; merchants, 307n., 379n.; vessels, 380, 388, 390, 391
Broadsides, Ballads, etc., printed in Massachusetts, 19n.
 Brooks, Charles, *History of the Town of Medford*, 68n.
 Brown, — (Ga.), 377
 Brown, A. E., *Faneuil Hall and Faneuil Hall Market*, 62n.
 Brown, Butler and, 245
 Brown, James (Providence), 32, 130, 132-133, 203n.
 Brown, John (Providence), 130n., 206-207, 216, 244, 335n., 341-342, 348n., 383n.
 Brown, Joseph (Providence), 130n., 187n., 206-207
 Brown, Moses, 3, 130n., 203n., 210n., 341, 344n.; letters from, 83-86, 334-335, 344n.; letters to, 84, 86-87, 98-99, 206-207, 210, 241, 335-336, 341-343, 345, 348-352; Papers, 3n., 132n.
 Brown, Nicholas (Providence), 130n., 203n., 206-207, 216n.
 Brown, Nicholas, and Company, 194, 195, 206, 210-211
 Brown, Obadiah (Providence), 130n., 132-133, 147n.
 Brown, Robert (London), 245, 278
 Brown, Samuel, 347, 350
 Brown Brothers (Providence), 173n., 195n., 244-245
 Browne, Peleg, 133
 Browne, Willem (N. Y.), 412n.
 Brownell, Paul, 384
 Brownell, Thomas (Newport), 197n.
 Bruce, Philip, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, 21n.
 Brunton, William, 104n., 105n., 107n.
 Bruster, Thomas, Barbados, 110
 Bruyn, Frans (Curaçao), 420
 Buckley, Stephen (S. C.), 384
 Buenos Aires, 103, 104, 106, 107, 359, 387
 Buffum (Buffam), *Capt.* Walter, 148n., 174, 184
 Bulkley, *Capt.* Peter, 63n.
 Bull, Nathan (R. I.), 125n.
 Bullard, Benjamin, 28
 Bunch of Grapes Tavern, Boston, 66
 Burchall, *see* Birchall
 Burgess, Phillip, 360
 Burling, Perkins and, Santo Domingo, 81n., 88, 460n.
 Burnet, William (N. Y.), governor, 444n., 446
 Burr, Andrew, 219
 Burton and Smith, London, 194-195
 Butler and Brown, 245
 Byam, Edward, *sr.* (Antigua), 118n.
 Byam, Edward, *jr.* (Antigua), 118, 135n.
 Byam, William (Antigua), 135n.
 Caboceers, trade, 223
 Caboose, *see* Camboose

Cadiz, cargo for, 194n.
 Caerloff (Carloff), Hendrick, 414
Caesar, Ellery, 68-69, 174
 Cahoone, *Capt.* John, jr. (Newport), 121, 130-131, 143, 339n.
 Cajana, *see* Cayenne
 Calabar, Africa, 292
Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1n.
 Camboose, 236
Camelion, loss, 174n.
 Cameroons, *see* Kameruns
 Cammerhoff, J. C. F., *bishop*, 459
 Campbell, John (Boston), 21
 Campeachy (Campeche), 463
 Camplin, *see* Champlin
 Camwood, trade, 37, 80, 81n., 150, 204
 Canary Islands, 6, 49
 Cape Ann, 37
 Cape Appolonia, Africa, 320, 414
 Cape Coast, 260, 375; *Mary* at, 367, 368, 370-373; slaves from, 295; *Thames* at, 315, 316, 317-321, 323, 326, 331; trade, 158, 198, 392
 Cape Coast Castle, 51n., 81, 136n., 165-166, 292n., 300, 313n., 414; governors, 76n., 179n., 184, 228n., 234n., 244n.; letters from, 36n., 148n.; slaves from, 74, 185, 264; trade, 261-262, 265-266, 293
 Cape Cod, 253; *History of*, by F. Freeman, 77n.
 Cape Course (Corse), *see* Cape Coast
 Cape des Rodes, Africa, 414
 Cape Formoso, 367
 Cape François, 88, 101n., 460n., 486
 Cape Henry, Va., 235
 Cape Lahou, Africa, 158, 367
 Cape Lopez (Lopes de Gonsalve), Africa, 12, 414
 Cape Malpas, Africa, 70
 Cape Mesurado, Africa, 366n.
 Cape Morante, 416
 Cape Mount, Africa, 82, 158, 183, 184, 189n., 209n., 365-367, 389
 Cape of Good Hope, 80n., 84n., 103n., 353, 388, 389, 442n.
 Cape Palmas, 367
 Cape Three Points, 367, 376
 Cape Verde, 4, 12, 25n., 39n., 40n., 43, 50n., 67, 216, 260n., 414, 418, 429, 502
 Cape Verde Islands, 6, 41n., 82n., 202, 398, 443n.
 Cape Vine, 461
 Capital, in slave trade, 81n., 169-170
 Captains (list): Ablin, John, *Hopewell*, 474; Abraham, — (Newport), 379; Absome, —, 318n.; Adderly (Aderly), John (N. Y.), 503, 507; Alboy, Peter (N. Y.), 508; Aldridge, —, 131; Allaire, Peter (N. J.), 500; Allan, Peter, 186; Allen, John (Newport), 186; Almy, — (Newport), 379; Amory, —, 451; Anderson, —, 304; Anderson, Jacob, *Prudence*, 512; Ansley, John, 280; Arnold, —, 186; Arskine, — (N. Y.), 459; Avis, John, 39n.; Axon, William (Jamaica), 495; Baker, William, 477; Ball, John (N. Y.), 473; Barker, — (S. C.), 384; Barker, Joseph (Nevis), 462;

Barnard, — (N. Y.), 460n.; Barnes, William, 147n.; Barns (Barnes), Thomas (N. Y.), 487, 491, 498; Barry, William (Newport), 117; Barstow, — (Newport), 139; Batchelor, Thomas (Jamaica), 469; Batty, — (N. Y.), 460n.; Bayard, Samuel, 505, 512; Bayo, Thomas (Bristol, Eng.), 498; Beak, Benjamin (Bermuda), 504; Bedford, —, *Expedition*, 471; Bedford, John (N. Y.), 487, 497, 511; Bedlow, Isaac (N. Y.), 463; Bedlow, Peter (N. Y.), 470, 472, 473; Beekman, Henry (N. Y.), 486; Beekman, William (N. Y.), 478, 483, 490; Bennet, Elisha (N. Y.), 465; Bennett, — (Mass.), 50n., 75n., 76; Bennox, — (Newport), 372; Benson, William, 479; Besham, — (Boston), 67; Bethell, John (Bermuda), 486; Bill, Benjamin, 484; Billop, Midleton (N. Y.), 465, 471; Bisset, John, 512; Bissett, Andrew, 472, 475, 477, 483, 487; Blaker, John, 489; Bloom, Daniel (N. Y.), 483, 502; Blundle (Blundel), — (Liverpool), 320, 324; Boardman, —, 168; Bodine (Bodin), Vincent (N. Y.), 469, 478, 483, 494; Bold, — (London), 314, 317, 318; Bonyot, Ezekiel (N. Y.), 464, 466, 472; Borden, —, 289n.; Boreen, Oliver, 335n.; Bosch, Albertus (N. Y.), 495, 500, 504; Boswell, Francis (N. Y.), 493; Botsworth, — (R. I.), 404n.; Boules, —, 260; Bow, Henry, 495; Bowditch, — (Boston), 32; Bowen, — (Boston), 209n.; Bowen, — (Newport), 378; Bowers, John (London), 483; Boyd, William (N. Y.), 502, 506, 508; Boyles (Boiles), Philip (N. Y.), 462, 467, 469; Bradford, — (R. I.), 404; Bradley, — (R. I.), 404; Brasher, Abraham (N. Y.), 504; Brask, Richard, *Endeavour*, 470; Bratt, Bartholomew (N. Y.), 493; Brett, John, 474; Brews, —, 261; Brin, — (Newport), 121; Brooks, —, 390n.; Brown, —, 139, 274; Brown, Bristow (Bermuda), 476; Brown, John (N. Y.), 463, 477; Brown, William (R. I.), 147n.; Browne, John (N. Y.), 472, 476; Brownell, — (Newport), 379; Brownwell, — (R. I.), 404n.; Bryan, — (Boston), 40n.; Bucklin, —, 210; Buffinton, —, 76; Bulcock, Robert, 476; Bull, — (Newport), 209, 214; Burch, Daniel (Bermuda), 504; Burdett, — (Boston), 82n.; Burdett, Samuel (N. Y.), 477, 482; Burditt, — (Salem), 100n.; Burke, —, 293; Burr, — (Newport), 379; Burrows, Christopher, 474; Burrows, Edward (Bermuda), 480, 497; Burrows, Stephen (Bermuda), 484, 502; Burrows, William (Bermuda), 487; Bush, Jesper, 478; Bush, John, 507; Butler, — (R. I.), 144n., 313; Butler, Isaac (N. Y.), 463, 469; Buttler, Abram (N. Y.), 473, 474, 476; Buttler, Obediah, 285; Butts, — (Newport), 378; Campbell, Andrew (N. Y.), 509; Campbell, Dugald (N. Y.), 487; Campbell, John, 458n.; Cannon, John (N. Y.), 505; Cannon (Can-

Captains (list)—*continued*:

- on), Peter (N. Y.), 503, 504; Carpenter, — (Boston), 67n.; Carpenter, — (Newport), 139, 144n.; Carpenter, George, 209; Carr, Isaac (R. I.), 337n.; Carthy, Owen (N. Y.), 463; Castle, — (Liverpool), 186; Cathcart (Carthcart), Robert (Bermuda), 480, 482; Chalmers, —, 232; Chambers, — (London), 314; Charles, — (Liverpool), 314, 315, 317; Chenevard, John (N. Y.), 452n.; Chetham, James (N. Y.), 452n.; Child, Thomas (Newport), 214, 217; Clark, James, 245n.; Clark, John, 245n.; Clarke, John (N. Y.), 487; Clarke, Nicholas, 495; Clarke, William (N. Y.), 462; Clieland, — (London), 320; Cliff, Charles, 477; Chilcutt, — (Salem), 80n.; Cockrem, Philip (N. Y.), 484; Coden, James (N. Y.), 476, 483; Coerteen, Henry (N. Y.), 469; Cole, Richard, 39n.; Collingwood, James, 121, 493; Collyer, —, 76; Comerey, —, 368; Conyers, Joseph (Bermuda), 506; Cook, — (Providence), 100; Cook, Joseph (R. I.), 477; Cooke, —, 363; Cooper, — (N. Y.), 452n.; Cordis, — (Boston), 73n.; Corne, Peter (N. Y.), 452n., 509; Cornwell, Thomas (N. Y.), 458n.; Couzins, Henry (N. Y.), 462; Cowston, James (Antigua), 465; Cox, Florentia, 464, 466; Cox, Isaac (Bermuda), 483; Coyers, —, 35; Cracraft, John (N. Y.), 464; Craig, James, 474; Craigie, — (Boston), 75n., 76; Crownshead, —, 364; Cunningham, — (Boston), 76; Dagget, —, 270n.; Darby, — (Salem), 286; Darcey, James (N. Y.), 480; Darling, —, 295; Darrell, John, *jr.*, 497; Davies, John (N. Y.), 499; Davis, — (Boston), 186; Davis, — (Liverpool), 186; Davis, John (N. Y.), 494, 495; Davis, Samuel (N. Y.), 478; Davis, Thomas (N. Y.), 445, 452n.; Dawes, Ralph (Bermuda), 480; Dean, — (Boston), 76; Dean, — (Newport), 379; Deane, John (N. Y.), 484; Delap, John (N. Y.), 475; Devonshire, — (N. Y.), 458n.; Dickinson, —, 1, 39n., 51n.; Dolliver, — (Boston), 186; Dove, Michael, 245n.; Downing, Denis, 464, 472; Drown, — (R. I.), 390n., 404n.; Dudley, John (Jamaica), 481; Dunbar, — (Boston), 370; Duncan, George (N. Y.), 495, 496; Duncan, James (Newport), 130n.; Dunnell, — (Boston), 76; Durham, Thomas, 499; Eagles, — (Liverpool), 314, 320; Earl, — (R. I.), 378; Earle, — (R. I.), 184, 189; Easterbrooks, — (Newport), 379, 404; Easton, — (Conn.), 2, 458; Edgecomb, —, 171; Eliot, — (Newport), 186; Ellery, John, 27; Elliot, — (Newport), 209; Ellis, Giles (London), 466; Ellison, William (N. Y.), 468, 476, 480; Emot, Joseph, 511; Emott, William, 512; Eustace, James, 469; Evans, Henry (Bristol, Eng.), 464; Evans, Joseph (N. Y.), 486; Faggot, — (Conn.), 2, 71n.; Farmer, Jasper (N. Y.), 492, 511; Farmer (Farmer), Thomas (N. Y.), 445, 452n., 458, 512; Farrar, — (Liverpool), 314; Fettle, Edward, 492; Fiott, Philip (N. Y.), 492, 498; Fisher, —, 404; Fitch, Thomas (N. Y.), 475, 477, 485, 490; Fitzpatrick, —, 101n.; Fitzrondolph, Samuel, 511; Fleetwood, Burdet Pilkington (N. Y.), 503; Fletcher, — (Boston), 75n.; Fletcher, — (Liverpool), 320, 323; Ford, — (Boston), 76; Forrester, —, 272; Forster, Thomas (Bermuda), 476, 488; Foster, —, 75n.; Fowle, Richard (New Providence), 497, 505; Fowle, Thomas (Bermuda), 505; Fowler, Gideon (Newport), 214, 241; Fred, John (N. Y.), 475, 480; Fred, Joseph (N. Y.), 491; Freeman, —, 51n., 186; Frewin, George (Bristol, Eng.), 502; Frith, Thomas (Bermuda), 479; Fubert, Francis (Bermuda), 494; Fulford, — (Boston), 76; Fuller, — (Boston), 67; Fuller, Henry (N. Y.), 483; Furber, Mathew (N. Y.), 466, 469, 471; Furnell, Organ (Bristol), 481; Gallop, Thomas (Great Britain), 465; Gally, Thomas (N. Y.), 467; Gandy, Peter, 467, 510; Gardiner, Daniel (N. Y.), 508; Garrison (Garretson), Nicholas (N. Y.), 498, 499, 501, 505; Garritts (Gareter, Garretse, Garrett) (N. Y.), 479, 486, 511; Geddes, William (N. Y.), 485; Gibbs, — (Newport), 379; Gibbs, John, *jr.*, 477; Gibb, Richard, 512; Gibbons, William, 462; Gibson, —, 76; Gifford, —, 71n.; Gilbert, —, 253; Gill, —, 76; Gladding, — (Newport), 379; Gleason, — (Conn.), 2; Glover, David, 182; Glover, William (Barbados), 483; Godingham, Robert, 443; Good, Joseph (N. Y.), 499; Goodridge, Jeremiah (Nevis), 491; Goold, Thomas, 71; Gorton, Samuel, 133; Gottier, Francis (N. Y.), 475; Grafton, —, 82n.; Greene, —, 362, 363; Grey, —, 67, 139, 404; Griffith, David (N. Y.), 452n., 512; Griffith, Robert, *jr.* (N. Y.), 503; Groves, Jonathan, 512; Hall, John, 471; Hallet, — (Newport), 202; Hallet, Allen, 88n.; Hambleton, —, 308; Hamilton, —, 459n.; Hamlet (Hamblet), —, 139, 144; Hammond, — (St. Croix), 320; Handerson, John, 510; Handlin, Thomas (N. Y.), 503; Handy, —, 131, 453; Hanners, —, 202, 254; Harding, —, 13, 67; Harris, — (Newport), 378; Harrison, —, 247n., 459; Harrison, David, 460; Hart, — (Newport), 379; Hartle, — (R. I.), 65; Harvey, Samuel (N. Y.), 481, 483, 484; Hathaway, —, 139; Hathorn, Benjamin, 32; Haviland, Joseph (N. Y.), 507; Hawkes, Seth (Bermuda), 469; Hawkins, — (Barbados), 320; Hay, —, 76; Haycraft, Samuel, 245n.; Haynes, —, 121; Haynes, Francis, 458n.; Hays, Robert, 463; Hazard, Stanton, 322; Heath, —, 202, 210n.; Herbert, Marim (N. Y.), 510; Hefernan, —, 186; Henson, Nathaniel (Ber-

Captains (list)—*continued*:

muda), 501; Henson, Richard (Bermuda), 502; Herald, John (N. Y.), 468; Hester, James (Nevis), 471; Hester, James (R. I.), 117; Hewes, Thomas (Liverpool), 74; Heysham, Thomas (Liverpool), 504; Hickford, John (N. Y.), 463; Hicks, —, 189; Hicks, Robinson (N. Y.), 452n.; Higgs, William (New Providence), 495; Hill, —, 315, 316; Hill, Thomas (N. Y.), 490, 492, 493, 503, 507; Hillgrove, Nicholas, 109; Hinman, John, 487; Hinson, Benjamin, 475; Hinton, William (London), 500; Hodgson, —, 455; Hody (Thody), Michael (N. Y.), 471; Holden, — (R. I.), 404; Holloway, —, 76; Holloway, Samuel, 217n.; Hood, Robert (N. Y.), 497; Hook, Thomas (N. Y.), 468, 471; Hoskoll, Joseph (London), 484; Housmans, —, 152; Howe, — (Newport), 379; Howland, — (Newport), 378; Hubbard, Daniel (Bermuda), 479, 496, 500; Hudson, — (R. I.), 379, 404; Hughes, — (Liverpool), 314; Hulk, Benjamin, 333; Hume, Alexander, 483; Hunt, John (N. Y.), 490, 499, 501; Hunt, Joseph, 493; Huntington, Joseph (R. I.), 339; Ingraham, — (Newport), 379; Innis, — (Boston), 67n.; Jacobs, — (N. Y.), 445; Jacobs, Thomas, 462; James, —, 371; James, Benjamin (Bermuda), 506; James, Peter (Newport), 139, 144n., 173; James, Samuel (Piscataqua), 213; Jarrat, Allane (N. Y.), 466; Jarratt, William, 470, 479; Jarret, —, 444n., 445; Jarvas, Nathan, 467; Jay, —, 439; Jeffery, Richard, 506; Jeggles, William (N. Y.), 477, 482, 489, 492; Jenkins, Charles, 509; Jenny, — (R. I.), 189; Johnson, — (R. I.), 139; Johnson, Isaac (N. Y.), 474; Johnston, Samuel (R. I.), 174; Joles, — (Newport), 379; Jones, Josiah (Boston), 499; Jones, Thomas (London), 503; Judkin, Francis (N. Y.), 480, 484, 490, 495; Jump, Peter (Boston), 37n.; Kean (Kain), — (Newport), 209; Keel, William (Bermuda), 497; Keirsted, Benjamin, 499; Keirsted (Kierstead), Jacob (N. Y.), 480, 490, 492; Keith, — (Newport), 139; Kennelly, Thomas (Boston), 39n.; Kent, — (Boston), 72n.; Kevistead, Jacob (N. Y.), 465; Kierstead, Jesse (N. Y.), 480; Kinecutt, —, 136; King, Arent (Aront) (N. Y.), 452; King, Edward (N. Y.), 477; Kip, Abraham (N. Y.), 501, 505; Kip, Jacob (N. Y.), 485, 487; Kippin, Walter (N. Y.), 479; Kittletas, Abraham, 509; Knowles, — (Newport), 139, 189; Knox, —, 121; Laist, —, 34; Landford, Abram (N. Y.), 469; Langdon, —, 33, 35; Larsher, — (Newport), 186; Laurance (Lawrence), Dennis (N. Y.), 477, 479, 481, 511; Law, Andrew (N. Y.), 465, 466, 470; Lawrence, — (N. Y.), 445n.; Lawrence, Henry (N. Y.), 482, 488, 500, 505, 512; Lawrence

(Larrance), John (N. Y.), 464, 493, 497, 499; Lawrence, Samuel (N. Y.), 470-474, 480; Lawton, Samuel (R. I.), 339; Leacraft, Oliver, 499; Leacraft, Richard (Bermuda), 471, 478; Leads (Leeds), — (Dominica), 320; Lee, George, 31; Leonard, Robert (N. Y.), 467; Lester, Terit, 473; Lewis, — (N. Y.), 453; Lewis, Edward, 141n.; Lewis, John (N. Y.), 452n.; Leycroft, Richard, 474; Lindsay, — (R. I.), 404; Lipkins, Burger (N. Y.), 492; Lisperard, Leonard (N. Y.), 505; Lissley, John (N. Y.), 507; Littlefield, — (Newport), 379; Logan, —, 459n.; Long, Samuel, 27; Lontitt, Ichabod, 478, 483, 486, 494; Low, Timothy (N. Y.), 467; Lowell, —, 458; Lugen, William, 169n.; Lush, John (N. Y.), 491, 501; Lyell, — (N. Y.), 452; McAlliston, Edward (N. Y.), 509; M'Bride, Henry (N. Y.), 487; McDonnah, —, 320; Machet, John (N. Y.), 507; Mackee, George, 478, 481, 482; Mackentoosh, James (N. Y.), 482; MackPherson, John (Jamaica), 482; Macky, John (London), 504; McNeil, —, 75n.; Mallory, John (Bermuda), 506; Malone, David, 381; Mansfield, Andrew (N. Y.), 477, 489, 496, 497; Margeson, John (N. Y.), 468; Marschalk, Andrew, jr. (N. Y.), 485; Marscollock, Andrew (N. Y.), 481; Marsh, —, 184; Marshall, William (Antigua), 468; Marston, John, 475-477, 479, 481, 482, 484, 490, 491; Martin, —, 36n.; Martin, — (London), 314, 320; Martin, John, 471; Martin, Michael, 484; Masse (Massey), Daniel (N. Y.), 466, 467, 469, 475; Mathelin, Richard, jr., 506; Maul, Peter, 489; Maxwell, William, 511; May, William (Newport), 379, 382; Mercier, William (N. Y.), 509; Millekin, Benjamin, 29; Millenword, —, 353n.; Miller, — (Boston), 186; Miller, — (N. Y.), 451; Miller, Paule (N. Y.), 509; Miller, Samuel (N. Y.), 452n.; Millitring, —, 151; Mitchell, —, 130; Mitchell, John (Bermuda), 480, 494, 495; Mogerette, William, 467; Moore, — (Newport), 209; Moore, — (R. I.), 404n.; Moore, Francis (N. Y.), 456; More, — (London), 320, 326; Morgan, Benjamin (N. Y.), 504; Morgan, Francis (Bermuda), 483; Morgan, John, 505; Morgan, Joseph (N. Y.), 485; Morgat, Peter (N. Y.), 464, 485; Morris, — (Mass.), 28; Morris, — (Newport), 209; Morris, Jacob (N. Y.), 452n.; Morrison, — (London), 460; Morse, —, 260n.; Mowit, — (Newport), 258, 307; Multon, Joseph (N. Y.), 491; Munro, —, 276, 378, 379, 404n.; Murgatroyd, Thomas, 462; Musket, John, 511; Muttlow (Mattlow), John (N. Y.), 469, 477, 481, 490; Neal, James, 138; Nealson, Patrick (N. Y.), 498, 505; Nelson, — (Liverpool), 314, 315; Nevin, James (N. Y.), 502, 504; Newbold, Richard (Bermuda), 487; Newdigate, —, 225; Nichols, George, 174; Nichol-

Captains (list)—*continued*:

- son, — (Bristol, Eng.), 314, 315; Nicholson, George, 454-455; Nicoll, John (N. Y.), 452; Niel, — (R. I.), 404n.; Nolten, —, 139; Norwood, —, 32; Oliver, Edward, 495; Ormsbe, — (Newport), 379; Orne, — (Boston), 76; Osborne, —, 221; Outerbridge, Hubbard (Bermuda), 501; Owen, Nathaniel, 470; Paine, Nathaniel, 469; Painter, John, 496; Painter, Paul, 502; Painter (Paynter), Stephen, 500, 503; Parcker (Parker), Simon (N. Y.), 465, 466; Parker, Bedford, 492; Parmyter, Thomas (N. Y.), 500; Paul, — (Newport), 217; Payne, — (N. Y.), 445; Payne, John (Boston), 38n.; Payton, Samuel (N. Y.), 463, 482, 489, 493, 497; Pease, —, 247n.; Peat, Robert (Boston), 476; Perry, — (Newport), 378; Phillips, — (Newport), 379; Phoenix (Phenix), Alexander (N. Y.), 469, 478, 488, 491, 492, 507; Phoenix (Phenix), Jacob (N. Y.), 473, 476, 480, 488, 489, 493, 500, 505; Pluckinton, John (Liverpool), 463; Pointer, Thomas (London), 478; Pope, Thomas (Jamaica), 465; Potter, — (Newport), 121, 202; Power, — (Boston), 67; Powers, Patrick (N. Y.), 507; Pratt, Thomas, 277; Prieleau, Julian, 466; Prince, Isaac (R. I.), 469; Ramsey, —, 112; Ramy, Simon (Boston), 27; Randall, Thomas, 473; Ratsey, Robert (N. Y.), 501; Ratsey, Smithson (N. Y.), 488; Rawling, Philip, 471; Reynolds, John, 458n.; Rhodes, — (Boston), 67; Rhodes, — (Piscataqua), 70; Rice, Elias (N. Y.), 507; Richard, John (N. Y.), 504; Richard, Rogers (N. Y.), 509; Richard, William (N. Y.), 504; Richards, —, 458n.; Richards, William, 168n.; Richmond, — (R. I.), 404n.; Rickford, D., 489; Robbins, —, 163n.; Robertson, —, 40n., 50n.; Robinson, Joseph, 81; Robinson, Richard, 475; Rock, Nicholas, 494; Roe (Row), Henry (N. Y.), 475, 479, 481, 484, 488, 489; Rolland, Peter (N. Y.), 463; Rose, — (Boston), 70n.; Rose, Henry (N. Y.), 493; Rosewell (Bosewell?), Francis, 500, 502; Rouse, —, 51n.; Rowan, — (Newport), 358; Royall, Joseph (N. Y.), 482; Ruggles, John (Boston), 476; Rushworth, James, 467; Ryan, — (New London), 360n.; Sabins, — (Newport), 379, 404n.; Sanders, Edward (N. Y.), 445, 475; Sandford, Abram, 470; Sarley (Sarly), Jacob, (N. Y.), 469, 486; Sarjant, Samuel, 512; Schermerhorn, Arnot (N. Y.), 479, 485; Scofield, — (Newport), 209n.; Seabury, David (N. Y.), 479; Seacraft, George (Bermuda), 488, 496, 501, 502; Sebury, —, 286; Seeds, *see* Leads; Selleck, —, 443; Seymour, James, 474; Seymour, John (N. Y.), 505, 512; Seymour, Thomas, (N. Y.), 501; Seymour, William (Bermuda), 493; Shand, — (R. I.), 256, 257, 287; Sharp, George (N. Y.), 479; Sharpers, Robert (Nevis), 490; Sharpless, Robert (Nevis), 493; Shaw, — (Boston), 76; Shaw, George (N. Y.), 452; Shearman, — (Newport), 265n., 379; Sherman, — (N. Y.), 360n.; Sherman, Benjamin, 510; Silk, — (Boston), 40n.; Simmons, Peter (N. Y.), 480, 482; Skinner, Abram (N. Y.), 496; Sleet, Abraham (N. Y.), 452n.; Slocum, — (Newport), 378, 379; Smart, —, 438; Smith, —, 350, 361; Smith, — (London), 318-320; Smith, — (Salem), 84n., 360n.; Smith, Edward, 473; Smith, James, 507, 512; Smith, John (N. Y.), 489, 491, 509; Smith, Joseph, 512; Smith, Josias (N. Y.), 471, 482, 484, 492, 496, 497, 503; Smith, Mathew (N. J.), 498; Smith, William (N. Y.), 475, 476, 478, 479, 481, 483, 485, 488, 490-492; Spencer, Jeremiah, 465; Spofferth, Perient (Bermuda), 472; Stanton, — (Boston), 70n.; Stanton, — (Newport), 142, 307, 378, 379; Stead, John (Bermuda), 482; Steed, William (N. Y.), 508; Steele, —, 247n.; Stevens (Stephens), John (N. Y.), 494, 500; Stiles, Benjamin (Bermuda), 503; Stocker, — (Boston), 51n.; Stockin, —, 446; Stoddard, — (Newport), 379; Stone, Thomas (N. Y.), 463, 465, 468; Sturup, John (N. Y.), 506; Stuyvesant, Hendrick Jansen, 431; Sutcliffe, John (N. Y.), 489; Sutcliffe, Robert, 491; Swatridge, —, 68n.; Symes, — (Boston), 71n.; Symons, Peter (N. Y.), 473; Taggart, — (Newport), 265n.; Tannatt, Thomas (Bristol, Eng.), 485; Tanner, —, 239; Tarleton, Edward, 61; Tarleton, Thomas, 118; Taryer, — (London), 320; Tash, —, 76; Tavernor, Robert, 503; Tayer, — (Newport), 379; Taylor, —, 139, 318n.; Taylor, — (Bristol, Eng.), 314; Taylor, — (Conn.), 184; Taylor, Thomas (London), 462; Taylor, William, 174; Thatcher, Thomas, 471; Theobalds, John, *jr.* (N. Y.), 466; Theobalds, Robert (N. Y.), 479, 481, 482, 486; Thibou, Lewis (N. J.), 494, 497; Thoburn, — (London), 324, 326; Thody, Michael (N. Y.), 475, 483, 491, 511; Thomas, Thomas (Salem), 81n.; Thomson, — (Boston), 67; Thorn, Daniel (N. Y.), 509; Thurston, — (Boston), 40n.; Thurston, —, *Nancy*, 304; Thurston, — (Newport), 209; Tickell, John (N. Y.), 473, 474; Ticker, John, 471; Tillinghast, —, 202, 209; Tingley, Samuel (N. Y.), 502, 508; Todd, Edward, 480; Toman, — (Newport), 209, 214; Topham, — (Newport), 379; Toy, James, 511; Trask, —, 461n.; Trot, John (Bermuda), 464; Tucker, James (N. Y.), 503; Tucker, Jonathan, 488; Tucker, Mansfield (Bermuda), 473, 487, 505; Tuckness, Henry, 498; Tudor (Tuder), John (Barbados), 473, 474, 511; Turner, —, 75n., 76; Van Borsom, Henry (N. Y.), 507; Vanbrugh (Vanbrough, Vanbrughen), John

Captains (list)—*continued*:

- (N. Y.), 465, 467, 471; Vandam, Isaac, 479; Vanpelt, John (N. Y.), 486; Vardell, Thomas (Bermuda), 504; Vater, Thomas, 497, 508; Vaughan, James (N. Y.), 490; Veare, John (N. Y.), 466, 472; Vezey, Richard (N. Y.), 508; Vickers, John (Bermuda), 508; Vilett, — (Newport), 358, 378; Vincent, Samuel, 511; Vivian, Richard (N. Y.), 464, 466, 472; Waddell, John (N. Y.), 507; Wadson, John (Bermuda), 506; Wadsworth, Joseph (Boston), 27; Walker, —, 189n.; Walker, D. (Conn.), 2; Walker, John, 507; Wardwell, — (Newport), 379; Ware, Thomas (N. Y.), 481, 482, 485, 486, 491, 499, 502; Warner, —, 168, 210n.; Warner, Francis (N. Y.), 463; Warren, —, 316; Waterhouse, Samuel, 32; Waterman, — (Conn.), 2, 458; Waynman, — (N. Y.), 451n.; Webb, John, 467, 470, 511; Wells, Thomas (Bermuda), 502; Wentworth, Hugh (N. Y.), 491, 500, 506; Wessels, Rout (N. Y.), 466; White, — (Boston), 67; White, George (S. C.), 486, 490; White, Joseph (Liverpool), 75; White, William (N. Y.), 473, 478, 485; Whitney, — (Newport), 379; Wickham, Jonathan (S. C.), 507; Wignall, William, 3; Wilkinson, —, 295n.; Willet, Thomas (New Netherland), 428; Williams, — (Boston), 40n.; Williams, — (Bristol, Eng.), 314; Williams, — (Conn.), 2; Williams, — (R. I.), 404n.; Williams, John, 487; Wills, Edwin (N. Y.), 487, 488; Wills, John (Bermuda), 487; Willson, Joseph, 470; Wilson, — (London), 320; Wilson, — (Newport), 139; Witter, Thomas (S. C.), 481, 483; Wolf, — (Newport), 379; Wood, — (Newport), 358, 378, 379, 404n.; Wood, Joseph, 26; Woodbridge, John, 476; Woodside, John, 477, 478; Woolf, —, 302n.; Woolf, Mathew (N. Y.), 472, 496, 510; Wright, —, 291; Wright, Edward (N. Y.), 467; Wyatt, Ebenezer (N. Y.), 485, 489; Wychingham, John (New Providence), 492; Young, Elias, 503; Young, Henry (Bermuda), 485, 491, 492; Young, John (N. Y.), 478-481, 484, 489, 494, 499; Young, Joseph, 474.
- Captures, 173-174, 183n., 186n., 189n., 388, 452, 453
- Cargoes, 248, 297, 337-340, 392; *Abeona*, 91, 94; *Ann*, 264n., 274-277, 295, 388, 390; *Anstis*, 138n.; *Caesar*, 68-69; character, 42, 46-47, 136, 156-157, 190; *Cleopatra*, 270; *Dolphin*, 91; *Fortune*, 440; *Gideon*, 422, 433-434; *Hare*, 151; *Katherine*, 31n.; *Marigold*, 179; *Mary*, 361-375; *Mendon*, 102-104, 106; *Nancy*, 288, 396-398; pirates', 116n.; *Queen Elizabeth*, 138; *Royal Charlotte*, 217-220; rum, 81n., 98n., 135n.; *Sierra Leone*, 147; slave, 144n., 171-174, 271-272, 329, 332; value, 17, 31n., 143, 147, 249, 258n., 294n., 311n.; *Whydah*, 188; *Willing Quaker*, 99n.-100n.
- Carlisle, Charles Howard, 1st earl of, 15n.
- Carnes, John (Boston), 29
- Carnes, *Capt.* John, *Collector*, 82n.
- Carolina, 25n., 32, 406; *see also* North Carolina; South Carolina
- Carpenter, *Capt.* — (Newport), 185, 186, 189, 202, 217
- Carpenter, *Capt.* James, *Elizabeth*, 145
- Carpenter, *Capt.* Thomas, 130n., 145
- Carpenter, *Capt.* Willet, death, 209n.
- Carpenters, 14, 66n., 94, 98n., 323, 367, 388, 396n.
- Carr, *Sir* Robert, 434n.
- Carr, S. (R. I.), 64
- Carr, *Capt.* S., 139, 140n., 189, 202
- Carr, Tiddiman, *Thames*, 315, 323, 324, 331n.
- Cartagena, 430, 485
- Carter, *Capt.* Edwin, 110
- Cassada Garden*, Newport, 165-166, 174-183
- Casson, Miles (Boston), 4-5
- Castle Brew, Africa, 217n.
- Castles, Africa, 44, 80n., 81, 211, 258-261, 291n., 294, 313, 388, 389
- Castle St. George del Mina, *see* Elmina
- Catterall, *Mrs.* Helen T., *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery*, 101n.
- Cayenne (Cayanna, Cajana), 82-83, 422, 423, 430
- Cerberus*, H. M. S., 394, 395
- Chace, *Capt.* Samuel (Newport), 359-360, 379
- Challoner (Chaloner), Walter, 145
- Chaloner, Channing and, Newport, 143
- Champion, A. (London), 217, 222
- Champion and Hayley, London, 193n.-195
- Champlin, *Capt.* — (Newport), 139, 217, 254, 378, 379
- Champlin, Christopher (Newport), 344n.; accounts, 266-267; letters from, 257-259, 293-295n., 300-302, 309, 311; letters to, 189-190, 248-249, 259, 260-261, 307-308; trade, 219, 246n., 276, 341n.
- Champlin, Christopher, *jr.*, 189n.
- Champlin, Christopher G., 383n.
- Champlin, George (Newport), 130n., 189n., 336n., 344n.; accounts, 266-267; letters from, 257-259, 293-295, 300-302, 309, 352n.; letters to, 248-249, 261n.
- Champlin, *Capt.* Robert (Newport), 258n., 261, 281, 300-302, 309-310n., 337, 341n., 360n.; instructions, 293-295, 301-302; letter from, 307-308
- Chandos, James Brydges, *duke* of, 407n.
- Channing, John, 145
- Channing, Gibbs and, letters from, 382, 383, 387
- Channing, William (R. I.), attorney general, 353; 354, 357
- Channing and Chaloner, Newport, 143
- Charges, on African cargoes, 140n., 152-165, 175, 192, 199, 218-219, 263, 291n., 359, 385
- Charleston, S. C., 207; merchants, 140n., 153-154, 157, 166-169n., 171-173, 190, 286, 378, 384-387, 394-404; seamen, 107n.; slave sales,

- 146n., 153-155, 160-163, 341n.; slaves for, 81, 82n., 106, 170, 190, 268-269, 275-276, 337n., 341, 383-387, 394, 396-399, 401, 402, 405n.; suit, 101n.; vessels for, 101n., 147n., 168, 380n., 404, 461; vessels from, 366, 370, 395
- Charlestown, Mass., 9, 27, 40, 48, 50, 66, 100n.
- Charlotte*, 217, 250, 265n., 404n.; *see also* *Royal Charlotte*
- Charming Polly*, 187n.
- Charter, of Freedoms, New Netherland, 410; Royal African Company, 436-438
- Charter party, of African vessels, 101n.-13, 105, 417-419, 422-425, 432, 440
- Chase, *see* Chace
- Cherbarra, *see* Sherbro
- Chesebrough, David, letter from, 134
- Children, slaves, 43, 45, 66, 68n., 114n., 138, 144, 145, 150, 172, 457, 466n., 469, 472n.
- Christ Church, Boston, 457n.
- Christian, Charles (Charleston), 397n.
- Christian and DeWolf, Charleston, 397
- Christiansborg, Africa, 316n., 321, 326
- Church, Boston, 6n.; slave trade, 335n., 336, 343, 345n.
- Clarissa*, McNeil, 100n.
- Clark, James, and Company, 245
- Clark (Clarke), *Capt.* Jeremiah, 117, 118n., 130n., 174
- Clark and Company, Ford, Jamaica, 292, 295, 302-304, 308-309
- Clark and Nightingale, Providence, 334-335
- Clark's Wharf, Boston, 50
- Clarke, *Capt.* —, 173
- Clarke, — (Barbados), 45
- Clarke, Deborah (Salem, Mass.), 457n.
- Clarke, Francis (Salem, Mass.), 457n.
- Clarke, Gedney, letters to, 457-458
- Clarke, John (Salem, Mass.), 457n.
- Clarke, Jonas (Boston), selectman, 52
- Clarke, *Capt.* Peleg (Newport), 130n., 217, 247n., 258, 261, 300, 323, 324, 336n., 337, 347, 352, 359n.; contract, 305-306, 330; letters from, 253-254, 256-257, 259, 261-262, 268, 286, 288, 307n., 308-309, 313-322, 326, 329-331; letters to, 251-253, 255-257, 262-263, 286-289, 291-292, 295-300, 302-307, 311-313, 326-329, 332
- Clarke, *Mrs.* Peleg, 328
- Clarke, William (Jamaica), 298n.
- Clarke (Clark), William (Mass.), 26n., 27
- Clarkson, John, "Mission to America," 53n.
- Clarkson, Thomas, *Essay on the Commerce of the Human Species*, 83n.; works, 336n.
- Cleopatra*, voyages, 246n., 247, 250, 265n., 269-270, 272, 273n., 275, 276, 291, 293
- Cleveland, H. W. S., *Voyages of a Merchant Navigator*, 84n.
- Cleveland, R. J., 84n.
- Cleveland, *Capt.* Stephen (Salem), suit, 84-94, 98-99
- Clinton, George (N. Y.), governor, 451n.
- Cloth, African, 43, 202, 278; price, 175, 280; trade, 88n., 368; *see also* Commodities; India goods
- Clothing, for slaves, 26, 28, 33, 69, 79, 118, 132, 148, 149, 155, 160, 163, 197, 236, 238, 385, 432-433, 440, 451n.; sailors', 146n.
- Cockspur Island, Ga., 377
- Cocoa, 48, 116-117, 148
- Coddington, *Capt.* John (Newport), 202, 213
- Coddington, *Lieut.-Col.* William, 117n.
- Codington, *Capt.* —, trade, 228
- Coffin, Charles, 39
- Coffin, Joshua, *History of Newbury*, 40n.
- Coggeshall, — (Newport), 258n.
- Coggeshall, *Capt.* Daniel, 118
- Coggeshall, David, 118n.
- Coggeshall, Martha, 118n.
- Coggeshall, Nathaniel (R. I.), 146n.
- Colden, Cadwallader, letters from, 444n., 451n.; letter to, 407n.
- Colden Papers*, 407n.
- Cole, Richard, cooper, 146, 152
- Coleman, Nicholas, 113
- Coleman and Sparhawk, Boston, 134n.
- Collier, William, 152
- Collins, Charles (R. I.), 339, 340n., 354n., 379, 380n.
- Collins, John (Newport), 286
- Colman, Judith (Boston), 19n.
- Colmon (Colman), John (Mass.), 19
- "Colonial Merchants of Rhode Island," by B. M. Bigelow, 257n.
- Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Transactions*, 16n.
- Commenda, Africa, 198, 367
- "Commerce of Boston on the Eve of the Revolution," by S. E. Morison, 76n.
- Commerce of Rhode Island*, 52n.
- Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, *see* Board of Trade
- Commissions, on insurance, 206, 215-217; on slave sales, 26, 33, 37, 69, 88, 133, 144n., 145, 149, 150, 155, 157, 160, 162-166, 170, 171, 180-183, 191-192, 195, 196, 199-200, 212, 218, 239, 240, 266, 274, 276, 285, 305, 330, 333, 346, 347, 359, 385, 398, 402, 404
- Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, London, 83n.
- Committee for Trade and Plantations, 14-15, 435
- Committee of Correspondence, 252n., 301n.
- Commodities, cargoes, 102, 104, 136, 147-148, 151, 175, 179, 188, 270, 286, 288, 337-340, 401; Guinea, 134; prices, 149, 155, 181-182, 196, 198, 208, 210n., 224, 277-278, 280-284, 313-314, 393-394; trade, 42n., 56, 61, 72n., 102, 123-130, 179-180, 202, 223, 248, 314, 361-365, 392, 396n., 397, 443
- Company of Merchants trading to Africa, 76n., 248n.
- Company of Royal Adventurers of England, 406
- Compte of St. Florentine*, 183, 184
- Congdon (Congrell), *Capt.* —, 186, 202
- Congo, negroes, 105, 340n.

- Congress, U. S., acts, 101n., 382-383n.; jurisdiction, 91-97
- Connecticut, 24n., 70; abolition, 3, 344n., 345, 348n.; captains, 2, 458; lawsuits, 99n.; legislation, 3, 345; merchants, 352, 493; shipbuilding, 463-467, 469-472, 474, 478, 479, 481-483, 485, 493, 498-502, 507, 509-511; slave trade, 1-3, 144, 345n.; vessels, 71, 184, 207, 360n.
- Connecticut Historical Society, *Collections*, 3n.
- Conner, Benjamin (N. H.), 107
- Conolly, *Capt.* — (Charleston), 100
- Constantine, Robe, 311, 313n., 318, 320, 324
- Constitution, and slave trade, 91, 96-97, 335n., 342n., 343, 348n., 350
- Constitutional Convention, Philadelphia, 342
- Continental Congress, resolutions, 296, 301, 343-344
- Contracts, 325, 330, 412-414
- Convoy, and slavers, 173n.
- Cook, Clark (Newport), 387
- Cook, Richard, 166n.
- Cook, *Capt.* Silas, 246n., 248n.
- Cooke, — (Newport), 258n.
- Cooke, *Capt.* Joseph B. (Newport), 358
- Cooper, Benjamin (N. J.), 455
- Cooper, *Dr.* Christopher (New York), 444n.
- Cooper, Daniel (N. J.), 454, 455
- Cooper, David, 310
- Cooper, *Capt.* Edward, 32n.
- Coopers, 66n., 216n.; on slave ships, 146, 315, 361, 368, 369, 371, 373, 376
- Copper, for Curaçao, 422
- Corbett, *Sir* Julian S., *England in the Seven Years' War*, 173n.
- Cormantine, Africa, 177, 184, 228n., 414
- Cormantines, 292, 303
- Cornbury, Edward Hyde, *viscount*, 406-407
- Corney, *Capt.* John (Boston), 27
- Cornwallis, *Sir* William, 316
- Cornwallis-West, G. F. M., *Life and Letters of Admiral Cornwallis*, 316n.
- Cosby, William (N. Y.), governor, 448-449
- Coste, Louis, French trader, 399-401
- Cotton, trade, 4, 39, 41, 50
- Council of New Netherland, 415, 416n., 433-434; instructions to, 405-406, 413; letters, 425-427, 430-431, 433
- Courlanders, in Africa, 414
- Courts, cases, 3, 51-65, 85-97, 99n., 102-108, 388-404; decrees, 63, 83-84, 393, 402n., 403n.; jurisdiction, 92, 93, 96-97, 99n.; Massachusetts, 83-84, 86, 87, 89n.-93, 97, 348n., 350, 352, 357-358; Philadelphia, 460; Rhode Island, 271; United States, 92-93
- Couwenhoven, Peter, 414n.
- Cowries, trade, 42n.
- Cox, James (New York), 451n.
- Coxburrow, *see* Cockspur
- Cradock, James, 220
- Crane, Verner W., *Rhode Island Slaver*, 293n.
- Cranston, — (Newport), 258n.
- Cranston, Benjamin (R. I.), 63-65
- Cranston, James (R. I.), naval officer, 122
- Cranston, Samuel (R. I.), governor, 109-110
- Cranston, Thomas (R. I.), 140, 146n.
- Crawdson, James (Africa), 81n.
- Credit, African, 247n., 262, 266, 268n., 316, 327, 330, 346; Guinea goods, 286, 297; Jamaica, 273n., 292, 330, 332; New Netherland, 427-428; planters, 295, 296, 298, 299; South Carolina, 153-154, 268n., 269, 286; terms, 28n., 29, 31n., 143-144, 155, 157, 161, 171n., 247n.-249, 254-255, 259, 265, 266, 273n., 299, 300, 302, 303, 305, 306, 309, 310, 312, 327; Virginia, 272
- Crew, size, 12, 51, 183, 337-340, 391, 395n., 443
- Crichton, David (Cape Coast Castle), 136n.
- Crito, essay, 342
- Crookshanks, Joseph, deposition, 93-94
- Crosswell, *Capt.* — (Newport), 189, 206, 209
- Crowninshield, *Capt.* George, 72n., 81n.
- Cruger, Henry, *jr.*, 221
- Cruger, John Harris, 221n.
- Crump, *Capt.* Richard, 270n.
- Cuba, slaves for, 141n., 273n., 360n., 381, 387n.
- Cumberbatch, John, 58
- Cumberbus*, insurance, 147n.
- Cunningham, *Capt.* George, 102, 103
- Cunningham, Nathaniel (Boston), 27
- Cunningham, Robert (St. Vincent), 299
- Curaçao, 417, 420, 429, 431; slaves for, 415n., 420n., 427, 432; slaves from, 420, 421, 434; trade, 406, 426, 430; vessels for, 418, 422, 423, 438; vessels from, 463, 466, 469, 470, 475, 478, 481-485, 487-489, 491-500, 505, 507
- Currency, African, 56, 123-130, 149, 156, 198, 223-225, 227-235, 277, 280-284, 313-314; Barbados, 238; Dutch, 413, 420, 427-428, 443; Jamaica, 274, 296, 310, 332; New England, 31n., 112, 132; New York, 440, 447n.; Portuguese, 193, 227, 276, 346-347, 380; Rhode Island, 132n., 135, 147n., 176, 197, 209, 256, 257, 311; St. Croix, 181, 182, 217-218, 220; St. Thomas, 380; South Carolina, 156, 159, 171, 275; Spanish, 16n., 45, 162, 183, 276, 286n., 333, 346, 347, 421; Virginia, 190-193, 239, 272
- Curtis, Richard (Boston), 103, 107
- Cushing, Thomas (Boston), 73n.
- Customs, African, 125, 158, 232, 233, 236, 307, 386; Boston entries, 25n., 28n., 29n., 36n., 38n., 39n., 40n., 50n., 51n., 66-68n., 70n.-73n., 75n., 76, 82n.; Charleston, 384; collectors, 138n., 380n., 435n.; house, 110n.; New Jersey records, 510-517; Newport entries, 117, 121, 139, 189, 202, 209, 214, 217, 337-340, 358, 378-379; New York entries, 444-446, 452n.; officers, 116n.; South Carolina, 404n.
- Cutler, *Capt.* John, *Jolly Batchelor*, 37n., 50n.-59, 63
- Cutler, Mary, 62
- Daling, Lascelles and, Barbados, 75n., 267
- Dallas, Robert, 393
- Dalpratt, *see* Delpratt
- Danes, in Africa, 316, 318, 414

- Daniel and Lytcott, Barbados, 246-247
 Danish West India Company, trade, 316, 317, 321, 324-326
Daphne, H. M. S., 388, 393
 Davenport, Richard, 4n.
 Davis, *Dr.* — (Boston), selectman, 52
 Davis, *Capt.* Charles, 295
 Davis, John (R. I.), 395-397, 401-403n.
 Davis, Thomas, Boston Marine Insurance Society, 101n.
 Davison, Nicholas (Mass.), 9n., 10
 Dawes, Thomas, jr., 349-351, 355
 Dawson, John (Liverpool), 98
 Day, *Capt.* — (Boston), 67n., 70n.
 Dean, Gardner and, Newport, 383-387
 Deane, Thomas, Royal African Company, 14
Deborah, size, 291
 Debts, Africa, 61, 179, 264, 265, 272, 317, 320-321; Jamaica, 310; planters, 304; South Carolina, 154-155; Virginia, 214; *see also* Credit
 Decker, Johan de (New Netherland), 426
Defiance, 140n.
Delaware, 249n.
 Delaware Bay, 439, 442
 Delaware Fort, 434n.
 Delaware River, 426n., 455, 496; *see also* South River
 Delino, Juan (Curaçao), 415n.
 Delos, African islands, merchants, 80n., 81n.; slaves from, 88n., 100, 381; trade, 149, 158, 198, 202, 279-284, 387; vessels at, 265n., 363, 404, 460n.
 Delpratt (Dalpratt), Samuel (Bristol, Eng.), 296, 309
 Dennis, *Capt.* J., 140n.
 Dennison, *Capt.* Jonathan, *Ann*, 388-393
 Denniss, Molly (Newport), 352
 Denny, Thomas (Leicester, Mass.), 76-77
Deptford, Billop, 435n.
 Derby, Elias Hasket (Salem), 84n.
Desire, Salem, 4
 De Wolf, — (Bristol, R. I.), 302n., 307, 360n.
 De Wolf, *Capt.* Charles (Bristol, R. I.), 379n.-380n.
 De Wolf, Christian and, Charleston, 397
 De Wolf, Henry (Charleston), 397
 De Wolf, *Capt.* James (Bristol, R. I.), 340, 354n., 379-280, 388, 390-392
 De Wolf, *Capt.* John (Bristol, R. I.), 339, 378n., 380n.
 De Wolf, Margaret, 380n.
 De Wolf, Mark Anthony, 379n.
 De Wolf, *Capt.* William (Bristol, R. I.), 340, 378n.-380n.
 Dexter, Samuel (Mass.), 72n., 73n., 85, 87
Diadem, H. M. S., 108
Diamond, Wickham, 68, 189, 202
 Diman, *Capt.* Jeremiah (R. I.), 378-380
 Diman, Joseph (Bristol, R. I.), 380n.
 Director General of New Netherland, instructions to, 405-406, 411n., 413, 415, 416n.; *see also* Stuyvesant
 Diseases, African, 187n.; of negroes, 15, 47, 51, 52, 82, 135-136, 161, 164n., 171, 172, 198n., 201, 235, 256, 273, 307, 315, 324, 360, 373, 375-377, 380n., 431
 Distilleries, 244, 383n.; Boston, 67; Connecticut, 3n.; Rhode Island, 205, 222, 352n.
 Dixcove, Africa, trade, 227
 Doctors, services, 14, 32, 33, 52, 83, 119, 133n., 152, 154, 160, 163, 171, 179, 315, 322, 359, 366, 371, 372
 Dolbeare, Thomas (Jamaica), 265, 272-277
 Dole, *Capt.* —, 72n.-74
Dolphin, Boston, 29; prize, 174; Salem, 91
 Dominica, W. I., 76n., 102, 103, 245, 259, 320, 360
 Don, Henry, agreement, 5n.
 Dongan, Thomas (N. Y.), governor, 436, 438n.
 Donnan, Elizabeth, "New England Slave Trade after the Revolution," 334n.
 Dorchester, Mass., 38n.
 Dordin, *Capt.* Peter (Newport), 130n., 187, 200, 227, 246n., 250
 Douglass, *Dr.* — (Mass.), 32, 33
Dove, Battey, Newport, 338, 339
 Dover, shipbuilding, 509
 Dow, George F., 102n.; *Slave Ships and Slaving*, 388n.
 Downing, Emanuel, 8
 Downing, Sir George, 8n.
 Drake, S. G., *History and Antiquities of Boston*, 30n.
 Drew, Thomas (Africa), 230, 244n., 250n., 300
 Driscoll, Dennis, deposition, 49
 DuBois, W. E. B., *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, 108n.
 Dudley, Joseph (Mass.), governor, letters, 1, 23-25
 Dudley, Paul (Boston), 27; *Essay on the Merchandize of Slaves*, 38n.
 Dudley, William (Boston), 52
 Duer, William, accounts, 227n., 240
 Duffie, *Capt.* Richard (R. I.), 118n.
 Dumaresq, *Capt.* Philip, 40
 Duncan, Daniel (Newport), death, 203n.
 Duncan, *Capt.* John (R. I.), 307; *Othello*, 237, 239-240, 248, 250n., 251, 254, 268-269, 272, 285
 Dungan, *see* Dongan
 Dunn, *Capt.* — (Boston), 75n., 76, 313
 Dupuy, John (Haiti), 276
 Durant, Cornelius (St. Croix), 217-220, 243n.
 Durant, Thomas, 220
 Durfee, *Capt.* — (Newport), 186, 275-276
 Dutch, brandy, 319; colonies, 204; in Africa, 184, 228n., 266, 307, 316, 318-321, 324, 392, 414, 429; in Brazil, 406, 412n.; in New Netherland, 405-406, 410-434; privateering, 440; sailors, 442-444; trade, 9n., 108n., 204, 405-406, 410-434; vessels, 116n.; *see also* New Netherland
 Dutch West India Company, 405-406, 410-435
 Dutch West Indies, 418; *see also* Curaçao
 Duties, 17, 95-97, 404; Barbados, 46, 144n., 196, 266; Dutch, 413-415; Jamaica, 145, 274, 276, 277, 306; liquor, 451n.; Massa-

- chusetts, 17n., 20, 23, 25, 26, 28, 30, 33, 35-36, 38, 48, 49n., 73, 77, 122n.; New Jersey, 408, 450, 455-457; New York, 407, 444n., 447-449, 457; Pennsylvania, 409, 445, 453-454; Rhode Island, 109, 111-115, 122-123; St. Croix, 183, 219, 220, 241-243; St. Eustatius, 360; Senegal, 400; South Carolina, 154, 157, 163, 275; Spanish-American trade, 273n.; sugar, 204-205, 219, 241, 243; tobacco, 194n.; wines, 46, 451n.
 Dyer, William, New York, letter to, 435
 Earl, *Capt.* William (R. I.), 173n., 202, 203n., 213; *Nancy*, 269, 275, 276
 "Early African Slave Trade in New England," by W. B. Weeden, 52n.
Early Records of the Town of Providence, 110n.
 East India Company, monopoly, 442
 East India goods, *see* India goods
 East Indies, vessel for, 342
 East Jersey, 446; shipbuilding, 511; *see also* New Jersey
 Easton, *Capt.* James, *Eagle*, 218, 219
 Ebens, Jonathan Cooper, 119
 Eboes, negroes, 327, 459
 Edwards, Bryan, *History of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, 122n.; quoted, 273n.
 Edwards, Jonathan, jr., abolitionist, 3, 99n., 345
 Egremont, *Sir* Charles Wyndham, 2d earl of, 456n.
 "Eighteenth-Century Letter from a Sea Captain to his Owner," 42n.
 Eldred (Eldrid), *Capt.* — (R. I.), 121, 136, 139
 Eldredge, *Capt.* John (R. I.), 115
 Eliot, Samuel (Boston), 85-87, 350
Eliza, condemnation, 380n.; Newport, 378, 379, 404; New York, 460n.
Elizabeth, capture by, 102, 103; London, 460; Massachusetts, 15-16; Rhode Island, 143, 145
 Elizabethtown, N. J., 511
 Elizer, Isaac, 189-190
 Ellery, *Capt.* William, 67-69
 Ellery, William (R. I.), 138n., 143
 Ellin, Simeon (Africa), 177
 Elliot, *Capt.* — (Newport), 189, 209, 210n.
 Elliot, Simon (Boston), 88n.
 Elliott, *Capt.* Robert (R. I.), 249, 260
 Elmina, Dutch at, 392, 418, 422, 423; governor, 374; trade, 227, 259, 260n., 262, 307, 367-369, 373, 374, 391
 Emancipation of negroes, 17n., 289, 409
 Embargo, recommended, 289n.; *see also* Blockade
 Endicott, John (Boston), 21n.
 England, and colonial duties, 409; nonimportation from, 296; voyages to, 263, 268, 328; war, 98n.
 English, *Capt.* William (Newport), 130n., 208, 212, 246, 247n., 264-266, 271-274, 276-277n., 293, 295
 English, and American Revolution, 315-319; and Dutch, 406, 432, 434n.; in Africa, 414, 429; privateering, 426; sailors, 443; trade, 14, 131n.; vessels, 174n., 367, 368, 371, 372
 Essequibo, 457n., 458
 Essex County, Mass., courts, 89-99
 Essex Institute, papers, 80n.
Essex Institute Historical Collections, 82n.
 Estrada, Pedro de, Spanish agent, 141, 142
 Eustatius, *see* St. Eustatius
 Evins, Barwell (London), 328
 Ewing, — (Ga.), 377
 Ewing, Jones and, Barbados, 299, 318
 Exchange, rate, 141, 170, 181, 182, 192, 193, 199, 239, 267, 275, 301n., 346; *see also* Bills of exchange
 Exeter, N. H., 107
 Exportation of slaves, Massachusetts, 21, 31-32, 64n., 67; New England, 345; New Netherland, 426, 427; New York, 415; Rhode Island, 193-194, 290n., 333, 512
 Exuma, W. I., vessel from, 466
 Eyckenboom, Jan Jansen, 418
Eyckenboom, charter, 417-419

 Factories, *see* Castles
 Factors, *see* Merchants
Fair Eliza, R. I., 358, 368n., 378, 379, 404n.
 Fairfield, Rebecca, 82-83
 Fairfield, *Capt.* William, sr. (Salem), 32, 82n., 83
 Fairfield, William, jr., 82-83
 Fane, *Sir* Francis, 447
 Faneuil, Andrew, 62n.
 Faneuil, Benjamin, 62n., 63
 Faneuil, Mrs. Mary, *see* Cutler, Mary
 Faneuil, Mary Anne, 63n.
 Faneuil, Peter, 50n., 52n., 62n., 63n.
 Faneuil, warehouse, 27
 Fantines, African tribe, 259, 323, 391
 Farron Bay, Africa, 54, 55
 Faulkner, John, 224
 Faullion, William, agreement, 5n.
Favorite, Salem, 78n., 81, 82n.
 Fees, payment, 132, 153, 163, 220, 278, 285
Felicity, Salem, 82n.
 Fellowship Club, Newport, 130n.
 Felt, J. B., *Annals of Salem*, 14n.
 Ferguson, *Capt.* — (Newport), 139, 144n., 186, 217
 Fernando Po, Africa, 74
 Ferrara, Joan Gaillardo, deposition, 416-417
 Ferry, John (Boston), 26
 Field, Edward, *State of Rhode Island*, 115n.
 Fifield, *Capt.* Gyles, 27
 First Congregational Church, Newport, 335n.
 Fish, trade, 4, 42n.
 Fisher, *Capt.* R. (Salem), 100
 Fitch, Eliphalet (Jamaica), 294, 301n., 302, 309-311
 Fitch, *Capt.* Jonathan Gorham, 102, 107, 108n.; deposition, 103-106
 Fitch, *Joseph* (Jamaica), 294, 302, 309-311
 Fitch, Thomas (Jamaica), 301n.
Fitch Papers, Conn. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, 3n.
 Flagg, Ebenezer (R. I.), 147n.

- Fleming, John, 202n.
 Fletcher, Col. Benjamin, 439-440
 Fletcher, Edward, 298n.
 Fletcher, John, 307; instructions, 306, 311-313; letters from, 251-253, 255-256, 262-263, 286-289, 291-292, 295-300, 327-329, 332; letters to, 253-254, 259, 261-262, 268, 286, 288, 302-305, 308-309, 313-320, 323-325, 330-331
Fletcher, 262, 286n., 287, 291, 292, 297, 303, 304, 312, 318-319, 322
 Flour, cargo, 337-338, 396n., 397; for Spanish America, 275; prices, 125n., 277, 278, 280-281, 283; trade, 362
 Flower, Thomas (R. I.), surveyor, 117
 Force, Peter, *American Archives*, 289n.
 Ford, Amelia C., "An Eighteenth-Century Letter from a Sea Captain to his Owner," 42n.
 Ford, Clark, and Company, Jamaica, 308-309
 Ford, Edward (Jamaica), 292, 296, 297
Forensic Dispute on the Legality of Enslaving the Africans, 73n.
 Forster, George (Boston), 33, 34
 Forsyth, Capt. Alexander (Boston), selectman, 52
 Fort James, *see* James Fort
 Fort Orange, 417
 Forts, African, 254, 258, 367; *see also* Castles
Fortune, accounts, 9-11; Madagascar trade, 438n., 440
 Foster, — (R. I.), 342
 Foster, Brunton, and Goddard, London, 105
 Fowler, W. C., cited, 2; *Historical Status of the Negro in Connecticut*, 2n.
Fox, 174, 184
 Foy, William (Boston), 38n.
 France, war, 98n., 168, 170
 Franklin, Josiah (Boston), 25
 Franklin, William (New Jersey), governor, 456n.
 Franklyn, Henry (Mass.), 26n.
 Fransen, Cornelis (New York), 443
Frederick, Perkins, 439, 442
 Fredericksburg, Va., slave sales, 285
 Freeman, —, 49n.
 Freeman, F., *History of Cape Cod*, 77n.
 Freeman, Isaac, 32
 Freetown, Africa, 364
 Freight, for England, 263, 327; negroes, 13, 26, 69, 149, 159, 181-183, 196, 210n., 240, 258n., 303, 304, 309, 310, 333, 359, 384, 386, 398-400, 401, 419, 420, 424, 426, 431; war-time, 169
 French, captures by, 15, 174n., 189n., 388n., 460n.; depredations, 73n., 173-174, 186; in Africa, 131, 136n., 402, 414; privateers, 183, 452; trade, 130, 131n., 204, 245, 403
 French West Indies, 131n., 246n., 511
Friend, voyage, 74-75
Friendship, bill of lading, 187; Boston, 17; Capt. Dunn, 313; invoice, 393-394; Newport, 186, 189
 Frost, Charles, 28
 Frye, Maj. Thomas (R. I.), 115
 Fulis, African tribe, 455n.
 Furnel, *see* Faneuil
 Fyal, 243, 244
 Gaboon, Africa, 187n.
 Gaboon River, 315
 Gaddes, Robert, 385
 Gage, Benjamin (Mass.), 95
 Gage, Thomas (Mass.), governor, 77n.
 Gallinas Islands, Africa, 123, 365
 Gambia, 46, 47, 452n.; slaves from, 71n., 172, 269, 455; trade, 277-280; troops, 278; voyage from, 40n., 50n.
Gambia, 42, 43, 80, 458n.
 Gambia River, 1n., 41, 46, 51, 68n., 76n., 131n., 210, 361, 363, 455, 460, 461n.
 Gardner, Capt. —, 139, 144n., 186, 210; Boston, 70n.; *Elizabeth*, 189; Newport, 258, 307, 358, 362-378; Piscataqua, 189n.
 Gardner, Benjamin (Newport), 210
 Gardner, Caleb (R. I.), 337-340, 344n., 348, 349, 351n.-353, 359n.
 Gardner, Capt. Caleb, 71n., 130n., 186, 213, 320, 333
 Gardner, Capt. Daniel, accounts, 346-347
 Gardner, George (R. I.), 146n.
 Gardner, Gordon *vs.*, 352-358
 Gardner, Capt. John, *Friendship*, 186
 Gardner, John, sr., 385
 Gardner, Phillips and, Charleston, 384-386, 394-404
 Gardner, Capt. William (Newport), 337, 338
 Gardner and Dean, Newport, 383-387, 393-394
Gatroom, capture by, 333
 Gay, Capt. Henry, accounts, 9
General Greene, Newport, 379, 382
Genl. Washington, Providence, 342
 Genoese company, 430
Gentleman's Magazine, 77n.
 Georgia, 310n.; merchant, 244n.; slave prices, 198n., 200-202; slaves for, 340n., 378n.; vessels from, 502, 507; voyage to, 375-378
 Germany, laborers from, 450
 Gerrish and Harris, Boston, 36n.
 Gibbons (Gibons), Maj.-Gen. Edward, 9, 10
 Gibbons, Richard, 412n.
 Gibbs, V., 403n.
 Gibbs and Channing, letters from, 382, 383, 387
Gideon, voyage, 422-426, 427, 429-431, 433-434
 Gidley (Gridley), John, judge, 53, 63n.
Gift of God, voyage, 11-13
 Gilbert, Mary, 30, 31
 Gilbert, Capt. — (Boston), 26
 Gildart, James (Liverpool), 192
 Gilde, Capt. Simon Cornelissen, *Gideon*, 422, 426, 427, 430-434
 Gillon, Alexander, and Company, Charleston, 286
 Glasgow, merchants, 346, 347
 Gloucester, Bishop of, 73n., 336n.
 Glover, Richard, 439
 Goddard, Foster, Brunton and, London, 105
 Goddard, — (R. I.), shipbuilder, 141n.
 Godfrey, Capt. —, 72n., 121
 Godfrey, Capt. Caleb, *Hare*, 131, 139, 142, 146,

- 147, 149n., 150, 151, 153-155, 163-164, 166-170, 172, 173
 Godfrey, *Capt.* John, 130n., 132
 Goffe, *Capt.* Daniel, 30, 31, 40
 Gold, 174, 359, 437; taker, 127, 223, 237; trade, 5, 9n., 15, 37, 43, 51n., 79, 81n., 136, 138, 144, 148, 177-180, 183, 184, 187n., 198, 204, 223, 224, 227-237, 259, 260n., 278, 294, 311n., 313-315, 334, 346, 367, 368, 371, 414.
 Gold Coast, Africa, 266, 325, 414; Dutch, 412-414; French, 131n.; governor, 321n.; negroes, 29, 68, 135n., 141, 144, 185, 195, 246n., 249, 292, 295, 296, 303, 306, 310, 326, 391; trade, 168, 293, 366; vessels from, 167, 184; voyage to, 423
 Goldthwait, Ezekiel (Boston), 49n.
 Gomez, Daniel (New York), 452
 Goodale, Nathan, 82n.
 Goodell, A. C., "John Saffin and his Slave Adam," 17n.
 Goods, *see* Commodities
 Goole, William, trade, 365
 Gordon, Smith and, S. C., 157
 Gordon, William, suit, 348-349
 Gordon *vs.* Gardner, 352-358
 Gore, Christopher, 350, 351
 Goree, Africa, 71n., 94, 174; insurrection, 2; slaves from, 67n., 100, 383; trade, 277, 278, 386; vessel at, 360-363; vessels for, 87n., 94; vessels from, 363, 461
 Gorham, Isaac (R. I.), deposition, 333
 Gosse, —, 33
 Gould, James (R. I.), 53n., 64n.
 Grafton, Joseph (Salem), 341n.; letters from, 80-81
 Grafton, Joshua (Salem), 341n.; letters from, 80-81
 Grain, price, New Netherland, 428
 Grain Coast, Africa, 414
 Granby, Robert (Mass.), 14n.
 Grand Bassam, Africa, 158
 Grand Curra, Africa, 158
 Grand Turk, W. I., 246n.
 Grant, Alexander (London), 207n.
 Grant, John, 178
 Grant, Patrick (R. I.), 63, 64n.
 Grant, *Mrs.* Temperance, 187n.
 Grant, William, 187n.
 Graves, Charles, 300
 Gravesend, N. Y., 412
 Gray, *Dr.* Ebenezar, 160
 Gray, Elizabeth (Antigua), 199
 Great Britain, 115n., 204, 276, 310n., 319; manufactures, 107, 203, 449; servants from, 25; shipbuilding, 465, 470; shipowners, 485; Spanish contract, 273n.; vessels, 464, 465; war, 328; *see also* England
 Great Cormantine, Africa, 125, 236
 Great Popo, Africa, 122n.
 Green, Bartholomew, printer, 17n., 19
 Green, Benjamin (R. I.), 146n.
 Greencastle, Ind., 361n.
 Greene, *Capt.* Peleg (R. I.), 76n., 265n., 307n.
 Greenell, Thomas (New York), 451
 Greenleaf, Benjamin (Salem), 90
 Greenleaf, I. (Boston), 70
 Greenleaf, William (Boston), 149
 Greenwich Hospital, 146; *see also* Hospital money
 Gregory, —, 34
 Grenada, 246n., 325; merchants, 248-249, 258, 259, 294, 299, 300-302, 341n.; molasses, 205; slave prices, 300-302n.; slaves for, 74, 75; vessels from, 241, 314, 324, 467
 Greyhound, 71n., 186, 209
 Gridley, *see* Gidley
 Grieve, Robert, "Sea Trade and its Development," 114n.-115n.
 Griffin, Adams and, Va., 238n., 240, 246n., 254-255
 Griffin, James (Boston), 68, 72n.
 Griffin, Jones and, Boston, 50
 Grillo, Domingo, 430n.
 Groot, Arent de (Cormantine), 414
 Groot, *Capt.* Jan Petersen, *Sparrow*, 431
 Grossle, John (Cape Coast Castle), governor, 76n., 244n.
 Grounsell, *see* Crowninshield
 Guadeloupe, 174, 246n., 379n., 464; slaves for, 186
 Guernsey, servants from, 25
 Guilford, Conn., 32
 Gummere, Amelia M., *Journal of John Woolman*, 455n.
 Gunthorp, John, 136
 Gwinn (Gwyn), *Capt.* Peter (Boston), 67n., 68n., 72n., 73n., 75n.
 Gysen, Frederick, 42
 Hacker, Isaac (Providence), 84, 216n.
 Haddock, R. I., 131
 Hadwen, Benjamin, 352
 Haes, Willem de (Amsterdam), 425
 Haggatt, Otto, 34
 Haggett, Nathaniel (Barbados), 46
 Hains, John, accounts, 197
 Haiti, 274n.
 Hal, Tharan (New Netherland), 417
 Halifax, negroes, 66n.
 Hall, E. H., *Philipse Manor Hall*, 439n.
 Hall, Hugh, accounts, 13-35
 Hall, *Dr.* John, 33
 Hall, *Capt.* Spence (Salem), 100
 Hall, Thomas (New Netherland), 416
 Hallebur, —, 123
 Hallowell, Benjamin (Boston), 66n.
 Halverson (Halverston), Goodman, 227n., 237; accounts, 239
 Ham, Samuel (Portsmouth, N. H.), 107
 Hamburg, Germany, voyage to, 439, 442
 Hamburgers, trade, 14
 Hamilton, James (Pa.), deputy governor, 453
 Hammond, —, 152
 Hammond, *Capt.* (R. I.), 121, 130, 131, 138-140n., 143, 173, 174
 Hamond, Stephen, trade, 284
 Hampton, Va., 31
 Hancock, John (Mass.), 73n., 82n., 256n.

- Hancock, Thomas, and Company, Boston, 70n.
Hannah, 455; Newport, 337, 358
 Hardy, Josiah, governor, 456
Hare, accounts, 146, 149, 151-164; cargo, 147n., 153, 167, 171n.; insurance, 147; trade, 169; voyages, 166-170
 Harne, — (Mass.), 105
 Harner, *Capt.* —, *Washington*, 461
 Harris, — (Boston), 36n., 39, 40
 Harris, *Capt.* John, 28n., 29n.
 Harris, *Dr.* John, 119
 Harris, Nathaniel, accounts, 26-27
 Harris, William (Boston), 27
 Harrison, Joseph, 137-138
 Harrison, Peter (R. I.), 138n.
 Harrison and Matthews, Africa, 80-81
 Hart, Levi (Conn.), abolitionist, 3, 335n., 344n., 352
 Harte, — (R. I.), 64
 Hartford, Conn., 2, 32, 70
 Hartwick, Barnes, 152
 Harvard College, 42, 50n., 138n.
 Harvey, *Capt.* Seth, *Success*, 173
 Hassey, Jacob (Newport), 63
 Hatch, Crowell (Boston), 102
 Havana, 88n., 94, 101n.; bills on, 359; slave sales, 359n., 360; slaves for, 84-88, 90, 94, 101n., 104, 141-142, 334n., 335n., 340n., 381, 402, 461n.; vessel at, 84n., 99n.; vessels from, 378n.; voyages to, 102, 103, 105, 106, 379n., 380, 399
 Haven, M., 34
 Haverick, Samuel, 385
 Hawkes, Ebenezer, 34
 Hawkesworth, John, 40
 Hawkins, *Sir* John, 80n.
 Hawkins, William (Providence), 110n.
 Hay, Jacob (New Netherland), 417
 Hay, James, 33
 Hayley, *Mrs.* —, 249n.
 Hayley, Champion and, London, 193n.-195
 Hayley, George, 217, 222, 227n., 294n.-295n.
 Hayley and Hopkins, London, 246n., 250, 257n., 259, 293n.; letters from, 247n., 291; letters to, 249-250, 292-293
 Hazard, —, 249, 254, 258
 Hazard, Caroline, *Thomas Hazard, Son of Robt., call'd College Tom*, 116n.
 Hazard, George, 336n.
 Health, slaves, 78, 79; *see also* Diseases
 Health officer, Ga., 377
 Hebut, L. T. (Africa), 389
 Hegervelt, Marten, 419
 Henchman, Daniel, 52
 Hendly, Samuel, and Company, Charlestown, Mass., 66
 Hendrickson, Cornellius (St. Croix), 217
 Henry, *Capt.* Nathan, *Mary*, 361, 364, 369, 370, 371, 372, 374, 376-378
 Henshaw, D., 33
 Hereford, Thomas, trade, 281
 Heren, *Dr.* — (St. Croix), 218
 Hibbert, Thomas, *sr.* (Jamaica), 296
 Hibbert, Thomas, *jr.* (Jamaica), 296
 Hibbert and Company, Jamaica, 292, 297, 298
 Hibbert, Bernard, and Montague, Jamaica, 306, 308n., 311n., 312, 318, 320, 327, 329, 331
 Hicks, *Capt.* Benjamin (Newport), 254, 258, 261, 300n., 358
 Higginson, *Rev.* John, 17n., 19n.
 Higin, T., 33
 Hill, Parkinson and, Jamaica, 330
 Hill, Robert, mate, *Thames*, 306, 307n., 321, 323, 331n.
 Hillhouse, William (Antigua), 121n.
 Hine, Robert, 510n.
 Hinman, *see* Inman
 Hippisley, John (Cape Coast Castle), governor, 179n.
 Hirst, Grove (Boston), 25
 Hispaniola, 276; vessels from, 475, 490, 493, 503
 "Historical Notes from Authentic Sources," 404n.
 Hobby, *Sir* Charles, 19
 Hobby, William (Boston), 14n.
 Hocker, *see* Stocker
 Hodges, — (Portland, Me.), 97n.
 Hodgson, Peter (London), 263, 287, 297
 Hoffman, Nicholas (New York), 286
 Holder, William, 35
 Holland, cargoes from, 49, 98n., 319, 422
 Hollman, John, trade, 283
 Hollowell, —, 143n.
 Holmes, —, 27, 45
 Holmes, Isaac (S. C.), 47
 Homer, Benjamin (Boston), 102
 Honduras, vessels from, 477, 499
 Honeyman, *Capt.* Robert, 388, 389, 393
 Honyman, J. (Newport), 53n.
Hope, accounts, 387; insurance, 101-102; suits, 83n., 85n., 87, 338, 339, 348, 351n., 352-358
 Hopkins, *Capt.* Esek (R. I.), 202, 206, 210, 213, 216, 344n.
 Hopkins, Hayley and, London, 246n., 247n., 249-250, 257n., 259, 291-293
 Hopkins, *Dr.* Samuel, 3, 335n., 336n., 343n., 344n.; letters from, 335-336, 341-344n., 351-352; letters to, 335n., 358n.
 Hopkins, Stephen (R. I.), governor, 123n., 271
 Hosmer, J. K., *Winthrop's Journal*, 4n.
 Hospital money, 176, 196, 197, 239, 240
 Hough, C. M., *Reports of Cases in the Vice Admiralty of New York*, 451n.
 Hough, Ebenezer, 38n.
 Houghton, Philip, letter to, 142-143
House Journal, Mass., 48n.
 House of Commons, report to, 109n.
 House of Representatives, Mass., 23n., 28, 50n., 72n., 77-78
 Houston, Alexander, and Company, Glasgow, 346
 Howard, John, 185, 186
 Howe, Mark Anthony De Wolf, *Bristol*, 380n.
 Howell, *Judge* David, 353
 Howell, John, *jr.*, 33
 Hoxbetzer, Charles Henry (St. Croix), 220
 Hubbard, James, 412n.

- Hubbard, Tuthill (Boston), 102
Hull, Eng., 251, 253, 268, 297, 303
Hull, Mass., 18
Hume, Alexander (St. Christopher), 241, 242
Humphry, Nathaniel (Antigua), 26
Hunter, *Dr.* —, charges, 256
Hunter, Robert (N. Y.), governor, 407, 444n., 450n.
Hunter, William, 187
Hutchinson, A. W., supercargo, 100
Hutchinson, Thomas (Mass.), governor, 77n.
Hutchinson Papers, 14n.
Hylegar, Rapsot (St. Croix), 218
- Iboes, *see* Eboes
Ilhas des Idolos, *see* Delos
Illicit trade, 37, 243, 379n., 380n., 408, 424-425, 440, 460, 465-467
Illness, on slave vessels, 135-136, 261, 304-305, 395, 396, 399; *see also* Diseases
Importation of negroes, duty on, 20, 38; into Connecticut, 2, 3; into Jamaica, 145; into Massachusetts, 4, 6, 8, 14-16, 19-36, 40, 50-51, 65-69, 72; into Middle Colonies, 405; into New England, 1-3; into New Jersey, 408, 446, 450-451, 454-456, 510-512; into New Netherland, 410-434; into New York, 405-407, 435-449, 451-452, 456, 462-510; into Pennsylvania, 408-409, 456; into Rhode Island, 109-115, 122, 123n., 133, 139, 140, 143-144, 150, 203n., 343-344; opposition to, 72-73, 76-77; prohibited, 3, 77-78, 81, 289-290, 343-344, 407, 408, 409
Impressment, seamen, 369
India goods, 45, 102, 104, 123-130, 148, 149, 224, 244, 313-315, 390, 439, 442, 449
Indians, slaves, 4n., 8, 20n., 111-113, 450, 475n.
Indigo, 169, 306
Industry, 50, 174, 182
Injons, John (New York), 435-436
Inman, Ralph (Boston), 252, 256-257
Instructions, captains, 36-38, 42-46, 68-69, 78-80, 138-139, 148-150, 189n., 198n., 211-212, 262-265, 293-295, 301n.-302n., 309n., 311, 392, 398n., 403n.; colonial governors, 38, 123n., 407n., 438n., 447-449, 456n.; Dutch West India Company, 405-406; representatives, 76-77
Insurance, 44, 79, 82n., 195, 212, 222, 253-255, 259n., 263, 325, 327, 332, 333, 382, 398; Boston, 253; legislation, 90n.; on slave vessels, 31n., 101-102, 105, 134, 147, 168, 170, 206, 214-216, 221-224, 227n., 246n., 247n., 249, 257n., 264, 287, 288, 292-295n., 398n., 424; rates, 138, 250, 293n., 332, 383; terms, 187-188; war-time, 169, 173n., 313, 319, 332n.
Insurance Book, Obadiah Brown, 147n.
Insurrections, negro, 2, 3, 37n., 41, 42n., 45, 51n., 67n., 70, 71, 82-83, 101, 119-121n., 201, 207, 209n., 213, 217, 222, 293, 318n., 321-325, 330, 331, 341n., 359n., 369, 374-375, 396, 398, 400, 441, 452, 459, 461n.; New York, 409; seamen, 369
Interlopers, 17n., 435n., 438
- Invoice Book, Champlin, 295n.
Invoices, cargoes, 138n., 143, 151, 165, 175, 179, 383, 393-394
Ipesen, Isaak (Amsterdam), 425
Ipswich, Mass., 98n.
Ireland, 296, 310n., 319; servants from, 25, 26, 450; shipbuilding, 476
Iron, manufacturers, 409; trade, 10
Irving, Thomas, "Account of Vessels entering Inward and clearing Outward," Boston, 72n.
Irwin, Andrew, 182
Isaacks, —, 180
Isle de France, cargo from, 359n.
Isles de Los, *see* Delos
Ivory, for Curaçao, 422; monopoly, 437, 438; price, 58; trade, 9n., 15, 37, 47, 57, 61, 80, 81n., 123, 129n., 150, 174, 204, 334
- Jackson, Thomas, 30
Jamaica, merchants, 28n., 141, 262, 274-275, 292, 294, 296, 302, 306, 312, 318, 328-331, 465, 469, 495; molasses, 205, 212, 287; rum, 263, 296, 332, 383n.; shipbuilding, 481; slave prices, 141, 149, 226-227, 242, 252, 255, 272-276, 301n., 326-327; slave sales, 145, 241, 262, 272-273, 295-300, 308-312, 327-331; slaves for, 71n., 135n., 136, 211, 212, 249, 265, 271-272, 292, 446; slaves from, 23-25, 273n., 444n., 459; Spanish trade, 141; trade, 140n., 142, 225-226, 268, 435; vessels, 482, 495, 500, 502; vessels from, 210n., 250, 462-467, 469-509, 511, 512; voyages to, 147n., 206, 214, 215, 262, 264, 301, 318, 319, 326
James, *Capt.* Peter, 185
James, Thomas, trade, 223-224
James Fort, Africa, 46, 277
James Fort, Manhattan Island, 435
James River, Va., 235, 260
Jameson, J. F., *Narratives of New Netherland*, 405n.; *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period*, 40n.
Jamestown, R. I., 55n.
Janvill, Andrew, 38n.
Jarvis, *Capt.* Nathaniel, 29, 30n., 32n., 39
Jeffers, John (Boston), 26; *see also* Jeffries
Jefferson, Thomas, 103n.
Jeffries (Jeffers), David, 23, 26
Jeffries, John (Boston), selectman, 41
Jeffries, W. L., 15n.
Jeffries Manuscripts, 15n.
Jekyll, John (Boston), 17n.
Jenckes, Daniel (R. I.), 206
Jenckes, Ebenezer (R. I.), 378n.
Jenckes, John (R. I.), 206
Jenkins, Robert (Boston), 65n., 66n.
Jenkins, Thomas (Mass.), 27
Jenner, Thomas (Mass.), 40, 65
Jennet, Brattell (R. I.), 338
Jepson, *Capt.* John, 130n., 139, 144n.
Jersey, islands, servants from, 25
"Jewish Life in New York before 1800," 470n.
Jews, 205n., 421, 470n.
"Jews and the American Anti-Slavery Movement," 415n.

- Job ben Solomon, 455n.
 Johannes, *see* Currency
 Johnson, —, *Mary*, illness, 366, 367, 375
 Johnson, *Capt.* — (Boston), 76n., 259, 261
 Johnson, Charles, *General History of Pyrates*, 440n.
 Johnson, Samuel (R. I.), 288
 Johnson, William, deposition, 442-443
 Johnston (Johnson), *Capt.* — (Charleston, S. C.), 366, 370, 371
 Johnston (Johnson), Robert (Africa), 230, 320
 Johnston, W. D., cited, 123n.; "Slavery in Rhode Island," 108n.
 Jolly Batchelor, case, 37n., 50n., 52-65
 Jones, John (Boston), 40n., 50, 52n., 63
 Jones, John Coffin (Boston), 81n.
 Jones, R. M., *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 115n.
 Jones, Valentine (Barbados), 194-195, 201, 202
 "Joseph, Selling of," 17-18
 Josselyn, John, *Account of Two Voyages to New England*, 4n.
Journal of the Board of Trade, 17n.
Journal of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, 28n.
Journals of the House of Commons, 351n.
 Juliet, 379, 386, 461
 Junck River, Africa, 366
 Jurisdiction, courts, 46, 92, 93, 96-99n.
- Kameruns, 74
 Kate, Conolly, 100
 Katherine, accounts, 30-31; voyage, 36-38
 Kay, Nathaniel (R. I.), 117
 Keasbey, A. Q., "Slavery in New Jersey," 408n.
 Keating, James, and Company, 200
 Kellogg, Stephen (Boston), 33
 Kendell, John, 54, 60, 62
 Kennedy, Archibald (N. Y.), 445
 Kersaint, M. de, 174n.
 Keyser, Thomas, 5n., 6-9
 Kidd, *Capt.* William, 441
 Kidnapping, customs collector, 380n.; negroes, 6-7, 36n., 82n., 100, 326, 341; sailors, 36n.
 Kieft, — (New Netherland), director general, 405n.
 Kilby, Thomas, 63n.
 Killingly, Conn., 32
 Kimball, Gertrude S., *Correspondence of the Colonial Governors of Rhode Island*, 123n.; Note-Book, 195n.; *Providence in Colonial Times*, 130n.
 Kimberly, Eleazar, report, 24n.
 King, —, trade, 240
 King, *Capt.* Peter (Boston), 27, 32, 34
 King, William (R. I.), 63, 65
 King George, 202, 203n., 314
 King of Prussia, capture, 174, 183, 184
 Kingston, Jamaica, 214; merchants, 255, 262-263, 265, 268, 301n., 302, 311-312, 318; slave prices, 252, 298; slave sales, 145, 225-227, 272-277, 292, 294, 306-307, 326-331; slaves for, 212, 271-272, 296, 303; Spaniards, 141, 273-274; *see also* Jamaica
- Kirby, —, 45
 Kittery, Maine, 28n., 66
 Klarck, R. A. (Africa), Dutch governor, 321
 Knight, John, supercargo, 100
 Knutsford, *Viscountess*, *Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay*, 99n.
 Kohler, M. J., "Jewish Life in New York before 1800," 470n.; "Jews and the American Anti-Slavery Movement," 415n.
 Kregier, Marten (New Netherland), 414n.
- Laborers, New Netherland, 411n.; scarcity, 450, 454
 La Coste, *see* Coste
 Lad, George (Mass.), 10
 Lady *Walterstorff*, case, 460, 461n.
 Lagou (Lagoe), Africa, 159, 198, 236, 389
 Lahou, Africa, 198
 Lambert, George, seaman, 227n., 238, 240
 Lamphier (Lanphier), *Capt.* Samuel, 1n., 66
 Lancaster, Eng., 318n., 479
 Lane, James (Africa), 230
 Lanwarn, Thomas (London), 245
 Laroque, Jean (Santo Domingo), 88n.
 Lascelles, Hubert, 145; letter to, 141-142
 Lascelles and Daling, Barbados, 75n., 267
 Laurens, Austin and, 159, 161n., 162-164, 171, 173
 Laurens, Henry (S. C.), 140n., 154, 161, 457n.; letters from, 147n., 168-172
 Lavaielle, I. M., 386
 Lawrence, Nathaniel, 382
 Laws of Massachusetts, 4n.
 Laws of the State of New Jersey, 408n.
 Lawsuits, 48n., 52-65, 83-97, 99n., 101n., 114, 270-271, 348-358
 Lay, Benjamin, 410
 Lay-days, 423
 Lectures before the Lowell Institute, 4n.
 Leda, H. M. S., 388, 389, 393
 Leech, Nicholas (Boston), 14n.
 Leetch, *Capt.* — (Boston), 100-101
 Leete, William (Conn.), governor, 2
 Leeward Islands, 11, 24, 31n., 42, 118n., 202, 227n., 457n.
 Legard, Thomas, 153
 Legislation, Connecticut, 3, 345; federal, 101n., 460; Great Britain, 17n., 351n.; Grenada, 294n., 301; instructions concerning, 38, 447-449; Massachusetts, 4, 17n., 19n., 20, 25n., 35-36, 38, 72-73, 76-78, 82n., 89-90, 92, 93, 95, 97n., 98n., 101n., 345n., 348n., 349, 353-355, 358; New Jersey, 408, 456; New York, 345n., 407, 446-449; North Carolina, 341; Pennsylvania, 345n., 446, 453-454; Rhode Island, 108-109, 111-115, 122, 289-290, 333n., 335n., 336, 342-344, 351; South Carolina, 81; violations, 99, 352-358, 402, 460-461
 Leicester, Mass., 76-77, 205n.; *Historical Sketches of*, 76n.
 Leppington, John (Boston), 50
 Letter-Books: Bannister, 137n.; Brown, James, 130n.; Champlin, 295n.; Clarke, 190n.; Ellery, 138n.; Gibbs and Channing, 382n.;

- Laurens, 164n.; Lopez, 134n.; Redwood, 118n.; Richardson, Thomas, 112n.; Sewall, Samuel, 17n.; Vernon, 132n.
- Letters of Marque, 328; *see also* Privateers
- Leverett, John (Mass.), governor, 14
- Lewes, Del., 487, 496
- Liberty*, Crump, Newport, 270n.
- Library of Congress, papers, 36n.
- Limpo, *see* Allampo
- Lincok, Joshua, 124
- Lindsay (Lindsey), *Capt.* David, 68n., 136, 139, 140n., 144, 147-149, 173, 183-184
- Lindsay, Joseph (Boston), 39
- Lisbon, bills on, 44; wine, 264n., 266n.
- Lithgow, — (Maine), 97n.
- Little Beckey*, bill of lading, 185
- Little Cormantine, Africa, customs, 125, 236
- Little George*, voyage, 118-121
- Little Popo, Africa, 122n.
- Little Sally*, accounts, 190-193
- Liverpool, 256, 263; bills on, 44; captains, 186, 314, 320, 324; letters from, 137-138, 141; merchants, 76n., 98, 137n., 140n., 192, 291, 462, 463, 487; shipbuilding, 462, 463, 504; vessels, 74, 75, 143n., 183n., 287, 314, 320, 332, 462, 463, 479, 504
- Livingston, Henry (Jamaica), 145
- Livingston, Philip, jr. (Jamaica), 212, 213, 225n.
- Lloyd, James (Boston), 31n.
- Loango, Africa, 102, 104, 106, 426
- Loango Bay, Africa, 104, 105n.
- Lockcourt, Peter, deposition, 442-444
- Lockman, Leonard (R. I.), *judge*, 53n.
- Lomelin, Ambrosio, 430n.
- London, 104, 105n., 303, 304, 306, 312; abolition committee, 83n.; captains, 6, 314, 317, 320, 324, 460; merchants, 43, 81n., 105, 134, 147, 157, 167, 168, 170, 173, 192, 193n.-195, 205-206, 207n., 211, 214-216, 221-222, 250, 251, 253, 255-256, 259, 268, 278, 288-289, 291, 293n., 295, 298, 311, 327, 328, 435, 442, 464, 466, 472, 484, 499-501, 503, 504, 507; vessels, 74, 102, 274, 297, 299, 310, 319, 325, 435n., 460, 462, 465, 466, 472, 478, 483, 484, 492, 500, 503, 504, 509; vessels from, 475, 488, 509
- Long, Robert, 11n.
- Long Wharf, Boston, 29, 66
- Lopez, Aaron (R. I.), 134n., 269-270, 286, 302, 334n.; accounts, 208-209; letters from, 211-213, 221-223, 226, 264-265; letters to, 76n., 205-206, 214-217, 221-222, 225-227, 244n.-247, 248n., 250, 265-266, 268n., 272-277, 291, 293, 295
- "Lopez, Aaron, Colonial Merchant of Newport," by B. M. Bigelow, 205n.
- Lopez, Abraham, venture, 212
- Lopez, Augustine, accounts, 56, 58, 61
- Lopez, Jean, slaves of, 416
- Lopez, Joseph (Africa), 55, 59
- Lords Commissioners of Appeals, cases, 102-108, 388-394
- Losses, on slave trade, 46-47, 48
- Louisa*, accounts, 383-387; Newport, 337
- Louisiana, slaves for, 131n.
- Lovelace, Francis, *lord* (N. Y.), governor, 408
- Lovell, Morson, and Company, Dominica, 245
- Lowder, —, death, 41
- Lowell, John (Mass.), *judge*, 350
- Loyalists, 221n., 252n.
- Lucea, Jamaica, 142, 298, 300n., 303, 306, 308, 309, 312, 329, 330
- Lucena, James (Ga.), 244n.
- Lucy*, Collins (Newport), 379, 380n.
- Ludlow, Gabriel H. (New York), 286
- Lumber, 80, 91, 175, 194n., 362; cargoes, 31n., 248, 270, 288, 337-338, 396-397, 400
- Lunerus, Coowlons, deposition, 13-14
- Lyde, Byfield (Boston), 49n.
- Lyman, Caleb, 51, 52
- Lyman, Theodore (Boston), 88n.
- Lyons, France, 399
- Lytcott, Daniel and, Barbados, 246-247
- Lytcott, Philip, and Company, 267
- Maberry, *see* Mayberry
- Macaulay, Zachary, cited, 99n., 358n.
- McCarthy (McCarty), *Capt.* Daniel (Boston), 30, 72n., 73n., 75n., 257n.
- Maccarty, Thaddeus, 27
- Macdonald, George, *Gold Coast*, 321n.
- McDonald, John, 192
- McGain, — (Va.), 238
- Mackay, John (Boston), 103, 104, 106-108n.
- Mackay, Mungo (Boston), 104, 106-108n.
- McKenzie, Alexander, 52n.; deposition, 54-55
- Mackmillin, James, trade, 283
- McLeran, *Capt.* —, illicit trade, 461n.
- McNeal, *Capt.* —, *Willing Quaker*, 360n.
- McNeil (McNeill), *Capt.* William, 98n., 100n.
- McNiel (McNeil), *Capt.* Daniel, 88, 99n.-100n.
- Madagascar, negroes from, 14, 405-408, 438n.-440, 444n., 510n.; trade, 438n., 441, 442
- Madeira, merchant, 499; vessels from, 462, 477, 478, 484, 487, 491, 503; wine, 264n., 266n.
- Magazine of American History*, 420n.
- Mahogany, 263
- Maio, Cape Verde Islands, 6, 43, 158, 443
- Maires, Francis, 310
- Majoies, William, 192
- Major, *Capt.* John, 42n.
- Malbone, — (Newport), 253, 254, 256, 258n.
- Malbone, *Capt.* — (Newport), 117, 121, 134, 139, 244n.
- Malbone, Evan (Newport), 147n., 256, 286n., 287
- Malbone, Francis (Newport), 251, 252, 255, 256, 286n., 287, 352n.
- Malbone, Godfrey (Newport), 52n., 131
- Malbone, John, 131n.
- Malbone, *Capt.* Matthew, 118n.
- Malcolm and Nevinson (Nevinson), Jamaica, 303, 305-306, 308, 311n., 312, 329, 330, 332
- Maldonado, 102, 106, 107
- Man, Edward, director, Dutch West India Company, 418
- Manades, *see* Manhattan
- Manchester, *Capt.* Isaac (Newport), 358, 368, 379, 380

- Manesty, Joseph, letters from, 137-138, 141
 Manhattan, 108n., 412; slaves for, 413, 416; vessel for, 429, 431
 Manifests, law concerning, 111-112, 114; Newport vessels, 337-340
 Manigault, Gabriel (Charleston), 153, 155, 157, 166, 170; letters to, 150, 167-168
 Man of War Key, 381
 Manufactures, Great Britain, 105, 107, 203, 204, 449
 Marblehead, Mass., 4n., 71n., 72, 459
 Marchant, Henry (Newport), 336n.
 Marcy, —, 130n.
 Marigold, 173; accounts, 175-183
 Marine Research Society, 102n., 388n., 394n.
 Mariner's Adventure, New York, 438n.
 Marlar (Marlas, Marlin, Master?), Allen and, 194, 253, 299
 Marston, Nathaniel (New York), 301n., 304, 309, 490, 491
 Marston, Thomas (New York), 301n., 304, 309
 Martha's Vineyard, vessel from, 503
 Martin, Gaston, *Nantes au XVIII^e Siècle: l'Ère des Négriers*, 145n.
 Martin, Hana (New York), 444n.
 Martin, James (R. I.), 123n.
 Martin, Lin (R. I.), 258
 Martindale, *Capt.* — (Newport), 217, 254n.
 Martindale, Sion, suit, 271
 Martinique, W. I., 80, 81n., 94, 246n., 350, 351, 479; privateers, 444n., 453; prizes, 73n., 173, 174; slaves for, 70n., 349
 Mary, Providence [1], accounts, 132-133; [2] journal, 360-378
 Maryland, 25n., 68n., 406, 434n., 489
 Mascaron (Mascarene), French island, 441
 Mason, Benjamin (R. I.), 173n., 210n., 244-245, 249, 250
 Mason, Daniel, 336n.
 Mason, G. C., *Annals of Trinity Church*, 147n.; *Reminiscences of Newport*, 69n.; "African Slave Trade in Colonial Times," 68n.
 Mason and Company, Kender, 245
 Massachusetts, abolition movement, 4, 6-9, 17-19, 72-73, 76-78, 83-88; court cases, 89-99n., 348-358; General Court, 7-9, 23, 72n., 78n., 95; legislation, 4, 17n., 19n., 20, 25n., 35-36, 73, 76-77, 82n., 89-90, 92, 93, 95, 97n., 98n., 101n., 345n., 348n., 349, 353-355, 358; slave trade, 1, 4-108, 352-358; trade, 203, 337n., 338n.
 Massachusetts Archives, papers, 4n.
 Massachusetts Colonial Records, 4n.
 Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 8n.; papers, 19n.; *Proceedings*, 17n.
 Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Suffolk Court Files, 42n.
 Master, *see* Marlar
 Masters, *Capt.* Moses, 42-45
 Masury, *Capt.* John (Salem), 76n.
 Mather, Cotton, 17n.
 Mather *vs.* White, Conn., 3, 99n.
 Mathews, Vincent, notary, 380, 382
 Matthews, Harrison and, 80-81
 Maverick, Samuel, slaves, 4n.
 May, John (Portland, Me.), 97n.
 Mayberry, *Capt.* Freeman, 378; protest, 380-382
 Mayson, — (Newport), 259n.
 Medford, Mass., *Historical Register*, 31n.; *History of the Town of*, 68n.; rum, 98n., 353
 Medicine, cost, 33, 209; for slaves, 160, 163, 253, 256
 Medlicott, Richard, 21n.
 Mendes, Abraham Pereira, merchant, 225-227, 452
 Mendon, case, 102-108
 Menzies, John, *judge*, admiralty court, 116
 Merchants, Africa, 63, 81n., 165-166, 194, 244, 270-271; Antigua, 28n.; Barbados, 75n., 110, 144, 184, 201, 246, 247, 266-267, 286, 294, 309, 457n.; Boston, 9-11, 16n., 23, 25-31n., 38n., 48n., 50, 63, 65n., 67-68, 72n., 82n., 88, 98, 99n., 103, 104, 107, 134n., 137n., 148-149, 187, 252, 257, 347, 457n.; Bristol, Eng., 192, 221, 296, 447-449; Bristol, R. I., 379n.-380n.; Charleston, 140n., 153-154, 157, 160-162, 169n., 171-173, 190, 268-269, 378, 384-387, 394-404; Connecticut, 2, 352; Cuba, 388n.; Dominica, 259; Dutch, 414n., 415, 439-440; English, 294n.; Glasgow, 346; Grenada, 248-249, 259, 294, 341n.; Jamaica, 141, 145, 212, 213, 255, 265, 274-275, 292, 296, 304-306, 308, 311n., 312, 318, 329; Jewish, 205n.; Liverpool, 76n., 98, 137, 140n., 192, 291; London, 43, 105, 134, 147, 157, 167-168, 170, 173, 192-195, 205-207n., 211, 214-216, 222, 246, 250, 253, 259, 291, 293n., 298, 311, 327, 435, 442; Maine, 97n.; New Jersey, 510-512; Newport, 137n., 138n., 143-147, 155, 165, 170-173, 187, 189, 190-194, 205n., 211-214, 217-220, 222, 248-250, 253, 258, 266, 274, 288-289, 294, 300-302, 309, 337-340, 359n., 382, 383, 386, 387; New York, 286, 301n., 407, 439-440, 443, 452, 460n., 462-510; Philadelphia, 408, 453-454; profits, 14-15; Providence, 173n., 206-207, 216, 334-335, 348n., 379n.; Rhode Island, 110n., 129n., 165-170, 203-205, 396; St. Croix, 217-220; St. Vincent, 259; Salem, 80-81, 89, 98, 457n.; Santo Domingo, 81n., 88, 460n.; Virginia, 191n., 238n., 240, 246, 254; West Indies, 99n., 134n., 241-243, 299, 300-302; *see also* next title
 Merchants (list): Alford and Tyng (Boston), 66n.; Allen, James (Boston), 38n.; Anderson, Garland (Va.), 191; Anderson, Smith and (Va.), 192; Apthorp, Charles (Boston), 51n.; Atkins, Silas, jr., 107; Austin (Jamaica), 306; Bacot and Far (Charleston), 190; Barnard, Charles (Jamaica), 331; Bates, John (Barbados), 110; Baths, Charles (Philadelphia), 454; Bell, John (Philadelphia), 454; Berncke (London), 222; Bill, Richard (Boston), 26; Blowers, Pyam (Boston), 38; Bodman and Shipton (Boston), 50; Boehm (London), 215, 216; Bogle, Robert (London), 192; Bond, Samuel, 102; Bordman, William H., 102; Brau-

nell (London), 222; Bristow, John (London), 157; Brunton and Goddard, Foster (London), 105; Bulfinch, 29; Bullock and Moller (London), 43; Cary, Robert, and Company (London), 192; Ceely, Christopher (Boston), 36n.; Chalmers, James (Philadelphia), 454; Charnock, John, and Company (Boston), 27; Clark and Kilby (Boston), 36n.; Coningham, Robert (St. Vincent), 259; Corbett (London), 222; Corning, Robert (St. Croix), 101; Coxe, William (Philadelphia), 454, 455; Crawford (Barbados), 294, 301; Crockatt (London), 215, 216; Davies (London), 215, 216; Delarach (Jamaica), 328; Donaldson, Humphrey (Philadelphia), 454; Earl, David (R. I.), 146n.; Easton and Price (Newport), 387n.; Far, Bacot and (Charleston), 190; Farrell and Jones (Bristol, Eng.), 192; Fellowes, Nathaniel, 102; Flake, A. (London), 217; Flake, E., *jr.* (London), 217; Fletcher, Merret and (Boston), 38n.; Forsey (New London, Conn.), 2, 71; Frances and Relfe (Philadelphia), 454; Franks, David (Philadelphia), 454, 455; Freeman (London), 222; Fuller, Stoker (Stocker) and (Philadelphia), 454; Gildart (London), 206; Gow, Brabner and (St. Croix), 183; Grafton (Barbados), 33; Green, William, 36n.; Guionneau and Leblond (Boston), 27, 29; Hake (London), 206; Harrison, G. (London), 217; Harrison, Henry (Philadelphia), 454; Hernandez, Prey and (Cuba), 387n.; Horry and Lassenne (S. C.), 153; Hubbard, Thomas (Boston), 50; Hunter, Thompson and (St. Christopher), 299; Inglis, John (Philadelphia), 454; Inglis and Pickering (Charleston), 169n.; Jackson, Sericold and, 327; Jackson and Company (Jamaica), 303; Jebb (London), 206; Jones, Farrell and (Bristol, Eng.), 192; Jones and Ewing (Barbados), 299, 318; Jones and Griffin (Boston), 50; Jones and Moe (Barbados), 247; Kearney, Philip, *jr.* (Philadelphia), 454; Kender, Mason, and Company, 245; Kilby, Clark and (Boston), 36n.; Lane (London), 293n.; Lassenne (Lesesne), Horry and (S. C.), 153; Leblond, Guionneau, and (Boston), 29; LeBreton, John (London), 217; Lempriere, T. A. (London), 217; Levy, Benjamin (Philadelphia), 454; Lloyd, 31n.; Logan, James (Pennsylvania), 408n.; Lynch and Stoughton (New York), 460n.; McCall, Archibald (Philadelphia), 454, 455; McCall, Samuel (Philadelphia), 454, 455; Mackcollin, William (Barbados), 110n.; McMichael, Scott and (Philadelphia), 454; McMurtrie, David (Philadelphia), 454; Marks, Joseph (Philadelphia), 454; Maxwell and Udney, 458; Mayne, Charles, 157; Mayne, William (London), 157; Merret and Fletcher (Boston), 38n.; Merrick, John (Boston), 65n., 66n.; Milford, Richard (Dominica), 259; Miller, Nathan, 307; Mir-

vile (Meriville?), Wood, and Simmons (Barbados), 184; Moe, Jones and (Barbados), 247; Moller, Bullock and (London), 43; Morris, Willing, and Company (Philadelphia), 454, 455; Morris and Company, 13; Morse and Smith (London), 327; Mounreau, John (Martinique), 80; Muelman (Mudman?) (London), 215, 217, 222; Mumford, 75n.; Nash (London), 215; Nixon, John (Philadelphia), 454; Oldman, S., and Company, 455; Olive, G. (London), 217; Oliver (Boston), 29, 65; Oliver, Peters (Barbados), 45; Osborne, R. (Boston), 33; Osborne, Samuel (Boston), 33-35; Palmer, Thomas (Boston), 26; Parkin, Sibwell, and Company (London), 43; Parkinson and Hill (Jamaica), 330; Pemberton, Samuel (Boston), 39n.; Pettit, Reed and (Philadelphia), 454; Pickering, Inglis and (Charleston), 169n.; Pierce and Cabot (Boston), 82n.; Pole (London), 206, 222; Prey and Hernandez (Cuba), 387n.; Price, Easton and (Newport), 387n.; Purrier (London), 296; Raymond (Barbados), 33; Readshaw, Joseph (London), 217; Reed and Pettit (Philadelphia), 454; Relfe, Francis and (Philadelphia), 454; Richards, Thomas, 32, 33; Robinson, Humphry (Philadelphia), 454; Rooke (London), 215, 216; Rowe, John (Boston), 252n.; Rumbold, Walner, and Tabb, 192; Rundle, Daniel (Philadelphia), 454, 455; Russell (London), 206; Sabin, Smith and (Providence), 241; Scheaffe, Edward (Boston), 66n.; Scott (London), 206, 222; Scott and McMichael (Philadelphia), 454; Sericold and Jackson, 327; Seymour and Company (Grenada), 341n.; Sibwell and Company, Parkin (London), 43; Simmons, Mirville, Wood, and (Barbados), 184; Skinner (Boston), 19, 27; Sleigh, Samuel, 29; Smith, Burton and (London), 194-195; Smith, John, 157; Smith, Morse and (London), 327; Smith and Anderson (Va.), 192; Smith and Gordon (S. C.), 157; Smith and Sabin (Providence), 241; Steel, Thomas (Boston), 29; Sterry, Cyprian (Providence), 379n.; Stocker (Stoker) and Fuller (Philadelphia), 454; Stocker and Wharton (Philadelphia), 247n.; Stoughton, Lynch and (New York), 460n.; Sweerts, Jan, 415; Swift, John (Philadelphia), 454; Swift, Joseph (Philadelphia), 454; Tabb, Rumbold, Walner, and, 192; Tatham, John (St. Vincent), 259; Tatham, Joseph (St. Vincent), 299; Temple, John (London), 435n.; Temple, Thomas (London), 435n.; Tempner (London), 215; Thomas, Edward (Boston), 36n.; Thompson, 164n.; Thompson and Hunter (St. Christopher), 299; Thomson, William (London), 157; Thurston, Jonathan (R. I.), 146n., 258n.; Trent, William (Pennsylvania), 408n.; Tyng, Alford and (Boston), 66n.; Tyng, Jonathan (Boston), 51; Udney, Maxwell and, 458; Van

Merchants (list)—*continued*:

- Hemert, Joost, and Son (St. Croix), 182;
 Walent, Josiah (Salem), 476; Walner, and
 Tabb, Rumbold, 192; Ward, Richard, and
 Son, 159; Webster, John (Boston), 28n.;
 Welles, Arnold (Boston), 66, 67n.; Wel-
 steed (Boston), 29; Wetcomb, James (Bos-
 ton), 16n.; Wharton, Stocker and (Phila-
 delphia), 248n.; White, Isaac (Boston),
 28n.; Whitehorne (Newport), 258n.; Wil-
 liams, Peter, 70n.; Willing, Morris, and
 Company (Philadelphia), 454, 455; Witte-
 paert, Dirck Pietersen, 415; Wood, Mirville,
 and Simmons (Barbados), 184; Young,
 Anthony (Boston), 29; *see also* Shipowners
- Meriville, Elias (Barbados), 144, 148
 Meriville, Susanna (Barbados), 144n.
Mermaid, case, 51-52
 Mersyer, *Capt.* —, 68n., 452n.
 Metcalf, —, 133
 Michaelius, *Rev.* Jonas, 405n.
 Middle Colonies, slave trade of, 405-461
 Middle Passage, illness, 400; length, 51, 76n.,
 184-186, 189n., 245, 273n., 302, 329, 379-
 380; mortality, 75, 121n., 185, 186, 210n.,
 235, 273, 304, 375n.-376; occupations, 375-
 377
 Middleton and Brailsford, Charleston, 163, 169n.
 Middletown, Conn., 2, 144, 344n.
 Milburn, *Capt.* Matthew, *Success*, 66
 Miles, Richard, chief, Tantumquerry, 314, 315,
 320-321, 326
 Mill, *Capt.* —, 306n., 308, 325, 326
 Mill, David (Cape Coast Castle), governor,
 228, 262, 264, 265, 272n., 292n., 293, 300,
 302, 308, 314, 321, 325
 Miller, *Capt.* Joseph (Conn.), 2, 71
Minutes of the Provincial Council, Pa., 453n.
 Mitchel, — (Conn.), 345
 Moffat, Thomas (Boston), 27
 Molasses, 48, 180, 204, 244, 264n., 287; Bahamas,
 190; Barbados, 41; cargoes, 45, 88, 91,
 145n., 148-149, 179, 277n., 293n., 303, 337-
 338, 380, 396n.; duty, 110n.; importation,
 296; prices, 175, 177, 181-182, 212, 274,
 288; St. Christopher, 148n.; trade, 125n.,
 142, 203-205
 Molasses Act, 115n.
 Mole St. Nicolas, Haiti, 274, 276, 287, 293n.
 Molten, *Capt.* Michael, 174n., 452, 453
 Monckton, Robert (N. Y.), governor, 457
 Monopoly, African trade, 109n., 410n., 435-438
 Montague, Hibbert and, Jamaica; 292, 302, 308n.,
 311n., 312, 318, 329
 Montego Bay, Jamaica, 292, 295, 302, 306, 308,
 312, 313, 318, 322, 329-330
 Montevideo, 103, 106, 108, 359-360, 387-392
 Montgomery and Company, Boston, 98
 Montserrat, 50, 121; vessels from, 480, 484, 487,
 492, 493, 500, 509
 Montvit, —, French privateer, 184
 Moore (More), *Capt.* Charles (Newport), 209,
 217, 248n., 254, 259, 261, 262
 Moore, G. H., *Notes on the History of Slavery*
in Massachusetts, 4n.
- Moore, *Capt.* Samuel, 1, 38n., 39n., 41
 Moore, William, *jr.* (Philadelphia), 293n.,
 295
 Moravians, slaves of, 459
 Moree, *see* Mouree
 Morgan, E. V., "Price of Slaves in New
 York," 420n.
 Morgan, *Sir* Henry, 15
 Morgue, James (Cape Coast Castle), governor,
 81
 Morison, S. E., "Commerce of Boston on the
 Eve of the Revolution," 76n.; *Maritime*
History of Massachusetts, 101n.
 Morris, *Capt.* — (Newport), 186, 202, 209
 Morris, Lewis (N. J.), governor, 450-451
 Morris, *Capt.* Owen (Newport), 174, 209n.,
 217n.
 Morris, *Capt.* Woodbury (Newport), 189,
 210n.
 Morston, *see* Marston
 Mortality, Boston negroes, 21; captains, 203n.,
 309, 347, 370; *Mary*, 367, 372, 373; Middle
 Passage, 88, 184, 210n., 235, 273, 304, 307,
 375n.-376n., 400; negroes, 28, 30, 32, 35,
 47-48, 51, 57, 61, 72, 75, 135-136, 144, 156,
 160, 171, 184-186, 194, 198n., 201, 213, 226,
 227n., 231, 261, 273n., 307, 309, 324, 326,
 329, 331, 341, 347, 360, 375-379, 387, 395-
 396, 405, 421, 433, 443; seamen, 76n., 131,
 189n., 197n., 207, 210n., 453
 Mortamer, — (Zeeland), 411
 Morton, John, 379n.
 Moses, Samuel, 189-190
 Mostyn (Moston), *Capt.* Thomas, 439, 440
 Mouchell, *Capt.* —, privateer, 453
 Mountain, Francis, accounts, 149, 152
 Mount Berique, 414
 Mouree (Moree), Africa, 228, 232, 321, 324,
 326
 Mousell, *Capt.* — (Boston), 40n., 50n.
 Mozambique, slaves from, 359
 Mumford, Edward, 65n.
 Mumford, *Capt.* Nathaniel (Newport), 121,
 202, 203n., 214
 Munro, W. H., *History of Bristol, R. I.*, 379n.
 Murders, in slave trade, 42n., 46, 52n.-56, 59,
 71, 207, 380n.
 Murray and Wright, Jamaica merchants, 301-
 302
 Muskets, 42n., 43, 45, 361-362; *see also* Com-
 modities
- Nagle, —, 360
 Naimbanna, African king, 100n.
 Nancy, case, 394-404; insurrection, 358n.-359n.;
 Newport, 288, 291, 304, 309
 Nantasket, 16, 37
 Nantor, *Capt.* George, *Providence*, 435n.
 Nantucket, 85n., 103, 104
 Napier, James, 457
 Narragansetts, war, 8
 Nassau, New Providence, 380
 Naval officers, 111, 113-115, 159, 350; lists,
 444n., 462-512

- Naval stores, 277, 288, 337, 340, 364, 365
- Negroes, by name, 18, 19, 21n., 23, 27, 32, 33, 58, 64, 135, 140, 147n., 151, 177, 178n., 333, 399-400, 405, 416-417, 459
- "Negro Slavery in Massachusetts," 82n.
- Nete, Jacob, 132, 133
- Nevinson (Nevison), Malcolm and, Jamaica merchants, 303, 306, 308, 311n., 312, 329; contract, 305-306, 330
- Nevis, shipowners, 465, 490, 491, 493; vessels, 462, 464-466, 479, 490; vessels from, 470, 471, 476, 478, 479, 490, 491, 493, 497; voyages to, 15, 435
- New Amstel, colony, 433
- New Amsterdam, 405, 413, 434n.; remonstrance, 413-414
- New Bedford, Mass., 85n., 348
- Newbury, Mass., 87, 252, 257; *History of*, by Joshua Coffin, 40n.
- Newburyport, Mass., court, 86-89
- New Brunswick, N. J., 458
- New Castle, N. H., 491
- New Castle-upon-Tyne, 492n.
- Newell, *Capt.* —, 99n., 461n.
- New England, merchants, 467; shipbuilding, 462-472, 474-482, 484-486, 491, 499, 500, 502-505, 508, 509; slave trade, 1-405
- New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 15n.
- New England Quarterly*, 42n.
- "New England Slave Trade after the Revolution," 334n.
- Newfoundland, 72n., 441
- New Hampshire, abolitionists, 3, 345n.; negroes, 1, 24; shipbuilding, 474; slave trade, 1, 2, 38, 107, 345n.; vessel, 491
- New Haven, Conn., 1, 99n., 345n.
- New Jersey, captains, 458, 510-512; council, 450-451; duties, 456, 457; legislation, 407-408, 450-451; negroes in, 408; negro importations, 444n., 446, 447, 450-451, 510-512; shipbuilding, 463, 469, 484, 490, 493, 494, 498, 500, 502, 504, 506n.; shipowners, 490, 492, 495, 498, 500, 507; slave sales, 454-456; slaves for, 468; vessels, 463, 510-512
- New Jersey Archives*, 450n.
- New Jersey Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 408n.
- New London, Conn., captains, 3; shipbuilding, 488; vessels, 2, 71, 184, 207, 360n., 462, 485
- New Netherland, slave trade, 405-406, 410-434
- New Orleans, trade, 311n.
- Newport, R. I., abolition, 335-336, 342-344, 351; captains, 52n., 121, 130n., 186, 189, 202, 209n., 213, 214, 217, 247n., 254, 259, 333, 337-340, 350, 358, 368n., 378-379; churches, 335n.; commissioners, 108n.; committee of correspondence, 301n.; customhouse entries, 117, 121, 139, 189, 202, 209, 214, 217, 337-340, 358, 378-379; debts, 249n.; distilleries, 244n.; Jews, 205n.; letters from, 112-113, 134-135, 140-143, 147-150, 166-168, 170-171, 173, 187-188, 189-190, 193-194, 201-202, 206, 210-214, 221-223, 226, 241-244, 247-251, 253-260, 264-265, 268-269, 272, 286, 288, 292-293, 300-302, 309, 311, 333, 335-336, 341-343, 351-352, 382, 387; merchants, 118n., 131, 137, 138n., 143, 144, 146n., 147, 155, 159, 165, 170-173, 185, 187, 189, 190-194, 211-215, 217-222, 240, 248-249, 250, 253, 258, 266-268, 287-289, 291, 293-294, 300-302, 309, 359n., 382-383, 386-387, 395n.-397; privateers, 173n.; rum, 244n.; shipbuilding, 138n., 140-141; slave sales, 116-117, 133n., 143-144, 203n.; slaves from, 193-194; streets, 113-115; vessels, 47, 55, 147, 174n., 183n., 184, 206, 341n., 348n., 353, 372, 380-382, 404n., 405n., 483, 512
- Newport Historical Magazine*, 19n.
- Newport Historical Society, *Bulletin*, 137n.; papers, 69n.
- New Providence, Bahama Islands, 189-190n., 380, 381; shipbuilding, 497, 505, 507; shipowners, 470, 505; vessels, 470, 492, 495, 497, 499; vessels from, 483, 500
- Newspapers, and abolition, 335n., 336, 341-344n.; see also next title
- Newspapers (list): *Boston Centinel*, 85n.; *Boston Evening Post*, 51n.; *Boston Gazette*, 1n.; *Boston News Letter*, 1n.; *Boston Post Boy*, 2n.; *Boston Weekly Post Boy*, 66n.; *Charleston Courier*, 404n.; *Charleston Evening Gazette*, 80n.; *Charleston Gazette*, 460n.; *Massachusetts Gazette and News Letter*, 2n.; *New Haven Gazette and the Connecticut Magazine*, 88n.; *Newport Herald*, 342, 343n.; *Newport Mercury*, 2n.; *New York Gazette*, 451n.; *New York Journal*, 460n.; *New York Mercury*, 452n.; *New York Packet*, 341n.; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 454n.; *Pennsylvania Journal*, 454n.; *Providence Gazette and Country Journal*, 342n.; *Reads Weekly Journal and British Gazetteer*, 37n.; *Salem Gazette*, 3n.; *South Carolina Gazette*, 42n.; *United States Chronicle*, 384n.; *Weekly Journal and British Gazetteer*, 36n.; *Weekly Rehearsal*, 1n.
- Newton, John, 137n.
- New York, 310n.; duty, 456n., 457; legislation, 345n., 447-449; negro importation, 444; negro insurrection, 409; negro population, 408; slave prices, 420n.; slave trade, 435-449, 451-452, 461-510; vessel, 349
- New York City, 73n., 94, 203, 301n., 302, 351, 399; bills on, 294, 311; captains, 213, 459n., 462-510; merchants, 286, 301n., 439, 443, 460n., 462-510; newspapers, 207; rum, 255, 457n.; seamen, 107n., 469, 511, 512; slaves for, 406-407; slave trade, 408, 461-510; vessels, 98, 360n., 458n., 461n.; vessels for, 68n., 310, 462-512; vessels from, 315, 460
- New York Colonial Manuscripts, 412n.
- New York Colonial Tracts, 405n.
- New York Historical Society, *Collections*, 407n.; papers, 53n.

- New York Public Library, papers, 69n.
 New York State Library, *Bulletin*, 407n.
 Nicolls, Col. Richard (New York), 434-435
 Nightingale, Clark and, Providence, 334-335
 Nightingale, Joseph, 336n.
 Nightingale, Samuel (Providence), 216n.
 Ningo, Africa, 316n.
 Noble, *Capt.* — (Liverpool), 320, 324, 326
 Nonexportation, agreement, 291
 Nonimportation, 291, 296, 301n., 302, 343-344
 Noris, *Capt.* John, 59-61
 Norman, John, trade, 283
 North Carolina, 36n., 310n., 341; merchant, 484;
 shipbuilding, 473, 474, 509, 511; vessels
 from, 486, 512
 North Kingston, R. I., 46-48
 Northrup, A. J., "Slavery in New York," 407n.
 Norton, Benjamin (Newport), 116n.
 Norton, Francis (Mass.), 9n.
 Norwich, Conn., slave trade, 344n., 352
 Norwood, Caleb (Boston), 34
 Notarial Protests, 165n.
Notes and Queries relating to Interior Penn-
sylvania, 459n.
 Nowell, Increase, 10n., 11n., 13n.
 Nugent, Walter, 118n., 121-122

 O'Callaghan, E. B., *Calendar of Historical Man-*
uscripts, 445n.; *Documents relative to the*
Colonial History of New York, 405n.;
Voyages of the Slavers "St. John" and
"Arms of Amsterdam," 405n.
 Occupations, Middle Passage, 375-377
 Old South Church, Boston, 187n.
 Oliphant, Dr. — (S. C.), charge, 163
 Oliver, Brattle, 38n.
 Oppam, *see* Appam
Orange, Mayberry, 378, 380-382
Orange Tree, Boston, 41
Oration on the Beauties of Freedom, 73n.
 Order in Council, 392, 435-436
 Oruba (Aruba), W. I., 418
 Osborn, Sir Danvers (N. Y.), governor, 449n.
 Osgood, J. (Salem), 90, 93n.
 Oswald, Richard (London), 207n.
Othello, 202, 254, 268-269, 292-293, 310; accounts,
 197-200, 227-240, 285
 Otis, James, 73n.
 Outfits, slave vessels, 11, 12, 54, 55, 58, 59, 63,
 64, 91, 94, 132-133, 137, 156, 252, 253, 256,
 258n., 303, 332
 Overing, — (Newport), 258n.

Pacific, accounts, 346-347
 Paley, William, *archdeacon* of Carlisle, 336n.
 Palmer, John (New York), *judge*, admiralty
 court, 436-438
 Pamunkey River, Va., 194n.
Papers of the Lloyd Family, 31n.
 Pardoe, James (Liverpool), 140-141
 Park, E. A., "Memoir of Samuel Hopkins,"
 335n.
 Parker, John, letter to, 383
 Parliament, acts, 24n., 175, 310n., 312, 318n.,
 319, 328, 351n., 403; *see also* Acts

 Parmele, D., 386
 Parrish (Parris), John (Boston), 9-12
 Parsons, G., 93n.
 Parsons, Theophilus (Mass.), 85, 87
 Parsons, Usher, *Life of Sir William Pepperrell*,
 28n.
 Partridge, Richard, colonial agent, 123n.
 Paullin, C. O., *The Navy of the American*
Revolution, 286n.
 Paullin and Paxson, *Guide to the Materials in*
London Archives for the History of the
United States, 334n.
 Pawns, African, 223, 321, 324, 366
 Peatt, Arthur (London), 287, 298, 312
 Peatt, John, 251-253, 297, 332
 Peatt, Joseph, 297
 Peatt and Westmorland, Jamaica, 255, 261n.,
 262, 263, 268, 276-277, 286n., 292, 297, 298,
 306-308, 312, 318
 Peck, *Capt.* John (Newport), 174, 186n., 189, 202
 Peirce, *Capt.* William, voyage, 4
 Peirces Wharf, Salem, 91
 Pell, Roger (New York), 452
 Pemberton, James (Barbados), 42, 43, 45
 Pemberton, James (Philadelphia), 342n.
 Penalty, for illicit trade, 89-91, 101n., 114, 344,
 353, 356, 357
 Pennsylvania, 106n., 203, 409, 460-461; abolition,
 407n., 410; duties, 409, 446, 453-454, 456n.;
 legislation, 345n., 446, 450n., 453-454;
 negroes in, 408-410, 459; shipbuilding, 395,
 474, 503
Pennsylvania Archives: Papers of the Gover-
nors, 453n.
 Penson, Lillian M., *Colonial Agents of the West*
Indies, 294n.
 Pepper, Africa, 144
 Pepperrell, Sir William, 28
 Peres, *Capt.* Silvester, *St. Anthoni*, 416
 Pergens, Jacob, director, Dutch West India
 Company, 422
 Perkins, Humphrey, deposition, 438-439
 Perkins, *Capt.* —, death, 121n.
 Perkins, A. T., *Sketch of the Family of*
Dumaresq, 40n.
 Perkins, J. and T. H. (Boston), 88, 99n., 101n.
 Perkins, Thomas H. (Boston), 88n.
 Perkins and Burling (Santo Domingo), 81n., 88,
 99n., 460n.
 Perkins Papers, 88n.
 Pernin, James, 140
 Perry, C. B., *Charles D'Wolf*, 340n.
 Perry, *Capt.* John (New York), 213, 459
 Perry, Micajah (London), 451n.
 Perth Amboy, N. J., 408, 446, 456, 510n.;
 vessels from, 490, 492, 495, 512
 Peters, John (Boston), 10, 11
 Peterson, Edward, *History of Rhode Island*,
 131n.
 Peterson, John (Mass.), 10n.
 Petitions, 17n., 435, 436; concerning duties, 6,
 15, 23, 28, 30, 48-49, 409, 447, 453-454; con-
 cerning slave trade, 72n., 77n., 82n., 351n.,
 409

- Petrie, Gilbert (Cape Coast Castle), governor, 234
Phenix, see *Phoenix*
Philadelphia, Pa., 118n., 227n., 295n., 302, 446; captains, 459n.; committee of correspondence, 301n.; Constitutional Convention, 342n.; Continental Congress, 296; lawsuit, 460, 461; merchants, 107, 248n., 293n., 408, 409, 453-454, 470; newspapers, 207; seamen, 107n.; shipbuilding, 467, 469, 470, 476, 478, 479; slaves, 459; slave trade, 409-410; vessels, 483, 487, 496, 503; vessels for, 246n., 258, 460, 461
Philipse, Frederick, New York merchant, 439, 442
Phillips, James, 83-84
Phillips, John (Boston), 39
Phillips, John C. (Charleston), 394, 395
Phillips, Samuel (Boston), 19
Phillips and Gardner, Charleston, 384-386, 394-404
Phillis, Boston, 67, 68n.
Phoenix, periodical, 379n.
Phoenix (Phenix), Taylor, 314; insurrection, 318n.
Pickering, Timothy [1] (Salem, Mass.), 72n.
Pickering, Timothy [2], 379n.
Pickering Papers, 379n.
Pieces of eight, 183, 217-220, 346-347; see also Currency
Pietersen, *Capt.* Jan, 420
Piezas de India, 275, 421n., 423, 424, 434
Pinkham, *Capt.* — (Boston), 70n., 71n.
Pinniger (Pinnegar), *Capt.* William [1], 139, 173, 186, 202, 203n., 206, 213, 214
Pinniger, *Capt.* William [2], 217-220, 223-224, 241-244
Pirates, 19, 36n., 46, 116n., 118n., 131n., 217n., 416n.; trade, 406, 438-444
Piscataqua, 7, 70, 213
Piscataqua River, 12
Pitman, *Capt.* Joseph (Bristol, Eng.), 55, 56, 60
Pitt's Wharf, Boston, 32n.
Plaisted, *Capt.* Francis (Boston), 29n.-31
Plant, Matthias, 40n.
Plantation, Antigua, 135n.
Planters, credit, 298, 304, 312, 318; South Carolina, 161, 169, 171-172; West Indies, 245, 273n., 327
Plata, Rio de la, 102-105, 108, 388-391; blockade, 107
Plimpton, George, papers, 266n.-267n.
Political State of Great Britain, 446n.
Polly, DeWolf, 340; Elliott, 249; Wanton (Newport), 189, 209, 213, 241
Pomfret, Conn., 131n.
Pope, Edward (Mass.), 349
Pope, *Capt.* Francis, 122, 134-136
Popham, *Sir* Home, 102, 106
Popo, Africa, 81n., 122, 159, 413, 414
Population, Massachusetts, 14n.; New Jersey, 408, 450n.; New Netherland, 415; Pennsylvania, 408; Rhode Island, 110n., 123n.
Portage bills, 132, 146, 164, 175-176, 208
Portland, Me., lawsuit, 97n.
Porto Rico, 71, 275
Port Royal, Jamaica, 273, 306
Portsmouth, Eng., 55n.
Portsmouth, N. H., 1, 38n., 42n., 103n., 107n.
Portsmouth, R. I., 108n.
Portuguese, 19, 193n., 369, 370, 375, 410n.; in Africa, 52n., 54-56, 59, 210n.; in Brazil, 406, 412n.; trade, 44, 325, 405
Post Boy, 51n., 65
Potowomut River, R. I., 115
Potter, *Col.* —, slave cargo, 309
Potter, Abigail, 379n.
Potter, *Capt.* Nathaniel (Newport), death, 203n.
Potter, Simeon (Bristol, R. I.), 203n., 379n., 380n.
Poultney, Boston, 50
Powell, John, 27
Pownall Preasant, N. Y., 351
Prampram, Africa, 321n.
Pratt, —, slave trader, 99n.
Prebble, *Capt.* — (New York), 404
Preest, William, crimes, 71
Preston, Eliza, 240
Preston, H. W., *Rhode Island and the Sea*, 165n.
"Price of slaves in New York," by E. V. Morgan, 420n.
Prices, cocoa, 48; commodities, 61, 123-130, 169, 175, 181-183, 196, 198, 224, 277-278, 280-283, 313-314, 393-394; molasses, 212; provisions, 69, 142, 143, 152, 155, 165, 207, 209, 219-220, 238, 244, 277-278, 280-284, 384; rum, 98n., 219, 258, 277-278, 280-281, 283, 296; slaves: for Spanish-American market, 273-274; in Africa, 44, 58, 62, 80n., 81, 100n., 123-130, 166, 177-179, 187, 206n., 210-211, 223, 224, 227-235, 237, 239, 244, 247n., 251, 254, 258-262, 265-266, 278-279, 282, 284, 288-289, 294, 307, 313-314, 317, 322, 324, 332, 361, 380, 386, 396, 397; in Antigua, 118, 122, 198n., 199, 201, 210n.; in Bahamas, 382n.; in Barbados, 144n., 148, 196, 244n., 260, 267, 294, 299-301; in Boston, 16n., 19, 21, 24-25, 27, 30-31; in Buenos Aires, 359; in Connecticut, 2; in Curaçao, 420; in Georgia, 185n., 198, 201-202; in Goree, 383; in Grenada, 249, 301, 326-327; in Jamaica, 141, 145, 225-227, 252, 255, 272-277, 297-298, 306-311, 327; in Madagascar, 440n.; in Massachusetts, 14-15, 25, 26-27, 69n.; in New Netherland, 420-421, 424, 427, 428, 431-432; in New York, 435n., 440, 445n., 451n.; in Rhode Island, 45, 64, 65, 109, 110, 112, 113, 133, 140; in St. Christopher, 148n., 149, 242; in St. Croix, 181-183, 217-218, 245-246; in St. Eustatius, 346-347; in Senegal, 400, 404; in South Carolina, 145, 153-157, 160, 161, 168, 268, 275, 276, 286, 385-387; in Virginia, 190-193, 195, 238n.-240, 248, 272, 285; in West Indies, 148n., 243, 258, 299-300; tobacco, 194n., 225; vessels, 106, 107, 134n., 138n., 252, 257
Prince, *Capt.* Job, 73n., 102

- Prince George*, Newport, 174, 189
 Prisoners of war, sale of, 77-78
 Privateers, 4; American, 137n., 319, 439n.; Dutch, 416, 440; English, 425-426; French, 73n., 183, 184, 186, 444n., 452, 453; Spanish, 52n., 53n., 60, 141n.
 Privilege slaves, 79, 149, 150, 160, 162-164, 191n., 206, 212, 217-219, 247, 249, 251, 263, 267n., 269, 273-275, 305, 306, 310, 330, 332, 359, 360, 395-397, 399-400
 Privy Council, 2, 14-15, 435-436, 447-449
 Prizes, 4, 51n., 173-174, 183n., 184, 328, 462, 463, 465, 477, 478, 509; cases, 102-108, 388-404; slaves from, 405, 410
 Proclamation, James II., 436-438
 Profits, slave trade, 80n., 82, 115n., 141, 142, 164, 210n., 252, 394, 412, 440-441
 Protests, maritime, 105, 174n., 201, 238, 294, 315, 316, 331, 380-382
 Providence, R. I., 32, 108n., 110n., 116n., 332n.; abolition movement, 85-86, 289n.; captains, 210n., 341, 390n.; coopers, 216n.; merchants, 173n., 206, 216n., 241, 244, 334, 335n., 378n.; newspapers, 336, 342, 348; slaves for, 132n.; vessels, 100, 213, 252, 360-378
Providence, Boreen, 335n.; capture, 435n.
 Providence Island, 4
 Providence Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 84n.-87, 348, 350, 351, 353-355, 383n.
 Provisions, 42n., 45, 57, 62, 69, 147, 158-159, 238, 246n., 255-256, 264n., 309, 317, 373, 431, 432, 452; cargoes, 179, 188, 219, 270, 288, 337-340, 396, 397, 400, 401; for New Amsterdam, 434n.; for seamen, 197, 238; for slaves, 69, 74, 145, 154-156, 185, 234-238, 246, 262, 265, 322, 376, 377, 440-441, 447; for slave vessels, 59, 60, 132-133, 138n., 146n., 149-153, 156, 207, 256, 361-365, 370-375; prices, 58, 143, 165, 177, 178, 191n., 196, 198n., 209, 223n., 225, 227-238, 244, 277-278, 280-283, 303, 325, 384, 386-388, 404, 423, 424, 428; trade, 180, 412n.
 Public Record Office, papers, 17n.
Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, 2n.
 Pulling, Edward (Salem), 86, 87, 93
 Purchasers of slaves (list): Aitken, Charles (St. Croix), 218; Allen, John (Boston), 33; Applewaite (Applewhaite), T. (Boston), 33, 35; Ashley, John (Mass.), 34; Ashley, John (Va.), 190; Backer, Jacobus (New Netherland), 428; Bacon, Harwood (Va.), 190; Bagge, Loren (St. Croix), 218; Ball, Elias (S. C.), 161; Ball, Gideon (Mass.), 31; Barnes, Christian (Antigua), 199; Barron, B., 34; Barton, William Allen (Va.), 190; Bayley, Samuel (R. I.), 65; Bayly, Zachary (Jamaica), 145; Bedlo, Isaac (New Netherland), 428; Beeckman, New Netherland, 417; Bell, Thomas (S. C.), 154; Berry, Thomas (St. Croix), 217, 219; Best, John (Mass.), 33; Bethune, Hugh (Jamaica), 145; Billings, B. (Boston), 34; Billings, John (Boston), 33, 34; Blanz, Benjamin, 34; Bond, Mathew (Boston), 30; Brackenridge, William (Antigua), 199; Bready (Breedy), William (S. C.), 154, 155; Brenard, James (S. C.), 161; Brinley (R. I.), 64, 65; Brintnall, 34, 35; Bromley, Samuel (Boston), 34; Brown, Jonathan (Boston), 30; Bryant (Boston), 35; Burch, Thomas (Jamaica), 145; Burrows, Samuel (S. C.), 161; Bush, *Sir* J., 35; Caddow, William (Boston), 32, 33; Cahusac, John, 161; Cambles, George (Boston), 31; Carrington (Boston), 34; Channing (R. I.), 65; Chisolme, Alexander (S. C.), 153, 154; Chitenen (R. I.), 65; Christian, Robert (Antigua), 199; Clarke, Benjamin (Va.), 191; Clopton, Benjamin (Va.), 191; Clough, B., 33; Coch, Thomas, 34; Colley, Charles (Va.), 191; Colman, B. (Boston), 33; Colman, J. (Boston), 33; Cooper, James (S. C.), 161; Cooper, Thomas (S. C.), 161; Cort, Job, 34; Cousseau, Jacques (New Netherland), 428; Cowdry, Nathaniel (Boston), 34; Cowell, Joseph (Boston), 31; Craft, Thomas (Boston), 34; Craighton, Grace, 385; Crosby, Joseph, 34; Cunningham (Boston), 33; Damon, Ebenezer (Boston), 34; Danilstone, Mary, 32; Dannels (Daniels), John (Boston), 34; Davenport, J. (Boston), 33; David, *Mrs.* (S. C.), 153; Davis, I. (Boston), 33; Dennis, John (S. C.), 385; Dias and Gutierrez (Jamaica), 145; Dodge, William, 34; Don (R. I.), 65; Donnavan, John (S. C.), 161; Dotten, James, 34; Douxsaint, Paul (S. C.), 154, 155; Downs, John (Boston), 34; Ducatt (Duckatt), George (S. C.), 154, 155; Dwight (Boston), 27; Ebbingh, Jerominus (New Netherland), 428; Emes, Nathaniel, 31; Engle, John L. (S. C.), 385; Faris, Jacob (Va.), 191; Farrell, Faugny (St. Croix), 218; Finnie, John (Antigua), 199; Fimbush, William (Va.), 190; Fitzsimons, C. (Charleston), 385; Fooreest, Isaacq (New Netherland), 428; Fordike, James (Boston), 31; Francis, Nathaniel (Va.), 191; Franklyn, John (Boston), 34; Fraser, Alexander (S. C.), 154, 155; French, John, 34, 35; Fry, John (Va.), 191; Gabrie (Gabry), Timotheus (New Netherland), 414n., 428; Garden, *Rev.* Alexander, *jr.*, 161; Geigar, Michael (S. C.), 161; Gibbs, Richard, 160; George, William (Antigua), 199; Gordon, Robert (Va.), 191; Gutierrez, Dias and (Jamaica), 145; Halleran, Lawrence (Jamaica), 145; Hancock, Robert (Va.), 191; Harleston, Nicholas (S. C.), 161; Harper, Thomas (Va.), 191; Harwood, John, *jr.* (Va.), 191; Hext, Sarah (S. C.), 161; Holmes, John (Va.), 191; Hopper, John (Va.), 191; Horry, Daniel (S. C.), 161; Hundley, Jacob (Va.), 191; Hurst, Benjamin (S. C.), 161; Isaacs (R. I.), 65; Jaboce (New Netherland), 417; Jamison, William (S. C.), 161; Jepson, B.,

34; Johnson, John, *jr.* (Charleston), 385; Johnson, Milbe (Jamaica), 145; Johnson, William (S. C.), 276; Jommer, E. (Boston), 34; Jonas, Henry (Boston), 34; Jones, Edward (R. I.), 333n.; Kean, James (S. C.), 161; Kerby, Thomas, 118; Kilbourn, 34; King, Mathias (R. I.), 65; King, William (R. I.), 65; Kinkaed, Henry (Jamaica), 145; Knowles, I. (Boston), 34; Knowls, John (Boston), 32; Kortwright, Cornelius (St. Croix), 217; Lassenne (Lesesne), Horry and (S. C.), 153; Laurence, John (New Netherland), 428; Lewis, Philip (Boston), 34; Leyseler, Jacob (New Netherland), 428; Lincoln, B. (Boston), 33; Liviston, John (S. C.), 161; Lloyd, William (S. C.), 154, 155; Loocquermans, Govert (New Netherland), 414n., 428; Lord, Jonathan (St. Croix), 218; Lorimer, Charles (S. C.), 154, 155; Lorrain, John (Jamaica), 145; Luttwich, Edward (Boston), 31; Lyon, Peter (Va.), 190; McCulloch, Hance (S. C.), 154; McDonald, Terence (St. Croix), 218; McEvoy, Christopher (St. Croix), 217; McIntosh (Mckintosh), Lachlan (Ga.), 153, 154; Maerschallck, Willem (New Netherland), 428; Main, John (Charleston), 385; Mallus, William (Boston), 30; Marnan, Thomas (Antigua), 199; Marston, D. G. (Boston), 33; Martens, Jan (New Netherland), 417; Martin, John (Va.), 190; Martin, William (Va.), 191; Mash, Jonathan, 140; Mason, David, 34; Massie, William (Va.), 190; Mears, *Dr.* (St. Croix), 218; Mell, Thomas (S. C.), 153; Melvill, John (Boston), 69; Meyer, Nicolaes de (New Netherland), 428; Miller, John (Boston), 35; Milner, Solomon (S. C.), 161; Mingo, H. (Boston), 34; Mingo, P. W. (Boston), 34; Minnick, Christian (Christopher?) (S. C.), 154; Minors, Charles (S. C.), 161; Mitchell, Samuel (Va.), 190; Mitchell, Thomas (Charleston), 385; Moore, James (S. C.), 154, 155; Moore, Obediah (Va.), 190; Myers, David (Charleston), 385; Myn-dertsen, Egbert (New Netherland), 428; Naughtye, David, 32; Needam, William (Jamaica), 145; Neeffies (New Netherland), 417; Nesmith, Robert (S. C.), 161; Newton, Hebbert (Boston), 31; O'Garra, John (St. Croix), 218; O'Neale, Pagan and, 385; Pagan and O'Neale (Charleston), 385; Page, Richard (Antigua), 199; Panley, Robert (S. C.), 161; Parsons, James (S. C.), 154; Pecker, James (Boston), 31; Peguine, Peter (S. C.), 154, 155; Pittes, *Capt.* John, 30; Plasted, Joseph (Boston), 30; Polhemius, Johannes Theodorus (New Netherland), 428; Poor, Robert (Va.), 191; Pope, P. (Boston), 34; Pope, R. (Boston), 33; Poyas, John Ernest (S. C.), 161; Price, Samuel (Va.), 191; Prince, Theodore (Boston), 34; Prioleau, Warham and (S. C.), 161; Roach, Ceasare (Antigua), 199; Rose,

Thomas (S. C.), 161; Russell, Daniel (Boston), 32n.; Russell, Hugh (Jamaica), 145; Russell, Mary (S. C.), 161; Salisbury, N. (Boston), 34; Salter, B. (Boston), 34; Salter, Thomas (Boston), 32, 33; Sanders, B. (Boston), 34; Scott, John (S. C.), 161; Scrugs, Thomas (Va.), 191; Seddon, Samuel, 31; Shaw, Henry (Boston), 19; Simons, Samuel (S. C.), 153, 154; Slainey, Johanna (Antigua), 199; Smith, Charles (Va.), 191; Smith, Francis (S. C.), 154; Smith, Sarah, 35; Smith, William (Charleston), 385; Smyser, Paul (S. C.), 154, 155; Sobothan, Johannes (St. Croix), 217; Spears, Robert (Va.), 191; Stanford, John (Boston), 30; Stelle, *Capt.* Isaac, 160; Stevens, Oloff (New Netherland), 417; Stone, William (S. C.), 154, 155; Stone, William (Va.), 190; Stover, John (Boston), 31; Strange, John (Va.), 191; Stratton, B. (Boston), 34; Taylor, Peter (S. C.), 154; Taylor, William (Va.), 191; Terneur, Daniel (New Netherland), 428; Thalbettyer, Charles (St. Croix), 218; Thing, B. (Boston), 33; Thomas, William (Boston), 30; Thwing, Nathaniel, 33; Trent, John (Boston), 33; Tweedy, John (R. I.), 64; Tyacke, John, 35; Vande Grist, Paulus Leendertsen (New Netherland), 428; Vaughan, Francis, 34; Verbrugge, Carel (New Netherland), 428; Vericselen, Henrick, 416; Verveelen, Johannes (New Netherland), 414n., 428; Vincent, Adriaen (New Netherland), 428; Walcott, Eyer (Boston), 34; Waldon, John (S. C.), 161; Wallcott, John (Boston), 34; Wardell, Frances (Boston), 34; Warham, Charles (Boston), 34; Warham and Prioleau (S. C.), 161; Warner, William, 33; Warren, Peter (S. C.), 385; Warren, Robert, 33, 34; Watkins, Thomas (Va.), 190; Webster, *Capt.* John, 31; Wedderburn, Susannah (S. C.), 153; Weekes, Samuel (Boston), 30; Weir (Boston), 33; Weles, Nathaniel, 31; Welles, Benjamin (Boston), 34; White, Joseph (Boston), 30; Whitehead, Joshua (St. Croix), 218; Williams, John (S. C.), 153; Williams, Samuel, 34; Williams, Stephen, 34; Wills, William (Va.), 190; Willson, William, 32; Wilson (S. C.), 161; Wood, John (Va.), 191; Wood, Peter (St. Croix), 217; Woollen, Joseph (Va.), 190; Worrell, George (Boston), 34; Young, William (Antigua), 199

Pusulton, Peter (Boston), 38n.

Pym, John (Boston), 27

Quakers, 85n., 112n., 115-116, 183, 335n., 336, 348n., 350, 354, 383n., 408, 410

Qua Qua Coast, Africa, 414

Quarantine, 171n., 353, 377

Quares, pirate, 19

Quay, *Mrs.* Irene H., 361n.

Queen Elizabeth, cargo, 138

Quitta, Africa, 159

- Rachel*, Boston, 100-101
 Radburn, John, 143n.
 Raeff, *Capt.* Martin Janss., privateer, 416
Rainbow, 5, 9n.; cargo, 132
 Rainsford Island, Mass., 52
 Rait, Alexander, 66
 Ramsay, James, *Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves*, 342n.
 Rand, *Dr.* — (Boston), 52
 Randolph, Edward, cited, 14n.
 Rantoul, Robert, "Negro Slavery in Mass.," 82n.
 Rappahannock, Va., 248, 354
 Rathbone, *Mrs.* Mary Baury Jackson, 31n.
 Rawson, Edward (Boston), 7n., 13n.
 Raymond, Robert, solicitor general, 445
Records of Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 7n.
 Redwood, Abraham (Newport), 131n., 140n.; letter from, 134-135; letters to, 118, 121-122, 134-136
 Redwood, Jonas L., 165, 166
 Redwood, William, jr., 165, 166
 Reilly, John (Philadelphia), 107
 Relfe, —, letter to, 210n.
 Religion, Africa, 61
 Remington (Remmington), *Capt.* Benjamin, 189, 214, 241, 253, 307, 337
 Remonstrances, from Rhode Island, 115n.; over slave-trade contract, 413-414; to Board of Trade, 203-205
 Rent, negroes, 327-328
Report of the Record Commissioners, 20n.
 "Report on the Affairs of the Dutch West India Company, 1648," 411n.
Revue Historique, 146n.
 Rhode Island, abolitionists, 3; admiralty court, 52-65; and Massachusetts, 16; archives, 52n.; assembly, 109, 113-115, 122, 203n., 336, 342n.-344n., 351n.; *History of*, 131n.; *History of*, by Arnold, 53n.; legislation, 3, 123n., 289-290; merchants, 68n., 396, 489; negro importations, 111-115, 123n.; rum, 45, 80; shipbuilding, 137, 462, 464, 468-472, 474, 475, 477, 479, 483, 484, 488, 490, 494-496, 505, 511, 512; slaves from, 512; slave trade, 1, 108-405; vessels, 47, 48, 51n., 68, 404, 464, 469, 471, 477, 489, 500, 502; vessels from, 476-478, 483, 487, 498, 505, 507, 512; voyages, 9n., 452
 Rhode Island, Historical Publication No. 4, 165n.
Rhode Island Colonial Records, 108n.
Rhode Island Historical Magazine, 206n.
 Rhode Island Historical Society, papers, 3n.; *Publications*, 108n.
 "Rhode Island Merchants and the Sugar Act," by F. B. Wiener, 203n.
 Rhodes, *Capt.* Nehemiah, 174
 Rhodes, *Capt.* Samuel, letter from, 46-48; letter to, 42-46
 Ricaut, *Sir* Paul, 439
 Rice, 61, 121, 124, 156-158, 203, 255, 264, 361, 363, 396n.; cargoes, 162, 270, 337; for slaves, 61, 145, 293, 376, 378; prices, 58, 169, 172, 224, 238, 284, 386; South Carolina, 150, 167, 171-173, 269
 Richards, *Capt.* Rogers (New York), 452, 458
 Richardson, Thomas (R. I.), 112-113
 Richbell, John, 11n.
 Riche, Thomas (Philadelphia), 454-456
 Richman, I. B., *Rhode Island*, 135n.
 Riley, Mark, 107
 Riley, Philip, 104, 106
 Rio de Janeiro, 103, 104, 106, 388
 Rio Nunez, Africa, 100
 Rio Pongo (Pongas, Rispongo), 82n., 283-284, 386
 Rivera, Anthonio de, slaves of, 416
 Rivera, Jacob Rodriguez (Newport), 147n., 208-209, 211, 214, 226, 248n., 250, 264-265, 269, 337; letters to, 246-247, 265-266, 273-277, 293
 Roads, *Capt.* Nathaniel, *Success*, 185
 Robe, *Capt.* — (Bristol, Eng.), 311, 313n., 318, 320, 324
 Roberts, B., pirate, 116n.
 Roberts, Richard, trade, 281
 Robinson, Christopher, 403n.
 Robinson, James (R. I.), 339
 Robinson, *Capt.* John (Boston), 27, 51, 65, 66
 Robinson, *Capt.* William, 80, 81, 82n.
 Rodman, *Capt.* —, 173, 202, 203n.
 Rodman, D. (R. I.), 270n.
 Rogers, Simon (Boston), petition, 30n., 32n.
 Rogers, *Capt.* Thomas (Newport), 166n., 188, 198, 200-202, 213, 214, 246n., 248n., 254, 259, 260n., 261, 267n., 287; accounts, 164-166, 179n., 196-200
 Roman Catholics, Africa, 61
 Rome, Simon (Boston), 26
 "Romulus, Log," Essex Institute, 80n.
 Roseau, Dominica, 103
 Rotch, William, jr., 85, 348-351
 Rotterdam, cargo from, 359n.
 Royal African Company, 2, 14, 17n., 23, 24, 36n., 109, 406, 407n., 435, 445, 446, 450; petition, 436-438
Royal Charlotte, 194n., 217-220, 222, 241, 243, 265n.
 Royal Company of the Havana, 141
 Royal Exchange Tavern, Boston, 66n.
 Royall, Isaac (Mass.), 69n.; petition, 47-49, 122
 Royall, Jacob (Mass.), 28, 34, 36n., 38n., 48n.
 Rudolphus, Pieter, 414n.
 Rum, 4, 44, 47, 156, 210-211, 265-266; Barbados, 41, 144n.; cargoes, 42, 46, 49, 61, 69, 80, 88n., 94, 100n., 135n., 136n., 138n., 143, 146n., 147, 151, 165, 174, 175, 179, 183, 188, 202n., 209, 210n., 218-220, 222-223, 237, 241-244, 249, 252, 255, 258n., 270, 288, 294, 296, 298, 314, 320, 330, 337-340, 348, 353, 367, 387n., 390, 391, 396; duties, 446, 457n.; for seamen, 197; Jamaica, 226, 263, 306, 312, 317, 332; New England, 1, 3n., 130n., 133, 187, 194, 244n., 258n., 260, 264n., 287, 383n.; prices, 81, 166, 177-179, 181-182, 196, 219, 223, 224,

- 258, 277-283, 384; trade, 31n., 32, 39, 79, 98, 123-131, 136, 156, 203-206n., 224-225, 227-237, 241, 243, 251, 259-262, 286, 288-289, 307, 324, 325, 361-373; West India, 42, 48, 50, 148n., 299
- Russell, James (Mass.), 65
- Russell, N. P., 101
- Russell, Nathaniel (Charleston), 268n., 275-276, 341n., 387
- Rutenbarger, Solomon (R. I.), 133
- Ryie, Africa, 461n.
- Saffin, John (Mass.), 15-16, 17n.; "Answer," 18, 19n.
- Sageran, — (St. Eustatius), 48
- St. Andrews River, Africa, 36n.
- St. *Anthoni*, 416
- St. Augustine, Fla., 501
- St. Bartholomew, W. I., 82n., 400
- St. Christopher, 45, 242, 416n., 453; merchants, 134n., 241, 258, 299, 471, 499, 506n.; slaves for, 69, 140n., 148n., 209n.; slave sales, 141, 299; slaves from, 14n., 29; vessels, 477, 478; vessels for, 141, 174, 198n., 201, 379n.; vessels from, 378n., 465, 467, 471, 472, 477, 487-489, 492, 498-500, 502, 505, 506, 508, 511, 512
- St. Croix, W. I., 72n., 176, 217-220, 243, 258n., 320, 459; slave sales, 181-183, 217-220, 241-243, 245-246, 460
- St. *Crous* (St. *Cruz*), cargo, 430
- St. Elizabeth, Jamaica, 298n., 328
- St. Eustatius, 42-44, 46, 69, 88, 136n., 148-149, 346-347, 353n., 360; vessels from, 467, 469, 472, 473, 477-480, 482, 487, 489, 494
- St. George, Grenada, 259
- St. Jago, Cape Verde Islands, 41, 43, 158, 198
- St. Jago de Kuba, *see* Santiago
- St. *John*, Salem, 82n., 84n.
- St. Kitts, *see* St. Christopher
- St. Lucia, vessels from, 493, 497
- St. Maries, Africa, 441
- St. Martin, W. I., 15, 348, 510
- St. Pierre, Martinique, 80
- St. Thomas, W. I., 71, 88, 102, 379, 395, 396, 400, 401, 490; vessels from, 467, 469-473, 476, 479-482, 484-486, 489-491, 493-499, 501, 503-508
- St. Vincent, W. I., 148, 259, 299
- Salem, Mass., 73n., 77, 91, 118n.; abolition movement, 72n., 77n.; lawsuit, 84-99; letters from, 80-81, 84, 98; merchants, 89, 457n., 476; vessels, 4, 14n., 70n., 76n., 80-81, 84n., 90, 91, 93, 94, 99-100, 252, 286, 341n., 360n., 476
- Salem, N. J., 498
- Sales, slaves: Antigua, 135, 198-200, 210n.; Barbados, 148, 196, 238, 266-267; Boston, 19, 21, 25-36n., 38-40, 50-51, 65-70; Buenos Aires, 359-360; Havana, 360; Jamaica, 145, 226-227, 255, 262, 272-276, 292, 296-297, 305-306, 308-311, 327-332; Massachusetts, 19, 21, 25-35, 38-40, 50-51, 65-69; New Jersey, 454-456; New Netherland, 427-428, 431-433; Newport, 140, 143-144, 185, 203n.; New York, 451-453; Rhode Island, 64-65, 116-117; St. Christopher, 148n.; St. Croix, 181-183, 217-218; St. Eustatius, 136n., 346-347; South Carolina, 153-154, 157, 160-163, 169, 171-173, 275-276, 385-387; Virginia, 190-193, 238n., 239, 272, 285; West Indies, 148n., 302, 333;—vessels, 42-43, 203n., 291, 301, 302, 309n.-311, 318, 397
- Sally, Badger (New York), 455; Briggs (Newport), 213, 216, 221; Hopkins (Newport), 202, 203n., 206n., 213; Molton (New York), 453; *see also* Little Sally
- Salmon, — (Barbados), 40n.
- Salt, trade, 4, 6, 8, 43, 361, 363, 364
- Saltertudas, vessels from, 463, 466, 468
- Saltonstall, Gurdon (Conn.), 24n.
- Saltonstall, Nathaniel (Boston), selectman, 41
- Saltonstall, Richard (Mass.), 2, 6-7
- Salt Pond, Africa, 223, 236, 315
- Salutation, Boston, 29
- Salvage, 53, 382
- Sanderson, Lindsay, 140n., 144n.
- Sandiman, Ralph, 410
- Sandwich, Mass., abolition movement, 77n.
- Sanford, Peleg (R. I.), governor, 110n.
- Santa Croix, *see* St. Croix
- Santa Cruz, 186, 461n.
- Santiago, Cape Verde Islands, *see* St. Jago
- Santiago, Cuba, 416
- Santo Domingo, 71, 81n., 88
- São Thomé (St. Thomas), African island, 270n., 459
- Sargent, L. M., *Dealings with the Dead*, 63n.
- Savage, Samuel Phillips, 187-188
- Savannah, Ga., 185n., 244n., 377, 378n.
- Savannah la Mar, Jamaica, 265, 298, 301n., 302n.
- Scarlets Wharf, Boston, 29, 39, 40
- Schaeff, Hendrick (New Netherland), 417, 422
- Scott, —, 141n.
- Scott, Daniel, 135n.
- Scott, Capt. George, 117-121, 135-136
- Scott, Joseph (Newport), 123n., 125
- Scott, Capt. Walter, *Berry*, 444n.
- Scriptures, cited, 18
- Scrivello, tusk, 124n., 150
- Seaflower, voyages, 5, 109
- Seaman, George, 157
- Seamen, 107n., 311, 349, 351n., 443; accounts, 197; duties, 361-378; *see also* next entry
- Seamen (list): Aburn, James, *Mary*, 371; Allen, *Ascension*, 360; Altimus, Philip, 208; Arnold, Tobie, 164; Austin, Job, 380, 381n.; Babcock, mate, *Ascension*, 360; Baggott, William, *Hare*, 146, 152; Ball, William, 146; Batty, John, 146; Baxter, *Ascension*, 359; Bennet, mate, 210n.; Bigley, John, mate, 380, 381n.; Bloodsworth, John, cook, 146; Bonnel, William, 197n.; Bourk, William, 197n.; Brattle, mate, 359; Brown, John, 176; Brownel, *Ascension*, 360; Burgess, John, 369, 370; Burling, William, 146; Burton, Thomas, 377; Castloff, Peter, mate, 380, 381n.; Chace, John, 227n.; Clark,

Seamen (list)—*continued*:

- mate, *Ascension*, 359, 360; Clarke, William, 197n.; Cleveland, William, 156; Deofy, Benjamin, 176; Dickens, John, 208; Dickinson, Thomas, 119; Dowdal, George, 156; Duglass, John, *Mary*, 377; Dunfield, mate, 209n.; Folger, Jacob, 374, 377; Gazette, John, 176; Gould, James, 208; Ham, Thomas, 119; Hammon, John, *Othello*, 197n.; Hammond, John, 261; Hamond, John Arnold, *Hare*, 146; Hardy, John, cooper, 261; Harlwick, Barnabas, 146; Hartley, James, 208; Harvey, George, 197n., 227n.; Harvey, Robert, 146; Harvy, William, 146; Hascal, Benjamin, 377; Heath, Joseph, 176; Hefferman, William, 165n.; Heffeton, William, 164, 165n.; Hermitage, John, 176; Holmes, Dick, *Othello*, 197n.; Hudson, *Ascension*, 360; Huntington, mate, 71; Ingram, William, 364, 369; Jones, John, *Mary*, 374, 377; Jones, William, 146; Joseph, Manuel, *Nancy*, 395, 396, 400; Keable, Michael, 227n.; Kesser, Anthony, *Titt Bitt*, 164; Lamb, Dick, 311; Lewis, James, 197n.; Lyndon, Nathaniel, 380, 381n.; Mason, John, *Othello*, 197n.; Miller, 71; Mitchel, Ezekiel, 227n.; Mitchell, Thomas, 164; More, James, *Mary*, 372, 376; Morriarty, 81; Movony, William, 146; Mullins, 44; O'Neil, John, 391n.; Parkens, Nathaniel, 176; Penrigh, Thomas, 197n.; Pike, Solomon, 391n.; Plumer, Richard, 176; Pollock, James, 380, 381n.; Power, James, 369, 370; Price, *Ascension*, 360; Richardson (R. I.), 146n.; Richmond, Milton Mann, 391n.; Risle, 323; Sadler, John, 164, 165n.; Sanford, 144; Sayer, *Ascension*, 360; Scotscher, William, 369; Scott, 311; Scyler, Charles, 377; Searing, James, 176; Shearman, Benjamin, 208; Simmons, John, 164; Stanton, John, 176; Strange, William, *Othello*, 197n.; Strenthfeild, Edward, *Othello*, 197n.; Taggart, mate, 71; Taylor, Edward, 176; Taylor, Edward, mate, 242; Taylor, John, mate, 176; Taylor, Thomas, 224; Thompson, John, 12; Underwood, Thomas, mate, 164; Wallas, Thomas, 208; Washbourn, Ebenezer, 70; Welch, Francis, 146, 152; Welford, John, 176; West, William, 208; Wheaton, Nathaniel, 402n.; White, *Ascension*, 360; White, William, 146; Wiat, David, mate, 261; Willson, *Ascension*, 360; Wood, John, 144
- Seasons, for slave trade, 45, 139, 195, 246, 248, 255, 292, 308, 310, 398n., 423, 426, 427
- Second Congregational Church, Newport, 335n.
- Sedgwick, Robert, 9n., 13n.
- Seixas, Moses (R. I.), 350
- Sekundi, Africa, 311n., 313, 367
- Selby, *Capt.* William, 394, 395
- Selectmen, Boston, 41, 51-52; "Records," 20n.
- "Selling of Joseph," 17-18
- Semina, —, privateer, 453
- Senate, U. S., 380n., 404n.
- Senegal, Africa, 68, 71, 250, 278, 399-402, 459; slaves from, 269, 398; voyages from, 394, 396-398, 404
- Senior, Nassau, Africa, 177
- Separate traders, 2, 23, 24, 109, 110, 445
- Servants, white, 20-23, 25, 26, 450n., 454
- Sestos, Africa, 125
- Seven Stars, Boston, 39
- Seven Years' War, 173n.
- Sewall, Jonathan, 36n.
- Sewall, Samuel [1], "Selling of Joseph," 17n., 19n., 25n.
- Sewall, Samuel [2], merchant, 26-29, 41, 52
- Sewall, Samuel [3], 93
- Sewall Papers, 17n.
- Sewell, *Capt.* James, trade, 278
- Shackles, for African vessels, 94, 148, 156, 178, 253, 256, 424, 461n.
- Shannon, — (Boston), vendue master, 19n.
- Shantines, *see* Ashanti
- Sharp, Granville, 364n.
- Shaw, Charles (New York), 286
- Shaw, Daniel, deposition, 391
- Shearman, *Capt.* Ebenezer (Newport), 337-338
- Sheffield, *Capt.* John (Boston), 41
- Sheffield, W. P., *Privateersmen of Newport*, 173n.
- Shepley Library, Providence, 246n.
- Sherbro, Africa, 404
- Sheriff, orders, 48n., 270-271
- Sherwood, Joseph, colonial agent, 203n.
- Shipbuilding, 70n., 103, 107, 110n., 137, 138, 140-141, 143n., 395, 462-512
- Shipowners (list): Abrams, John (New York), 481, 482, 487; Addison, Robert (England), 485; Alboy, William (Bermuda), 496; Alderson, Simon (N. C.), 484; Algeo, Daniel (New York), 509; Alison, Joseph (New York), 485; Allen, Gideon, 467; Amy, Joshua (New York), 507; Annely, Richard (New York), 507; Appelby, Joseph, 487; Archibald, Samuel, 489; Aspinwall, John, 503; Auboyneaux, John (New York), 464, 466; Banker (Bancker), Christopher (New York), 479, 481, 486, 496, 497, 501, 503; Banker, John (New York), 469; Barberie, Peter (New York), 463, 465, 468, 471, 472, 475, 477-481, 483; Barboline, John, 478, 481; Barnard, Samuel, 483; Barnes, Thomas (New York), 489, 502; Barnes, William (New York), 473, 477, 480, 482; Barnes, William (St. Thomas), 490, 495; Bartlett, Benjamin (Madeira), 499; Barton, John, 482; Bascomb, Nathaniel, 487; Bassett, John (New York), 467; Bassett, Mary, 502; Bayard, Nicholas (New York), 484, 502, 505, 508, 512; Bayard (Byard), Peter, 482; Bayard, Samuel (New York), 464, 466; Bayard, Samuel, jr., 484; Bayard (Byard), Stephen (New York), 477, 482, 484, 488, 490-491, 505n., 508, 512; Bayeaux, Thomas (New York), 464; Bayeaux, Thomas, jr. (New York), 494; Bedford, Thomas, 470; Beekman (Beckman), Gerrard (New York), 464, 473, 475; Bell, Nathaniel, 475; Benin, Henry

Shipowners (list)—*continued*:

(Antigua), 495, 496; Bennet, Robert (R. I.), 477; Bernson, Peter (New York), 510; Beswick, John (Jamaica), 467; Betts, Samuel, 486; Birch, Jonathan (Bermuda), 471, 478; Bird, Michael (London), 500n.; Birmingham, Francis, 477, 478; Bolt, James, 479; Bonmi, Henry, 500; Booth, Samuel (Conn.), 493; Borrell, Sarah (New York), 484, 485; Bosch (Boch, Bush), Justus (New York), 463, 469, 475, 476, 478, 479, 481-483, 487, 491, 492, 504, 507; Boss, John L. (R. I.), 337; Bourdet, Samuel (New York), 507; Bourne, Shearjashub (R. I.), 339; Boyd, Paul (London), 499; Boyd, Richard (London), 499; Bradick, John (New York), 462; Bradsall, Dodging, 479; Brasier, Francis, 512; Bridge, Samuel (New York), 509; Briggs, Thomas, 339, 351; Britton, Peter, 475; Broadhurst, Samuel (N. Y.), 499; Brown, John (New York), 477, 480, 482, 484, 488, 493, 497, 500, 502; Brown, Robert (New York), 508; Brown, Samuel (Salem), 476; Brown, Simon (Barbados), 465; Burger, Martin (New York), 493; Burk, John (Barbados), 476, 483; Burling, Edward (New York), 475, 477, 485; Burling, James (New York), 485; Burr, John, 467; Burr, Robert, 504; Burroughs, Nicholas (Nevis), 471; Burrowes, Jeremiah (New Providence), 497, 505; Burrows, Edward (Bermuda), 480, 497; Burrows, Florentia, 474; Burrows, Jerome, 474; Burrows, Michael, 480; Burrows, Painter (Poynter), 478, 484, 485; Burrows, Samuel (Bermuda), 507; Burrows, Stephen, 485; Burrows, William, 499, 504, 505; Bush, Henry (New York), 507; Butterfield, Benjamin (Bermuda), 488; Butterfield, John (Bermuda), 476, 507; Butterfield, Nathaniel, *sr.* (Bermuda), 476; Butterfield, Nathaniel, *jr.*, 476, 488; Byowan, Thomas (New York), 509; Cabot, Pierce and (Boston), 82n.; Cahoon, John, *jr.* (R. I.), 339n.; Cale, Joseph, 479; Canon, John, 503; Caster, Thomas (Bristol, Eng.), 498; Catling, Joseph, 487; Cheesman, Thomas, 474; Cheshire, William (Liverpool), 463; Clark (Clarke), Elias (Bermuda), 476; Clark, Jonathan (Portsmouth, N. H.), 107; Clark, Samuel (Jamaica), 469; Clarke, George (New York), 470; Clarke, John (New York), 469; Clarkson, David (New York), 478, 485, 487, 489-493, 503, 505, 507, 508; Clarkson, Matthew (New York), 475, 478, 485, 487, 490, 492-494, 503, 505; Coden, James (New York), 484; Collins, Abel, 486; Conley, John (New York), 462; Conyars, Charles, 477; Conyars, John, 474; Corbusier, Henry, 482, 483, 494, 508; Corland, Frederick, 477; Corlis, George (Providence), 206n.; Cornwell, John, 475; Cortland, Philip (New York), 467, 497; Cosins, William (London), 492n.; Courant, Peter (New Providence), 470;

Couzine, Garrat (New York), 509; Cowley, Joseph, 501; Cromline (Crumlin), Charles (New York), 462-466; Crow, William (New York), 490; Crowel, Saber, 467; Cruger, Henry (New York), 489, 500, 508, 512; Cruger, Henry, *jr.* (New York), 505, 508; Cruger, John (New York), 500, 505, 512; Cruger, Tulem (Telem) (New York), 484, 486; Cuyler (Chuyler), Henry (New York), 465, 470, 472, 475, 477, 481, 482, 496, 497, 503, 505, 507, 508; Cuyler, Henry, *jr.* (New York), 503, 508; Daltera, John (Bristol, Eng.), 498; Darcey (Dorcey), James, 477, 498, 502, 504; Darrell, Moore, 497; Davis, Molachi (N. J.), 498; Davis, William, 492n.; Dawson, John (Ramsgate), 492n.; Day, Thomas, 481; Deane, John (New York), 488; Degrove, Adolph, 471; Deharret (Deharies, Derihett, Deryhett), Benjamin, *sr.*, 481, 483, 485, 497, 511; Deharret (Deharies), Benjamin, *jr.* (S. C.), 485, 486, 490; De Hart, Jacob, 512; De Lancey, Stephen (New York), 463, 465, 468, 471, 472, 474, 475, 477; Delap, Francis (Antigua), 467; Delmena, Abraham (New York), 466; Denton, Thomas (Philadelphia), 470; De Peyster, Abraham (New York), 438, 464, 466, 489, 491, 505, 512; De Peyster, Abraham, *jr.*, 477; Devon, Richard (Ramsgate), 492n.; Dickenson, James (Bermuda), 507; Dinwidde, Robert (Bermuda), 476, 480; Dixon, Benjamin (Barbados), 462; Donbar, William, 474; Dorcey, James (New York), 498; Drumand, Evan, 479; Duane, Anthony (New York), 467, 483; Dunbar, George (R. I.), 489; Durham, Richard (New York), 499, 503, 506; Du Wint, John (New York), 493; Dwight, Samuel (New York), 509; Edwards, Benjamin, 476; Eldridge, Benjamin, 482, 488; Ellegood, John (Va.), 495; Ellis, Robert (Philadelphia), 470; Ellison, John, *sr.* (New York), 468, 472, 473; Ellison, John, *jr.* (New York), 468; Ellsworth, Theophilus (New York), 505, 512; Ely, Gersham, 500; Emot, Joseph, 511; Emott, John, 484; Emra, James (Nevis), 462, 476, 490, 493; Euretse, Cornelius, 494; Evans, John (Jamaica), 465, 469; Evans, Joseph, 492; Evans, Ruth, 502, 503; Evans, Thomas (New York), 469; Evans, William (Bristol, Eng.), 464; Exon, William (New York), 500, 506n.; Faneuil (Fannil, Funnel), Benjamin (New York), 462-465, 467; Faniere, Stephen (New York), 507; Farmer, Jasper (New York), 509; Farr, Richard, 481; Fauconier, Peter (New York), 470; Fauconier, Theodore (New York), 470, 471; Favies, James, *jr.* (New York), 500n.; Fitch, Samuel, 475, 477; Fitchwater, George (Philadelphia), 470; Foord, Joseph (London), 492n.; Foremon, Joseph, 512; Forman, Katharine (London), 504; Forster, Benjamin (Liverpool), 463; Forster, Josias, 474; Fors-

Shipowners (list)—*continued*:

ter, Martha, 487; Forster, Thomas, 487; Fowle, Joseph (Bristol, Eng.), 498; Fowle, Richard, 498; Fowle, Thomas, 504; Franks, Jacob (New York), 465, 470, 486, 488, 508; Franks, Thomas, 479; French, Philip, 475, 478, 489, 491; Freneau (Fresneau) (New York), 462-465, 467, 469, 470, 472-475, 478, 479; Frimingham, Paul, 502; Frisel, Joseph, 486; Furber, Matthew, 473; Furnell, Organ (Bristol, Eng.), 498; Furnell, William (Antigua), 505, 508, 512; Galbreth, Robert (Jamaica), 495; Gardner, Robert, 470; Garvey, Christopher, 482; Gerbransen, Frances (New York), 463; Gibbs, George (Newport), 339, 503; Gibbs, Henry (Barbados), 468; Gibbs, John, 474, 488, 505; Gibbs, John, *jr.*, 488; Gilbert, Ephraim, 483, 488; Gilbert, James (London), 462; Gilbert, John (Boston), 462; Gilbert, Nathaniel (New York), 488, 490, 491; Gilbert, Thomas, *sr.*, 479, 502; Gilbert, Thomas, *jr.*, 479; Godfrey, Benjamin (New York), 463; Godfrey, William (Va.), 499; Godires, Joest, 471; Golst, Jacob (New York), 488; Gomez, Daniel, 481, 485; Gomez, David, 483, 491, 498, 499, 501, 504, 508; Gomez, Mordecai (Jamaica), 483; Gomez, Mordicai (New York), 481, 483, 485, 491, 498, 501, 504, 508; Gordon, James (St. Christopher), 506n.; Governour, Nicholas (New York), 478, 485, 486, 491; Gray, John (N. J.), 500; Green, John, 478, 481, 482; Greenel, Thomas (New York), 509; Gregory, Edward (Antigua), 489, 491; Gregory, John (Antigua), 489; Gridley, Nathan, 479; Griffith, Robert (New York), 479, 485, 503; Griffith, William (New York), 508, 509; Grossbeek (Groosbeck), John (N. Y.), 494, 500n.; Groves, Roger (New York), 485, 486; Gurmmet, William, 475; Hammond, Joseph, 512; Handy, Thomas, 480, 482; Hare, William (Bristol, Eng.), 498; Hargrove, Henry (S. C.), 481, 483, 486, 490; Harper (Hasper), Blenny (Barbados), 495, 499; Harrison, Thomas, 480; Harvey, John, 487; Haselden, James, 504; Haviland, John, 494; Haviland, William, 494; Hayman, William (Jamaica), 467; Haynes, Joseph (New York), 509; Heard, John, 511; Henderson, James (New York), 483; Henry, John, 502; Henson (Hinson), Nathaniel, 503; Heron, Alexander, 496; Hett, Rene (New-York), 467, 469, 470, 473, 474, 478, 482; Hicks, Austen (New York), 504; Hicks, Edward (New York), 504; Hildreth, Benjamin (New York), 491; Hinman, John, 501; Hinson, Cornelius, 477; Hinson, Daniel (Bermuda), 497, 499, 504; Holland, Edward (N. Y.), 494; Hopkins, Thomas, 479, 511; Horton, Catharine, 508; Hough, Ebenezer, 476; Hughes, Joseph, 478; Hume, Benjamin (Jamaica), 495; Hunt, Angelina, 480; Hunt, Joseph (Bermuda), 487, 497, 499, 504; Hunt, Keziah (Bermuda), 497, 499; Hunt, Obadiah (New

York), 493, 501; Hunt, Richard, 480; Hunt, Thomas (Bermuda), 487, 497, 499; Hunt, Thomas (New York), 503, 506; Huntington, David, 339; Isles, Joseph (London), 492n.; Isles, Richard (London), 492n.; Jaimain, Joseph Boyden (New York), 493; James, Edward (Jamaica), 467; Janaway, Richard (London), 464, 472; Janny, James, 483; Jauncey, John (New York), 509; Jay, Augustus (New York), 463, 477, 479, 481, 490, 491, 495, 496, 506; Jay, Peter (New York), 490-493, 495, 506; Jefferys, Thomas (New York), 490; Jennings, John (Bermuda), 474, 482, 486; Jenoux, Thomas, 502; Johnson, John, 512; Johnston, Andrew, 511; Johnston, E. C., 511; Johnston, Ebenezer, (N. J.), 484, 490; Johnston, John, 512; Joline, Andrew (New York), 463; Joneau, Abraham (New York), 463; Jones, *Gen.*, 507; Jones, Francis, 488, 506, 507; Jones, Humphrey (New York), 507, 512; Jones, Joseph (New York), 482, 494; Judkins, Stephen, 496; Kemble, Samuel, 512; Kennen, James, 504; Kerny, Michael (Va.), 468; Kilby, Christopher (Boston), 504; Kilsal, Richard (Liverpool), 462; Kortright, Cornelius (New York), 502, 504, 507; Lagrange, Barnardus, 512; Lang, Henry (London), 504; Langerwood, James (London), 492n.; Langerwood, Joseph (London), 492n.; Lansing, Abraham (New York), 500; Lasley, Jacob (New York), 497; Lassere (Lesesne), William (S. C.), 507; Lawrence, Henry (New York), 493, 512; Lawrence, Thomas (New York), 497, 500, 502; Leacraft, William, 500, 502; Lecount, William (New York), 464, 466; Levy, Isaac (London), 472; Levy (Levey), Moses (New York), 465, 466, 470, 471, 473, 478, 479, 481-483, 485-505; Levy (Levey), Samuel, 465, 466; Lewis, Francis (New York), 507; Lightbourn, Samuel, 504; Livingston (Levingston), Peter (New York), 490, 492; Livingston, Peter R. (New York), 509; Livingston, Philip (New York), 488, 490-492, 506, 507, 509; Livingston, Robert (New York), 485, 498, 505, 507, 508; Livingston, Robert, *jr.* (New York), 497, 506, 507; Lloyd, Edward (London), 503; Lloyd, Henry (England), 485; Logg, John, 476; Lott, Abraham (New York), 510; Louiss, Herman (London), 466; Low, Cornelius (New York), 469; Low, Isaac (New York), 510; Low, John (N. J.), 494; Luce, Peter (Boston), 471; Lurting, Robert (New York), 467, 468, 472, 474; Lurting, Thomas, 474; Lush, John (New York), 503; Lyell, Abram, 512; Lyme, Lancaster (New York), 468; Lymes, William, 470; Lynch (Linch), Anthony (New York), 462, 463, 465; Lynch (Linch), James, 482; Lynch, Mary (New York), 465; Lynch, Mary [2d] (New York), 465; Lynch, Peter (New York), 465; Lynch, Sarah (New York), 465; Lynch, Thomas (New York), 465, 467, 469; Lynsen

Shipowners (list)—*continued*:

(Linsen, Lyncen), Abraham (New York), 479, 481, 486, 505, 509; MckEvery (M'Evers) John, 475, 487; Mallory, Peter, 474, 477, 488, 503; Mallory, William, *sr.*, 480, 506; Mallory, William, *jr.*, 506; Man, Edward, 502; Marschalk (Marscollock), Andrew, *sr.* (New York), 481, 485; Marschalk, Francis (New York), 485; Marschalk, Peter (New York), 485; Marscollock, Andrew, *jr.* (New York), 481; Marshall, John (Boston), 471, 484; Marston, Nathaniel (New York), 486, 495, 496, 502, 505, 506, 508, 509, 512; Marston, Nathaniel, *jr.* (New York), 493, 500; Marston, Thomas (New York), 500; Martindale, William (Barbados), 462; Mawdsley (R. I.), 293n.; Maycock, William (London), 492n.; Maydman, James, 482; Meriweather, Jeffry (Nevis), 471; Methelin, Richard, 502; Methurst, James, 478; Mico, Joseph (London), 500n.; Miers, John, 496; Miller, Permfort, 483; Miller, Thomas (Philadelphia), 470; Minsviele, David (New York), 464; Minville, David (Barbados), 494; Mitchell, Walter (New York), 483, 494, 496; Mitchell, William (Bermuda), 483, 488; Moore (Moor), Alexander (New York), 462, 463, 482, 488; Moore, Benjamin (New York), 507; Moore, Daniel (Barbados), 495, 499; Moore (Moor), John (New York), 463, 465, 468, 471, 472, 475, 477-481, 483, 484, 486, 487, 489, 494, 496, 497, 503, 507; Morgan, John (Bristol, Eng.), 498; Morine, Peter (New York), 467; Mott, Jacob (New York), 492; Myers, Henry, *jr.* (New York), 495; Newman, Augustus (R. I.), 337; Nielson, James, 512; Ogden, David (N. J.), 494; Ogden, John (N. J.), 494; Orem, William, 479; Osborn, John (Boston), 500n.; Outerbridge, Stephen (Bermuda), 501; Oxrand, Thomas (Boston), 500n.; Pachero, Roderigo (New York), 463, 483, 487, 494; Packer, George, 481; Page, Mathew (Liverpool), 462; Painter, Paul (Bermuda), 471, 478, 485, 486, 492, 500, 502, 503; Painter, Paul, *jr.*, (Bermuda), 486, 492, 502, 503; Painter, Stephen, 486, 492, 502; Pajaco, Roderigo (London), 499, 501, 503; Parker, John, 511; Parker, Lewis, *sr.* (Ramsgate), 492n.; Parker, Lewis, *jr.* (London), 492n.; Parker, Robert (Ramsgate), 492n.; Parkerland, William (New Castle-upon-Tyne), 492n.; Parkes, Henry (Boston), 9n.; Payntor, Payntor, 484; Pelly, John (London), 503; Penniston, Jeremiah, *jr.*, 508; Penny, James, 479; Phillips, Adolphus (New York), 439, 463, 466, 470, 475, 479, 483, 511; Philps, Francis (London), 492n.; Philps, John (London), 492n.; Philps, Thomas (London), 492n.; Pike, Francis, 470; Pinder, Timothy, 474; Pinfold, William (New York), 469, 471; Piniston, John, 474; Pinnell, Richard

(London), 503; Pinney, Azariah (Nevis), 471; Pinney, Mary, 479; Pintard, Samuel (New York), 485; Prout, Timothy, Boston, 490, 493; Provoost, David (New York), 469, 470, 474, 480, 493, 496, 497, 501, 503, 506; Provoost, David, *jr.* (New York), 500; Provoost, John (New York), 499; Provoost, William (New York), 467, 470, 474; Rall (Roll), John, 471, 481; Read (Reade, Reed), James, 478, 481, 482; Read, John (New York), 464, 466-469, 483; Read, Joseph (New York), 467, 469, 483; Reading, Roger (Jamaica), 495; Redman, Joseph (Philadelphia), 470; Redwood, Christopher, 481; Reilly, William (London), 492n.; Renaudet, James (New York), 467; Rhynders (Rinders), Barent (New York), 464, 467, 469, 477, 478; Richard, John (New York), 489; Richard, Paul, 475, 478, 489, 498, 499, 501, 504, 505, 508; Richard, Peter (New York), 485; Richardson, Samuel (Liverpool), 462; Rickets, William (New York), 484, 490, 511; Riddel (Riddle), William (Bermuda), 496, 497, 501, 502, 504, 505, 506; Roach, Thomas, 481; Robart, Christopher (New York), 509; Robertson (Charleston), 378; Robinson, Joseph (New York), 472, 473, 475, 477, 480-482, 490, 495, 496, 503, 507, 508; Robinson, Thomas, 486; Rolland (New York), 463, 465-467, 469; Rosevelt, Jacob (New York), 463, 466, 467; Rosevelt, (New York), 463, 467; Rosier, Thomas (New Castle-upon-Tyne), 492n.; Ross, Thomas, 481; Rowland, Richard (St Christopher), 499; Rowll, Sarah (New York), 483; Rush, Henry, 487; Rutgers, Anthony (New York), 462, 463, 487, 501, 503; Rutgers, Peter (New York), 481, 482, 501, 503; Sandford, Cornelius (New York), 473, 475; Sandford, William (R. I.), 469; Sarly, Jacob (New York), 509; Sawery, Richard Gilpin (New York), 479; Sawery, William (New York), 479; Schermerhorn, John, 504; Schuyler, Arnot (N. J.), 492, 507; Schuyler, Arthur (New York), 487; Schuyler, John (New York), 505, 511, 512; Schyler, Adoniah (New York), 501, 503, 511; Schyler, Peter (New York), 501, 503, 505, 511; Scott, Walter (London), 484; Searle, James, 502; Searle, John, 477; Sears, John, 506, 507; Sears, Solomon (Bermuda and Boston), 494, 495; Sell, William (New York), 468; Seymer, Rachel, 474; Seymour, Florentia (New York), 487, 493; Seymour, John, 512; Seymour, Thomas (New York), 504, 505, 510; Seymour, William (New York), 493, 506; Shankland, Robert (Del.), 487; Sherwood, Richard (Antigua), 468; Silleman, Robert, 467; Simpkins, C., 468; Simpson, Joseph (New Castle-upon-Tyne), 492n.; Simpson, Nathaniel (New York), 463, 464, 470, 472; Slaght, John, 512; Slydobottam, Samuel (London), 500n.; Smith, George, 480; Smith, John (Barba-

Shipowners (list)—*continued*:

- dos), 462; Smith, Thomas, 480; Smith, William (Antigua), 489; Smith, William (New York), 479, 481, 483-485, 496, 500, 503, 506, 509; Solegre, Peter (St. Christopher), 471; Spofferth, Robert (Bermuda), 488; Spofferth, Samuel (Bermuda), 472, 480, 488, 491, 493, 508; Spooner, Andrew (R. I.), 337; Stay, Charles, 474; Stephens, Thomas (Antigua), 491; Stephenson (Stevenson), Enoch (New York), 477, 479, 481, 482, 484, 489, 491, 507, 508; Sterry, Cyprian (Providence), 378n.; Stiles, Daniel (Bermuda), 486; Stiles, Mary, 503; Still, Gabriel, 511; Stone, *Maj.* William (Bermuda), 469; Stoodley, Christopher (Antigua), 465; Styles, Edward, 480; Swarl, John (New York), 485, 487, 489; Taber, Constant (R. I.), 337, 338; Tailer, Thomas (Boston), 484; Tanker, David (Liverpool), 462; Tarleton, Thomas (Liverpool), 487; Taylor, John, 507; Teague, John (Bristol, Eng.), 464, 502; Texon, John (R. I.), 382; Thody, Michael (New York), 507; Thompson, Stephen, 483; Thong, Rip (New York), 486, 487; Thong, Thomas, 480, 482, 486, 487; Thong, Walter (New York), 472, 475, 477, 481; Thurston, Jonathan (R. I.), 477; Tibout, John (New York), 504; Tickner, George (Ramsgate), 492n.; Tilly, Timothy (New York), 469; Tinhoven, Hendrick, 481; Torpey, Thomas (New York), 464; Townsend, Kingston (Barbados), 476; Trimmingham, John (Bermuda), 476; Tucker, Henry (Bermuda), 473, 504; Tucker, John, 503; Tucker, Samuel (Bermuda), 473; Tucker, William (Bermuda), 473; Tudor, Thomas (New York), 473, 474; Turner, John (Salem), 476; Turner, Richard (New Castle-upon-Tyne), 492n.; Vallet, Peter (Jamaica), 475, 476; Vallet (Vallette), Peter (New York), 466, 467, 469, 475-477, 479, 481, 482, 484, 490-493, 495, 496, 506; Van Borssom, Henry, 502, 504, 507; Vanbrough, John (New York), 462; Vanbuskirk, Lawrence, 466; Van Cortland, Jacob (New York), 470; Van Courtland, Fred, 490, 491, 495, 506; Van Dam, Richard (New York), 486, 487, 494; Vanderhule, John (New York), 463, 467; Vanhorne, Abraham (New York), 462-465, 469, 470, 474, 475, 479, 495-497, 511; Vanhorne, Abraham, *jr.*, 499, 502, 505, 506; Vanhorne, Cornelius (New York), 463, 465, 467, 473, 475, 487; Vanhorne, Cornelius, *jr.*, 487; Vanhorne, David, 508; Vanhorne, Garret (New York), 464, 465, 467, 471-475, 478-482, 484, 488, 489, 492, 493, 497, 499; Vanhorne, James (New York), 495; Vanhorne, John (New York), 462, 464, 467-470, 472-475, 477-479; Vanhorne, John, *jr.*, 511; Vanlair, John, *jr.* (Philadelphia), 470; Vanpelt, John, *sr.* (New York), 486; Vansant (Vangant), Wynt (New York), 502, 504, 507; Vanvleck, Abraham (New York), 469, 480; Van Zolingan, Godardys (New York), 509; Vaughan, Edward, 484, 511; Verplank (Verplantz), Gullian (New York), 493, 501, 505, 512; Verplank, William, 501; Vincent, Francis (New York), 466; Vincent, Samuel (New York), 492, 511; Voden, Ralph (London), 507; Waddie, John (New York), 509; Wainwright, John, 471; Wainwright, Samuel, 471; Waldron, John (New York), 482, 484, 486; Waldron, William (New York), 463; Walker, Elizabeth, 474; Wall, Tobias (Nevis), 464, 465; Walters, John (New York), 487, 495, 501, 503, 505, 507, 511; Walton, Cornelius (New York), 471; Walton, Jacob, 482, 489, 492, 493, 501, 505; Walton, William (New York), 463, 464, 467, 469, 470, 472, 477, 479-482, 485, 487-489, 492, 493, 497, 501, 505; Walton, William, *jr.* (New York), 477, 479, 482, 483, 485, 487, 489, 492, 493, 497, 501, 505; Ward, Joseph (Barbados), 468, 471; Watter, Joseph (New York), 492; Watts, John, 512; Webb, Anthony (New York), 489; Webb, Nathaniel (Montserrat), 493; Wells, Jeremy, 480; Wells, John, 502; Wells, William (St. Christopher), 506n.; Wendell, Abram (New York), 462; White, Joseph (Salem, Mass.), 83n.; White, Robert, 487; Whitney, David, 507; Wickham (R. I.), 258; Wickham, John, and Son (Barbados), 509; Willes, Amos (New York), 491; Williams, Cornelius, 504; Williams, Jeremiah, 512; Williams, Joseph, 474; Williams, Rice, 512; Willis, Christopher, 504; Withers, Thomas, 480; Woodley, John (Nevis), 464-466, 491, 493; Woodruff, Samuel, 512; Woolrich, Elisha, 474; Wright, Benjamin, 496; Wright, Thomas (London), 500n.; Wyncope, Benjamin (New York), 469; Young, Joseph (Barbados), 467; *see also* Merchants
- Shippen, Edward, 16n.
 Ship Tavern, Boston, 27
 Shipton, Bodman and, Boston, 50
 Shopton, Robert, 4-5
 Shugree, Africa, 365
 Shurtleff, N. B., *Topographical and Historical Description of Boston*, 16n.
Sierra Leona, Lindsay, 144n., 147-149, 173
Sierra Leone, 56, 60, 170, 174n., 197n., 209n., 250, 404, 414, 459; slaves from, 161-163, 171n.; trade, 99n., 149, 207
Sierra Leone Company, 78n., 99-101
Sierra Leone House, 99
Sierra Leone River, 52n.-56, 59, 80n., 100, 101, 158, 207n., 364
 Sille, Nicasius de (New Netherland), 415n.
 Simidar, —, supercargo, *Mary*, 370, 371
 Sinclair, John (Salem), 84, 86, 87, 89-99
 Skinner, Henry (Me.), 97n.
 Slave Coast, Africa, 122n.
 Slavery, in New England, 1, 77n., 343-344, 407n.-409

- "Slavery in New York," 407n.
 "Slavery in Rhode Island," 108n.
 Smallpox, 15, 38n., 41, 51, 67, 353, 360, 379n.
 Smith, *Capt.* — (Newport), *Fair Eliza*, 358, 368, 370, 372
 Smith, Brewton and, letter to, 268-269
 Smith, D. E. Huger, cited, 286n.
 Smith, George (New York), 444n.
 Smith, Haywood, death, 246n.
 Smith (Smyth), *Capt.* James, 4-5, 6-9
 Smith, *Capt.* Moses (R. I.), 341
 Smith, Richard, 54
 Smith, William [1], letter from, 98n.
 Smith, William [2], U. S. senator, 380n.
 Smuggling, 37, 275, 380n.
 Snell, William, and Company, 259, 299
 Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 85n., 86
 Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 102n.
 Society for the Promotion of the Manumission of Slaves, 407n.
 Solicitor general, letter from, 445
 "Some Old Papers relating to the Newport Slave Trade," by Roderick Terry, 260n.
 Sorsbie, Robert, 245
 South Carolina, 28n., 47, 118, 147n., 186, 254, 444n., 457n.; *Hare*, 146n., 153-157, 167; in Constitutional Convention, 342n.; legislation, 81, 341; merchants, 268-269, 286, 485, 507; rice, 167, 172, 173; shipbuilding, 501; slave prices, 198n., 268-269; slave sale, 275-276; slaves for, 68, 72, 168-170, 190, 202, 204, 249, 272n., 404n.; vessels for, 147n., 201, 210, 213, 227n., 404n.; vessels from, 471-473, 475, 478, 481, 483, 485, 486, 490, 492, 494, 498, 500-504, 507; *see also* Charleston
 South Carolina Historical Society, papers, 168n.
South Carolina Magazine of History, 286n.
 South Kingston, R. I., 271
 South River, 426, 429, 433; colony, 434n.; *see also* Delaware River
 South Sea Company, 141n.
 Southwick, Edward (Danvers, Mass.), 84n.
 Spaniards, 103, 311n., 405; and Dutch, 416n.; privateering, 4, 52n., 53n., 54, 60, 71, 118n., 410n.; trade, 15n., 245, 429, 430, 460
 Spanish America, slaves for, 98n., 141-142, 273-275, 421
 Spanish Town, Jamaica, 396, 398, 401, 501, 508
 Spanish Town, Virgin Islands, 503, 504, 506
 Spanwick, Richard, accounts, 9
 Sparhawk, — (Mass.), 9
 Sparhawk, Coleman and, Boston, 134n.
 Sparrow, 431
 Spear, *Capt.* Gresham, 67n., 71n., 72, 210n.
 Speights Town, Barbados, 41, 196
Spera Mundi, bill of lading, 420; cargo, 420-421
 Spiegel, Dirck, director, Dutch West India Company, 427n.
 Spikes, *see* Speights
 Spooner, Walter, *judge*, 356-357
 Sprigs, —, pirate, 118n.
 Spry, Pinniger (Newport), 202, 203n., 206, 214
 Stanton, *Capt.* John, *Hope*, R. I., 83n., 338, 339, 348-350, 353
 States General, resolutions, 411, 416n.
 Statutes, *see* Acts
 Stead, Benjamin, 157
 Stead, William (London), 157, 211; letters from, 205-206, 214-217, 221-222
 Steendam, Jacob, 414n.
 Steenwyck, Cornelius, 414n.
 Stephen, James, *judge*, 403n.
 Stephins, *Capt.* — (Isles de Los), 149
 Stevens, Robert (Newport), 146n., 160
 Stevens, William, trade, 277
 Stevensen, Oloff, 414n.
 Stevenson and Went, Barbados, 75n., 246n., 261n., 266-267, 300n.
 Stiles, *Dr.* Ezra, 335n.
 Stillman, Samuel, 220
 Stilwill, Nicolas (New Netherland), 412n.
 Stocker (Hocker?), — (Barbados), 246, 247
 Stocker, Eben (Newburyport, Mass.), 101n.
 Stockford (Stockforth), *Capt.* John, 202, 244, 253, 286n., 287, 288, 291, 306, 307, 309
 Stoddard, Anthony (Boston), 52
 Stoddard, *Capt.* Robert, 201-203n., 213
 Stoddard, *Capt.* William, 139, 140
 Strycker, Jacob, 414n.
 Stuyvesant, Peter (New Netherland), 413-414, 433-434; instructions to, 406, 411n., 412n., 414-415, 425-427, 429-431; letters from, 420-421, 427, 429, 431-433; slaves for, 420, 431
Success, cargo, 143; instructions, 139n.; prizes, 173, 174; Roads, 185
 Suffolk, Eng., shipbuilding, 492
 Suffolk Court Files, papers, 13n.
 Sugar, 116-117, 151, 180, 190; Barbados, 39, 144n.; Brazil, 411; cargoes, 135n., 147, 179, 218, 219, 298, 299, 337-339, 396n.; duty, 241, 243; illicit trade, 243; Jamaica, 149, 263, 296-297, 306; prices, 143, 156, 175, 177, 196, 219, 232, 277, 278, 280-283, 384; St. Christopher, 148n.; trade, 6, 14n., 32, 39, 48, 123, 125, 126, 141, 223, 361-363
 Sugar Act, 203-205, 243n.
 Sugar Colonies, 131n., 319
 Sullivan, James, 85, 86, 93, 350, 357; *Observations upon the Government of the United States*, 87n.
 Sunderland, Charles Spencer, 3d earl of, 15
 Sun Tavern, Boston, 40
 Supercargo, slave ships, 370, 371, 423
 Surgeons on slave vessels, 74, 451n.; *see also* Doctors
 Surinam, 100, 101, 244, 460n.; trade, 82n., 84n., 140n., 204, 462; vessels from, 139, 189n., 210, 469-471, 474, 486, 489, 492
 Swan, James, *Dissuasion to Great Britain and the Colonies from the Slave Trade*, 73n.
 Swann, James C., "Historical Notes from Authentic Sources," 404n.
 Swansea, Mass., 15, 81n., 138n.
 Swan Tavern, Boston, 19
 Swedes, in Africa, 414

- Sweet, *Capt.* George, *Othello*, 285, 292-293, 310
 Sweet, Silvester, 52n., 55n.
 Sweet, W. W., 360n.
- Tabocanee, Africa, 123-124
 Tack, Dirck (Amsterdam), 416
 Taggart, *Capt.* C., *Friendship*, 393-394
 Taggart, *Capt.* Samuel C., *Louisa*, 383-387
 Talbeze, Charles Henry (St. Croix), 219
Tamandare, 411n.
 Tantomquerry, Africa, 230, 244n., 250n., 325
 Tarpaulin Cove, 116n.
 Taunton, Mass., 85, 87, 352, 356, 357
 Taxation, negroes, 31n.
 Taylor, James, 192
 Taylor, William, 21n.
 Taylor, *Capt.* Thomas Teakle (Newport), 165, 166, 174-176, 179, 180-183, 220, 222, 241n., 242
 Taylor, *Capt.* William, 173, 191-193, 217, 219, 222-224, 241; accounts, 190-193, 224-225; death, 241-243
 Ten-per-cent. duty, 24, 446
 Terry, Roderick, "Some Old Papers relating to the Newport Slave Trade," 260n.
 Tertugos, *see* Tortuga
 Tessalissour, *Col.* —, 134
Thames, trade, 287-289, 291, 292, 297, 304-306, 309, 325, 326, 328, 330, 331
 Thames River, shipbuilding, 483
 Thielmans, J., notary public, 416
 Thomas, John, accounts, 197
Thomas, insurrection, 67n.
Thomas, McNeil, 88n.
 Thomlinson, Trecothick, and Company, letters to, 147, 168, 170, 173
 Thompson, John (London), 12-13
 Thompson, Ebenezer (Providence), 336n.
 Thornton, Henry, Sierra Leone Company, 99
 Thornton, John (Va.), 246n., 248, 250-251, 254, 285
 Thornton and Yates, Va., 272
Three Friends, Shearman, Newport, 337
 Threlfal and Anderson, Grenada, 248-249, 259, 294, 299-302
 Thurstin, John B. (Newport), 352
 Thurston, *Capt.* — (Newport), 117, 139, 174n., 209
 Thurston, Peleg (Newport), 145, 185
 Tillinghast, *Capt.* Henry (Newport), 213
 Tillinghast, *Capt.* Joseph, *Adventure*, 218, 219
 Tillinghast, Pardon, 140
 Tilton, John (New Netherland), 412n.
Titt Bitt, accounts, 164-166, 179n.
 Tiverton, R. I., 348n.
 Tobacco, 151, 195, 206-207, 236; cargoes, 88n., 138n., 179, 180, 188, 337-340, 394; for seamen, 197; prices, 143, 156, 165, 175, 177, 225, 227, 277, 278, 281, 283, 325; trade, 4, 6, 13, 80, 99n., 364-366, 369, 370, 394; Virginia, 194n., 272
 Todd, William, jr. (London), 105, 107n.
 Topham, John (R. I.), 336n., 337
 Tortola, 394, 395, 402n., 508
- Tortuga, 4
 Town Meeting, Boston, 73n.
 Townsend, Pa., 28
 Trade-books, slave vessels, 123-130, 216, 223n., 227-240, 244n., 250n., 293n.
 Trade laws, 88, 439, 440, 447-449
 Treasury Papers, 36n.
Treatise upon the Trade from Great Britain to Africa, 76n.
 Trecothick and Company, Thomlinson, letters to, 147, 168, 170, 173
 Trent, Andrew, petition, 30
 Tripp, William (Newport), 344n.
 Tucker, Henry, 57, 61
 Tucker, St. George (Va.), 72n.
 Tuell, *Capt.* Samuel (Newport), 203n., 257-261, 266-267, 452
 Turell, Joseph (R. I.), 91
 Turks Island, 474, 503
 Turner, E. R., *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, 408n.
 Tybee, Ga., 377
 Tyley, Samuel, 46
 Tysen, Coert, 416
- Underwood, — (Newport), 206
 Underwood, *Capt.* Thomas, 69-70, 174
 Underwriters, 101n., 214n.-216, 222, 250, 293, 332n., 382n.; Boston, 102; Bristol, Eng., 221; London, 217
 Updike, Daniel (R. I.), 115n.
 Updike, Wilkins, *History of the Narragansett Church*, 116n., 123n.
 Usher, John (Mass.), 16n.
 Utrecht, treaty, 115n.
- Valens, *Capt.* Joseph (London), 74
Valentine's Manual, 451n.
 Van Baerle, David, 429n.
 Van Brugge, — (New Netherland), 420
 Van Dam, Rip (New York), 462-468, 470-475, 477, 479, 481, 483, 484, 488, 490-493, 496, 497, 499, 502; letter from, 446-447
 Vander Vier, Hendrick Jansen, 414n.
 Van Hoegaerden, John, 11n.
 Van Laer, A. J. F., translations, 412n., 414n.
Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts, 410n.
 Van Ruyven, Cornelius, 434-435
 Van Seventer, Cryn, 419
 Vande Grift, P. L., 414n.
 Vassall, Leonard, petition, 28
 Vassall, Samuel, 28n.
 Vassall House, 50n.
 Vaughan, *Col.* James, 114n.
 Vendue master, 154; sales by, 19n., 34, 66, 116, 154, 155n., 161, 172, 429, 431-432, 451
Venus, Bligh, 394, 395; Newport, 310, 379
 Verlet (Verleth), Nicolas (New Netherland), 417, 426, 428
 Vermont, slave trade, 2
 Vernon, James, secretary of state, 442
 Vernon, Samuel, 64, 132n., 156, 157, 175, 176, 180; accounts, 151-155, 175-183, 190-193, 196-200, 217-220, 240, 285; letters from, 147, 150, 166-168, 170, 171, 173, 187-188,

- 193-195, 201-202, 214, 222, 241-242, 246, 248-251, 254-255, 260, 268-269, 272, 292-293; letters to, 168-172, 269, 310
- Vernon, Thomas (R. I.), 63, 64n., 194
- Vernon, W. W., 228, 251
- Vernon, William (R. I.), 132n., 156, 157, 166, 175, 176, 179, 180, 222, 359n.; accounts, 151-155, 175-183, 190-193, 196-200, 217-220, 240, 285, 346-347; letters from, 147, 150, 166-168, 170, 171, 173, 193-195, 201-202, 214, 227n., 241-244, 246, 248-251, 254-255, 260, 268-269, 272, 292-293; letters to, 168-172, 269, 310; vessels, 165, 175, 188
- Vernon-Wager MSS., 36n.
- Vessels, care of, 79; description, 137, 252, 264, 418; size, 144n.; sales, 42-43, 211, 227n., 258n., 261, 262, 310n., 311, 397; value, 107, 147, 222, 227n., 249, 252, 253, 256n.-258n., 288, 293-295n., 325, 382n.; *see also* next title
- Vessels (list): *Abigail*, Newport, 358; New York, 483, 486; *Abigall*, New York, 470, 479; *Abraham*, New York, 510; *Abraham and Jonah*, 122n.; *Affrica*, New York, 505; *Africa*, Boston, 28n., 29n.; (Newport:) Briggs, 265n.; Champlin, 217; Waldron, 217; Warner, 213, 241; (New York:) Chetham, 452n.; Hicks, 452n.; *Agnes*, New York, 452n.; *Albany*, (New York:) Davies, 499; Johnson, 474; Lipkins, 492, 493; *Allida*, New York, 477; *Amity*, New York, 460; *Ancram*, Boyd, New York, 508; *Andromache*, R. I., 404n.; *Andromack*, 287; *Ann*, Newport, 133; *Anna*, 19; New York, 485; *Anne*, Bermuda, 507; (New York:) Ad-derly, 503, 507; Bedford, 487; Garritts, 479, 511; Griffith, 503; Hill, 490, 492-494, 503, 507, 508; Hunt, 490; Machet, 507; Masse, 466, 467, 469, 471; Seymour, 501; Warner, 463; *Anne and Cathrine*, New York, 475; *Anne and Eliza*, (New York:) Tucker, 487-489; Ware, 481, 482; *Anne and Elizabeth*, New York, 491, 492; *Anne and Judith*, New York, 511; *Anne and Mary*, (New York:) Brown, 463; Jacobs, 462; *Antegoa* (*Antigoa*), New York, 491, 505, 506, 508, 512; *Apollo*, London, 319, 320; *Arent*, New York, 507; *Attalanta*, 316; *Bartlett*, Bristol, Eng., 49; *Becca*, Newport, 378; *Bellona*, New York, 461n.; *Benjamin*, (New York:) Hinson, 475; Newell, 461n.; Skinner, 496; *Benn*, 169n.; *Betsey*, Boston, 66; (Newport:) Di-man, 378; Easterbrooks, 379; Lawton, 339; Remington, 189, 214, 241; Whitney, 379; *Bettsey*, London, 503; *Bird*, London, 500; *Black Eyed Susan*, New York, 484, 487; *Black Joke*, Bermuda, 504; *Blava*, 66n.; *Blackney*, (Newport:) Gardner, 358; Mun-ro, 378; Stoddard, 379; *Blessing*, (Ber-muda:) Morgan, 483; Wells, 502; *Bristol*, Boston, 256n.; *Britannia*, Liverpool, 314; *Brooks*, Liverpool, 320, 324; *Brothers*, New York, 452n.; *Bruce Hope*, Bermuda, 480, 482; *Brunswick*, Musket, 511; *Burnet*, (New York:) M'Bride, 487; Muttlow, 477, 481; Sanders, 475; *Byam*, 63n.; New York, 491; *Caraçoa*, New York, 466; *Carlota*, 101n.; *Catherine*, (New York:) Bedlow, 473; Farmer, 492, 495, 511; Fiot, 498; Lewis, 452n.; Tuckness, 498; Vater, 497; Ware, 499, 502; *Catherine and Mary*, (New York:) Beekman, 486, 487; Cracraft, 464, 468; Mansfield, 477; Roe (Row), 475, 479; *Chance*, New-port, 378; *Charity*, (New York:) Smith, 503, 504; Sturup, 506; *Charles*, Godingham, 443; *Charlotte*, New York, 465, 466, 468, 470; *Charming Betty*, Newport, 118n.; Emott, 512; *Charming Joanna*, (Bermuda:) Conyers, 506; Seymour, 493; *Charming Nancy*, New York, 458n.; *Charming Philas*, New York, 488, 489; *Charming Sally*, New York, 509; Salem, 91; *Collector*, Boston, 82n.; *Company*, Hodgson, 455; *Concord*, Botsworth, 404n.; New York, 460n.; *Con-tent*, Bermuda, 487; *Cornelia*, New York, 468, 471; *Crown*, London, 472; *Dart*, New York, 465; *Delight*, Bermuda, 502; New-port, 379; *Diamond*, Boston, 70n.; New York, 463; *Dighton*, Boston, 476; *Dispatch*, 71n.; *Dolphin*, Bermuda, 482; Boston, 484; (New York:) Duncan, 495, 496; Jeffery, 506; Lontitt, 478; Marston, 490-493; *Don Carlos*, Bristol, Eng., 485; New York, 501, 505; *Dove*, Barbados, 511; Bermuda, 505; Connecticut, 486; (Newport:) Coddington, 202; Croswell, 189; New Providence, 492; New York, 464, 466; *Dragon*, New York, 464; *Duke of Portland*, (New York:) Mutt-low, 490, 491, 493; Thody, 483, 488; Van-dam, 479; *Eagle*, 433; Easton, 218; of Maine, 97n., Wickham, 53n.; (New York:) Bloom, 483; Eustace, 469, 472; Leonard, 467; Wright, 467; *Ebenezer*, London, 504; *Eliza*, Bermuda, 474; Boston, 471; *Eliza and Martha*, Gibbs, 477; *Eliza and Mary*, Boston, 499; *Eliza Benedict*, Smith, 361; *Elizabeth* (*Elisabeth*), Bermuda, 506; Buttler, 476; Gally, 467; New Jersey, 512; Newport, 189, 512; (New York:) Alboy, 508; Fettle, 492; Garison, 505; Mansfield, 489; Richard, 504; Roe (Row), 480, 481, 484, 488, 489, 493; *Elizabeth and Anne*, Bermuda, 474; *Elizabeth and Mary*, New York, 494; *Endeavour*, Jamaica, 481; (Newport:) Crosswell, 209; Elliot, 189; New Providence, 470; Robinson, 475; *Enterprise*, Bermuda, 499; *Essex*, New York, 485, 488, 490; *Esther*, New York, 505; *Eunice*, Newport, 378; *Exchange*, Bermuda, 488; *Expedition*, (New York:) Bedlow, 470-473; Hickford, 463; Lawrence, 470-474; Low, 467; *Experiment*, Bisset, 390; *Fairfield*, New England, 467; *Fair Play*, Ga., 378; *Fancy*, Bermuda, 465; R. I., 477; *Fanny*, (Newport:) Hicks, 258n.; Ingraham, 379; Morris, 202, 209; Rogers, 213; New York, 510; *Fly*, Blundle, 320, 324;

Vessels (list)—*continued*:

Four Sisters, (New York:) Mackentoosh, 482; White, 478, 481; *Frances*, (Bermuda:) Mallory, 506; Stiles, 503; *Francis*, (New York:) Smith, 488, 490-492; Young, 484, 486, 487, 489; *Francis and Cathrine*, New York, 478-481; *Franklin*, Newport, 378; *Free Mason*, New York, 500, 501; *Friends Adventure*, Barbados, 471; *Friendship*, Bermuda, 487; Newport, 379; New York, 472; *Garret*, New York, 492; *Gascoyne*, London, 324; *Genl. Monckton*, New York, 509; *Generous Kilby*, Farmer, New York, 452n.; *George*, London, 466; Newport, 265n.; New York, 452n., 472, 510; *Georgia*, (New York:) Fleetwood, 503; Lush, 501, 502; *Glassco*, Bermuda, 479; *Good Intent*, Newport, 379; (New York:) Kippin, 479; Massey, 475; Morgat, 464; *Grayhound*, Boston, 476; H. M. S., 473; *Greenwich*, New York, 507; *Griffin*, New York, 508; *Guinea*, 36n.; *Hamilton*, Nevis, 471; (New York:) Bissett, 472, 475, 477; Sharp, 479; Stone, 463, 465, 468; *Hampstead*, (New York:) Mattlow, 469; Randall, 473; Ticker, 471; *Hannibal*, 78n.; *Happy*, Bermuda, 497, 499; New York, 508; *Happy Return*, New York, 499; *Harlequin*, Newport, 202; *Harriet*, Newport, 378; *Harriott*, London, 320; *Harwich*, H. M. S., 184; *Hawk*, Barbados, 509; London, 319, 320; Mill, 325; New York, 451; *Hawke*, prize, 174; *Henry*, Bermuda, 476; Liverpool, 75; *Heron and Dolphin*, Bermuda, 496; *Hester*, Hall, 471; (New York:) Brasher, 504, 506; Coden, 476; *Garison* (Garretson), 498, 499, 501; *Hiram*, R. I., 386, 404n.; *Hobhouse*, Bristol, Eng., 49; *Holden*, R. I., 405n.; *Hope*, 169n.; Fletcher, 320, 323; New London, Conn., 71; (Newport:) Borden, 289n.; Brownell, 378; Dean, 378; Mumford, 202, 213; (New York:) Bedford, 497, 511; Bennet, 465; Butler, 473, 474; Clarke, 462; Landford, 469; Payton, 463; Sandford, 470; Salem, 82n.; *Hopewell*, Bermuda, 503; New York, 477, 478; *Hum bird*, Maul, 489; *Hunter*, New York, 469, 471; *Huntington*, New York, 465, 467, 468, 471, 473; *Illustrius*, Bristol, 464; *Industry*, Bermuda, 501; Newport, 379; *Intrepide*, 456n.; *Jacob*, (New York:) Jeggles, 477; Phenix (Phoenix), 473-476, 480, 488, 489; Smith, 481, 483; *Jamaica*, (New York:) Boyd, 506, 507; Kiersted, 497, 499; Rolland, 463; *James*, New York, 468; *James and David*, Newport, 483; *James and Henry*, Bow, 495, 496; *Jane*, Barbados, 483; New York, 509; R. I., 404n.; *Jane and Eliza*, Newport, 378; *Jean*, Bermuda, 501, 503; *Jenny*, 468; *Johanna* (Johannah), London, 478; Newport, 202; New York, 489, 493, 497; *John*, (Jamaica:) Batchelor, 469; Pope, 465; New York, 487; *John and Anne*, New York, 464, 466, 468; *John and Catherine*, Barbados, 473, 474, 511; *John and Elizabeth*, (New

York:) Ball, 473; Furber, 471; Lawrence, 497; Rosewell (Bosewell?), 500, 502; *John and Mary*, (New York:) Couzins, 462; Gandy, 510; Theobalds, 466; White, 485; *Jolly*, (New York:) Lawrance, 480; Theobalds, 479, 481, 482; Tickell, 473-475; *Jolly Robin*, Newport, 202; *Juba*, New York, 459; *Judith and Rebecca*, New York, 487; *June and Hester*, New York, 512; *Juno*, Bates, 389; Liverpool, 314, 320; Newport, 378, 379; *Katherina*, New York, 498; *Katherine*, London, 74; Nevis, 490, 493; New York, Keirsted, 490, 492, 494-497; Rhode Island, 496; *Katy*, 88n., 217; *King George*, (New York:) Hood, 497; Payton, 482; *Kingston*, Newport, 209; *King Tontamaca*, New York, 452n.; *Kitty*, Newport, 189; *Lady Anne*, Jamaica, 477; *Lady of Victory*, 505n.; *Lamb*, Blaker, 489; *Lancashire*, Bermuda, 488; *Lark*, Newport, 379, 404n.; Toy, 511; *Legunea*, New York, 505; *Liberty*, Newport, 378; *Lindamen*, McLeran, 461n.; *Lion*, Boston, 70n.; *Little Betsey*, New York, 452; *Little David*, New York, 458n.; *Little Marys*, Bermuda, 486; *Louise*, Providence, 378n.; *Loyallty*, Liverpool, 463; *Lyon*, Oliver, 495; *Margaret*, (New York:) Nevin, 502, 504, 505; Symons, 473; Walker, 507; *Margaret and Mary*, (New York:) Boyles, 462; Morgan, 504; Simmons, 480, 482; *Maria*, Newport, 379; *Marquis of Rockingham*, Liverpool, 314, 315, 317; *Martha*, 32n., 320; *Martha and Jane*, 134; *Mary*, 293n., 511; Antigua, 465; (Bermuda:) Cox, 466; James, 506, 507; Vickers, 508; Bristol, Eng., 49; Dove, 245n.; London, 503; Marblehead, 71n.; (Nevis:) Cox, 464; Goodridge, 491; Wentworth, 493, 497; Newport, 379; (New York:) Beekman, 478, 483, 490; Bodine, 469; Boswell, 493; Boyd, 502, 503; Bratt, 493; Bulcock, 476; Davis, 478; Deane, 484; Ellison, 480; Kip, 485, 487; Lawrance, 477, 479, 481, 482, 488; Marston, 477, 479, 481, 482, 484; Morris, 452n.; Nealson, 498; Ratsey, 501; Sarley, 469; Smith, 492, 496, 497, 503; Thibou, 497; Vanpelt, 486; Vezey, 508; Ware, 485, 486, 491; Wentworth, 500, 506; Wessels, 466; Wills, 487, 488; Willson, 470; Pa., 470; R. I., 130n., 404n.; Va., 494; *Mary and Anne*, (New York:) Harvey, 481, 483; Smith, 476, 478, 479; *Mary and Ellinor*, Bermuda, 480; *Mary and Hannah*, New York, 463; *Mary and Margaret*, Bermuda, 504, 505; *Mary Anne*, Brett, 474; New York, 475; Rickford, 489; *May*, Newport, 379; *Midnight*, (New York:) Barns, 498, 500; Tucker, 503; *Minerva*, 340n.; Charleston, 370; *Molly*, Newport, 186; *Morning Star*, New York, 481; *Musch*, 429, 430; *Nabby*, Newport, 378; *Nancy*, London, 274; (Newport:) Earl, 276; Jenny, 189; New York, 459; Providence, 100; Rhode Island, 339; *Nassau*, New York, 473; *Nelly*, Newport, 213; New

Vessels (list)—continued:

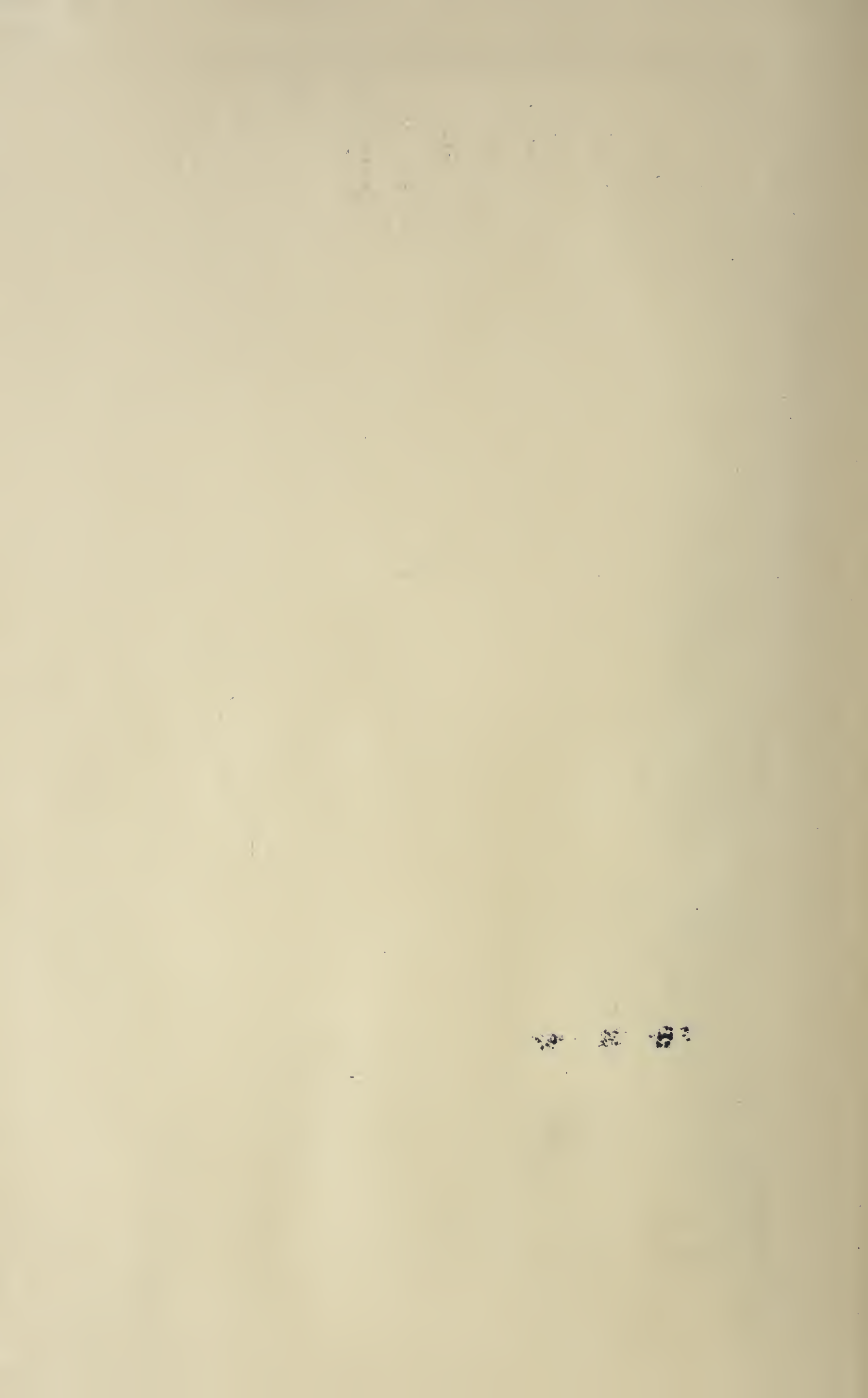
York, 458n.; *Neptune*, Bermuda, 494, 495; Great Britain, 465; Nevis, 462; Newport, 379; R. I., 404n.; *Newbery*, Salem, 476; *New Brunswick*, N. J., 512; *Newport Packet*, 189; *New York Marchand*, 442; *New York Postillion*, New York, 464; *Nightingale*, New York, 502; *Nights Ramble*, New York, 491; *Nonsuch*, New York, 489, 491, 495, 497; *Norris*, (New York:) Hume, 483; Seabury, 479; *Oglethorpe*, New York, 508; *Old Soldier*, Bermuda, 483; *Olive Branch*, (Bermuda:) Durham, 499, 501; Wadson, 506; London, 484; R. I., 132n.; *Orange*, Newport, 379; *Ospray*, Newport, 202; *Oswego*, New York, 507; *Overplus*, Bermuda, 473; *Pallas*, H. M. S., 316; *Patience*, Newport, 379; (New York:) Bodin, 483, 494; Good, 499; *Patty*, R. I., 217, 333; *Pearl*, New York, 491; *Peat*, Newport, 358; *Peggy*, 360n.; London, 314, 320; (Newport:) Moore, 209, 217; Munro, 379; Topham, 379; *Pelican*, London, 492; *Penellopy*, Benson, 479; *Peter*, New York, 471; *Peter and John*, (New York:) Bisset, 483, 484; Lawrence, 493, 494; *Peters*, Jamaica, 475, 476; *Phenix*, Mouchell, 453; *Phillipsburgh*, (New York:) Thody, 471, 472, 475, 511; Jarrat, 466; *Phoebe*, (New York:) Barnes, 487; Wyatt, 489; *Pinetree*, New York, 468; *Polly*, (Newport:) Child, 213, 217; Ferguson, 217; Knowles, 189; Malbone, 244n.; Tillinghast, 209; (New York:) King, 452; McAlliston, 509; Miller, 509; Providence, 378n.; *Polly and Betsey*, R. I., 404n.; *Polly and Sally*, Mass., 81n.; *Portsmouth*, Antigua, 468; *Prince Frederick*, New York, 505; South Carolina, 481, 483, 486, 490; *Prince George*, Liverpool, 462; *Princes R. I.*, 469; *Princess Ann*, New York, 495, 499; *Prince William*, Bristol, Eng., 498; New York, 485, 487; *Prospect*, London, 483; *Prosperity*, Newport, 217; *Providence*, (New York:) Davis, 494; Phoenix, 488; *Prudence*, Anderson, 512; Seymour, 474; *Prudent Betty*, New York, 500; *Punch*, Newport, 379; *Queen of Barra*, Newport, 209, 210n.; *Rachel and Anne*, New York, 466; *Rainbow*, Newport, 189; *Rammilees*, 370; *Ranger*, Bayard, 505, 512; Newport, 378, 379n.; New York, 482; *Rebecca*, London, 360n.; Mass., 23; N. J., 498; (New York:) Mansfield, 496-501; Young, 494, 495; *Rebeccah*, New York, 509; *Reliance*, Newport, 379; *Republican*, R. I., 404; *Retrieve*, Bermuda, 504; New York, 505, 512; *Revenge*, Jamaica, 467; New York, 495, 496, 500; *Richmond*, Hubbard, 500; *Riddle*, Bermuda, 496; *Rising Sun*, Newport, 379; *Rope*, Boston, 511; *Rose*, Bermuda, 488; New England, 471; *Royall Anne*, London, 462; *Royal Ranger*, New Providence, 497-499, 505; *Ruby (Rubie)*, Bermuda, 471, 478; (New York:) Butler,

469; Chenevard, 452n.; Fred, 480; Geddes, 485; Marschalk, 485, 486, 489; *Ruth*, Newport, 213, 241; Salem, 82n.; *Rye*, 184; *Sachem*, 88n.; *St. Andrew*, (Bermuda:) Forster, 476; Seacraft, 501, 502; *St. Andrews*, Bermuda, 497; *St. George*, London, 320; *St. Jacob*, 433; *St. Michael*, Clarke, 495; *St. Peter*, New York, 499, 501; *Sally*, 369; Boston, 73n., 75n., 512; Bristol, 379n.; (Newport:) Bull, 209; Chace, 379; DeWolf, 378n., 380n.; Gladding, 379; Littlefield, 379; Manchester, 358, 368n.; Phillips, 379; Vilett, 378; (New York:) Davis, 452n.; Griffith, 452n.; Sherman, 360n.; *Samuel*, 467; (New York:) Fitch, 475, 477; Morgat, 485, 487, 489; *Sn. Francisco de Asis*, 101n.; *Sarah*, Bermuda, 487; Bristol, Eng., 481; Burrows, 474; Newport, 202; (New York:) Cannon, 505; Kevistead, 465; Reynolds, 458n.; Rushworth, 467; Smith, 471; *Sarah and Elizabeth*, Bermuda, 480; New York, 509; *Seaflower*, 387n.; Antigua, 469; Bermuda, 469; Craig, 474; Fitzron-dolph, 511; Jamaica, 495; (New York:) Boyles (Boiles), 467, 469, 470; Butler, 463; Parker (Parcker), 465, 466; *Sea Horse*, New York, 503, 507, 508; *Sea Nymph*, South Carolina, 507; *Sherbro*, 147n.; *Shiprah*, Newport, 202; *Sincerity*, Bermuda, 480; *Small Gains*, Prieleau, New York, 466; *Society*, Paine, 469; *Solitude*, 505n.; *Sophia*, London, 314, 317; *Speedwell*, Bermuda, 480; Boston, 82n.; Del., 496; N. J., 500; Newport, 202; (New York:) Gottier, 475; Powers, 507; Schermerhorn, 479, 485, 488, 489; *Spy*, 370; *Squirrel*, Montserrat, 493; *Stanhope*, New York, 475; *Stephen*, New York, 507; *Success*, Barbados, 462; Bermuda, 472; Boston, 66; Newport, 379; New Providence, 495; New York, 458n.; *Sugary*, Newport, 379; *Susanah*, 285, (Bermuda:) Burrows, 484; Young, 485; New York, 507; *Swallow*, Liverpool, 314, 315, 463; Newport, 378; (New York:) Gandy, 467; Jeggles, 482, 483, 489, 492, 493, Phenix, 478; Van Borssom, 507; *Swarten Arent*, 414; *Temperance*, Sherman, 510; *Thomas*, (New York:) Browne, 472; Stevens (Stephens), 494, 500; White, 473; *Thomas and Mary*, Bermuda, 479; (New York:) Browne, 476; Burdett, 477; Judkin, 480, 484, 485, 486, 489, 490, 495, 496; *Three Brothers*, Boston, 370; (New York:) Bonyott, 472; Keirsted, 499; *Three Friends*, Mackee, 478, 481, 482; (Newport:) Carpenter, 189, 202; Toman, 209, 213; *Three Sisters*, Barbados, 470; *Tom*, Nicholson, 314, 315; *Torbay*, Bristol, 502; *Trial*, New York, 491; *Tristram*, 256; *Triton*, Gardner, 71n.; *True Blue*, Williams, 487; *Trusty*, New York, 460n.; *Truxton*, R. I., 404n.; *Tryall*, Baker, 477; Bodine, 478; *Tryton*, Newport, 217; *Turtle Dove*, New York, 502; *Two Brothers*,

Vessels (list)—*continued*:

- Bahama Islands, 381; (New York:) Cannon (Canon), 503, 504; Kierstead, 480; Smith, 512; Salem, 82n.; *Two Friends*, 174; Newport, 202; (New York:) Fuller, 483; Harvey, 484; King, 477; Morgan, 485; Sutcliffe, 489; *Two Sisters*, (New York:) Smith, 482, 484; Theobalds, 486; *Unanimity*, Chambers, 314; *Union*, Liverpool, 74; New Jersey, 494; Newport, 390n.; (New York:) Batty, 460n.; Lawrence, 500; Salem, 100; *Unity*, 123n.; (Bermuda:) Henson, 502; Painter (Paynter), 500, 502, 503; Young, 491, 492; Liverpool, 504; (New York:) Evans, 486; Hunt, 493; *Virgin*, New York, 512; *Vulture*, R. I., 404n.; *Wall*, Bermuda, 464; *Walter* (New York:) Burdett, 482; Darcey, 480; Gareter, 486; *Warren*, New York, 451; *Warwick*, Bermuda, 497; Jamaica, 482; *Washington*, (Newport:) Gardner, 337, 338; Hicks, 358; Hudson, 379; Philadelphia, 461; *Weasel*, Warren, 316; *Westmorland*, New Jersey, 484, 511; New York, 490; *Weymouth*, New York, 469, 470; *Wheel of Fortune*, New York, 478, 504; *White Horseman*, 431; *Whym*, Butler, 313; *Will*, Taryer, 320; *William*, Boston, 37n.; Newport, 379; (New York:) Ellison, 468, 476; Griffith, 512; Richard, 504; Smith, 509; Wood, 358; *William and Thomas*, Tickell, 475; *William Henry*, Boston, 71n.; *Wolf*, New York, 451; *York*, New York, 509; *Younger Brother*, Rock, 494; *Young Frederick*, 467
- Vial, *Capt.* Nathanael, New York, 444n.
- Viall (Viale), *Capt.* Joshua, 394-404
- Vice admiralty briefs, 102-108n., 388-393, 394-404; *see also* Admiralty
- Vignols, Léon, "La Campagne Négrière de la Perle," 146n.
- Villages, African, 55, 56
- Virginia, 25n., 26n., 31, 39n., 71n., 185, 189n., 195, 457, 474; and the Constitution, 342n.; legislation, 38n.; merchants, 190n.-191, 246n., 248, 250-251, 254, 272, 285, 495, 499; ship-building, 467, 475, 487, 494, 495, 499, 509, 510; slave prices, 248n.; slave sales, 190-193, 213-214, 238n., 239, 254, 260, 272, 285; slaves for, 21, 37, 43, 45, 135n., 186, 193-194, 204, 246, 248, 260, 406, 426, 468; slaves from, 467; trade, 217n., 238, 240, 457n.
- Virgin Islands, vessels from, 503-506
- Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania*, 409n.
- Vryling, John, Boston, 50
- Waepen van Amsterdam*, capture, 426
- Wager, *Sir* Charles, 40n.
- Wages, laborers, 450; masters, 206; seamen, 11, 12, 65n., 133, 135, 146, 152, 159, 164, 165n., 175-176, 196, 197n., 208, 239-240, 309, 311, 325, 332, 347, 360, 384, 386, 443, 467; supercargo, 423
- Waldo, Samuel, 42-49n.
- Waldron, *Capt.* Nathaniel, cargo, 244n.
- Wallace, D. D., *Life of Henry Laurens*, 150n.
- Wallace, James, and Company, 455
- Walley, Abiel, J. P., 49n.
- Wallis, Linzey George, 143n.
- Wanton, *Col.* —, brig, 258
- Wanton, *Capt.* — (Newport), 70, 139, 148n., 189, 209, 214
- Wanton, *Capt.* Edward (Newport), 189n., 209n., 300
- Wanton, John (Newport), 117
- Wanton, *Capt.* Joseph (Newport), 174, 183, 184, 186n., 206, 210-211, 216, 241, 253, 286, 309
- Wanton, *Capt.* Peter (Newport), 189n., 209n., 241
- Wanton, Philip (R. I.), 209
- Wanton, William, 206, 210-211, 253, 286, 309
- Wanton family, 130n.
- Ward, Henry (Newport), 160, 200, 201
- Warehouses, Boston, 26, 29, 39, 40, 51, 65
- Warner, *Capt.* James (Newport), 189n., 214, 241
- Warren, *Capt.* William (Boston), 15, 16
- Warren, Mass., 391n.
- Warren, R. I., 333, 370, 395n., 404n.
- Warwick, R. I., 108n.
- Wars, African, 6-7, 82n., 325; and African trade, 170, 172, 287; Indian, 8
- Washburn, Emory, *Historical Sketches of Leicester, Mass.*, 76n.; "Lectures," 4n.
- Water, for slave vessels, 60, 178, 236, 237, 262, 317, 364-366, 368-375; prices, 235-237, 325
- Waterford, Ireland, 494
- Waters, John (Salem), 86
- Waters, Joseph (Salem), 84, 86, 89-99
- Waterman, Benony (Boston), 29, 30, 36n., 39
- Watkins, *Capt.* John, 129
- Watts, — (Tantumquerry), 325
- Watts, John, 457-458; *Letter-Book of*, 457n.
- Weaver, *Capt.* Benjamin, accounts, 386-387
- Weaves, *see* Weuves
- Webb, Stephen, 112-113
- Weeden, W. B., "Early African Slave Trade in New England," 52n.; *Economic and Social History of New England*, 31n.
- Welch, Nicholas, 219
- Welstead, William, 15-16
- Went, James King (Barbados), accounts, 285, 301n., 302n.
- Went, Samuel, accounts, Barbados, 285, 301n.
- Went, Stevenson and, Barbados, 75n., 246n., 261n., 266-267, 300n.
- Went and Son, Barbados, 294, 301, 308n.
- Werden, Isaac, 246n.
- Werden, *Sir* John, 435
- West, John, 435
- Western Islands, 49, 243
- West Indies, 82n., 84, 94, 121n., 131, 134n., 170, 296, 298, 347, 354, 355, 398, 406, 449, 453; slave prices, 81, 141n., 149, 272; slave sales, 264; slaves for, 43, 45, 90, 100, 132n., 189n., 211, 333, 334, 353, 414n.; slaves from, 2, 14, 24n., 29, 39, 40, 50, 66, 72, 114n., 123n., 408n., 409, 444, 447, 450, 451n., 457;

- trade, 4, 5, 88, 110n., 173n., 457n., 460n., 461n.; vessels for, 134, 174, 175, 216, 221, 244n., 245, 249, 319, 396, 400; vessels from, 76n., 319, 348, 473
- Westmorland, John (Jamaica), 326-327, 329-330
- Westmorland, Peatt and, Jamaica, 252, 255, 261n., 262, 263, 268, 276-277, 286n., 292, 297, 306-307, 308, 312, 318, 328, 331, 332
- West New Jersey, 446, 455
- Westport, R. I., 348
- Wetherhead, Samuel (Boston), 66
- Wetmore Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc., 121n.
- Weuves, Jeremy B., letter to, 320-321
- Weymouth, Eng., 465
- Weymouth, Mass., 103, 107
- Whaling, 140n., 270n., 378n.
- Wharves, Boston, 29, 39, 50, 65, 66, 68; Salem, 91
- Wheat, 45, 194n.
- Wheeler, William, 33
- Wheel of Fortune*, Providence, 173n.
- Whim*, Ambrose, 358, 368n., 369, 373; Clarke, 337
- Whipple, — (R. I.), 116n.
- Whipple, *Capt.* Abraham, 206, 210n.
- White, Henry, 222-223
- White, Mather *vs.*, Conn., 3, 99n.
- White, *Capt.* Thomas, trade, 281
- Whitehaven, Eng., 186
- Whitehead, Charles B. (Accra), 72, 389, 391
- White Horse Tavern, Boston, 67, 68
- Whiteman's Bay, Africa, 55, 56
- Whiting, Nathaniel (R. I.), 333n.
- Whiting, Mrs. Roby (R. I.), 333
- Whydah, Africa, 249, 308, 325
- Whydah*, 188, 196
- Wickham, *Capt.* Charles (Newport), 52-56, 58, 60, 62, 65, 68, 69, 75n., 121
- Wickham, *Capt.* Thomas (Newport), 68n, 186, 189, 202, 213
- Widan, *see* Whydah
- Wiener, F. B., "Rhode Island Merchants and the Sugar Act," 203n.
- Wilbour, Constant (R. I.), 209
- Wilkes, John, 249n.
- Wilkins, Willem, 412n.
- Wilkinson, *Capt.* Philip (Newport), 69-70, 173
- Wilkinson, Philip, and Company, Newport, 147
- Wilkinson and Ayrault, Newport, 70, 144n., 148-149
- Wilks, Francis (Mass.), agent, 134
- William and Mary*, Nicholson, 454
- William and Mary College Quarterly*, 21n.
- William Island, Africa, 363
- Williams, — (Mass.), 7-8
- Williams, *Capt.* Aaron, 9-10
- Williams, Gomer, *History of the Liverpool Privateers*, 137n.
- Williams, Jacob, 35
- Williams, James, testimony, 106-107
- Williams, John (Newport), 352
- Williamsburg, Va., 238
- Willing Quaker*, Boston, 99-100, 360n.
- Willock, Alexander (Antigua), 199, 200
- Willoughby, Thomas (Mass.), 9
- Willson, — (Africa), trade, 227, 230
- Wilmerdoncx, Abraham, director, Dutch West India Company, 418, 422, 427n.
- Wilson, John (Antigua), 122
- Windsor, *Capt.* Thomas, *Seaflower*, 17, 24, 109
- Windward Coast, Africa, 67, 68, 166, 209n.
- Wine, duties, 445; trade, 6, 42n., 45, 46, 151, 264n., 270, 367, 369, 375, 451
- Winslow, John, petition, 15
- Winslow, Joshua (Boston), selectman, 41
- Winsor, Justin, *Memorial History of Boston*, 19n.
- Winston, Anthony, 192
- Winter, *Capt.* Joseph, 98n.
- Winthrop, James (Mass.), *judge*, 82n.
- Winthrop, John, *Journal*, 4, 6; letter, 8
- Winthrop, Lucy, 8n.
- Winthrop Papers*, 8n.
- Withington, William (R. I.), 9n.
- Wittepaert*, cargo, 415
- Wood, for slave vessels, 60, 158, 235, 317, 325, 372; prices, 124, 153, 158, 196, 198n., 224, 235, 236, 325, 384, 404
- Woodcock, James, 134-135
- Woolman, John, 410; *Journal*, 455n.
- Woortman, Henrick, 266, 307
- Woortman, John (Africa), 225, 228
- Worcester, Mass., court, 87
- Wreck, *Orange*, 381-382
- Wright, *Capt.* Benjamin, 265, 301
- Wright, Murray and, Jamaica, 301, 302
- Wroas, Joseph, 35
- Wyat, William, 52n., 55n.
- Wyatt, —, 209
- Wydan*, *see* *Whydah*
- Wyer, *Capt.* —, 40n.
- Yarnold, Benjamin (S. C.), 161, 164n., 171, 173
- Yates, Charles (Va.), letter to, 250-251
- Yates, Thornton and, Va., letter to, 272
- Young Batchelor*, prize, 174
- Young Eagle*, 40n.
- Zanteens, *see* Fantines
- Zeeland chamber, Dutch West India Company, 411
- Zong, 356



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