THE ATLANTIC WEB OF BONDAGE: COMPARING THE SLAVE TRADES OF NEW YORK CITY AND CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

by

Melissa Amy Maestri

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation compares the slave trades of New York City and Charleston, South Carolina. Although South Carolina's slave trade existed on a much grander scale than New York's, both ports engaged in a thriving traffic in humans. I chose to study these two locations to see how the most active trade in the South would compare to the most active trade in the North. In Manhattan, slavery in New York colony (and eventually state) was arguably the most entrenched of any northern city. Although northern ports such as those in Rhode Island imported some slaves and were prime carriers, New York's trade brought far more Africans to the region to labor over wheat in the nearby hinterlands. As late as the census of 1790, there were more slaves in the Empire State than in Kentucky.

The presence of large slave populations in and around these important port cities in itself would justify a comparative examination of domestic slavery in these two regions. It is also relevant to scrutinize the slave trades and the reasons why slaves arrived at the ports of New York City and Charleston. Gazing backward with a knowledge of eventual regional distinctiveness, too many scholars suggest that it was always inevitable that Manhattan and Charleston would develop into very different societies. As is often the case, however, hindsight is the enemy of understanding.

The slave trades of New York City and Charleston exhibited both fundamental similarities as well as significant differences. In this dissertation, I argue that although there were many differences between the slave trades of New York City and Charleston, the need for large numbers of slave laborers in Manhattan and the nearby hinterlands allowed for some remarkable similarities with Charleston's slave trade. By

comparing the trades of New York and Charleston, I do not suggest that these trades were identical. But by using various points of comparison, I aim to break down some of the mythic notions that New York's slave trade was insignificant or existed on a small scale. In fact, at times and during certain periods, the demand for slave labor in New York and its surrounding hinterlands paralleled Carolina's trade.

Introduction

WHY NEW YORK CITY AND CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA?

John Jea crossed Atlantic waters throughout his life. He was forced onto a slave ship as an infant. Jea had been born to poor parents in Old Callabar, Africa, in 1773. At the age of two and a half, John, his brothers, sisters, and parents, were captured and taken to the coast to be traded as slaves. The family witnessed the horrors of the Middle Passage as those on board were fed meager rations and shackled together in close quarters until they reached the colonies. Once at New York's port, the captives were chartered to the auction block and then sold to Oliver and Angelika Triebuen. Jea, it seemed, was doomed to labor in the fields.[1]

The Triebuens proved to be harsh masters. Jea recalled that they treated their slaves "in a manner almost too shocking to relate." Jea remarked that his master provided him with little food or raiment, scarcely enough to survive, leaving him practically naked and famished from meager food allotments. After he complained to his owner, the master tied the slave's hands and feet together with chains and flogged him until the blood dripped down his body. In another instance, Triebuen trampled on John so hard he broke two of his ribs. Jea remembered that if he or the other slaves objected or upset their master, they were tied to poles and flogged. He elaborated that they were "often treated in such a manner as caused their death." Master Triebuen could be found "shooting them [the slaves] with a gun, or beating their brains out with some weapon, in order to appease

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[1]John B. Jea, *The Life, History, and Unparalleled Sufferings of John Jea, the African Preacher, Compiled by Himself* (England, 1811), reprinted in Graham Russell Hodges, ed., *Black Itinerants of the Gospel: the Narratives of John Jea and George White* (Madison: Madison House, 1993), 89-164.

their wrath, and thought no more of it than if they had been brutes: this was the general treatment which slaves experienced." After Triebuen attacked his slaves, he then ordered them to thank him for their punishment.[2]

At first glance, due to the heavy African population in the port, a life of labor in the fields, and a brutal master, it might appear as though Jea had been sent to Charleston, South Carolina, and sold to a plantation owner in the lowcountry. Jea actually worked the wheat fields outside of New York City. His life demonstrated that these two cities witnessed some striking similarities. Residents from both sections relied on slaves to meet their labor demands. The inhabitants of New York and Charleston depended on slaves to labor as field hands, dock workers, and domestics. Historians have long acknowledged that the slave trade and slavery existed in all British mainland colonies prior to the Revolution. That does not mean, however, that slavery was economically important to each. There were times, however, when the importation of slaves was *critical* not only to a southern colony like South Carolina, but also in areas in the North such as New York.

Traders brought large numbers of slaves to New York City, but there were far more slaves imported into Charleston. In 1698, there were roughly 18,000 people in the colony of New York, with around 2,000 slaves comprising 12 percent of the population. By 1741, about 41 percent of the free population in New York City owned slaves, and by 1746, one out of five people in New York City was of African descent. By contrast, in South Carolina—although population statistics were scarce and incomplete, due to the large number of slaves imported for rice production—there were more black than white occupants in the southern colony. By 1708, Carolina had a total population of 9,580, with

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[2] Hodges, ed., *Black Itinerants of the Gospel*, 89-164.

4,080 whites and 4,100 slaves.[3] In 1730, there were around 9,000 whites and 12,000 blacks in Carolina. The number of slaves imported continued to increase through the 18th century. While Carolina was long home to a slave majority, there was never a time when there were more blacks than whites in New York City or its surrounding counties.

I chose to study these two locations to see how the most active slave trade in the South would compare to the most active slave trade in the North. In Manhattan, slavery in the colony of New York (and eventually the state) was arguably the most entrenched of any northern city. Although northern ports such as those in Rhode Island imported some slaves and were prime carriers, New York's trade brought far more Africans to the region to labor over wheat in the nearby hinterlands. As late as the 1790 census, there were more slaves in the Empire State than in Kentucky.

The presence of large slave populations in and around these important port cities in itself would justify a comparative examination of domestic slavery in these two regions. It is also relevant to scrutinize the slave trades and the reasons why slaves arrived at the ports of New York City and Charleston. Gazing backward with a knowledge of eventual regional distinctiveness, too many scholars suggest that it was always inevitable that Manhattan and Charleston would develop into very different societies. As is often the case, however, hindsight is the enemy of understanding.

The slave trades of New York City and Charleston exhibited both fundamental similarities and significant variances. In this dissertation, I argue that although there were many differences between the slave trades of New York City and Charleston, the demand for large numbers of slave laborers in Manhattan and the nearby hinterlands allowed for some remarkable similarities with Charleston's slave trade. By comparing the trades of New York and Charleston, I do not suggest that these trades were identical. By using

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[3] Peter Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1974), 144.

various points of comparison, however, I aim to break down some of the mythic notions that New York's slave trade was insignificant or existed on a small scale. In fact, at times, the demand for slave labor in New York and its surrounding hinterlands paralleled Carolina's trade.

A comparison of the traffic in humans reveals that there were certain moments and decades when these two slave trades shared many commonalities. Some similarities included the origins of these trades, the number of documented voyages, and the ethnicity of imported slaves. As Carolinians relied more on staple commodities from the 1720s into the 1740s, however, growing differences between these two trades emerged. From the late 1740s into the 1760s, the trades once again showed parallels. During those decades, New Yorkers imported larger numbers of slaves than the first few decades of the 1700s directly from Africa and witnessed a growth in population among whites and blacks alike. Despite this, by the early 1770s, as northern colonies (and then states) worked to end their participation in the Atlantic slave trade during the era of the American Revolution, many New Yorkers started to turn against the traffic. Most white Carolinians, by contrast, desired more Africans to supply the growing labor demands in the lowcountry. Although the international slave trade was outlawed in the United States by 1808, traders from both New York and Charleston were aggressive and very active in the subsequent illegal slave trade.

The Slave Trades of New York and Charleston

Historians have written various studies of slavery in New York and South Carolina. Graham Russell Hodges, Leslie Harris, Thelma Wills Foote, and Shane White all discuss unfree labor in New York. Hodges focuses on New York City and describes the slow road to emancipation of slaves in the city and surrounding countryside. He emphasizes the ways in which blacks embraced religion and culture in working towards

freedom.[4] Harris charts the lives of African Americans from slavery to emancipation. In her study, she follows community development. She surveys class, racism, identity, and various obstacles African Americans encountered from education to employment. Through these struggles, African Americans bonded in communities, churches, and organizations. They also pooled resources together and assisted each other economically.[5] Foote examines the interplay among Africans, Europeans, and Native Americans in Manhattan from its origins through the late colonial period. She analyzes the formation of race in New York City and argues that the process of racial formation and racial domination was central to the northern colonial region. Shane White assesses slavery in New York City during the post-Revolutionary period and the slow process of abolition in the City and surrounding counties.[6]

Historians such as Peter Wood, Daniel Littlefield, and Peter Coclanis focus on South Carolina. Wood argues that during the colonial era, South Carolina rice planters specifically chose laborers from the West Coast of Africa due to their expertise in rice cultivation and technology.[7] Building on that insight in *Rice and Slaves*, Littlefield surveys African ethnicity and contends that some South Carolinians preferred certain slaves over others. He also explains that the capabilities of the Africans belied some of the racial stereotypes.[8] I also seek to build on the work of Peter Coclanis, who discusses

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[4] Graham Russell Hodges, *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613-1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 3-5.

[5] Leslie Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1663* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 1-9.

[6] Thelma Wills Foote, *Black and White Manhattan: The History of Racial Formation in Colonial New York City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 4-19; Shane White, *Somewhat More Independent: The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770-1810* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), x-xviii.

[7] Wood, *Black Majority,* xiii-xix.

[8] Daniel Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 1-7.

the economic development of South Carolina and the prices of rice and indigo.[9] He accentuates the importance of labor in these areas and contends that everyday contact between masters and slaves in these regions allowed for exchanges and bargaining as slaves worked to form their own culture. I elaborate on how these goods led to alterations in the slave trade. While my work builds upon the remarkable foundations of these historians, it also adds to the field by focusing on the slave trade and comparing two locations that no one has yet compared—New York City and Charleston.

Some historians who write on New York and South Carolina mention the slave trade, but no one has written a thorough examination of the traffic in New York City or Charleston from its inception to its demise. There have been several broad studies on the international trade, including Hugh Thomas' *The Slave Trade*, Herbert Klein's *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, David Northrup's *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A History*, Philip Curtin's *The Slave Trade: A Census*, and James Walvin's and James Rawley's *The Slave Trade*. All of these authors craft general overviews of the Atlantic traffic in humans. They examine their experience along the Middle Passage and their arrival in the Americas.[10]

Although the authors of these general studies have contributed brilliant insights into the international slave trade, they have not included an in-depth analysis of a specific slave trade. While there have been a few studies that focus on the involvement of various

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[9] Peter Coclanis, *The Shadow of A Dream: Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country, 1670-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 3-12.

[10] There have been numerous broad studies on the slave trade including Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997); Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); David Northrup, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); James Walvin, *Crossings: Africa, the Americas and the Atlantic Slave Trade* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013); James A. Rawley, and Stephen D. Behrendt, *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A History*. Rev. ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); and Philip D. Curtin. *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

colonies with the international slave trade, including those by Elizabeth Donnan, Donald D. Wax, James Lydon, and James Coughtry, they tend to look at regional trades in isolation.[11] Donnan writes and researches extensively on the slave trade into South Carolina and puts together a collection of documents on the slave trade from Africa to the Americas. Wax examines the slave trades of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina, but he covers only a short period of time. Lydon explores Manhattan's slave trade and emphasizes that there was a considerable shift in New York's slave trade by the late 1740s as more Africans were imported into the city after that decade.[12]

The online slave trade voyages database constructed by David Eltis and David Richardson also provides imperative information on documented slave trade voyages.[13] I use the database to tabulate the number of slaves imported into New York and Charleston from Africa, the Gulf Coast, and the West Indies. I examine the slave trade database to compare the regions of Africa where the slaves came from, where the voyages originated

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[11] Elizabeth Donnan, "The Slave Trade Into South Carolina Before the Revolution," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (July 1928): 804-828; and Darold D. Wax's studies on the slave trades of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina including Darold D. Wax, "Negro Imports into Pennsylvania, 1720-1766," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 97, No. 1 (January,1973): 22-44; and Darold D. Wax, "Black Immigrants: The Slave Trade in Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 73, No. 1 (Spring 1978): 30-45. James Lydon also wrote about slave imports into New York City in his article James Lydon, "New York and the Slave Trade, 1700-1774," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (April 1978): 375-394. Jay Coughtry also added to the scholarship on the slave trade in his book on Rhode Island, Jay Coughtry, *The Notorious Triangle: Rhode Island and the African Slave Trade, 1700-1807* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981); Walter Minchinton, Celia King, and Peter Waite, *Virginia Slave-Trade Statistics, 1698-1775* (Charlottesville: Library of Virginia, 1985).

[12] Curtin, *The Slave Trade*; Rawley, and Behrendt. *The Transatlantic Slave Trade*; David Richardson. "The British Slave Trade to Colonial South Carolina," *Slavery and Abolition* Vol. 12, No. 3 (1991): 125-72; Lydon, "New York and the Slave Trade," 375-394.

[13]The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces.

(whether Britain or the United States), and who the vessel owners were. This database was not available to earlier scholars, but here it helps to decipher information such as slave mortality rates and the percent of males, females, and children on the voyages.[14] I also refer to Gregory O'Malley's extensive research on slave imports from the Caribbean to the colonies.[15] In 2014, O'Malley published a monograph on British America's slave trade. O'Malley uses the Slave Trades Voyages Database extensively throughout his work. In this study, he also focuses on slaves transported from Africa to the Americas. O'Malley seeks to argue throughout the work that although the majority of slaves went to the Caribbean, there was a "robust" slave trade between Africa and the mainland colonies. While O'Malley provides more specific information on the trade between Africa and the British mainland, his study is still broad and he makes many generalizations on the colonies as a whole, or the North or South and their connections to the slave trade.[16]

In analyzing the slave traffic in this work, at its most fundamental level, this dissertation focuses on three main issues elaborated on below: scrutinizing the international slave trade surrounding the *port cities* of New York and Charleston, examining how these slave trades connected to the *Atlantic World*, and *comparing* the slave trades of these two cities.

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[14] Although I examine imports from the Caribbean and Africa to New York and Charleston, for voyages connected to New York and Charleston, the dataset contains little information on gender ratios, ethnicity, and mortality rates on voyages connected to Africa.

[15] O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 125–172.

[16] Gregory E. O'Malley, *Final Passages: The Intercolonial Slave Trade of British America, 1619-1807* (Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 6-29.

Port Cities

In recent years, historians have crafted comparative studies of port cities. In *Tales of Two Cities,* Camilla Townsend compares Guayaquil, Ecuador, to Baltimore. She uses a slave from Baltimore and a slave from Ecuador as a lens into the working conditions of these two cities. I also examine some of the lives of slaves who were victims of the slave trade to lead into a larger discussion of the port city slave traffic.[17] Joyce Goodfriend and Thelma Wills Foote both scrutinize ethnicity in New York City. Goodfriend focuses on a variety of ethnic groups, emphasizing the Dutch, but saying little about slaves.[18] Although Foote discusses slaves in New York in great detail, neither she nor Goodfriend focuses on the slave trade or compares New York to another city.[19]

Examining concurrently the urban ports of New York City and Charleston enables me to explain how various factors in each city shaped, hastened, and stunted the traffic in humans at these two ports. First and foremost, the primary focus of this study is the slave trade and the ports that were the entry point for African captives. A large number of slaves sent to New York City and Charleston stayed in the city to work a variety of urban jobs. Up until the mid-1700s, New York City witnessed a shortage of both white and non-white workers. Slaves in both New York and Charleston worked as dockworkers and domestics. There was a sizable percentage of female domestics in New York City. Manhattan slaves also labored as porters, coopers, artisans, craftsmen, and coachmen. Charleston contained a large number of skilled slaves who labored in the building industry, and also worked as carpenters, bricklayers, painters, and plasterers.

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17 Camilla Townsend, *Tales of Two Cities: Race and Economic Culture in Early Republic North and South America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000).

18 Joyce Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664-1730* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

19 Foote, *Black and White Manhattan*, 3-22.

Leading residents of New York City and Charleston were involved in the lucrative slave trade. A variety of politicians, slaveholders, businessmen, and merchants engaged in the trade in both seaports. In the colonial period, Carolina merchant Henry Laurens was one of the most active slave traders throughout the Atlantic World. Outfitting slave vessels also became an active business in New York City for men such as Frederick Philipse, Robert Livingston, and Jacobus Van Cortlandt. The import trade of South Carolina relied on British ships while the colonies were under British control, but New Yorkers took a more active role in their trade. Manhattan's merchants funded, created, and outfitted the majority of the ships that brought slaves into their city. Some New Yorker businessmen had ties to the South and helped to supply the region with slaves. Even after the international slave trade became illegal in the United States, a handful of merchants connected to both ports continued to participate in the trade. They were willing to break the law and risk jail, heavy fines, and even death to continue their involvement in the traffic.

A comparative approach demonstrates differences and similarities between the slave trades of New York and Carolina. For virtually all of its history, New York City has been home to a wide variety of people from numerous ethnic backgrounds. The slaves imported helped shape its cultural, religious, and social fabric. Facilitated by the high percentage of non-whites in Manhattan, newly imported slaves often united and even rebelled against the whites. Although slaves everywhere resisted their lot, organized rebellion was possible in the northern port due to the large number of Africans imported into New York, together with the heavy traffic of people and goods in general. During most of the 1700s, a majority of Carolina's slaves arrived from Africa, whereas during the first half of the 18th century, New Yorkers imported most of their slaves from the West Indies. Carolina was the only mainland colony with a slave majority during the colonial period. As one traveled from the city into the hinterlands, the differences

between the two areas grew. New York wheat farms contained much smaller numbers of slaves than did lowcountry plantations in Carolina.

The geography, scale of labor, and staple commodities of both areas helped shape the slave trades and the types of slaves brought into these cities. Traders made decisions on the slave trade to fulfill the labor demands of New York's hinterlands and Carolina's lowcountry. For New York, traders imported slaves into the region as the demand for wheat grew and as farming developed. The surrounding counties of Richmond, Kings, and Ulster contained the highest percentage of Africans and their descendants, with 28 percent, 21 percent, and 20 percent respectively. These high percentages can be attributed to the large numbers of slaves imported to fill the labor demands of the port and nearby wheat farms.[20]

Some historians have written about New York's hinterland regions, including Martin Bruegel in *The Rise of the Market Society in the Hudson Valley*.[21] He discusses the lives of merchants, artisans, and farmers living and working along the Hudson River and how capitalism developed and spread in this rural region. In *Traders and Gentlefolk*, Cynthia Kierner examines four generations of the Livingston family. In doing so, she depicts the lives of rural traders and the privileged and argues that although elites have been marked as selfish, greedy and caught up in political intrigue. The lives of the Livingston family demonstrated gentility, industry, and morality.[22] David Cohen also examines the hinterlands in *The Dutch-American Farm*, and provides a vivid description

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[20] Cynthia Kierner, *Traders and Gentlefolk: The Livingstons of New York, 1675-1790* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 43.

[21] Martin Bruegel, *The Rise of the Market Society in the Hudson Valley* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 1-12.

[22] Kierner, *Traders and Gentlefolk*, 43-47.

of everyday life of Dutch settlers in rural New York and New Jersey.[23] Yet a detailed discussion of slave labor in the hinterlands is missing in all three of these works.

Even greater numbers of slaves were imported into Charleston to work in the rice, indigo, and later cotton fields. By 1720, the vast majority of slaves in Carolina lived in parishes that were 60 percent black and almost half lived in parishes that were 70 percent black.[24] A few historians have written on the Carolina lowcountry, including Phillip Morgan, Daniel Littlefield, Jack P. Greene, and Bertrand Ruymbeke. I seek to build upon these studies by focusing more on the slave trade.[25]

Atlantic World Approach

I also aim to make connections between the slave trades of New York and Charleston to the Atlantic World. Scholars such as Marcus Rediker implement a trans-national approach in their works when they follow specific people from place to place and from port to port. I will use a transatlantic approach by situating New York and Charleston within the larger Atlantic world (of trade in humans). These 18th century port cities connected like a web to various corners of the Atlantic, from Africa to Europe, the Caribbean, and other mainland colonies. New York and Charleston were two of the most dynamic, rapidly growing ports in the Atlantic world. Slaves such as John Jea were being

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[23] David S. Cohen, *The Dutch American Farm* (New York: New York University Press, 1993).

[24] Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 95.

[25] Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, xv; Daniel Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves*, 1-7. For work on lowcountry South Carolina, see Jack P. Greene, ed., *Money, Trade, and Power: The Evolution of Colonial South Carolina's Plantation Society* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000); Bertrand Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon To Eden: The Huguenots and Their Migration To Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 2006). See also Robert Olwell, *Masters, Slaves and Subjects: The Culture of Power in the South Carolina Low Country, 1740-1790* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998); and Max Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

transported, along with goods, into and out of these ports to various parts of the Atlantic on a daily basis. Enslaved men and women also labored over products such as wheat, rice, and indigo shipped throughout the Atlantic.

Not only do I compare New York's and Charleston's slave trades, but I also show that both cities were constantly involved in a series of ever-shifting negotiations and transactions throughout the Atlantic World. Positioning these two trades in a larger context also demonstrates how these two North American port cities were connected to Africa, Europe, and the Americas. Traders and slave owners from New York City and Charleston made decisions on slave imports based not only on local factors, but also on a variety of circumstances occurring across the Atlantic.

In their collection, *Atlantic History*, Philip Morgan and Jack Greene lament the lack of comparative studies of the Atlantic World.[26] In recent years historians Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, along with John Thornton, broached vital connections between these two cities and the Atlantic World.[27] Linebaugh's and Rediker's greater emphasis is on popular rebellions throughout the Atlantic, while Thornton discusses African dimensions of the Stono Rebellion near Charleston. Thelma Wills Foote's *Racial Manhattan* places Manhattan in full-Atlantic world context. Foote's main point of investigation includes the port's race relations rather than its external slave trade. Most recently, in her *Dangerous Economies,* Serena Zabin discusses 18th century connections

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[26] Philip D. Morgan and Jack Greene, eds., *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). Scholars writing about colonial New York, including Graham Russell Hodges, Leslie Harris, Jill Lepore, and those investigating South Carolina, such as Darold D. Wax and Robert Olwell, all claim to invoke an Atlantic World approach in their work. Despite these avowals, they often simply inject the words "Atlantic World," "Caribbean," or "West Indies" into their studies without thoroughly investigating Atlantic associations.

[27] Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: The Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001), 1-7; and John Thornton, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion," *American Historical Review,* Vol. 96, No. 4 (October 1991): 1101-1113.

between New York's economy and the Atlantic World in the midst of European Wars. Yet slaves are far from the main characters in her work. Emma Hart aims to fully situate Charleston in the British Atlantic in her book *Building Charleston* which she places Charleston's slaves in a broader urban context of labor and culture.[28]

My work differs from these historians in that I focus on the slave trade. I seek to model my dissertation alongside the Atlantic world methodologies of Emma Hart and April Lee Hatfield. Hart advocates fully exploiting linkages between Charleston and the Atlantic world through transatlantic trade in goods and slaves.[29] In her *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, Hatfield shrewdly recognizes that one "cannot understand the development of one place…without looking well beyond that place, across the Atlantic, to the complex variables and interactions that converged to produce a particular set of local conditions."[30] Hatfield examines Virginia in a fresh way. Seen in hindsight, historians writing about early Virginia tended to focus narrowly on tobacco and slaves. Hatfield, however, discusses the larger context of English expansion when it was unclear that Jamestown would someday become "Virginia."[31] Similarly, I will show how people from the port cities of New York and Charleston were transformed by Atlantic connections throughout the years of their involvement in the trade.

In "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," David Armitage heightens awareness for a "cis-Atlantic" approach or "the history of a particular place…in relation to the wider Atlantic world." This method emphasizes port cities and their greater connections to the

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[28]Serena Zabin, *Dangerous Economies: Status and Commerce in Imperial New York* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 1-9; and Emma Hart, *Building Charleston: Town and Society in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009).

[29] Hart, *Building Charleston*, 1-15.

[30] April Lee Hatfield, *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 1-7.

[31] Hatfield, *Atlantic Virginia*, 1-7.

Atlantic,[32] and his study investigates and compares the specific locations of New York City and Charleston while discussing the wider web of connections in relation to the Atlantic world. My approach to Atlantic world history draws on two ways of understanding the past, in that I will use a traditional comparative method (i.e. how two cities in the Atlantic World compare) and a transatlantic approach (i.e. examining connections between New York and Charleston with the Atlantic World). They differed in development as time passed, and yet their ties to the Atlantic network made them surprisingly similar in critical ways. The slave trades of these two port cities contained many similarities during the first few decades of their involvement in the trade up until 1710, including numbers of slaves imported. After the first decade, the trades witnessed vast differences until the late 1740s through the early 1760s. Fewer slaves were imported into New York during the 1760s than during the 1750s. By the 1760s, the slave trades of New York City and Charleston once again witnessed vast differences as those connected to New York's trade moved to end their slave trade at the northern port. I strive to situate this dissertation in the sort of comparative Atlantic studies done in the 1980s (especially by sociologists working on the Caribbean, who asked comparative questions such as what are the differences between Jamaica and Barbados) in that I am emphasizing how the Atlantic ports of New York and Charleston developed in somewhat different ways.

Points of Comparison

By looking at each slave trade separately, a comparison of the slave trades of New York City and Charleston illuminates certain features about the traffic into both port towns that would otherwise not be revealed. These cities make for an interesting

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[32] David Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, eds. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 11-27; and Emma Hart, "Charleston and the British Industrial Revolution, 1750-1790," *Global Perspectives on Industrial Transformation in the American South* eds. Susanna Delfino and Michele Gillespie. (Columbia: Missouri University Press, 2005), 26-49.

comparison because they were both growing metropolises with the most active traffic in humans for their region. The labor of the slaves imported to both of these cities proved instrumental to the productivity of their colonies, but the scale of labor diverged as slaves were imported into New York counties to labor over wheat, while slaves were imported into South Carolina for much more labor intensive rice, indigo, and later, cotton production.

This study builds upon some of the methodologies of historians who have written important comparative works. In the last few decades, two pertinent studies emerged comparing colonial American slavery across time and space. Philip D. Morgan's *Slave Counterpoint* juxtaposes slave life in the 18th century Chesapeake with that of the South Carolina lowcountry and compares and contrasts the land and labor of these two regions. Morgan also stresses differences between these two areas and argues that slaves in both locations managed to shape their own lives and rose above their legally-inferior position to develop their own cultural elements.[33] In *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*,[34] Ira Berlin compares slavery in the North, Upper and Lower South, and the Mississippi Valley. Berlin compares and contrasts slave life and society across mainland America.

I also model my work along similar methodologies and points of analysis as historians including Peter Kolchin and Camilla Townshend. Kolchin compares American slavery and Russian serfdom. In Camilla Townsend's *Tales of Two Cities*, she evaluates a mid-Atlantic and South American port city. Like Kolchin's, my work is fully comparative. I analyze a variety of variables connected to the slave trade from the 1600s through the Civil War. Townsend compares a city in North America, Baltimore, to a city

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[33] Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 659-672.

[34] Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).

in South America, Guayaquil. She aims to draw out comparisons between an area in a northern and southern region, similar to my study of a northern and southern slave trade. She also uses a few main characters, Frederick Douglass, for example, to help weave her narrative. I also discuss a few of the slave traders and slaves, such as John Jea, so that their experiences help unravel aspects of the Atlantic traffic.[35]

Some historians have also written comparative studies that focus on one region. Jeffrey Robert Young's *Domesticating Slavery: The Master Class in Georgia and South Carolina, 1670-1837*[36] focuses on the South, while Gary Nash's *Urban Crucible*, which compares Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, and says little about enslaved people in those seaports.[37] What makes my analysis distinctive, is that unlike these scholars, my work compares a northern and a southern city. Examining two cities in different sections of the British mainland allows for a greater discussion of regional similarities and differences.

There are a variety of features of these slave trades I seek to compare. I assess these trades chronologically, recognizing change over time. There was not a steady rise or decline, for example, in the number of slaves sent to either port, but the trades had their own peaks and valleys. A variety of social, political, and economic factors caused both slave trades to change and experience various shifts and increases and decreases in

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Peter Kolchin, *Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), ix-xi; and Townsend, *Tales of Two Cities*, 1-19. There are other historians I would like to model my work after including Roderick McDonald and Shearer Davis Bowman. Roderick McDonald, *The Economy and Material Culture of Slaves: Goods and Chattels on the Sugar Plantations of Jamaica and Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993) and Shearer Davis Bowman, *Masters and Lords: Mid-19th Century U.S. Planters and Prussian Junkers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

36 Jeffrey Robert Young, *Domesticating Slavery: The Master Class in Georgia and South Carolina, 1670-1837* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 1-16.

37 Gary B. Nash, *Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981).

slave imports. I start in the first chapter with the origins of both trades during the 1600s. I focus on many of the logistics of both cities' slave trade, such as when and how they began, some background information on where the slaves arrived from, and what commodities slaves labored over. I examine changes in New York's slave trade from Dutch to English control and discuss how early South Carolina's slave trade started by a small number of English men and slaveholders from Barbados. I also compare gender ratios, mortality rates, and what parts of Africa slaves were coming from. Through various points of comparison, I also seek to delve into historical arguments surrounding slave preferences and why some slaves were preferred over others due to their ethnicity. In investigating these trades, we learn more about what the colonists thought concerning the ethnicity of Africans and whether or not their slave preferences were systematic or arbitrary.

A major difference between the two areas included the number of slaves imported into the ports of New York and Charleston. When John Jea resided in New York's hinterlands, he worked alongside only a few other slaves. Owners in New York City and the surrounding counties, like the Triebuens, tended to own slaves, often two or three, while slave owners from lowcountry plantations often had fifty slaves per owner. Some slave-holders such as the Livingstons and Philipses owned larger numbers of Africans, however. Sir William Johnson, for example, owned about forty slaves. Most Carolina slave holders owned more slaves than those from New York. By the 1720s, more than half of Carolina's slaves lived on plantations of twenty or more slaves. Within three decades, only about 10 percent of slaves lived on plantations with fewer than ten slaves and about one-third lived on plantations of 50 or more slaves.[38]

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[38] Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 39; John B. Jea, *The Life, History, and Unparalleled Sufferings of John Jea, the African Preacher, Compiled by Himself*, (England, 1811), 3-7.

I also investigate factors that led to changes in the slave trade, including slave unrest and revolutions throughout the Atlantic World. In chapter two, I start with the 1712 New York City slave rebellion and examine how slave rebelliousness and European wars altered the international slave trade. I address modifications in the number of slaves imported into New York City and Charleston in the aftermath of slave unrest. In the midst of the Stono Rebellion in Carolina and the 1741 New York City slave conspiracy, purchasers in both colonies wanted to import slaves from other areas. Slaves from Africa were the prime leaders of Stono, while slaves from the West Indies planned the 1741 conspiracy. After Stono, authorities from South Carolina claimed that Africans were more violent than blacks from the Caribbean because Africans led the rebellion. Many whites from Carolina began to stereotype slaves from Africa as being more dangerous than those from the Caribbean and expressed an interest in importing more slaves from the Americas. Whites in New York, by contrast, viewed slaves from the Caribbean as more recalcitrant and desired more slaves from Africa after the 1741 conspiracy. In examining these patterns, we can decipher the slave preferences of traders, merchants, and slave owners and observe the shifting preferences of slave owners in these two locales. We can also investigate why owners changed their preferences for slaves from Africa or the Caribbean.

During the 1760s, between the French and Indian War and the American Revolution, a major shift occurred as many leaders united in a transatlantic movement to abolish the slave trade. In the third and fourth chapters, I analyze the historical arguments over the causes of the abolition of the international slave trade. I also investigate the people who came to oppose the slave trade and the reasons why they turned against the traffic. Leading up to and after the American Revolution, as the international discussion of the slave trade grew, vast differences between the slave trades of New York and Charleston emerged.

Another point of comparison includes the illegal slave trade. In the fifth and final chapter, I compare both ports' connections to the illegal slave trade after the closing of the international slave trade in the United States. New York and South Carolina continued their involvement in the illegal trade up through the Civil War. I analyze the various acts of national legislation passed between 1808 and the Civil War, indicating that America's participation in the illegal slave trade continued to be a problem through the early 1860s. While most scholars would not be surprised that Carolina traders continued to import slaves illegally, many do not realize the extent of involvement of New York traders in the illegal trade. Comparing the illegal slave trade in a northern state such as New York to a heavily populated slave state such as South Carolina reveals just how extensive New York's traders engaged in the illegal trade.

From the 1700s to the Civil War, slavery defined South Carolina, so examining the process of how and why slaves entered Carolina is imperative. For the North, traders imported significant numbers of slaves to New York City. By comparing the slave trade in the most populated northern slave colony to the most populated southern slave colony and then state, I seek to identify how the slave trade developed, changed, and shaped these two cities. In comparing these two slave trades, we can examine broad patterns of these two trades. I aim to provide a deeper understanding on why New Yorkers and South Carolinians were involved with the slave trade. Slavery in New York and South Carolina has been widely examined by historians, but the process of the transportation of slaves from Africa to mainland North America or the Caribbean to North America has been under-examined. By using the method of comparison, we can also examine how a variety of historiographical debates unfolded in the North and South. One debate involved the timing and reasoning behind the end of the slave trade. If we only examined why and when South Carolina ended their slave trade, we would not find out the process of ending the slave trade in the North. Opening up this work to comparing a northern and southern

city, allows for a broader understanding and explanation of how things changed and developed in the North and the South in regard to the international slave trade.

In exploring the slave traffic of New York and South Carolina, we can also investigate some of the slaves who endured the middle passage, lived a life of bondage, and managed to seek freedom. The vast majority of slaves did not write narratives, and even fewer wrote about the slave trade. Despite, this, there were some slaves including John Jea, James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, and John Kizell who provided narratives of their capture and re-enslavement, their life in bondage, and their path to freedom. These brave men were sent to either New York or South Carolina. These heroic men retold the stories of their forced travels through the Middle Passage, their life in bondage, and their path to freedom. I aim to use their stories to unravel and shed light on the experience of slaves who underwent the horrors of the slave trade and the Middle Passage and were sent to either New York or South Carolina.[39]

Comparing a northern and southern trade helps us test a variety of variables so that we can learn about the trade from both regions. For example, in the final chapter, I investigate the illegal slave trade. By opening up this study to a northern and southern locale, not only do we learn more about the traffic in the cities of New York and Charleston, but this work also allows for a broader regional investigation of how various variables, such as the illegal slave trade, compared in two different regions.

In short, there are many reasons why the slave trades of New York City and Charleston beg for comparison. Comparing a northern and southern colony and

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[39] Jea, *The Life, History, and Unparalleled Sufferings of John Jea*, 1-3; James Albert Ukawsaw Gronnoisaw and Shirley Walter, *A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronnoisaw, an African Price, as Related by Himself* (Bath: W.GYE, 1770), 1-9, http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/gronniosaw/gronnios.html; Kevin G. Lowther, *The African American Odyssey of John Kizell: A South Carolina Slave Returns to Fight the Slave Trade in his African Homeland* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011).

eventually state, makes for an illuminating assessment. Historians have compared a northern area to a southern area before, such as Rhode Island and South Carolina. But New York City and Charleston provide a fascinating contrast because during the colonial period, there were more slaves in New York than any other northern colony, and more slaves in Carolina than any southern colony. Secondly, many assume that those connected to a northern port such as New York City were not very active in the slave trade. By comparing New York City and the most active slave trading southern city, Charleston, we can see that those from New York City were very involved in the slave trade. In exploring these two cities, we learn some key similarities and differences on topics surrounding the slave trade such as the abolition of the trade for two states as well as the changing attitudes of the international trade in the northern and southern regions. Finally, by comparing a northern city and a southern city, we can investigate some of the key sectional debates over the slave trade and its abolition.

Chapter 1

NEW YORK CITY'S AND CHARLES TOWN'S[1] EARLY SLAVE TRADES

As the grandson of King Zaara of Bornu, James Albert Ukawsaw Gronnoisaw was born into a life of privilege. When he was young, a merchant came to his town and asked his family if the boy could travel with him to the Gold Coast. Gronnoisaw had often challenged his siblings intellectually by asking questions they could not answer. They taunted him, and Gronnoisaw endured a childhood of great unhappiness. The umbrage he experienced led James Albert to accept an offer to travel with a merchant who came into his village and promised to bring him back to his family. He never returned. Instead, the merchant brought the boy to his king along the Gold Coast. The ruler initially threatened to behead the boy for no apparent reason. After taking pity on the youth, the king decided not to kill the boy, but he sold him into slavery. Shortly after, James Albert came in contact with a Dutch captain along the coast who viewed the fifteen-year old as a hard worker. The Dutch commander became his master and the two boarded a slave ship headed across the Atlantic. The ship sailed to Barbados, where the teenager was sold for $50 to a man named Vanhorn from New York City. Once in Manhattan, Vanhorn, a

[1] Until the American Revolution, present-day Charleston, South Carolina was referred to as Charles Town, after the King of England. After the Revolution, the city was re-named Charleston. I refer to the city as "Charles Town" until after the Revolution.

Calvinist minister, resold Gronnoisaw. His journey from the West Coast of Africa to the West Indies and to New York represented a path that many slaves imported into Manhattan were forced to follow.[2]

The international slave trade did not start with New York or South Carolina.[3] Long before Gronnoisaw began his journey, the Spanish, British, French, and Dutch had established colonies in the Americas using slaves as their source of labor. Europeans reasoned that they could keep importing large numbers of Africans into the Americas and become wealthy off of slave-produced goods such as sugar, coffee, rice, tobacco, and wheat. All thirteen mainland English colonies had some connection to the international slave trade: by the mid-1600s, both New York and Carolina imported African slaves into their colonies on a regular basis. Yet the slave trade of both cities cannot be judged by volume alone. Slave importations for both New York City and Charles Town fulfilled both cities' labor demands as well as those of their respective hinterland and coastal regions.

There were many similarities during the early years of New York City's and Charles Town's slave trades. For one, both of these slave trades gradually developed. In the first few decades of their involvement, New York and Carolina traders imported

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[2]James Albert Ukawsaw Gronnoisaw and Shirley Walter, *A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronnoisaw, an African Price, as Related by Himself* (Bath: W.GYE, 1770), 1-9; http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/gronniosaw/gronnios.html.

[3] To avoid repetition, I often interchange New York and New York City and South Carolina with Charles Town or Charleston with South Carolina. New York City was the main entryway of slaves into the colony of New York while Charleston was the main point of entry for slaves imported into South Carolina. In the later chapters, I at times focus specifically on the city or state and refer to New York as either the "City" or "state."

around 3,000 documented slaves each. Those from both areas also suffered from a labor shortage of white workers and resorted to slave labor to fulfill their demands. Leaders in both colonies also implemented duties to control their slave population. In the early years, those who participated in the slave trade also discussed slave ethnicity and why they preferred some slaves to others. One of the major differences during this early period which would continue for the duration of both slave trades was that proprietors explicitly founded Carolina as a slave colony. As time went on, much larger numbers of slaves would be needed in Carolina than in New York due to the greater demands of slave labor involved in products such as rice and indigo.

The Origins of the Slave Trade to New Netherland

There were many similarities between the early slave trades of New York and Charles Town that grew after the British took over New York's trade. The Dutch first controlled New Netherlands trade. For the Dutch in New Netherland, the original purpose of the colony was to establish a viable workforce to labor over staple crops that would bring enormous wealth to their colony. Leaders from these two cities implemented laws on the importation of slaves to their colonies and sought to increase the number of slave imports due to the great demand for labor in their colonies. As New Netherland became New York and switched from Dutch to English control, the demand for more slaves in the colony only grew and as a result, larger numbers of Africans were then imported into the colony. As New York's trade flourished, leaders established harsher laws that imposed greater restrictions on slaves. As historian George Bancroft remarked that the reason New Yorkers did not have as many slaves as those in South Carolina, was "due to climate and not to the superior humanity of its founders."[4] Several historians have

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[4] Thomas Read Rootes Cobb, *An Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery in the United States of America: To Which is Prefixed, An Historical Sketch of Slavery* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999), cxlviii. George Bancroft, *History of the United States*

debated the origins of slavery and why it began. For New York, the move towards importing more slaves resulted in the need to fulfill the labor demands of the city and nearby hinterlands.[5]

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from the Discovery of the American Continent, Vol. 2 (New York: Appleton Co. Press, 1886), 256.

[5] In 1950, Oscar and Mary Handlin argued that in 17th century North America and England, there were various degrees of freedom. The Handlins emphasized that the more the colonists relied on slaves, colonial legislatures codified the slave system due to the need for an available labor force. They also claimed that racism did not cause slavery, but emerged to justify slavery. Nine years later, Carl Degler refuted the Handlins thesis and argued that free and non-free blacks witnessed prejudice and unfair treatment from the start of their arrival in the Americas. Winthrop D. Jordan claimed that white racism, not economic or legal conditions, led to slavery. He noted that Europeans long viewed Africans as inferior. He adds that Europeans who moved to the mainland, transferred these racist ideas with them to the Americas allowing for white racism to exist and shape how whites treated Africans and African Americans in America. George Fredrickson contends that racism did not precede slavery. Edmund Morgan emphasizes that at first, southerners were more flexible with labor and later grew more rigid. As the tobacco crop grew in importance in Virginia and the economy grew, this created a high demand for cheap labor, resulting in an increasingly rigid and codified slave structure. Morgan believes that racism, was a result of slavery, an ideology created to justify a system that had been developed to fulfill the increasing labor demands. Robin Blackburn stresses the importance of economic reasons for slavery in the New World. According to Blackburn, slavery resulted due to economic decisions by ambitious entrepreneurs who realized very early that a slave-labor system in the labor-intensive agricultural world of the American South and the Caribbean was more profitable than a free-labor system. Slave-owning planters, he maintains, increased their profits and created wealth that benefited whites while providing significant capital for the rapidly developing economy of England. He adds that race may have been a rationale for slavery, allowing planters and traders to justify to themselves the terrible human costs of the system. Blackburn reasons that the most important cause for the system was not racism, but the pursuit of profit.
See Oscar and Mary F. Handlin, "Origins of the Southern Labor System," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No.2 (April 1950): 199-222; Carl N. Degler, "Slavery and the Genesis of American Race Prejudice," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol. 2, No. 1 (October 1959): 49-56; Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 11-19; George M. Fredrickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 3-85; (Edmund Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1975), 293-337; Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800* (New York: Verso Press, 1997), 250-260.

Until the second Anglo-Dutch war (1665-1667), the Dutch were essentially in control of the slave trade into New Netherland. At this time, British access to African captives was limited. When the Dutch ruled over New Amsterdam, they created the Dutch West India Company in 1621, which controlled the slave trade into the colony for twenty-four years. During the first half of the seventeenth century, New Amsterdam was actually the main slave port in all of North America. Those in control of the region desired to expand their colony into a thriving commercial center. The Dutch decided to import slaves into the area to work on agricultural production.[6]

Before 1621, few non-whites entered New York City. The first documented cargo of slaves into New York consisted of eleven men imported by the Dutch West India Company. The Dutch initially attempted to establish a trade between New Netherland and Brazil by exchanging goods such as pork and peas for slaves for the northern port. Paul D'Angola, Simon Congo, Anthony Portuguese, and John Francisco were imported into New Netherland as laborers around 1625 and 1626. Not much is known about these men, but their names suggested that Paul and Simon were from Angola and the Congo. Anthony and John were most likely from Spain or Portugal or had been the slaves of such masters.[7]

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[6] E.B. O'Callaghan et al., "Resolution of the State-General," *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York: Procured in Holland, England, and France* Vol. 1 (Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1853), 245.

[7] Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, Carnegie Institution of Washington. Publication no. 409 (Washington, D.C: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1930). The Dutch captured a number of trading forts around the Atlantic where they traded a variety of goods and many slaves. By 1637, the Dutch West India Company took over various slave forts from the Portuguese, including the slave fort El Mina. By 1641 they occupied forts at Luanda and Benguela. The Dutch even took over Portuguese controlled parts of Angola and the Congo capturing slaves from these regions and sending them to places like New Netherlands. Thelma Wills Foote, *Black and White Manhattan: The History of Racial Formation in Colonial New York City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 7, 26-31; Graham Russell Hodges,

One of the reasons the Dutch encouraged slave labor in the colony was because few European workers settled in the region.[8] Most of the whites from New Netherland arrived not to colonize the region, but to trade, earn a quick profit, and then leave. A major obstacle from the beginning was that there was not enough labor in the surrounding hinterlands to produce products for export. The Dutch engaged in a successful fur trade in New York, but in order for the colony to thrive, they needed more laborers to produce staple goods to bolster the region's economy. After the Dutch realized a permanent white labor force could not be secured, in 1626, they began to import slaves to work on farms, port city jobs, and the military.[9] At first, Dutch settlers did not have the funds to buy many slaves, but as trade increased, the city's involvement in the international traffic grew.

In 1629, the lawmakers of New Netherland passed a set of rules for their inhabitants, known as the Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions. Under this document, leaders recognized the need for labor and therefore determined "to supply the colonists with as many blacks as [they] possibly can."[10] Through Freedoms and Exemptions, for inhabitants with slaves, the Dutch West India Company established legislation to

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Root & Branch: African Americans in New York & East Jersey, 1613-1863 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 2, 9-33.

[8]At the time of Dutch settlement in New York, there was no reason for most of the Dutch to migrate and settle permanently. Unlike many other groups of people across Europe who encountered a host of tribulations. For the most part, the Dutch lived satisfying lives in Holland without political and religious problems and did not want to venture off to an unknown land with potential problems.

[9] Edgar J. McManus, *A History of Negro Slavery in New York* (Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 1966), 1-19.

[10] Dutch West India Company, *Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions*, June 7, 1629; O'Callaghan, "Draft of Freedoms and Exemptions for All Patroons," *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. I, 123, Elizabeth Donnan, "The Proposed Freedoms and Exemptions of 1640," *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, Vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1930), 410.

establish trade and cultivate New Netherland.[11] As the early slave trade to New Netherland increased, so did the trade between New Netherland and Brazil under Dutch control. Between 1619 and 1623, the Dutch West India Company transported 15,430 slaves from Africa to Brazil. In 1652, the Company continued to expand its operations by allowing the Dutch based in New York City to trade directly with Africa.[12] In the midst of wars between the Dutch and the Portuguese, the Dutch temporarily controlled land in Brazil and attempted to trade in slaves and goods. After the Portuguese drove the Dutch out, slaves being imported from Brazil into New Netherland was thwarted.[13]

Slaves were imported into New Netherland from multiple places and in a variety of ways. The Dutch attempted to establish a triangular trade with Africa and Curacao. On January 20, 1648, lawmakers resolved that those from New Netherland could export produce and establish a trade in goods and people with Brazil and Angola. Slaves also arrived from Jamaica. After a privateer attacked and took possession of a ship bound for Jamaica, the privateer brought the ship to New Netherland's harbor with forty-four slaves on board.[14]

In 1652, under the "Proposed Contract to Import Slaves into New Netherland," leaders of New Netherland encouraged more slave importations into the colony and wanted traders to import their slaves directly from Africa.[15] One of the first ships to do so was the *Wittepaert*. The crew of the W*ittepaert* transported both slaves and goods

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[11] O'Callaghan, "Draft of Freedoms and Exemptions," *New York Colonial Documents,* Vol. I., 123.

[12] Cynthia A. Kierner, *Traders and Gentlefolk: The Livingstons of New York, 1675-1790* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 13.

[13] O'Callaghan, "Charter of Freedoms," *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. I., 216.

[14] O'Callaghan, "New York Colony, Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, 1638-1674," *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. I, 80.

[15] Donnan, "Proposed Contract To Import Slaves into New Netherland, 1652," *Documents illustrative,* Vol. 3, 412-413.

between Africa and New Netherland.[16] On September 15, 1655 alone, 300 slaves were imported from Africa. Even though the leaders of the colony had discussed granting slaves to the settlers, many bondsmen were auctioned off at the port and traders made a profit of 1,200 florins (or coins) per slave.[17] The inhabitants of New Netherland kept most slaves locally, but some of the merchants and the Director-General of the colony, Peter Stuyvesant, resold slaves to Virginia and Maryland.[18]

As agricultural production increased in New Netherland during the 1640s and 1650s, the leaders of the colony sent larger numbers of slaves into the Hudson Valley. By this time, farming had replaced the fur trade as the main economic venture in the area. Many of the first rural slaves labored not only on farms, but also on a variety of public works projects, including military service, cutting timber for building structures, clearing land, and building forts.[19] The Directors of New Amsterdam wrote to the Director and Council of New Netherland on the need to retain slaves to labor in New Netherland. They asserted that the slaves arriving in the area should be sold only to the inhabitants of the colony and not exported out of the area. Settlers in New Netherland purchased slaves to cultivate the land and raise staple commodities. Traders purchased slaves by exchanging them for various products including beaver pelts, wheat, peas, rye, and beef. [20]

Founders of the colony encouraged Governor Peter Stuyvesant to persuade residents to purchase slaves. Stuyvesant not only led New Netherland, but from 1642 through 1644 he ruled over Curacao. Under Stuyvesant's leadership, inhabitants of

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[16] O'Callaghan, "The Directors at Amsterdam to Director Stuyvesant," *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. I, 154.

[17] A florin was a gold, silver, or metal-based coin.

[18] Graham Russell Hodges, *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613-1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 29.

[19] McManus, *Negro Slavery in New York*, 7-8.

[20] O'Callaghan, "The Directors At Amsterdam to the Director and Council of New Netherland," *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. II, 222-223.

Curacao engaged in the Atlantic slave trade, making Stuyvesant an obvious choice to direct New Netherland. Dutch leaders purposely placed someone with experience in building a colony based on slave labor in charge of New Netherland. They were hoping he would increase trade in humans and goods into the region.

On April 4, 1652, Dutch lawmakers confirmed their commitment to importing slaves into New Netherlands by passing legislation to "purchase Negroes wheresoever they may think necessary, and bring them into New Netherland to work on their Bouweries, on payment of a duty."[21] Also, the New Amsterdam directors proclaimed that in order to support "this Plantation more, we hereby consent on the proposal of the Inhabitants there, that they shall be at liberty to bring in their own ships from the coast of Africa, as many Negroes as they shall have… for the cultivation of the soil."[22] The leaders of New Netherland established the terms and purposes under which slaves were sold in their colony. In a 1664 slave sale, the authors of the document stated that slaves should not be sold, carried away, or transported out of New Netherland.[23] As the number of slave laborers in the region increased, New Netherland lawmakers established early laws and penalties to maintain a viable slave population in the colony and punish those carrying slaves out of the region.

The precise number of slaves imported into New Netherland under Dutch control is difficult to determine because the directors kept few records and no accurate census. Sources from colonial officials do provide a rough idea of the number of slaves imported, however. Between 1640 and 1664, records indicated that slaves were routinely imported

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[21]O'Callaghan, "New York Colony, Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland," *New York Colonial Documents,* Vol. XI. 53, 127. The law said "purchase Negroes wheresoever…" except from the Coast of Guinea, but did not provide a reason for why they did not want to import slaves from Guinea.

[22] O'Callaghan, "New York Colony, Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, 1638-74," *New York Colonial Documents,* Vol. IX, 678.

[23] N.Y. Col. MSS, Vol. 10: 3, 227.

into New York and that some of the cargoes were large. From the start of Dutch involvement in the slave trade up until 1665, 496 slaves were imported into New Netherland from the Caribbean.[24] This number is smaller than the number of slaves sent to the Caribbean, but it is larger than the number shipped to other northern colonies. Although a group of founders were working on the establishment of Carolina at this time, and there were no slave imports, there were significant numbers of slaves sent to Virginia and Maryland. During the 1640s through the 1660s, Virginians recorded 650 total slave imports while there were 320 documented slave imports into Maryland.[25]

The first three recorded documented voyages from Africa to New Netherland during the period of Dutch control occurred in 1655, 1663, and 1664, transporting a total of 947 slaves from Africa to New Netherland. In 1655, the ship *Witte Paard* set sail from the West Central Africa and St. Helena region, with the principal place of slave purchase being Loango. The crew of the *Witte Paard* then travelled directly to New Netherland.[26] In 1663, the master of the vessel *Wapen van Amsterdam* picked up a cargo of slaves at an unspecified port in Southeast Africa and the Indian Ocean Islands. The crew then set sail for Madagascar to obtain more slaves before setting sail for New Netherland.[27]

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[24]Gregory E. O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage: Slave Migration from the Caribbean to North America, 1619-1807," *William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 66, No. 1 (January 2009): 125-172.

[25] O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 142, 146; Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces.

[26]Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix A. The percent of males, females, and children is not provided in this account. Nor does it account for the number of slaves who died during the Middle Passage.

[27] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces; See Appendix A.

The slave trade voyages database account does not provide any information on what happened to the slaves who did not disembark in New Netherland. It is unknown whether they died along the Middle Passage, or were shipped elsewhere around the Atlantic. There is also no record on the statistics of males, females, and children who embarked or disembarked. None of the records document accurately what happened to the slaves after they disembarked in New York's port. Obviously, many went to the

The slave vessel *Gideon* was one of the final voyages to transport slaves from Africa to New Netherland. According to a 1664 bill of lading record for he *Gideon*, the skipper, Simon Cornelissen Gilde, promised to transport three hundred slaves (one hundred and sixty men and one hundred forty women), to Peter Stuyvesant in Manhattan.[28] Gilde had guaranteed that the slaves would be "merchantable," but the Council of New Netherlands deemed the slaves "a very poor lot," with many of the women in such poor condition that the board feared that they would not sell, or would sell at very low prices.[29] Yet so anxious were they for cheap labor that those connected to the slave trade in New Netherlands were willing to buy and sell slaves even in a poor condition.[30]

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hinterlands throughout New York's history, but there are no accurate records documenting how many slaves went to surrounding areas. There are estimates as to how many slaves lived in New York's surrounding counties, but also accounts for slaves having children and migrating from other places outside of New York. So whereas estimates of the numbers of slaves living in New York City and the surrounding counties exist, accurate records of where slaves went after they disembarked at the port do not exist.

[28] N.Y. Col. MSS., 17: 86.

[29] N.Y. Col. MSS., 15: 139.

[30] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces.

Figure 1.1 Number of Slaves Imported from Africa and the Caribbean to New Netherland[31]

a. Year	Number of Slaves Imported from Africa to New Netherland
1655	391
1663	265
1664	291
Total:	947

b. Years	Number of Slaves Imported from the Caribbean to New Netherland
Pre-1641-1660	237
1661-1665	259
Total:	496

Total Number of Known Slaves from the Caribbean and Africa to New Netherlands: 1,443

As the demand for slaves grew faster than the supply, the price of slaves steadily increased. Healthy males sold to the highest bidder in a public auction for around 100 to 300 guilders. Under early English control of New Netherland, slaves sold as high as 600 guilders. Slaves from Angola and Curacao tended to sell the highest. Healthy male slaves from Angola were worth on average 450 guilders by 1660, and healthy males from Curacao around 550 guilders. By 1638, blacks comprised roughly 30 percent of New Amsterdam's labor force.[32]

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[31] O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 160; Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces.

[32] McManus, *Negro Slavery in New York*, 7-9.

There is also little information on the sex of slaves entering New Netherland. Of the three early voyages from Africa to New Netherland, only the *Gideon* recorded the number of males and females aboard the ship. Of the 348 slaves who disembarked, 53.3 percent were men and 46.7 percent were women.[33] While there is not a lot of documented evidence on the actual numbers of males and females entering New Netherland at this time, based on rough slave population statistics, historians have estimated that from 1626 through 1664, the sex ratio for New Amsterdam slave imports was 131 males to 100 females.[34] Many slave owners desired female slaves to serve as domestics.

From Dutch to English Control

After the 1660s, the British, who previously had limited access to African slaves, became the world's dominant slave traders, and the importation of slaves to the British mainland colonies accelerated markedly. In 1664, England seized control of New Netherland from the Dutch and renamed the colony New York in honor of Prince James, Duke of York. As Dutch authorities left, a tax list for the colony indicated that one out of eight whites in New Netherland possessed slaves. Although a large number of wealthy inhabitants retained slaves, white men from different social rankings and various occupations from mariners to tavern keepers and butchers also owned slaves.[35] Under British control, New York's political leaders, business community, and private investors attempted to create a viable slave market in the colony.

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[33] There were 348 slaves on board the ship. The author did not list the percent of children, but only gender ratios. Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces.

[34] Leslie Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1663* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces. Most of the voyages for New York and Charleston do not include information on male/female ratios or mortality rates. Information on gender ratios from the Caribbean to New York does not exist.

[35] Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 31.

England did little to encourage white indentured laborers to migrate into New York, leading to an increasing independence on slave labor. As a result, more slaves were imported into the colony from 1698 through 1738 to fulfill labor demands. The slave population increased more rapidly than the white population. By 1679, Governor Edmund Andros also restricted Native American labor and issued a proclamation to prohibit Indian slave labor, which increased the demand for black slave labor.[36] Many slaves were also smuggled, especially after the passage of duties at the turn of the century. Smugglers used Long Island's elongated, convoluted coast to import slaves. In some years, after examining the total slave population, one can determine that more slaves arrived illegally on a single slave ship than those documented and reported for a whole year. [37]

Once they arrived at the port, many slaves were sent to labor in agricultural farms in New York's and East Jersey's hinterlands.[38] During the first few decades of British control, there were eight documented voyages from Africa to New York City between 1665 and 1700, carrying 760 slaves. Most of the slaves from these voyages arrived from the Southeast region of Africa, but one ship brought slaves from West Central Africa. There were also roughly 412 slaves imported from the Caribbean into the city at this time.[39] For the voyages that were recorded, crews imported an estimated 1,172 total slaves from Africa and the Caribbean. By 1690, prices for seasoned slaves in New York ranged from £16 to £25.[40]

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[36] Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 31-33.

[37] McManus, *Negro Slavery in New York*, 9.

[38] Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 30.

[39] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces; Appendix A; O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 160.

[40] The Lloyd Family, Papers of the Lloyd Family, Vol. I. (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1972) 115, 147, 258, 261, 271, 307, 311; E.B. O'Callaghan, *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts*, Vol. II. (Harrison, N.Y.: Harbor Hill Books, 1987), 476, 477,

Figure 1.2. Imports from Africa and the Caribbean to New York City[41]

Years	Imports from Africa	Imports from the Caribbean
16665-1700	760	412

Total Slaves Imported: 1,172

The English not only imported slaves into New York, they recognized Dutch titles to African slaves to meet urban and agricultural labor demands. Furthermore, during the 1660s, a large number of slave owners from Barbados and other plantation colonies migrated to New York and brought their slaves with them. As the British took over the colony, they stressed the need for laws regulating the slave trade and slavery in their new domain. Slaveholders from Barbados not only influenced the institution of slavery in New York, but, had an even greater impact on the colony of Carolina. (I will discuss this more shortly).

New York traders collaborated with pirates connected to East India and Madagascar to bring slaves into the colony. Manhattan-based trader and slave vessel owner Frederick Philipse exchanged letters with Adam Baldridge (of New York) on trading slaves and goods. Baldridge set up a business on an island off of Madagascar where he supplied Philipse with slaves; in response, Philipse shipped goods such as rum and gunpowder.[42]

Although both the Dutch and the British viewed slave labor as an essential component of their labor force, there were some distinct differences in the way they regarded slavery. The Dutch viewed slavery as temporary at first, or at least, a practice

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479, 481; Under British control, around 40 percent of European households owned slaves, averaging 2.4 slaves per owner.

[41] O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 160; Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces.

[42] Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440-1870* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), 204.

designed to increase the wealth of traders. The Dutch allowed half-freedom for slaves who could be conditionally released from servitude after several years of labor. Dutch slaveholders also emancipated some of their slaves. Under the Dutch, laws pertaining to slaves were on a local level, with few laws that restricted slaves. Based on the laws passed in New Netherlands, the Dutch had a negative opinion of Africans. Edgar McManus argues that the Dutch treated slaves the way they did mostly due to differences in religious beliefs rather than their race.[43]

Historian Jaap Jacobs mentions that some of the Dutch in New Netherland had doubts over the legitimacy of slavery. Several tracts were written and passed out against slavery. Despite this, slaveholding continued and expanded under Dutch rule.[44] Jacobs discuses tensions between members of the Dutch Reformed Church and slaves due to only one conversion and the declining number of baptisms in the years leading up to British takeover of the colony.[45] Joyce Goodfriend argues that just before the English took over New Netherland, the Dutch transformed the colony into a slave society.[46] Goodfriend sees the Dutch West India Company as transforming the colony into a

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[43] McManus, *Negro Slavery in New York*, 11-16; Morton Wagman, "Corporate Slavery in New Netherland," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 65, No. 1 (Winter 1980): 34-42; Joyce D. Goodfriend, ed., *Revisiting New Netherland: Perspectives on Early Dutch America* (Netherland: Tuta Sub Aegide Pallas, 2005), 41-70; Evan Haefeli, *New Netherland and the Dutch Origins of American religious Liberty* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 126-129.

[44] Jaap Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland: A Dutch Settlement in Seventeenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 22009), 172-176. Many Dutch slave owners believed it was their duty to bring Christianity to their slaves. Converting slaves brought up potential problems or inconsistencies with enslaved people because the Christian faith might also lead to education, marriage, baptism, and requests from slaves for freedom if they converted. The Dutch Reformed Church enacted a complicated conversion process involving memorization of various catechisms. The degree of understanding a new faith and the work associated with conversion may explain why only one slave officially converted.

[45] Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*, 174-176.

[46] Joyce D. Goodfriend, "Burghers and Blacks: The Evolution of a Slave Society at New Amsterdam" *New York History*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (April 1978): 125-144.

corporate slave model. Although the Dutch were not as strict as the English would be, and some freedoms were given to the slaves under Dutch control, Goodfriend argues that they complied with the Dutch business model leading to a more productive slave labor force. She adds that after the Dutch became more involved with colonizing Curacao and they turned more rigid as slaveholders. They also imported larger numbers of male slaves and a wide variety of people owned slaves from various socio-economic backgrounds. Some argue that the Dutch leaders were good businessmen because they offered slaves incentives to work. One Dutch inhabitant remarked that the slaves were still people and should be in good condition. I would argue that the Dutch did not turn the colony into a "slave society" as Goodfriend claims, but the slave system became more entrenched as inhabitants of the colony were relying more on slaves to labor in the city and nearby hinterlands. Goodfriend along with other historians have not clearly defined what they mean by a "slave society," so ultimately, the term can be interpreted in a variety of ways. Under British control, New York lawmakers placed harsher, more restrictive laws on slaves, ended half-freedoms, and racial prejudice grew.[47]

There were several reasons why a harsher regime developed in New York under British control. As slavery was in its embryonic stages under the Dutch, the leaders and slaveholders were uncertain what laws and regulations should be established between master and slave. The Dutch were not as punitive on their slaves in New York as they were on slaves in other colonies, including Surinam and Curacao. Part of the reason for this was because the Dutch had less money than the British and wanted to keep their slaves alive. In areas such as Surinam and the Dutch Caribbean, the colonies were founded as plantation-based slave societies. In New York, slavery was being introduced to the colony under Dutch control and the climate of New York did not allow for as intense a slave labor colony.

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[47] Goodfriend, "Burghers and Blacks," 131.

The British and the Dutch also had different goals. The British wanted to expand and rule over a huge empire, whereas the Dutch desired to maintain trading stations. The Dutch were not able to invest as much money as the British because they did not have the financial resources to maintain New Netherland and prevent the British from taking over the colony. The Dutch managed to take over colonies, notably Curacao, and used these for the transit trade in slaves to Spanish America. The Dutch used their colonies for strategic maritime purposes as slave markets and depots. They designed these colonies to import slaves, "season" them, and then move them to plantations in other areas. Although the Dutch did establish plantations, their colonies served mostly as trading stations whereas the British established plantation colonies for the production of cash crops.[48]

Another reason why slavery was harsher under British control involved timing. By the first few decades of the 1700s, Caribbean colonies, southern colonies, including South Carolina, and even northern colonies including New York, started to impose stricter laws towards slaves. Slavery became more entrenched and codified under British rule. As the British expanded across the mainland colonies, they implemented more restrictive slave laws. When slaves rebelled in groups and whites felt threatened, the British imposed even harsher laws. At first, slave laws in the colonies were perfunctory. Yet as slavery became more institutionalized, in both New York and South Carolina, as well as other parts of the Americas, slavery became more codified and punishments were more severe. Although the Dutch lost control of New York, there were many families of Dutch descent who stayed in New York. A number of these families owned slaves and

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[48] Pieter Emmer, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Economy, 1580-1880* (Brookfield: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1998), 1-10; Wim Klooster, "Curacao and the Caribbean Transit Trade," in *Riches from Atlantic Commerce: Dutch Transatlantic Trade and Shipping, 1585-1817* (Netherlands: Tuta Sub Aegide Pallas, 2003), 220-226; Kwame Nimako and Glenn Willemsen, *The Dutch Atlantic: Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation* (London: Autobooks, 2011), 66.

abided by New York's slave laws. Some of their descendants were most reluctant to emancipate their slaves after New York's emancipation acts passed in 1799 and 1827.[49]

New Yorkers classified into law who was considered a slave and began to establish several laws that conflated race and slavery. In 1702, the New York assembly enacted stricter slave law codes than did South Carolina.[50] After the English took over New York, slaves had no power over whites in court and fewer bondspersons were emancipated. Punishments also became more brutal under British law, as masters were allowed to whip and punish their slaves.

By the time the English took over New York, they had imposed further restrictions on slaves in other North American colonies.[51] As the number of slave imports increased into Manhattan during the late 1600s and early 1700s, the English wanted both to create new restrictions on slavery and enact tighter regulations in regards to the slave

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[49] Great Britain. Colonial Office. New York. Original Correspondence. (CO 5/1088-1090, 1097-1110) 14 reels. Originals are in The National Archives (Britain). [Film 694] in David Library of the American Revolution.

[50] The original slave laws in New York under the Dutch were a combination of laws from the Massachusetts Body of Liberties, and ancient and modern slave statutes across the Americas. Some of New York's early slave statutes included a 1692 law forbidding slaves to make noise in the street on Sundays or they would be whipped. A series of laws passed in 1702 proclaiming that slaves were not allowed to gather in groups larger than three, and if this law was broken they would be whipped 40 times on their bare back. Lawmakers also passed a law allowing masters to punish their slaves any way they desired. The master could not, however, kill their slaves or cut off their limbs. The 1708 statutes that not only proclaimed that slaves would be tortured and killed for killing their master but also tortured and killed for plotting to murder their master. As New York's laws further restricted slaves, leaders showed the growth and significance in slave importations and slavery in the colony in their need to control slaves under the law.

[51] During the first half of the 1600s, slaves in not only New Netherland, but other mainland colonies controlled by England allowed slaves more freedom at first. Some slaves gained their freedom. Some free blacks even sued and won court cases against whites. By the 1660s, as England took control over New York, England began placing greater restrictions on slavery and the slave trade. This was partially due to the fact that more slaves were being imported into the colonies and the English wanted to control slavery and the slave trade through statutes.

trade. The stricter laws for slaves revealed that leaders in Britain and locally, wanted to maintain a slave labor force for the city and surrounding counties. In order to preserve a large body of unfree people, not only would new rigid laws be introduced, but slave imports would increase as the city developed.

The slave population in both New York City and the surrounding hinterlands continued to grow during the early 1700s. By 1703, approximately 41 percent of the white inhabitants of New York City owned slaves. Historian Thelma Wills Foote remarks that New York had such a "wide dispersal of slaves among the townspeople," it differed from any other city in the North or South, except Charles Town, "which resembled New York City with regard to the broad distribution of slaves among the townspeople."[52]

Charles Town's Early Slave Trade

There were a lot of similarities between New York's slave trade and Charles Town's traffic. Both areas had a shortage of white laborers and looked to slaves to fulfill their demands. Traders from both port towns also imported greater numbers of slaves from Africa than the Caribbean during this early period. Although those from New York needed slaves as port and farm laborers, Carolina was the only colony on the mainland consciously founded as a slave society.[53] The first recorded non-whites arrived in Carolina in 1526 from the West Indies as part of a Spanish expedition. The Spanish used the mission to reconnoiter the land. In the 17th century, planters such as Sir John Yeamans moved to Carolina to establish a colony based on slavery to produce staple crops. Yeamans owned large slave plantations in Barbados, Jamaica, Antigua, and St. Kitts. Similar to New York, Carolina had an early connection to Barbados, but the scale of involvement of Barbados emigrants with the establishment of slavery in Carolina was

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[52] Foote, *Black and White Manhattan*, 13.

[53] David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 197.

much greater. Immigrants from Barbados purposely looked for a colony like Carolina where they could bring their slaves and make money off staple crops such as rice.

Some of the Carolina proprietors included John Colleton, the Duke of Abemarle, Lord Berkeley, Earl of Clarendon, William Craven, Earl of Craven, Anthony Ashley Cooper, and Sir George Cateret. Six out of eight of the proprietors were investors in the Royal African Company. The English founded the Company in 1672 to help them fund slave trading ventures and forts along the West African coast. The RAC was one of the earliest and largest joint-stock companies blending incorporation with capital.[54]

Colleton and Albermarle took the initiative in persuading those with experience in setting up plantations to settle in Carolina by offering to provide large land grants. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper also helped to establish the colony of Carolina. He attempted to attract colonists from England and the West Indies, especially Barbados. Under Cooper's direction, the Proprietors recruited around one hundred settlers from England and then outfitted three ships to transport these migrants to Carolina. At first, proprietors differed over what the economic function of Carolina should be and believed the colony would raise provisions rather than staple crops. Promoters of Carolina did all they could to attract colonists by adopting a constitution in the 1660s promoting the colony. Cooper, together with John Locke, drafted a law code for the colony under the *Fundamental Constitutions* of Carolina in 1669. As a result, Carolina founded its colony based on many of the customs and laws of Barbados. Mainland settlers borrowed liberally from the Barbados legal code and established similar laws in Carolina, particularly regarding slaves.

In a 1670 letter to Henry Bayne, Cooper documented the first account of a black man in Carolina and discussed the need to establish a plantation south of the Ashley

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[54] Daniel Parish, Jr., Slavery Transcripts, 18uu-19uu, The Royal African Company, from the New-York Historical Society; Thomas, *The Slave Trade*, 202.

River. Cooper also requested the right to trade for slaves with the Spanish.[55] Even before this initial account, South Carolina proprietors appeared anxious to establish the colony based on slave labor, first Indian, and then African. One of the other early recorded slaves imported into South Carolina in 1671 included Emmanuell, who resided across the Ashley River near Albermarle Point. Emanuell cleared land for his owner, John Norton, helping him to become a planter. The founders considered using indentured servants as laborers, but like New York, in the early years, Carolina encountered difficulties in getting whites to move to the southern colony as indentured laborers.[56]

By 1671, Carolina leaders sought inhabitants on a wider scale and circulated information about the colony to the North, including New York. Carolina and New York traded in provisions and Carolina solicited settlers from the colony. Hundreds of New Yorkers travelled south to escape the colony's heavy taxes and harsh winters. In November 1671, the proprietors issued passes to assist and encourage whites and their slaves to move to the South in attempts to encourage migration from New York to Carolina. The proprietors hoped to persuade some of the New York slaveholders to migrate South with their bonds persons. Forty people were recorded as migrating, including seventeen black "servants." More may have traveled shortly after.[57]

Before the development of a major staple product, Carolina founders desired and discussed the need for slave labor. Under South Carolina's *Fundamental Constitutions*, early lawmakers established regulations so that white immigrants could bring their slaves with them into the colony. South Carolina lawmakers reasoned that slave labor bound an individual for life and would be cheaper than other forms of labor, such as indentured

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[55] Elizabeth Donnan, "Introduction: Carolina," *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America. The Border Colonies and the Southern Colonies* Vol. 4 (Washington, DC: Carnegie Inst., 1935), 239.

[56] Donnan, "Introduction: Carolina," *Documents Illustrative*, Vol. 4, 239-247.

[57] Donnan, "Introduction: Carolina," *Documents Illustrative*, Vol. 4, 239-249.

servitude. Some of the proprietors owned plantations with large numbers of slaves in Barbados. They used their familiarity with staple crops and slave labor to establish plantation societies in Carolina.

Authors of early promotional pamphlets described the need for slave labor and expressed a desire for West African slaves in the Carolina colony. In a memorial signed by John Yeamans Jr., dated September 29, 1666, some of the leaders of the colony understood that slaves were the prime laborers in founding the colony and asserted that there was a need for their continued importation. Authors of promotional pamphlets in 1682 mentioned that planters desired slaves to labor over rice and other staple products. Despite this, most of the original laborers for the colony consisted of small groups of Indians or some of the initial slaves from Barbados or Jamaica.[58]

Even during the first two decades of the 18th century, slaves were typically imported into South Carolina in small numbers from Barbados and Jamaica. In the early years, there was still little commodity production, a very small population, and limited access to slaves. After the British became the dominant slave-trading power, however, they first concentrated on supplying their most important—Caribbean—colonies with labor. As the profits from commodities such as rice grew, planters and traders had the wealth to support direct shipments of slaves from West Africa.[59] As in New York, most of the slaves entering Carolina in the early years arrived in small numbers and were brought in by specific owners.

The colony's growth was very slow at first but surged after the 1690s. Information on the number of slave imports from South Carolina's early slave trade is

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[58] Allan Gallay, *Indian Slavery in Colonial America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

[59] Marion Eugene Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663-1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 26; Peter Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1974), 17.

fragmentary at best. Between 1670 and 1675, 240 slaves recorded by documented voyages from the Caribbean were imported into Charles Town. Between 1696 and 1705, the number of imported slaves increased and roughly 1,250 slaves entered South Carolina from the Caribbean.[60] The number of slaves rose by the early 1700s due to a greater demand for Carolina's commodities and because the colony was more settled by this point.

Figure 1.3. Slaves Imported from the Caribbean to Charles Town[61]

Years	Documented Slaves Imported from the Caribbean to Charles Town
1676-1685	400
1686-1695	400
1696-1705	1,250
Total:	2,050

There is little information, however, on the origins of slave imports from Africa to Charles Town before 1710. By 1700, in a letter to the Royal African Company, Richard Oakley remarked on various slave trading vessels in the Gambia River headed to South Carolina.[62] In 1710, the sloop *Loyall Johnson* embarked from an unspecified port in Africa and transported 180 slaves into Charles Town's port.[63] In 1711, another slave ship, *Union Sloop*, departed the Gold Coast with 131 slaves, with 53 of them

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[60] O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 19.

[61] O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 142.

[62] Daniel Parish, Jr., Slavery Transcripts, 18uu-19uu, The Royal African Company; Donnan, "Negroes Imported Into South Carolina, 1706-1724," *Documents Illustrative*, Vol. 4, 255.

[63] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces.
This account provides no evidence of what happened to the 22 slaves who did not disembark in Charles Town. There is also no evidence on gender, age, or mortality rates for this account.

disembarking in Jamaica before sailing for Charles Town to drop off 60 slaves.[64] While many of the slaves sent to New York directly from Africa arrived from the Southeast and West Central African regions, during the early period, those connected to the Carolina trade did not record where exactly in Africa slaves were coming from.

Although information on early slave imports is scanty, officials kept better track of the actual number of people living in Carolina. Due to labor demands and early laws, the slave population of South Carolina expanded during the 1690s into the early 1700s and continued to flourish during the 18th century. Of approximately 9,580 total people in the colony by 1709, 43.8 percent were slaves. There were about 1,800 adult male slaves, 1,200 adult female slaves, and 1,200 slave children.[65] The preference for male slaves demonstrated the demand for hard labor to work on staple products in Carolina.[66] Many scholars contend that New York had few slaves by the late 1600s by comparison to South Carolina. Yet Peter Wood recognizes, by 1695 around 2,000 blacks lived in South Carolina, with New York City and the surrounding hinterland having a similar number.[67] New Yorkers imported slaves about a half a decade before those in Carolina, but the southern colony was also founded as a slave colony. Some may assume that large numbers of slaves were instantly imported into Charles Town.

From Africa to America

Slaves coming to New York and South Carolina were either imported from Africa to the West Indies and then later on to the mainland like James Albert Ukawsaw Gronnoisaw or they were imported directly from Africa like John Kizell who was sent to

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[64]Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces There are no statistics on gender, age, or mortality rates in this account.

[65] Donnan, "Governor and Council of South Carolina Board of Trade, 1720," *Documents Illustrative*, Vol. 4, 256.

[66]Wood, *Black Majority*, 25-26.

[67]Wood, *Black Majority*, 26.

Charles Town. Born in Sierra Leone in the Gallinas region, Kizell was captured in an attack on his uncle's village. He was then accused of witchcraft, a common point of deception that many African slave dealers used to sell Africans into the international slave trade. Traders then forced Kizell across the Atlantic through the Middle Passage to become a slave in Carolina. Slaves imported from Africa were obtained in a variety of ways. Monsieur Barbat, a French factor in Africa, explained typical methods by which slaves were procured. Some crossed into enemy territories and were then captured and sold, while children were routinely stolen by neighbors, on roads, in the woods, in fields, and various other times they were away from adults. Others were sentenced to slavery for their crimes. Some, such as James Albert were captured and traded to the coast.[68]

Traders enslaved James Albert and John Jea in two very different ways. James Albert was born into a very wealthy family of royalty in Bournou. His siblings were often annoyed by his personality. Due to a lack of understanding with family members, James decided to travel with a merchant from the Gold Coast. The merchant approached the young boy and promised that he would return him to his family after a few years. Instead, the merchant brought James Albert to the coast and sold him to a Dutch Captain. John Jea, by contrast, was born into a poor but industrious family from the Callabar. Jea, his parents, and his brothers and sisters were all stolen and taken to the coast of Africa. Deception and being stolen or kidnapped or accused of witchcraft were some of the ways that many Africans were forced into slavery. Slaves were also typically enslaved after being defeated in war or committing a crime.[69]

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[68] Thomas Cooper, *Remarkable Extracts and Observations on the Slave Trade with Some Considerations on the Consumption of West India Produce* (London: Darton and Harvey, 1791) 2; Gronniosaw, *A Narrative of the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronnoisaw*, 1-7;

[69] John Jea, *The Life, History, and Unparalleled Sufferings of John Jea, the African Preacher, Compiled By Himself*, (England: Williams, Printer and Book-binder, 1811); Kevin G. Lowther, *The African American Odyssey of John Kizell: The Life and*

In comparing the northern and southern colonies, slave trading vessels carrying Africans into South Carolina and other southern colonies such as Virginia were typically larger in size and transported greater numbers of slaves at a time than. Crews who transported slaves from Africa to New York or the Caribbean tended to be small—40 tonners consisting of a crew of seven or eight people. New York and Charles Town also differed in regard to vessel owners of the slave ships. Before the American Revolution, the British outfitted most of the ships for the colonies, especially South Carolina. For both of South Carolina's slave voyages from Africa in 1710 and 1711, the British merchants owned the vessels. James Bardoe, James Jamineau, and William Jefferis all owned vessels that originated in Britain, traveled to Africa, and transported slaves from Africa to Charles Town.[70]

By contrast, most of the vessels from New York were not owned by the British but by New Yorkers with Dutch ancestors. While under Dutch control, all three of the known voyages from Africa to New Netherland were outfitted by the Dutch. Once the English seized New York, one might expect the British to outfit their vessels, but the city's importers and traders managed to maintain their old patterns. [71] Men such as Frederick Philipse, Rip Van Dam, and John and Garrett Van Horne were some of the early owners of the vessels transporting slaves from Africa to New York. Of the twelve documented voyages from Africa to New York between 1665 and 1711, all of the vessels originated in the colonies and started in New York. Also, out of these 12 voyages, only 5

Times of a South Carolina Slave Who Returned to Fight the Slave Trade in His African Homeland (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011), 1-3.

[70]Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces; Appendix F.

[71] Historians have noted that most of the slave ships were owned by the British. However, the vessels that transported slaves into northern colonies such as New York and Rhode Island, tended to originate in the colonies. Many of South Carolina's and Virginia's slave ships were constructed and controlled by the British.

listed a captain of the vessel. Of those 5 vessels, Frederick Philipse, one of New York's great slave traders, was the captain.[72]

Slave mortality rates also factored into the voyage from Africa to the Americas. Sparse statistics exist on mortality rates for slaves travelling to New York City, Charles Town, and the rest of the colonies. Of the evidence that exists, New York City's mortality rate was 26 percent per voyage compared to around 14 percent for Charleston.[73] Despite this evidence, only a few voyages recorded the mortality rates, so the numbers are skewed. The fact that New Yorkers imported fewer slaves and controlled most of their slave voyages means that if more voyages had tabulated mortality statistics they would have received a lower mortality rate.[74]

Arrival At the Port

During the initial voyages while the Dutch controlled New York, slaves from Africa tended to be imported from West Central Africa and St. Helena (in the South Atlantic Ocean), with some arriving from Southeast Africa and the Indian Ocean region. After the British captured New York, between 1664 and 1698, all voyages obtained slaves from Southeast Africa and the Indian Ocean region.[75] Fragmentary evidence of slave imports and the number of Africans owned in New York City prior to 1700 also defies precise quantification, as it was not until this point that the British government made serious efforts at an accurate census. From 1700 until 1715, 209 slaves were

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[72] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces.

[73] Slave trade voyages database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces.

[74] Slave trade voyages database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix F on slave mortality rates.

[75] The voyages from New York to Africa in 1705, 1710 and 1711 did not include the precise location of where the slaves came from in Africa; Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces.

imported from Africa, with another 278 arriving from the West Indies.[76] Most of the slaves imported into New York from the Caribbean arrived from Jamaica and Barbados.

For South Carolina, there was a documented voyage in 1710 with no record of which African port slaves arrived from. There was also little information recorded during a 1711 voyage only identifying that the slave importations came from the Gold Coast.[77] Even though South Carolina traders imported slaves from the West Indies at first, by the early 1700s, large numbers of slaves arrived from Africa. Carolina merchants had the money to fund voyages and pay for African slaves due to the large profits from rice, indigo, and eventually cotton.

Slave merchants sold their human wares in public places. In New York, slaves were sold weekly, or even daily, at the Merchant's Coffee House, the Fly Market, Proctor's and the Vendue Market. By 1711, New Yorkers established the Meal Market as a place to auction off slaves daily. On May 13, 1751, the *New York Gazette* advertised that on Friday, May 17, slaves imported directly from Africa aboard the *Wolf*, would be sold at public vendue at the Meal Market. Those who did not sell on that Friday would be sold the following Friday at the public vendue.[78]

After being sold at Manhattan's auction blocks, slaves either labored over a variety of port city jobs or were sent to the hinterlands. At times, slave owners from the

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[76] Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 41.

[77] Although most slaves did not speak Spanish, Carolina leaders worried about connections between Spanish Florida and West Indian slaves. The nearby Spanish often tempted West Indian slaves to runaway to Spanish Florida. Slaves from the West Indies or other colonies may have come into more contact with the Spanish and some slaves were even familiar with the Spanish language. Some slaves from the colonies and Americas were familiar with the Catholic religion. The Spanish in Florida used a variety of methods in attempts to get slaves from Carolina to go to Spanish Florida. Some slave traders involved with Carolina's trade preferred slaves directly from Africa because they had less prior contact with the Spanish and Catholic religion.

[78] Alexander McDougall Waste Book, 1767 Jun. 1-1771 in the New-York Historical Society; *New York Gazette*, May 13, 1751.

wealthy Dock Ward brought slaves on consignment to the Meal Market. The slaves on consignment could be hired to someone for a day, allowing the owners to profit from the consignment sale and the buyers to borrow a slave for their labor.

By comparison, due to the much larger slave market in Carolina, when slaves entered the colony, they were typically either immediately traded for profit or taken directly to a slave owner. Charles Town's slave market opened every day of the week throughout the year, except on Sundays. Slaves were sold at public auction, often by private contract or barter. Until 1733, slaves were typically sold in exchange for rice. Usually, the merchant kept 10 percent of the rice as commission, with the remainder going to creditors in England.[79] Slaves in Carolina were also sold in exchange for other products, such as deerskins.[80] After 1733, some of the sales increasingly involved cash.[81] During his 1808 trip to Charles Town, an English traveler, Charles William Jensen, remarked that slaves were commonly sold in exchange for one or more horses.[82]

The process of selling slaves at their port of entry differed in northern and southern cities. Because there were more slaveholders and a greater demand for slaves in the southern ports, places such as Charleston and Savannah tended to sell slaves faster and in larger numbers than did northern cities. It was easier to sell slaves in Carolina when they were sold in larger cargoes of three to four hundred as opposed to smaller lots of one hundred or less. When planters heard that large numbers of slaves had arrived at

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[79] *South Carolina Gazette*, March 9, 1738.

[80] Donnan, "Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1763," *Documents Illustrative*, Vol. 4, 391-392.

[81] Elizabeth Donnan, "The Slave Trade into South Carolina Before the Revolution," *American Historical Review* Vol. 33, No. 4 (July 1928): 812-813.

[82] Charles William Janson et al., *The Stranger in America: Containing Observations Made During A Long Residence in that Country, on the Genius, Manners and Customs of the People of the United States: With Biographical Particulars of Public Characters: Hints and Facts Relative to the Arts, Sciences, Commerce, Agriculture, Manufactures, Emigration, and the Slave Trade* (London: Albion Press: Printed for James Cundee, Ivy-Lane, Paternoster-Row, 1807), 360.

the port, more travelled to Charles Town to take advantage of the plethora of slaves available and a greater selection. Anywhere from forty to fifty planters could be found at a slave market to purchase 20, 30, or 40 slaves. When larger numbers of planters arrived to buy slaves, the result was often a bidding war. Slave buyers also overlooked defects in the slaves, which were typically not disregarded when Africans were sold in smaller lots.[83]

Prior to 1760, most slave cargoes sold rapidly and were often advertised only once due to the quick sales. Historian Elizabeth Donnan suggested that after 1760, the investors advertisements for the same group of imported slaves showed slower sales. Once merchants heard about a cargo of slaves entering the port of Charles Town, they most likely posted broadsides alerting country planters of the arrival.

Slaves in South Carolina were usually sold in larger lots and Manhattan slaveholders typically owned one to three slaves. New York traders carefully considered specific types of slaves for their trade. New York's slave market consisted mostly of independent slave traders "who imported small parcels of carefully selected slaves."[84] The most successful merchants imported large numbers of slaves. The smaller merchants, who did not have as much money to invest in the trade, had to pay close attention to the health and appearance of slaves they imported so that they would sell and make a profit. The smaller merchants tended to import highly skilled slaves in hopes of attracting New York buyers.[85]

New York and South Carolina Slave Traders

Although there were some differences with New York and South Carolina slave traders, there were also similarities. As traders they needed to have a good deal of ready

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[83] Donnan, "Before the Revolution," 816.
[84] McManus, *Negro in New York*, 26.
[85] Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 41-43, 105.

capital to engage in the slave trade. Slave traders also assumed a variety of risks. If there were bad harvests, wars, or sudden problems, traders had to assume the perils and might not be paid for their slaves rendering them unable to pay their creditors. The slave trader had to be aware of possible upcoming wars and economic problems.[86] Many came from affluent backgrounds and enjoyed successful careers as merchants and political leaders. Some of New York's prime importers of slaves were Gabriel Ludlow, Philip Livingston, and Nicholas De Ronde, while some of South Carolina's main importers were Samuel Wragg, Gabriel and Peter Manigault, and Henry Laurens. Traders from New York and Charles Town tended to be men of wealth and position, including planters and politicians.[87]

Some of New York City's most successful merchant families involved with the slave trade included the Crugers, DePeysters, Franklins, Gouverneurs, Livingstons, Van Cortlandts, Van Ransts, Wallaces, Waltons, and Watts. Dutch families continued to be prominent slaveholders throughout the 1700s. One of New York's great slave holding families—the Philipses—resided in Westchester County. The Philipse family traded in fur, lumber, tobacco, cotton, wines, and slaves. The elder Frederick Philipse owned twenty-one slaves when he died in 1702. The Philipse family tended to own larger numbers of slaves for New York holders.[88] Frederick's son Adolphus maintained twenty-seven slaves, and his grandson, Frederick, owned up to forty slaves.[89] These numbers,

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[86] Donnan, "Henry Laurens to Gabriel Manigault," *Documents Illustrative*, Vol. 4, 446-455.

[87] Kierner, *Traders and Gentlefolk*, 89, 165, 189-190; Robert Olwell, *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects: The Culture of Power in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1740-1790* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 33, 66, 96.

[88] Jacobus Van Cortlandt Letter Book, 1698-1700 in New-York Historical Society; Jacobus Van Cortlandt Papers, 1698-1702 in NYHS.

[89] Cathy Matson, *Merchants and Empire: Trading in Colonial New York* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 202.

however, paled in comparison to some of South Carolina's greatest slaveholders and traders who owned up to several hundreds of slaves.[90]

Besides the Philipse family, other renowned traders were Rip Van Dam, and the Van Cortlandt and Roosevelt families. By 1701, Rip Van Dam rose to become one of the most important traders in New York, trafficking in wine and African imports. Van Dam also joined with other New York merchants such as the Bayards, Beekmans, and Livingstons. New York traders such as John van Cortlandt and Isaac Roosevelt also enjoyed a successful trade with South Carolina. Van Cortlandt has been referred to as New York's largest "Carolina merchant," and he typically traded £2,000 to £3,000 value in rice exports per year.[91] In New York, not only did merchants play a significant role in the slave trade, but middle class scriveners and lawyers also owned slaves. These slave owners recorded various slave transactions listing information such as the age, sex, and occupation of slaves. One of the most ardent scriveners was John Knapp, who frequently included advertisements about his services in New York City newspapers.[92]

One of South Carolina's leading merchants and slave traders, Henry Laurens, began trading slaves in 1732. Laurens' father arrived in the colonies in the midst of Louis XIV's rage against Protestantism. The Laurens, a Huguenot family, fled France and emigrated to New York. In 1715, the family moved again to Charles Town. Henry Laurens went on to become a wholesale commission merchant, independent trader, and factor dealing mostly in wine, deerskins, rice, indigo, slaves, and a variety of other goods. He was later a delegate to the Second Continental Congress and became President of the Continental Congress from 1777 through 1778. Although he eventually turned against the

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[90] Matson, *Merchants and Empire*, 199-204.

[91] Matson, *Merchants and Empire*, 200; Jacobus Van Cortlandt Shipping Book, 1699-1702 in NYHS.

[92] *New York Weekly Post-Boy*, July 25, 1764; McManus, *A History of Negro Slavery*, 32.

slave trade,[93] for a time, Laurens was one of North America's greatest traders. While partnered with George Austin, he ranked first above four hundred other slave-trading firms in South Carolina, enumerating £45,120 in currency on duties of forty-five cargoes of slaves. When Laurens joined with Austin and Appleby, they ranked seventh among the traders in South Carolina, paying duties of $22,890 for sixteen cargoes of slaves. The partnership resulted in Carolina's most active slave traders. In the 1760s, Laurens ended his involvement in the slave trade.

Thanks to the expanding agricultural economy in the hinterland, South Carolina slave traders operated on a much larger scale than did those from New York. Before the American Revolution, in Charles Town, there were over one hundred firms involved in the slave trade.[94] Historian James Lydon estimated that there were between 300 and 400 merchants in New York between 1715 through 1764, and of that number, about one-fourth to one-third of them were involved in the slave trade.[95] By comparison, in South Carolina, over 400 merchants and factors sold slaves in a highly competitive market. Despite the large number of slave dealers, 18 individuals and firms imported around 60 percent of the slaves into Charles Town.[96] Henry Laurens alerted his business associates of any possible problems after following international unrest and analyzing how it might alter the slave trade. Although not all traders were careful, Laurens was very cautious in

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[93] Daniel J. McDonough, *Christopher Gadsden and Henry Laurens: The Parallel Lives of Two American Patriots* (Sellinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2000), 20, 24, 136; David D. Wallace, *The Life of Henry Laurens: With a Sketch of the Life of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens (*New York: Russell & Russell, Co., 1967), 44-45, 70.

[94] Donnan, "The Slave Trade Before the Revolution," 810.

[95]James G Lydon, "New York and the Slave Trade, 1700 to 1774," *William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 35, No. 2 (April 1978): 375–394.

[96]Kenneth Morgan, "Slave Sales in Colonial Charleston," *English Historical Review* Vol. 113, No. 453 (September 1998): 910.

his slave trading business, which is probably one of the reasons he was so successful. Laurens carried out strict, conservative lending policies.[97]

There was little social stigma in either city to owning slaves during the colonial period, as some of the most important, successful men in these two colonies owned slaves. The slave trade required an enormous amount of capital and functioned on credit. Merchants had to fund the voyages, the vessels to transport slaves, the crew, and food and supplies for the slaves. The merchants dealing with slaves sent to South Carolina were more involved with an importing business as opposed to the buying and selling of slaves. Merchants from Charles Town often received credit from English and Caribbean connections.[98]

Slave Preferences

Traders from both New York and South Carolina indicated that they preferred certain types of slaves over others. Between 1711 and 1748, most of the slaves arriving in New York were from the Caribbean, but most of the slaves imported into Carolina were from Africa. Merchants examined ethnicity and gender in discussing the type of slave they preferred. Recently, historians David Eltis, Philip Morgan, and David Richardson have downplayed the role of planter preferences and contended that prospective buyers did not seek out certain types of African slaves. Other scholars, including Judith Carney and Daniel Littlefield, argue that merchants and planters thought about the types of slaves they desired for their colony and sought after slaves with certain ethnic backgrounds and skills.[99] Merchants in both New York and South Carolina had strong preferences for

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[97] Donnan, "Before the Revolution," 809-814.

[98] Morgan, "Slave Sales in Colonial Charleston," 908- 919.

[99] David Eltis, Frank Lewis and David Richardson, "Slave Prices, the African Slave Trade and Productivity in the Caribbean, 1674-1807," *Economic History Review* Vol. 58, No. 4 (November 2005): 673-700; Judith Carney, *Black Rice: African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Peter Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1619 through the Stono*

certain slaves. Eltis and his supporters are correct that at times slave traders bought slaves without paying attention to certain characteristics of the slaves and because some slaves were cheaper than others. Merchants, however, also recorded information on physical and ethnic features of slaves indicating that they preferred some slaves to others. Some slave traders purchased slaves based on local and global factors. Historian Donald R. Wright analyzes the European traders' and buyers' preferences and their desire for a specific ethnic group.[100] As this section shows, although traders and planters preferred certain types of slaves, they did not always receive the slaves they desired. A variety of factors including financial costs and risks determined the types of slaves imported into New York and South Carolina.

Individuals who left accounts from New York City and Charles Town did request certain kinds of slaves, but did not provide much information as to *why* they requested certain types of Africans. One possible reason why some preferred particular slaves over others coincided with pricing and marketing. The slave trade brought in far more money to South Carolina than to New York. Merchants and traders from the South, who had more money to spend on certain types of slaves, may have requested slaves with certain qualities. They also had more money to buy what was stereotyped as "hardier," "stronger," "healthier," slaves directly from Africa as opposed to "weaker" and "sickly" slaves from the West Indies. Fewer slaves were imported into the New York region. Many traders, merchants, and slave owners in New York wanted to buy slaves from the West Indies because they were cheaper than those from Africa.

Rebellion (New York: Knopf, 1974); and Daniel Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves, Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981).

[100] Douglas R. Egerton, *Death or Liberty: African Americans and Revolutionary America* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 34; Donald R Wright, *The World and A Very Small Place in Africa* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), 42-43, 75, 88.

Even though New York City's slave importations were on a smaller scale than Charles Town's, Manhattan's traders made thoughtful, pragmatic decisions in regard to the types of slaves they wanted working in the city and nearby rural areas. Even under Dutch-controlled New Netherland, directors had relayed their slave preferences. Peter Stuyvesant, for example, complained that in a shipload of forty slaves sent to New Netherland in 1664, some of the slaves were healthy, but most were old and even discarded by the Spanish. Many of the bondspersons did not even make it to the public vendue, as five of the women were viewed as "unsalable."[101] Some of New York's first slaves came directly from Africa, but during the first half of the 18th century, the majority of slaves imported came from the West Indies.[102] Traders from New York imported more slaves from the Caribbean until the late 1740s. Due to the smaller market, Caribbean slaves were more affordable for the northern buyers and often referred to as "refuse" slaves.

In the early years of their involvement with the international slave trade, those connected to Charles Town's traffic grouped all slaves together as "Negroes Imported into South Carolina." Although the exact number and origin of slave imports remain unknown, relevant records from the African trade include a letter by Richard Oakley to the Royal African Company. In 1700, Oakley discussed the importation of slaves from the Gambia River to Carolina. Nine years later, a source in the London Customs-House recorded that 180 slaves were sent from Africa to Carolina.[103] By the early 1700s, as

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[101] N.Y. Col. MSS., "Director Stuyvesant to the Directors at Amsterdam, 1664," 15:131.

[102] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces; O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 160; See Appendix A.

[103] Daniel Parish, Jr., Slavery Transcripts, 18uu-19uu, The Royal African Company; Donnan, "Negroes Imported Into South Carolina, 1706-172," *Documents Illustrative*, Vol. 4, 255.

Carolina's market grew, planters in the colony made a lot more money from slaves laboring over products such as rice and indigo. Traders continued to import large numbers of slaves from Africa.

New Yorkers imported more slaves from the West Indies during the first half of the 18th century because most of them favored "seasoned" slaves who had spent some time near Europeans. Most slaves destined to the Caribbean were sent to work long hours under intense labor on plantations. Many were also prepared to direct them to plantations and farms on the mainland for traders and owners who preferred "seasoned" slaves who were broken in from the Caribbean as opposed to unseasoned slaves sent directly from Africa. Seasoning was also a disciplinary process designed to modify the attitude and behavior of slaves so that they would be more effective laborers. Newly arrived Africans sent to the Caribbean were often sent to the strictest overseers and drivers to break them into the labor system and turn them into docile laborers. The goal of seasoning was to produce slaves who would be productive laborers and abide by their master. Seasoning also involved syphoning some of the connections slaves had with Africa including changing their names and language.[104]

Seasoned slaves often arrived in New York with experience in laboring long hours under brutal conditions. New Yorkers hoped that slaves from the Caribbean would be easier to manage because of better slave conditions in New York than the Caribbean. As a result of years of bondage, the majority of slaves in the Caribbean became docile, obedient workers. There were, however, various rebellions that broke out in the West Indies showing that even "seasoned" slaves rebelled. Many of the slaves involved in the

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[104] Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 111, 133-134; John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 2-9.

1741 New York conspiracy were also "seasoned" slaves from the Caribbean. This demonstrated that slaves from the Caribbean had the potential to rebel.[105]

Even though whites in New York desired seasoned slaves from the West Indies, new evidence provided by historian Gregory E. O'Malley suggests that most slaves shipped from Africa to the Caribbean, who were then transported to the colonies, spent little time in the West Indies before being imported into the mainland colonies. He asserts that about 93 percent of slaves imported into North America from the West Indies before 1807 had recently arrived from Africa.[106]

During the first four decades of the 18th century, most buyers and slave owners in New York did not want slaves from Africa. For the minority who did prefer slaves from Africa, they desired certain types of slaves from Africa because they viewed slaves from Africa as healthier and better laborers. During the early 1700s, some of New York's slave dealers discussed their preference for Coramantee slaves imported directly from the West African coast, along with Mandingoes from the Gambia River. They also considered Calabar and Angolan slaves and those from the Bight of Biafra as the least desirable of African slaves. Either way, it would not be until the 1740s that larger numbers of Africans were shipped directly from Africa into New York City.

Buyers in South Carolina preferred slaves directly from Africa because they were considered by the British and other South Carolinians as stronger and better adept to the harder labor conditions in the Deep South. Despite slaves arriving from the West Indies at first, large numbers of slave imports entered Carolina from Africa for most of the 18th century.

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[105] I will elaborate more in the next chapter on slave rebelliousness and alterations in slave imports in New York and South Carolina.

[106] O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 135.

Carolina merchants such as Henry Laurens wrote about their desire for slaves from Africa. Laurens frequently remarked that he and his fellow merchants requested slaves from the Gambia region. He reasoned that the slaves from the West Indies tended to be less healthy and smaller in stature than slaves directly from Africa. Therefore, slaves from the West Indies were not in the best physical shape for the labor the South Carolina lowcountry required. Carolina had a much greater slave market than New York did due to the money from rice, indigo, and eventually cotton. This capital allowed traders to import greater numbers of slaves from Africa. Merchants, traders and slave owners such as Laurens preferred slaves from the Senegambia region or present-day Ghana. If slaves from that region were unavailable, Carolinians preferred slaves from the Windward Coast and Angola. Calabar or Ibo or "Bite" slaves from the Niger Delta were least desirable and viewed as weaker than those from the Gambia. Laurens wrote that "slaves from the River Gambia are preferr'd to all others with us here… save the Gold Coast… next to them the Windward Coast are preferr'd to Angolans. Advertisements for slaves mentioned desirable factors such as being young, male, and free of blemishes.[107]

Traders also smuggled slaves into Charleston from the Gambia, Gold Coast, and Angola. Some whites speculated that Africans from those regions had experience and knowledge in rice cultivation. South Carolina newspaper advertisements alerted planters about the knowledge these Africans had in rice cultivation. The author of one article stated that slaves who arrived from the Gambia "are well acquainted with the cultivation of rice." An author of an advertisement for Windward and Gold Coast slaves noted that those slaves had "been accustomed to the planting of rice."[108]

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[107] David R. Chesnutt, ed., *The Papers of Henry Laurens* Volume II (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968).

[108] James A. McMillin, *The Final Victims: Foreign Slave Trade to North America, 1783-1810* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2013), 52-55; *South Carolina Gazette*, July 1785.

Planters and traders may have preferred a certain type of African, but the actual slave imports did not always match their preferences. A variety of factors determined where slaves were imported from and how many slaves entered each port including availability, the market demand for slaves, and how much colonists could afford to pay for slaves. It would not be until 1713, after Britain secured the asiento[109] from Spain, that the slave trade into the colonies greatly increased and whites would pay more attention to the ethnicity of the slaves they desired. European and British mainland stereotypes of slaves during the early period were fairly crude. Those from Africa were considered stronger and able to bear the brunt of labor better than those from the West Indies. [110]

Early descriptions of the Gambia by men such as English Captain Richard Jobson provided insight as to why traders and planters in an urban area such as Charles Town preferred slaves from the Gambia. In Jobson's accounts, he revealed that while investigating towns in the Gambia, he witnessed Africans with great skills, in particular highly capable craftsmen, smiths, leather workers, and clay workers. Charles Town whites would later employ African men in similar tasks, including blacksmithing, producing shoes and harnesses, and making pots and walled houses.[111]

Traders also discussed and examined preferences associated with gender ratios. In tabulating statistics on the slave trade from Africa to the Americas, there is little information on gender ratios of males vs. females on each of the voyages. Historians are

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[109] The Asiento referred to the Spanish granting permission to other countries to sell slaves to the Spanish colonies.

[110] I will elaborate more about the changes and construction of race and nationality in other chapters as the trade developed.

[111] Basil Davidson, *History of West Africa to the Nineteenth Century*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1966), 258-259; Richard Jobson, "The Golden Trade, or, A Discouery of the Riuer Gambra and the Golden Trade of the Aethiopians also the Commerce With A Great Blacke Merchant Called Buckor Sano and His Report of the Houses Couered With Gold and Other Strange Obseruations For the Good of Our Owne Countrey," (London, 1623).

able to piece together some information though, based on examining the number of male and female slaves in the colonies. A thirteen old male slave like John Kizell was ideal for Carolina's market due to his gender and age. Both New Yorkers and South Carolinians expressed a desire for young male slaves to labor at their ports and over their staple goods. South Carolina slave traders and planters preferred male slaves, skewing the sex ratios, and making it difficult to achieve high birthrates and stable slave families.[112] Traders such as New York's John Watts remarked that many New Yorkers wanted male slaves and young slaves, the "younger the better if not quite Children."[113]

Buyers in New York and Charles Town also desired female slaves because both port towns required a large number of domestics. In the early period, although more males were sent to South Carolina, slave traders noticed there was a higher proportion of females sent to South Carolina then to the Caribbean. In Carolina, more females worked as domestics in Charles Town and other city jobs than in the Caribbean. New Yorkers routinely imported females to work in the city as well.[114] Even though New York traders generally preferred male slaves, some also sought female slaves because they were cheaper. Women sold for less money than men because their labor was mostly domestic

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[112] Wood, *Black Majority*, 154. Many of the voyages from the slave trade voyages database do not contain information on the ratios of males to females. For the early trades of both New York and South Carolina, only the crew of the *Gideon* listed that of the Africans on board, 53.3 percent men and 46.7 percent females. http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces. Historians such as Betty Wood, Peter Wood, and Philip Morgan have found evidence on gender ratios and I included their evidence to support the claim that there were greater numbers of male slaves.

[113] John Watts and Dorothy C Barck, *Letterbook of John Watts, Merchant and Councillor of New York*, January 1, 1762-December 22, 1765 (New York: Printed for the Society, 1928).

[114] Although there is not a lot of information on the numbers of male and female slaves imported into New York and South Carolina during the early trade, more detailed accounts would merge by the mid-18th century.

as opposed to working in more labor intensive work on a farm or plantation. There were women who were field hands, but planters viewed them as weaker and less productive.[115]

Historian Judith Carney contends that females in West Africa were greatly involved in the production of rice, and this may be a possible reason as to why a greater percent of females were sent to South Carolina than to the Caribbean.[116] In *Memoirs of the Reign of Bossa Ahádee*, an unknown author told of his travels to Dahomey in the 1770s. The author recounted that the women of Dahomey were in charge of agriculture, as they were in much of Africa. Women imported from these regions in Africa had experience in agricultural labor in the lowcountry and hinterland regions.[117]

In the early 18th century, female slaves in New York lived mostly in the cities and male slaves resided mostly in rural areas. Factors such as small population size, low population density, unbalanced sex ratios, and small slaveholdings hindered black nuclear families. In 1703, in Kings County, for example, there were 343 slaves, of whom, 207 were male. In Richmond, Queens, and Westchester Counties, male slaves outnumbered female slaves by about two to one. Even by 1731, men outnumbered women by 445 to 227 in Westchester County. Males often traveled into the city, so there was the opportunity for mobility. This imbalance improved during the 1700s, but it never reached parity.[118]

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[115] Michael G. Kammen, *Colonial New York: A History* (New York: Scribner, 1975), 181.

[116] Carney, *Black Rice*, 107.

[117] Robert Norris, *Memoirs of the Reign of Bossa Ahádee: An Island Country of Guiney, to which are Added, the Author's Journey to Abomey, the Capital; and A Short Account of the African Slave Trade* (London: W. Lowndes, 1789), 147.

[118] Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 47-48, 75; Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot*, 113; Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 47-48, 75; Vivienne L. Kruger, "Born to Run: The Slave Family in Early New York, 1626 to 1827" (Ph.D., Columbia, 1985), 200-287; Gary Nash and Jean Soderlund, *Freedom By Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 23-29.

By the 1690s, in the South Carolina lowcountry, a rough balance between slave men and women who lived to adulthood also helped balance the gender ratio.[119] Philip Morgan recognizes that during the last twenty-five years of the colonial period, the number of slaves, whether male, female, boys, or girls, reached equivalence. Despite lower imports in the 1740s, by comparison to other decades, slaveholder James Glen realized that the black population in the colony increased. Glen remarked that the "breed from our own stock will continually recruit and keep [the numbers] up."[120]

Many Carolina planters discussed breeding and desiring a certain number of male and female slaves to increase the slave population on their farms or plantations. In New York, by contrast, most slaveholders desired fewer slaves on their smaller holdings. In New York City, many slave owners viewed pregnant women as a liability. The small holdings in and around New York made it difficult for slave families to live together. And while South Carolinians viewed children as an investment, in New York, many slave holders saw children who had to be cared for but provided little work as a nuisance. Many New York slaveholders regarded pregnant women with great disdain because they could not work as efficiently while pregnant, and the owner would have to provide for their dependent children.[121]

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119 Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 3
120 Morgan, *Slave Counterpoints*, 81-85.
121 Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 75.

Slave Labor[122]

The demand for labor shaped the number of slaves imported into each colony. In comparing a northern and southern port city, we can see that the vast differences in labor based on crops produced as well as climate and geography resulted in differences in the number of slaves needed in New York City and Charleston. South Carolina's lowcountry regions needed large numbers of slaves to cultivate rice, eventually indigo, and later cotton. New York's hinterland consisted of a smaller, less labor-intensive slave workforce working primarily with wheat. Although Carolina imported more slaves, both New York City and Charleston traders "needed" to import slaves into both cities to fulfill the region's labor demands.

At both ports, slaves also performed comparable urban tasks. Slaves labored in diverse occupations, including scriveners, dockworkers, domestics, carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, coopers, tailors, weavers, bakers, tanners, candle makers, and caulkers. Charles Town's urban environment consisted of many skilled slaves including

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122 Although the focus of this study is on the African, West Indian, and colonial trade in slaves, it is also important to recognize the trade in Indian slaves. Many of the early colonists to South Carolina used Indian labor as the Indians resided in Carolina and they did not have to pay the costs of involvement in the greater African or West Indian slave trade which was also more costly. Indians, like African slaves, labored over rice and other commodities. By the 1690s, many Indians died from diseases such as smallpox. Despite decimation of the Indian population in Carolina, Indian labor continued to be substantial and was around one-fifth of the total slave force even by 1708. Even though New Yorkers relied on some Native Americans for labor, it was never on as intense a scale as it was in South Carolina. South Carolinians not only used slaves as part of their labor force, but they also sold slaves for profit to various parts of the Caribbean and other colonies. Not only was New York not in the business of selling nearby Native Americans, but New York leaders codified into law in 1619 the switch from Indian to African labor. See for example, Allan Galley, "South Carolina's Entrance into the Indian Slave Trade," Allan Gallay, "South Carolina's Entrance into the Indian Slave Trade," *Indian slavery in Colonial America*, ed. Allan Gallay (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 109-146; Allan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South*, 1670-1717 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

blacksmiths and carpenters who worked part of the year on a plantation and during less labor-intensive months, hired out their time working in the city.

New York Staples and Labor

New Yorkers imported a large number of slaves to labor not only in the city, but in the nearby hinterland wheat fields. Slaves in New York's hinterlands such as John Jea also labored over meadowlands, fruits and vegetables, and transported food from the country to the city. Merchants from New York and the West Indies formed a great trading alliance based on slave labor. By 1715, almost half of New York's exports went to the Caribbean. New Yorkers exported wheat, flour, and meat to the West Indies in exchange for goods such as sugar, slaves, and molasses.[123]

In New York, the wheat trade gained precedence over the fur trade as the 1700s progressed. One reason for investing in grain rather than furs coincided with the Navigation Acts. Unlike fur, grain was not included as one of the exports that could be sold exclusively to England. Philip Livingston was one of New York's great traders in commodities and slaves. At first, the merchant and political leader traded in slaves and commodities with the West Indies. Livingston's involvement in the West Indies trade opened up opportunities for participation in the African slave trade. As a result, he was one of New York's most active slave traders during the 1730s and 1740s. He continued to import significant numbers of slaves from the West Indies. He was also one of the few New Yorkers who imported slaves from West Africa. In a 1738 trip from Guinea to New York, Livingston bought two hundred slaves and consigned them to his son Peter Van

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[123] Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 77-82; John Jea, *The Life, History, and Unparalleled Sufferings of John Jea*, 3-7; Matson, *Merchants and Empire*, 44, 142.

Burgh Livingston and his partner in Jamaica. The Livingston family continued to be among the prime traders in slaves from Africa.[124]

New Yorkers also had an important exchange in wheat with Madeira and Tenerrife. New York traders even exploited southern European markets whenever they experienced a grain shortage by trading grain for salt and bills of exchange. By 1774, New Yorkers exported £150,000 sterling per year to foreign countries and imports totaled around £100,000 sterling with a favorable trade balance with the British West Indies. These trade numbers indicated a region heavily dependent on slave labor to produce goods to export to various countries in exchange for imports needed for the colony. Slave-produced grain continued to thrive into the 1770s.[125]

The life of John Jea demonstrated the intense labor conditions slaves in New York's hinterlands endured. Jea recounted cutting down the corn and filling the barns and storehouses with grain. He described the labor as very difficult. He recollected working in the summer from about 2 o'clock in the morning and ten or eleven o'clock at night. In a petition from the Merchants and Traders of New York, businessmen referred to wheat as the "principall staple" of the colony.[126] Merchant and politician Cadwallader Colden shed light on the importance of wheat to New York's economy and the need for slave labor to produce the commodity.[127]

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[124] Kierner, "*Traders and Gentlefolk*," 71. Philip Livingston also traded with South Carolina. In 1740, he exported grain and wine to South Carolina in exchange for rice; he then sent the rice to Amsterdam.

[125] Joseph S. Tiedemann, *Reluctant Revolutionaries: New York City and the Road to Independence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 16.

[126] O'Callaghan, "The Humble Representation & Supplication of some of the Merchants and Traders in New York in Behalf of Themselves and the Rest of the Inhabitants of this Province," *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. IV, 133.

[127] Cadwallader Colden, *The Interest of the Country in Laying Duties: or A Discourse, Shewing How Duties of Some Sorts of Merchandize May Make the Province of New-York* (New York: Sold by J. Peter Zenger near city hall New York, 1726), 12, 21.

South Carolina Rice

Although there were some important similarities during the early trades of New York and Charles Town, the Carolina lowcountry was vastly different from the northern hinterlands in percentage of slaves and labor. Due to labor demands, Carolinians imported larger numbers of slaves than not only New Yorkers, but southerners as well. The early settlers and proprietors of Carolina desired to find a staple commodity that would flourish in the region and bring economic security to the colony. For years, planters experimented with a variety of crops. Initially, planters did not successfully grow and market rice. The first seeds of rice planted came from Madagascar. The captain of a ship from Madagascar that docked at Charles Town gave a local planter a bag of rice with which to experiment and see how the crop would grow in Carolina. The lowcountry proved to be an ideal location for the staple crop. As merchants and planters realized the profits rice could bring them, the number of slaves from West Africa increased.[128]

Rice became a major staple commodity for South Carolina, requiring a sizeable labor force. Large numbers of slaves continued to flood into the Carolina lowcountry and his fellow slaves worked long hours in the rice and indigo fields in scorching heat. The demand for importing slaves into the region continued as people around the world desired rice. Carolina secured rice markets in England, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, and the Levant.[129] Yet the price of rice did not rise throughout the 18th century, because the price rose and fell based on local and global factors including economic turmoil and European

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[128] Walter J. Fraser Jr. *Charleston! Charleston! The History of a Southern City* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 1-27; Roy Smith, *South Carolina As A Royal Province, 1719-1776* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1903), 1-21; Wood, *Black Majority*, 48-56.

[129] James Edward Oglethorpe, *A New and Accurate Account of the Provinces of South-Carolina and Georgia: With Many Curious and Useful Observations on the Trade, Navigation and Plantations of Great-Britain, Compared with Her Most Powerful Maritime Neighbours in Ancient and Modern Times* (London: Printed for J. Worrall, Sold by J. Roberts, 1732), 60-61.

wars. Prior to 1760, the British market discriminated against the rice industry in the colonies. The British placed duties on colonial rice but not on sugar and tobacco.[130] Between 1698 and 1702, South Carolinians exported on average 268,602 pounds of rice annually. By 1713, as slaves continued to enter Charles Town's port, exports increased to 1,763,790 pounds per year.[131]

Figure 1.4. South Carolina Rice Exports[132]

Years	Annual South Carolina Rice Exports
1698-1702	268,602
1708-1713	1,763,790

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided some of the background information on the early years of the slave trades of New York City and Charles Town, South Carolina. Both colonies actively imported slaves to fulfill their demand for products. Another similarity included the dependence on slaves to labor over products such as wheat and rice, as well as a group of ambitious slave traders in both regions including the Livingston family in New York and Henry Laurens from South Carolina.

The total number of slaves imported into both cities from the origins of these trades through the first decade of the 18th century was about the same. Although New Yorkers imported slaves decades before settlers established Carolina, by 1711, traders from both ports imported around 3,100 slaves. Before 1711, 2,037 slaves were imported from Africa into New York while 240 slaves were imported from Africa to South Carolina. By 1711, 3,187 slaves travelled through New York's port, while 3,155 slaves

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130 R.C. Nash, *South Carolina and the Atlantic Economy*, 697.

131 Peter Coclanis, *The Shadow of A Dream: Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country, 1670-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 82. Records are missing for the year 1712. Records are also not available between 1703 and 1707. I will discuss rice exports in later years in subsequent chapters.

132 Coclanis, *Shadow of A Dream*, 80-85.

were sent to Charles Town. Although these numbers were similar during the early period, as the 18th century progressed, Carolina's imports far surpassed the number of slaves sent to New York City. One important difference was that during this period, New Yorkers imported more slaves from the West Indies, while those from Carolina imported more from Africa. This trend changed, however, and by 1720, those from New York imported more slaves from the West Indies until the late 1740s. Those from South Carolina imported more slaves from Africa throughout the 18th century.

Figure 1.5. Slave Imports Before 1711[133]

a. New York

From Africa	2,037
From Caribbean	1,150
Total:	3,187

b. Charles Town

From Africa	240
From Caribbean	2,915
Total:	3,155

During the first few decades of their involvement in the slave trade, those from New York and Charles Town witnessed some striking similarities including a small white population resulting in a surge of imported slaves, similar numbers of slaves imported, and inhabitants of both regions verbalizing about differences over ethnicity and their desire for some types of slaves over others. In the following chapters, I expand upon the

133 O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 142, 160; Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces.

similarities and differences of both trades, and how the trades developed and changed over time, comparing factors such as number of slave imports, the ethnicity of slaves imported, movements against the slave trade, and various people involved with each city's slave trade. I will also compare factors that changed the slave trade including alterations with slave-produced goods such as rice, indigo, and wheat, slave rebelliousness, various wars of the 18th century, and efforts to put an end to the international slave trade.

Chapter 2

ALTERATIONS IN THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE MIDST OF UPHEAVAL

> "…the labor conditions for slaves in colonial New York City were scarcely less harsh than the work settings for the enslaved labor force on the staple-crop plantations in the colonial South. At the port of New York, slaves performed back-breaking labor in an intemperate climate of extreme cold and heat."[1]

During the first few decades of the 18th century, a slave named Will travelled around the Atlantic. Will participated in a slave revolt on the Danish Island of St. John. He was then sent to Antigua to work for a planter, where the rebellious slave plotted alongside other bondsmen to lead an insurrection. After a female slave told her master of the revolt, Will in turn, provided the names of several other slaves who participated in the plot. Will was then sold to a resident in New York. It should come as no surprise that he was sent to the northern port given the city's preference for slaves from the West Indies. Shortly after his arrival in New York, he was sold again to an owner in Providence, Rhode Island. He was hawked one last time to an inhabitant of New York City, where he participated in the 1741 New York slave conspiracy.[2] As Will circulated the Atlantic, the colonists and Europeans experienced a number of problems, including economic turmoil, white fears due to a host of slave rebellions and plots, and large-scale European warfare. In the midst of these times of crises, whites in New York and Charles Town had to determine if they would make alterations to their slave trades.

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[1] Thelma Wills Foote, *Black and White Manhattan: The History of Racial Formation in Colonial New York City*, 2004), (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 12.

[2] Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: The Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001), 201-203.

From 1712 through the early 1740s, the slave trades of New York City and Charles Town greatly diverged. During this time, South Carolinians began importing larger numbers of slaves by comparison to New York. Although the demand for and price of staple commodities such as rice fluctuated in this era, the overall growth and global demand required a larger African labor force in Carolina than did any of the staple commodities in New York. Carolina's slave majority grew and the overall numbers of slaves imported into Charles Town far exceeded those imported into New York. Also, the place of origin of the slaves' differed. More slaves from the West Indies entered New York's port while more slaves from Africa were sent to Charleston.

The overall goal of this chapter is to investigate what factors led to transformations in the slave trades of New York City and Charles Town. Some of the main reasons why New York's and Charles Town's slave trades changed during this period included two slave revolts[3] and a major conspiracy, European wars, and fluctuations in the prices of slave-produced goods. These combined factors resulted in a decline in slave imports into both New York City and Charles Town during the 1740s. Although it is impossible to determine which feature transformed the slave trade the most during the first four decades of the 18th century, a combination of these causes probably altered the number of slaves that entered each port. Even so, white suspicions of the potential for slaves to rebel in the aftermath of a conspiracy or uprising was a major component in changing the ethnicity of slaves imported into the ports of New York and Charles Town.

In the aftermath of a slave uprising, leaders in both cities changed their trading patterns. Merchants connected to these port towns also changed the location from where they imported slaves in the midst of the turmoil of the late 1730s and early 1740s. The

[3] In discussing these rebellions and the conspiracy, I do not concentrate on day-to-day slave rebelliousness, such as slaves feigning illness in order to get out of work or poisoning their master.

decision to attempt to modify the ethnicity of slaves entering the ports of New York and Charles Town was also based on a variety of factors. Some of the reasons why buyers wished to change the ethnicity of the slaves imported included an initial reaction by whites from both cities to import slaves of other ethnicities after a slave rebellion or conspiracy, difficulty transporting slaves from the West Indies during times of war, and changes with the African trade making it easier to import slaves into New York. There were a variety of short and long-term consequences due to the alterations in the slave trade.

White fears—whether paranoid or justified—led merchants to reshape the slave trade in the aftermath of slave rebelliousness in both colonies. Slave uprisings demonstrated the inhumanity of the system and instilled fear into whites that a slave uprising could occur at any moment. These early revolts did not overturn slavery or end the traffic in Africans, but whites became more paranoid and fearful that slaves might rebel at any time. As Eugene Genovese recognized, slave uprisings in both New York City and South Carolina "were big enough to strike terror in colonial America," and they had a major impact on slaveholders in these regions who "knew of the formidable revolts in the Caribbean and took an international view of the matter, thereby displaying greater sophistication than most subsequent historians."[4] The immediate reaction of local leaders in the aftermath of these uprisings in both New York City and Charles Town was to adjust their patterns of trade.

Early Changes in New York City's Slave Trade

Between 1701 and 1714, the War of Spanish Succession (known in the colonies as Queen Anne's War) disrupted trade throughout the Atlantic basin. The war made it difficult for New York traders to safely transport goods and slaves. New Yorkers

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[4] Eugene D Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 41-42.

suffered as the war lingered on and the colony's hard currency withered to help pay for the war.[5] New Yorkers also relied on British protection during the conflict. The British spent £89,800 in defense costs to maintain the commerce and coast of New York during the war.[6] Traders imported fewer slaves into New York City in the aftermath of Queen Anne's War as the city and the colony tried to recover economically after years of warfare.

The year 1711 proved a difficult one for New Yorkers as slaves were well aware of European conflicts (including Queen Anne's War) that spilled over into North America. In nearby Quebec, in 1711, a combined colonial and British force could not defeat the French. The Iroquois continued to bother New York whites throughout the colony. Those from the city encountered a combination of factors leading some of the slaves to rebel, including the preoccupation of whites during European Wars and Indian conflicts, a harsh winter, and economic troubles resulting in food riots. According to historian Edward McManus, because of the "disreputable taverns, and large numbers of Negro slaves, the town was a social powder keg. That the situation might undermine the loyalty of the slaves and explode in insurrection kept the white inhabitants in a state of morbid anxiety."[7]

Whites were right to be fearful. In 1712, a group of Africans in New York City sucked the blood from each other's hands in an oath of secrecy to rise for their freedom. In the midst of the April festivities, local government allowed the slaves to participate and a slave rebellion broke out during the celebrations. On the morning of Sunday, April 6, at 2 o'clock, around twenty-five to thirty slaves and two to three "Spanish" Indians set

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[5] Serena Zabin, *Dangerous Economies: Status and Commerce in Imperial New York* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 12.

[6] Curtis Nettles, "British Payments in the American Colonies, 1685-1715," *English Historical Review*, Vol. 48, No. 190 (April 1933): 244.

[7] Edgar McManus, *A History of Negro Slavery in New York* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1966), 122.

fire to a building. Cuffee, a black slave, and Juan or John, a mulatto, torched the outhouse of master baker Peter Vantilborough. The rebels were armed with pikes, hatchets, clubs, knives, and guns. The fire did not last long and the whites rushed to squelch the blaze. Yet, the violence lingered as the slaves murdered several men representing a variety of urban, port-city occupations, including merchants, boatmen, and carpenters. White fear rose and many leaders discussed possible changes to the colony's slave trade.[8]

After the slaves killed at least eight whites and wounded twelve others, the colonial militia and British troops managed to regain control of the situation. Some Africans fled to various hiding places throughout the city and into wooded areas outside of its perimeters. Governor Robert Hunter called out the militia to locate the missing conspirators. Some of the fugitives committed suicide rather than endure the horrid punishment that awaited slaves who tried to "turn the world upside down."[9] An author of a *Boston News-Letter* article admitted that slaves rebelled "to obtain their freedom."[10]

In the aftermath of the rebellion, widespread fear and panic broke out among the whites, resulting in a hunt for any slave who might have been involved in the plot. Around seventy slaves were placed under custody. Some of the leading rebels shot

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[8]*Boston News Letter* April 7, 1712, Issue 417 p. 2; E.B. Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the colonial History of the State of New-York: Procured in Holland, England, and France*, Vol. V, (Albany: Weed Parsons, 1855-1887) 341-342; Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (Nashville: Southern Student Organizing Committee, 1967); Foote, *Black Manhattan*, 132-139; Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 63-68; Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery*, 37-39; McManus, *Negro Slavery in New York*, 92-93.

[9]Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many Headed Hydra*, 185-186. *Boston News Letter* April 7, 1712, Issue 417 p. 2; E.B. Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York: Procured in Holland, England, and France*, Vol. V, (Albany: Weed Parsons, 1855-1887), 341-342; Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, 192-194; Foote, *Black Manhattan*, 176-182; Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 91-98; Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery*, 37-39; McManus, *Negro Slavery in New York*, 79-89.

[10] *Boston News Letter* April 7, 1712, Issue 417, p. 2.

themselves or slit their throats before they could be captured and punished.[11] On April 21, the *Boston News-Letter* reported that nineteen slaves involved in the plot to destroy the "Christians" of New York had been sentenced to death, with many already killed. Court judges tried many slaves the next week. Twenty-five slaves were sentenced to death, others received reprieves.[12] Some of the slaves involved in the 1712 revolt received punishments comparable to those meted out in the Caribbean. After several gruesome deaths, however, Governor Hunter concluded that the New York judges went too far in punishing the slaves and pleaded with them to stop the tortures. Authorities implicated around seventy people for their involvement in the plot, but only twenty-one were executed.[13]

Leaders of the colony also discussed creating harsher slave laws. At first, Governor Hunter advocated that when creating new laws in the aftermath of the 1712 rebellion, legislators should look to the West Indies "where their laws against the slaves are most severe, that in case of conspiracy in which many are engaged a few only are executed for an example."[14] The masters were inconsistent in their actions. New York legislators, many of them slaveholders, first passed a series of draconian regulations in the wake of the revolts.[15] Over time, however, masters and the authorities who dealt with

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[11] *Boston News-Letter* April 14, 1712. Issue 418, p. 2.

[12] *Boston News-Letter* April 21, 1712, Issue 419, p. 2.

[13] O'Callaghan, "Letter of Governor Hunter to the Boards of Trade," *Documents Relative*, Vol. V, 341-342; Kenneth Scott, "The Slave Insurrection in New York in 1712," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XLV (January 1961): 52-59.

[14] O'Callaghan, "Governor Hunter to the Board of Trade," *Documents Relative* Vol. V, 158; Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 66.

[15] New York (Colony) et al., *The Colonial Laws of New York from the Year 1664 to the Revolution: Including the Charters to the Duke of York, the Commissions and Instructions to Colonial Governors, the Duke's Laws, the Laws of the Dongan and Leisler Assemblies, the Charters of Albany and New York and the Acts of the Colonial Legislatures from 1691 to 1775.* vol. I (Albany: J.B. Lyon, state printer, 1894), 761-767. On December 12, 1712, New York lawmakers established a severe set of slave statutes in the aftermath of the rebellion. The "Negro Act" consisted of very harsh laws calling for

slaves who broke the law almost always failed to enforce the restrictions. This was a typical pattern after a revolt or conspiracy. Even though the rebels did not gain their freedom, their actions led to immediate changes with the slave trade.

The initial reaction of white leaders was to identify the ethnicity of the slaves who had participated in the uprising. Based on the background of the slaves who rebelled, whites then wanted to import fewer of those slaves into the city. *The Boston News-Letter* identified the leaders of the revolt as "Coromentine" or Corramantee or Koramantine. Pawpaw slaves were also involved. A large number of Coramantee and Pawpaw slaves were brought into the region between 1710 through 1712. In Africa, Coramantine and Pawpaws trained others in the art of guerilla warfare. Some Coaramtine and Pawpaws had experience in African warfare. After these slaves rebelled in New York, whites placed stereotypes on these slaves and labeled them as prone to rebellion. New York City consisted of a dangerous combination of harsh slave laws and opportunities for urban bondsmen to meet.[16] As discussed in the first chapter, after the rebellion, many traders

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greater limitations on slaves designed to prevent another rebellion. The Act placed a number of restrictions on slaves, including trading with another slave unless the slave's master approved; that more than three slaves should not assemble together unless with the master's consent; and that no one should "imploy, harbour, conceal, or entertain" someone else's slave. Under the law, there wAs a "Whipper" who publicly unleashed up to forty whips per offense for committing offenses such as running away, trading, and meeting in large groups. The people in a town or city gathered to discuss how much a whipper should be paid per slave, not to exceed three shillings per slave, per offense. In the aftermath of the rebellion, New York lawmakers also emphasized punishments for slaves associated with rebellions. The "Negro Act" established that slaves would succumb to a violent death for committing acts such as conspiring to kill a white person or people, murdering or raping non-slaves, murdering slaves, blacks, or Indians, setting fire to houses and/or buildings, and acts of mutilation or dismemberment.

[16]O'Callaghan, "Letter of Governor Hunter to the Boards of Trade," *Documents Relative*, Vol. V, 341-342, 341-342.; Foote, *Black and White*, 134; Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery*, 37-39; Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812*, 115-116; *Boston News Letter*, April 7, 1712, Issue 417 p. 2. Linebaugh and Rediker, *Many Headed Hydra*, 185-186; Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 63-68; McManus, *Negro Slavery in New York*, 88-89; Aptheker, *Negro Slave Revolts*, 172-173; Scott, "The Slave Insurrection in New York in 1712," 43-74.

did not wish to import Coramantee from the Gold Coast or Pawpaw slaves from Whydah and the Slave Coast region. This major shift in regard to New York City's slave trade did not end quickly; Manhattan merchants continued to import more slaves from the Caribbean than Africa from 1714 through the late 1740s. In some years the pattern was briefly reversed, but the overall trend resulted in more slaves imported from the Caribbean than from Africa.

Ultimately, the trade carried on, but the long-term changes in its contours were significant. In the decade before the rebellion, traders from New York imported more slaves from Africa than from the Caribbean, but after the uprising, fewer slaves arrived from Africa and more from the Caribbean.[17] During the first three years after the uprising—1712, 1713, and 1714—there were no documented slaves imported into New York City. Manhattan officials worried that if slaves from Africa continued to be imported into the region, more rebellions would ensue. Whites throughout the city feared Coramantees and Paw Paws and desired slaves from other regions of Africa and more importantly, wished to obtain "seasoned" slaves from the West Indies. So great was the fear of the 1712 rebellion, that it altered New York's slave trade patterns, and the trade of nearby colonies as well. In the aftermath of the insurrection, for example, Pennsylvania placed a prohibitive import duty on slaves and Massachusetts briefly prohibited the slave trade.[18]

Although we do not know the full extent to which the 1712 uprising was responsible for changing slave importations, there were some reasons why there were fluctuations with slaves from the Caribbean other than the 1712 uprising. After Queen

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[17]Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix A-1 and Appendix B-1.

[18] Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, 173. Pennsylvania legislators passed their duty for a variety of reasons including the aftermath of the slave rebellion and white competition with slaves over jobs.

Anne's War, it became easier for New Yorkers to trade with the Caribbean. Manhattan's trade in wheat increased and farmers in the hinterlands needed more slaves to labor over the staple commodity. Another reason for the shift was simply because slaves from the Americas were cheaper. While most voyages into South Carolina were controlled and financed by English traders, the majority of the voyages into New York were funded by traders from New York who did not have as much money as English merchants.

Not everyone welcomed the increase in slaves from the Caribbean, however. Due to the harsh conditions in the sugar islands, Caribbean slaves tended to be overworked and unhealthy by the time they were resold to the mainland. Fearing that slave traders would import too many sickly slaves from the West Indies, New York lawmakers passed a higher duty on slaves imported from the Caribbean in 1714 to prevent a rash of slaves from the region. Some buyers nonetheless continued to prefer slaves from the West Indies because they remained cheaper, even with the higher duties. Between 1711 and 1715, an estimated 200 slaves arrived in New York from the Caribbean, with another 719 slaves from the Caribbean between 1716 and 1720.[19]

Figure 2.1 Slave Imports into New York

a. Years[20]	Number of Slaves from Africa
1706-1710	53
1711-1715	242
1716-1720	367
Total:	662

[19] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces; Gregory E. O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage: Slave Migration from the Caribbean to North America, 1619-1807," *William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 66, No. 1 (January 2009): 160. The African port of origin was unidentified. The voyages also do not include information on gender and age ratios.

[20] The numbers of slaves imported from the Caribbean are based on O'Malley's numbers.

b. Years	Number of Slaves from the Caribbean
1706-1710	17
1711-1715	200
1716-1720	719
Total:	936

As shown in the above graph, although the number of slaves imported from both Africa and the Caribbean increased from 1706 through 1720, more slaves arrived from the Caribbean than Africa from 1716 to 1720. Despite an act to increase the duty on slaves imported from the West Indies in 1714, New York traders continued to import slaves from the Caribbean. The extra taxes on slaves from the West Indies proved to be an annoyance rather than a hindrance for many slave traders. New York trader and slave ship owner Rip Van Dam opposed the duty. He warned the Board of Trade that a New York-based ship with slaves on board traveling from Africa to Antigua for provisions should not be charged a higher duty than one with slaves from the Caribbean. None of the slaves left the ship while docked in the West Indies, yet the crew of the vessel was still considered to be bringing slaves from the West Indies and were therefore taxed at a higher rate. As a result, even though the owner of the vessel wished it to stop in New York, the ship landed in New Jersey, where there were no import duties at the time. Van Dam insisted that even though the slave vessel did not come directly from Africa, the intention behind the 1714 Act was to encourage the slave trade between Africa and New York. Legislators hoped that the statute would cause traders to obtain more slaves from Africa than from the West Indies. The Board of Trade had previously enacted a "double duty on slaves imported from the West Indies. West Indian slaves were considered 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."[21] Van Dam argued that if he had not raised this concern among the legislature to repeal part of the law, New York would lose a good deal of revenue from the sale of slaves because he would have to pay a double duty.[22]

Legislators from New York and South Carolina also passed duties on slave imports based on where the slaves were imported from—Africa or the Caribbean. At times, leaders tried to use these duties to control the slave population for their colony in attempts to increase or decrease imports based on certain types of slaves. Even though taxes varied over time, slaves imported from the West Indies to New York City were consistently taxed at a higher rate than those from Africa. Governor Hunter asserted that the duties on slaves were intended to prevent the importation of "refuse & sickly Negroes" into New York from the West Indies.[23] New York leaders placed the lower duty on slaves imported from Africa in hopes that traders would reverse the trend of importing more from the Caribbean and increase the numbers from Africa. In 1702 the duty on slaves from Africa was 15 shillings, while the duty was 30 shillings from the West Indies or other colonies. New York leaders considered that those from the West Indies were "inferior" to slaves from Africa. In 1709, New York authorities passed a £3 duty on slaves coming from anywhere except from Africa. In 1728, legislators passed a £2 duty on slaves directly from Africa and £4 on slaves imported elsewhere.[24] Yet many traders and slave-holders in New York preferred slaves from the West Indies because

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[21]Elizabeth Donnan, ed., "Negroes Imported Into New York," *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America: New England and the Middle Colonies*, Vol. 3 (Washington, DC: Carnegie Inst., 1932), 444-447.

[22] Donnan,"President Van Dam to the Board of Trade," *Documents Illustrative*, Vol. 3, 927.

[23] O'Callaghan, "Governor Hunter to the Lords of Trade, To the…Trade and Plantations," *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. V, 509.

[24] Donnan, "Introduction: The Middle Colonies," *Documents Illustrative*, Vol. 3, 407. I will elaborate more thoroughly on slave imports after 1720 in the next chapters.

they were seasoned slaves who had witnessed and endured harsher labor conditions than in the colonial North.

Regardless of the import duties, large numbers of slaves continued to be imported from the West Indies. New York legislators increased the duty on imported slaves from the West Indies in 1731 in hopes that there would not be as many slaves imported from the region. Fewer slaves were imported from the Caribbean and more were imported from Africa in the first few years after the passage of the duty.[25]

Figure 2.2 Slave Imports to New York

Years	Slaves Imported from the Caribbean	Slaves Imported from Africa
1721-1725	457	179
1726-1730	811	0
1731-1735	602	819
1736-1740	259	241[26]

The increase in imports from Africa during this time probably resulted from the higher duty on slaves from the West Indies, as well as to a new generation of slave owners and traders who emerged by the 1730s. These new traders, less concerned about revolt, willingly imported slaves from other parts of Africa. In the 1720s, slaves from Africa arrived mostly from South East Africa, but by the 1730s, larger numbers of slaves came from West Central Africa and the Senegambia regions.

European Wars and Slave Disturbances

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[25] O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 160.

[26] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix A-1, A-2 and Appendix B-1 and B-2.

In the aftermath of slave disturbances, colonial leaders in both New York and South Carolina discussed importing slaves from different locations.[27] A combination of factors, including slave rebelliousness, European warfare, economic hardship, and duties affected the size and character of slave imports into not only the North but also in Charleston.

Slave disturbances probably played the biggest role in changes in the slave trade due to the fact that not only did whites from New York and South Carolina import fewer slaves, but in the immediate aftermath, they often discussed changing the location of where the slaves were imported from. Throughout the 1730s, the Americas were awash in a sea of slave rebellions. Slaves led uprisings in Jamaica in 1730, St. Johns in 1733, the Bahamas in 1734, Antigua in 1735, Guadeloupe in 1737, South Carolina in 1739, with a major slave conspiracy in New York City in 1741.

Either late Saturday, September 8 or early Sunday morning, September 9, 1739, a slave rebellion broke out along the Stono River, about twenty miles southwest of Charles Town, in St. Paul's Parish.[28] It is uncertain how the rebellion actually started; some

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[27] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; Appendix B-2; O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 142.

[28] *Gentleman's Magazine*, X (1740), 127-129; Robert Pringle, *The Letterbook of Robert Pringle.* (Columbia: Published for the South Carolina Historical Society and the South Carolina Tercentennial Commission by the University of South Carolina Press, 1972), 134-135; S. Max Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 10, 151. For a full-length study on the Stono Rebellion, see Peter Charles Hoffer, *Cry liberty: The Great Stono River Slave Rebellion of 1739* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Mark M. Smith, ed., *Stono: Documenting and Interpreting a Southern Slave Revolt* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2005); Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, 86; Wood, *Black Majority*, 308-328; Linebaugh and Rediker, *Many Headed Hydra*, 198. For a full-length study on the Stono Rebellion, see Peter Charles Hoffer, *Cry liberty: The Great Stono River Slave Rebellion of 1739* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Mark M. Smith, ed., *Stono: Documenting and Interpreting a Southern Slave Revolt* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005). A variety of factors triggered the Stono Rebellion. Similar to the 1712 New York slave rebellion, South Carolina slaves

sources claimed a man named either Jemmy (Jemy), Cato, or Arnold started the revolt. In the early stages of the uprising, the Africans traveled to Hutchenson's store at Stone Bridge, where they killed the men tending the store—Robert Bathurst and a Mr. Gibbs. A few accounts reported that the slaves decapitated the storekeepers, a common practice in parts of West Africa, where many of the Stono rebels originated.[29] The slaves stole guns, ammunition, and anything that could be used as a weapon from the store. The rebels then moved to a Mr. Godfrey's house, where they burned and pillaged his home before killing him and his children.[30]

By mid-day on Sunday, anywhere from sixty to one hundred slaves were involved in the rebellion. The slaves marched towards Spanish-controlled St. Augustine along a main road known as Pon Pon Road. Along the way, slaves killed some whites but spared others known for their kindness towards blacks. The rebels plundered and burned houses in their path. Some of the slaves pounded on drums while others shouted "Liberty!" "Liberty!" "Liberty!" Others joined the rebels as the slaves proceeded southward. Still others protected and even hid their masters. They were later rewarded and publicly praised for their behavior.

Heavily-armed whites easily squelched the rebels who appeared disorganized and undisciplined. After traveling about ten miles, many of those slaves initially involved in the rebellion were tired; others were drunk from rum stolen along the journey. A few of the slaves fired off their guns, but the whites easily put down the rebellion and killed or wounded most of the rebels. Some whites reported that a few of the militiamen cut off the heads of several insurgents and put them on posts as a reminder to other slaves as to what

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rebelled during white discord. In 1738, one of the worst small pox outbreaks ravaged Charles Town and other parts of South Carolina.

[29] Smith, ed., *Stono*, 97.

[30] *Gentleman's Magazine*, X (1740), 127-129; "Extract of a Letter from South Carolina, dated Sept. 28," *Boston News-Letter*: Extract of a Letter from South Carolina, dated Sept. 28, Nov. 1-Nov. 8, 1739, Issue 1859, pp. 1-2.

could happen to them if they attempted to rebel.[31] Roughly thirty of the slaves fled and hid. Most of these rebels were later captured. In the following days, some slaves who participated in the uprising were either shot, hanged, or gibbeted as punishment. White leaders also transported numerous slaves involved in the rebellion out of South Carolina to places throughout the Atlantic world, primarily to the northern colonies and Caribbean.[32]

The Stono Rebellion resulted in draconian changes in South Carolina's slave laws. The legislation that followed the Stono uprising would be the cornerstone of South Carolina's slave policy up through the Civil War. The 1740 Negro Act defined slaves for the first time as personal chattel and established the legal foundation of slavery under South Carolina law.[33] Although the legislators enacted harsher laws against slaves, enforcement proved to be a major problem.

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[31] Wood, *Black Majority*, 317.

[32] Wood, *Black Majority*, 324.

[33] "An Act for the better ordering and Governing Negroes and Other Slaves in this Province," *Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, Volume VII, No. 670, passed May 10, 1740: 397-417. Some of the specific parts of the law included making it illegal to sell alcohol to slaves, requiring all slaves to carry a permit with them if they were traveling indicating their master, plantation, parish, and the date they were travelling. The act also forbid teaching slaves to read and/or write. Under the act, legislators prohibited free blacks to harbor runaways. Slaves guilty of the homicide of a white person or insurrection would be punished through a cruel death. The act also attempted to prevent slaves from buying and selling in markets in Charles Town among other slaves unless they had a ticket from their master. The main purpose of these laws was to prevent slave rebellions in the future. Although the code contained many stringent laws towards slaves, a common problem consisted of the lack of enforcement of the slave laws.
It was also written into law that if a person, white, or non-white unjustly punished, harmed, or killed a slave, he or she would be punished. The Act made it illegal for masters to overwork their slaves by preventing them from working more than fifteen hours in a day and receiving adequate rest. The legislators declared that slaves would not have to labor on Sundays, and masters who broke the law could be penalized £5 currency. Surprisingly, in the aftermath of a slave uprising, the Negro Act allowed slaves to carry fire-arms as long as they had a ticket from their master and a license. Slaves mostly used guns to kill animals to either eat them or prevent them from ruining crops.

Similar to the aftermath of the 1712 New York City rebellion, changes in the slave trade also occurred. White leaders desired to identify the ethnicity of the slaves who rebelled and import fewer slaves from that region. Africans imported from the Kongo, they discovered, initiated the Stono Rebellion. Slaves from the Kongo were often Catholics. Spanish Catholics in Florida attempted to entice Carolina slaves to run away to St. Augustine. The slaves involved in the Stono Rebellion also knew how to use guns efficiently. According to historian John Thornton, "utility of guns in a revolt is directly proportional to the skill with which the rebels are capable of using them."[34] Although the plot was disorganized, some of the slaves involved had a distinct military style, suggesting that they had learned these skills in Africa.

Charles Town traders continued to import slaves from Africa, but based upon the generic stereotypes they placed on bondspersons, they initially imported fewer slaves from certain regions of Africa that were believed to be more rebellious than others. Just prior to the Stono Rebellion, from 1735 through 1739, Charles Town traders imported 9,109 slaves from West Africa. Immediately following Stono, only 653 slaves were shipped from West Africa into Charles Town. Fewer slaves also arrived from the Bight of Biafra, Gold Coast, and the Gambia.[35] After Stono, crews instead imported more slaves from Senegambia and Sierra Leone.

South Carolina whites also worked to reverse the black majority in the colony. In 1740, the colonial legislature passed an act imposing a duty on slaves imported from Africa. The statute attempted to calm white fears and hysteria after the Stono Rebellion

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[34] John K. Thornton, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion," *American Historical Review* Vol. 96, No. 4 (October 1991): 1109; "Extract of a Letter from Charlestown in South Carolina," *New-England Weekly Journal* October, 9, 1739, Issue 651, p. 2.

[35] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix C-1. During the 1740s, around 632 slaves arrived from the Bight of Biafra, 156 from the Gold Coast, and 300 from Senegambia.

by limiting and ultimately prohibiting Carolina's trade with Africa. The statute stated that:

The great importation of negroes from the coast of Africa, who are generally of a barbarous and savage disposition, may hereafter prove of very dangerous consequence to the peace and safety of this Province, and which we have now more reason to be apprehensive of from the late rising in the rebellion of a great number of the negroes lately imported into this Province from the coast of Africa…and barbarously murdering upwards of twenty persons of his Majesty's faithful subjects of this Province…the best way to prevent those fatal mischiefs for the future, will be to establish a method by which the importation of negroes into this Province should be made a necessary means of introducing a proportionable number of white inhabitants into the same.[36]

Officials would determine whether or not to change the Act after four years of enforcement. To reduce the number of adults imported, South Carolina legislators imposed a tax of £10 on all slaves over four feet two inches tall, £5 for slaves under that height down to three feet two inches, and two pounds ten shillings for anyone under three feet tall, with "suckling" infants excluded.[37]

Despite this act, two large cargoes of slaves reached the colony immediately after the revolt, because slave-trading voyages were planned months in advance. Historian Elizabeth Donnan wrote that in 1740, "Negroes seem not to have sold well this year, for the advertisements are frequently repeated after the date of sale has passed."[38] As historian Darold Wax observes, the year after the rebellion saw a significant decline in

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[36] "An Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes and Other Slaves in this Province" or Slave Code of South Carolina, May 1740.

[37] "An Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes and Other Slaves in this Province" or Slave Code of South Carolina, May 1740.

[38] Elizabeth Donnan, "Negroes Imported Into South Carolina," *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America. The Border Colonies and the Southern Colonies* Vol. 4 (Washington, DC: Carnegie Inst., 1935), 296-297.

the number of slaving vessels that entered the port due to heightened white fear of Africans after Stono.[39] The lower number of slave vessels at the port resulted from the combined factors of the new tax, depressed conditions during the war, and obstacles associated with slave vessels sailing in the Atlantic due to European warfare.

The decline in the desire for slaves was also due to the endemic Atlantic wars. All of Carolina's trade changed in the midst of the War of Jenkins' Ear (also known as the Anglo-Spanish War of 1739-1744) and King George's War (or the War of Austrian Succession 1741-1748) also altered the trade. The warfare led to an economic depression in Carolina that would last throughout the 1740s.[40] Many planters and merchants who invested in surplus land before the 1740s attempted to sell their excess holdings as a result of the depressed economy and declining slave imports.

A further setback for the slave trade included a decline in South Carolina's commerce with the French and Spanish, escalating to a significant drop in rice exports for South Carolina during the 1740s.[41] In the aftermath of the war and rebellion, the lowcountry economy waned for at least a decade, causing planters to rethink the institution of slavery and South Carolina's overdependence on rice. The demand for and price of rice fell rapidly in Charles Town. The monthly mean price of rice fell from 7.4 sterling shillings per hundredweight in 1741 to 2.2 sterling shillings per hundredweight in

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[39] Darold D Wax, "'The Great Risque We Run': The Aftermath of Slave Rebellion at Stono, South Carolina, 1739-1745," *Journal of Negro History* Vol. 67, No. 2 (Summer 1982): 140; Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces.

[40] Stuart O. Stumpf, "Implications of King George's War for the Charleston Mercantile Community," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* Vol. 77, No. 3 (July 1976): 162, 171.

[41] Peter A Coclanis, *The Shadow of A Dream: Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country, 1670-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 83.

1746. As the war drew to an end, the prices rose again to an average of 7 sterling shillings per hundredweight in 1748.[42]

Figure 2.3 Price of Rice

Year	Price of Rice (sterling shillings)
1741	7.4
1746	2.2
1748	7

As the price and demand for rice fell during most of the 1740s, traders imported fewer slaves into Carolina. Carolinians looked to other export products such as lumber, provisions, and deerskins to make up for the decline of rice prices during war. The prices of these commodities, however, did not increase during the war. Also, these goods were very bulky and generated high freight and insurance costs especially during wartime.[43] The various problems of Carolina's staple commodities resulted in a decline in imports. Carolinians, including Eliza Lucas Pinckney, searched for other staple commodities that would bring profits and slave-produced labor to their colony. By the middle of the 1740s, slave-produced indigo became a major export for South Carolina.[44] Despite the growth in the importance of indigo, the number of slave imports continued to decline during the 1740s. Ultimately, however, the demand increased during the 1750s and so did the imports.

After the initial outburst of panic after Stono traders and planters from South Carolina fell back into their old patterns of preferring slaves from Africa, because they

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[42] Stumpf, "Implications of King George's War," 173.

[43] Stumpf, "Implications of King George's War," 173.

[44] I will talk more about indigo and the effects it had on the slave trade in the next chapter.

were stereotypically healthier and hardier than slaves from the Caribbean.[45] South Carolina governor James Glen remarked that, "Negroes are sold at higher Prices here than in any part of the Kings Dominions we have them sent from Barbados, the Leeward Islands, Jamaica, Virginia, and New York."[46]

As a result, between 1735 and 1739, 14,176 slaves were imported into Charles Town from Africa. Due to the Stono Rebellion, European warfare, and economic depression, however, only 1,858 slaves were imported into Carolina from Africa between 1740 and 1744. There were no slaves imported between 1741 and 1743, but 825 slaves were imported from Africa between 1744 and 1745. [47]

Figure 2.4 Slaves Imported to Charles Town

Years	Slaves Imported from Africa	Slaves Imported from the Caribbean
1736-1740	14,262	223
1741-1745	825	112
1746-1750	456	305

Even so, Carolina's 1740 duty on slave imports led to great changes in the Carolina slave trade. Bristol merchants displayed great frustration over South Carolina's import duties. The abrupt drop and change in the slave trade to Carolina affected the price of slaves and slave-produced goods around the Atlantic. South Carolina's prohibitive tax also greatly impaired Bristol merchants as well as others connected to the slave trade. The duty on slave imports during the 1740s increased the prices of commodities on goods

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[45] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 142.

[46] Wax, "'The Great Risque,'" 144.

[47] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces See Appendix A-2 and B-2.

such as rice and indigo in England and other parts of the Atlantic. Bristol merchants worried over South Carolina's drastic decline in slave imports after Stono and the effect it would have on slave and commodity markets.[48]

Despite the decline in slave imports during the 1740s, for the first time the black population in South Carolina began to increase naturally through reproduction by the 1730s and into the 1740s. Governor Glen remarked that even with fewer slave imports due to the prohibitive duty and the war, he found that as our number of negroes is diminished; so that from all appearances the negroes bred from our own Stock, will continually recruit and keep it up."[49]

Furthermore, what might the consequences have been if Charles Town traders continued to import the same number of slaves as they had before the Stono Rebellion, while the colony simultaneously witnessed an increase in slaves due to natural reproduction. Around 20,000 slaves were imported into Carolina during the 1730s. A greater possibility of continued slave unrest and economic decline would have existed had Carolina continued to import large numbers of slaves per decade throughout the rest of the 18th century. According to Peter Wood, "before 1750, the slave trade was resuming its previous proportions, but the decline in slave imports during the 1740s meant that

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[48] Journals of the Ship, Lloyd. 1767-1772.1 reel. Records journeys between Bristol, England and South Carolina see also Champion, Richard. Originals are in the National Maritime Museum and are privately owned. [FILM 428], DLAR; Donnan, "Negroes Imported Into South Carolina," *Documents Illustrative*, Vol. 4, 297; Malachy Postlethwayt, "The African Trade, the Great Pillar and Support of the British Plantation Trade in America," *Gentleman's Magazine*, XV, January, 29, 1745.

[49] Donnan, "Governor James Glen's Description of South Carolina, 1749," *Documents Illustrative*, Vol. 4, 303; B. R Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina : Embracing Many Rare and Valuable Pamphlets, and Other Documents, Relating to the History of that State from its First Discovery to its Independence, in the Year 1776* Vol. II (New York: Harper & Bros., 1836), 224.

newly imported slaves would never again constitute so high a proportion of the colony's total population as they had in the late 1730s."[50]

Upheaval in New York City

Two years after the Stono Rebellion, New Yorkers witnessed similar circumstances, as they too were involved in the War of Jenkins' Ear, encountered economic turmoil, and experienced a major slave conspiracy.[51] During the war, slave traders suffered because it was difficult to transport items between New York and the Caribbean. The price of wheat in New York actually increased, helping farmers but hurting urban consumers. A harsh winter in New York in 1740 and into 1741 caused a strike among bakers protesting the high price of wheat.[52] Here too, a combination of problems led to modifications in New York City's slave trade during the 1740s.

Fires, rumors, and robbers led to a widespread belief among New York City whites that they faced a serious threat of slave revolt. This conviction had a significant impact on the slave trade to Manhattan, as city dwellers decided that Caribbean slaves were to be avoided. In the spring of 1741, dozens of slaves in New York City were implicated for plotting an uprising. Quack, a law-breaking slave of the prominent Roosevelt family, was prohibited by authorities from visiting his wife, who resided at Fort George. In retaliation, Quack set the fort ablaze. Considering that the British were in the middle of a war with Spain at the time, authorities took the destruction of one of the

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[50] Wood, *Black Majority*, 325.

[51] Historian Serena Zabin argues that as the British Empire expanded, so too, did New York's economy. New Yorkers started to use paper currency by Queen Anne's War. As the imperial wars dragged on through the late 1730s through the 1740s, New York's economy suffered again. The colony's hard currency went to pay for protection during the European Wars. The price of wheat also increased during the European conflict. As the costs rose, bakers went on strike and commoners engaged in riots because they could not afford to eat. Serena Zabin, *Dangerous Economies: Status and Commerce in Imperial New York* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 11.

[52] Foote, *Black and White Manhattan*, 162.

prominent forts on the British mainland as a major threat to their security. The fort served as an important military and political post for New York and was where officials stored ammunition. Burning the fort was a symbolic gesture against the colony and the institution of slavery. On the eve of his execution, Quack admitted that he committed the revolutionary act.[53]

Following more fires, one on March 25 (also known as New Year's Day under the Old Julien Calendar) and another on April Fool's Day at a warehouse near the East River, frightened whites accused slaves of arson.[54] After someone ignited hay in a mattress where a slave slept, whites became even more suspicious. During another fire, witnesses saw a slave prancing away from the scene saying, "Fire, Fire, Scorch, Scorch, A LITTLE, damn it, BY-AND-BY," while he and his fellow bonds men laughed. Yet another devastating fire broke out at Adolph Philipse's storehouse on Broad and Wall Streets. Someone saw Philipse's slave, Cuffee, sneak out of a nearby storehouse and run away. The whites seized Cuffee immediately and began shouting, "the Negroes are rising!" Aware of the events at Stono, whites panicked at the possibility of a slave uprising. As a result, approximately one hundred fifty to one hundred seventy-five men were arrested and imprisoned for their involvement in a plot to burn the city. New Yorkers witnessed at least thirteen suspicious fires throughout the city between March and April of 1741. Four fires broke out on April 6 alone. The New York Supreme Court acted swiftly in ordering

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[53] Hoffer, *Cry Liberty*, 7.

[54] Cadwallader Colden, *The Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden 1711-1775*. v. 67 (New York: Printed for the New York Historical Society, 1918), 265; O'Callaghan, "Lieutenant-Governor Clarke to the Duke of Newcastle, New York, May 15, 1741," *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York* Vol. VI (June 20, 1741): 187-188, 196; O'Callaghan, "Lieutenant-Governor Clarke to the Lords of Trade, New York," *Documents Relative* Vol. VI (June 20, 1741): 197-198; Horsmanden, *Journal*, 9-11.

the arrest of any possible suspects.[55] Similar to the harsh slave laws passed in the aftermath of Stono, lawmakers in New York also passed more stringent laws directed at slaves.[56]

A slave involved in one of the fires also partook in a robbery. In February 1741, three slaves owned by merchant Robert Hogg—Prince, Cuffee, and John Gwin (also known as Quin or Caesar)—robbed a small shop near the East River. The slaves stole money, cloth, luxury items and jewelry. Gwin carried the stolen goods he retrieved to Hughson's tavern, owned by John and Sarah Hughson. Will, who had rebelled in other parts of the Atlantic, frequented Hughson's Tavern and most likely shared his experiences in the other slave rebellions. Will strategized with other slaves in plots to destroy the City. The Hughsons allowed slaves to assemble together, cabal, drink, dance, and bring stolen goods to their establishment. In exchange, the slaves stocked his tavern with plunder, guns, powder, and ammunition, and he paid them with money in return. Authorities tracked the goods to the tavern and arrested Gwin, and shortly after Prince.

In an era of white fears of slave uprisings and European Wars, the Hughson's indentured servant, Mary Burton, embellished her story by blaming whites and blacks alike in a plan to destroy the port town. Judge Horsmanden linked the burglary to a greater plot of various groups of people to burn and destroy the city. Historians Peter

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[55]E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., "Letter of Lieutenant Governor Clarke to the Lords of Trade," *Documents Relative* Vol. VI (Albany: Weed and Parsons 1855), 196-198.

[56] Peter Charles Hoffer, *The Great New York Conspiracy of 1741: Slavery, Crime, and Colonial Law* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 169. Similar to the South Carolina legislators in the aftermath of the Stono rebellion, New York lawmakers passed very stringent laws against slaves. Representatives designed the laws to prevent slaves from meeting in taverns, gathering in groups, and establish a curfew for slaves. Lawmakers also stiffened their statutes against slaves by forbidding "blacks from fetching water from wells…preventing the assembly of blacks from different neighborhoods at a single well." It was also against the law for blacks to ride on horseback on Sundays for fear that they would conspire in a private spot while their masters were at church.

Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker argue that the 1741 conspiracy was "Atlantic in scope." Diverse groups of people including, soldiers, Irish Catholics, Spanish-Americans, slaves from the Caribbean, and African slaves such as Akan-speaking or Coromantee, Papa slaves, Igbo, and Malagsay were all accused of involvement in a conspiracy.[57] As a result, possibly as many as twenty-five whites were arrested for their involvement with the black rebels.[58]

At the time of the conspiracy, slaves comprised about 20 percent of the city's total population and 30 percent of its workers.[59] Although the majority of slaves involved in the Stono Rebellion and imports into South Carolina consisted of slaves directly from Africa, 79.5 percent of slaves in New York in 1741 had arrived from the West Indies. The largest percent of these slaves came from Jamaica, where there had been slave rebellions and maroon communities. Another 6 percent were shipped up the coast from the southern colonies, while only one out of seven came directly from Africa.

Comparatively speaking, newly-arrived African slaves to the Americas were more rebellious than seasoned slaves, but they also rebelled. Caribbean slaves were often less prone to rebel due to years of bondage. Slave traders and owners often responded irrationally in the aftermath of an uprising of conspiracy. Carolinians cried out that African slaves were more rebellious. After seasoned, Caribbean slaves conspired in New York City, many New Yorkers proclaimed that slaves from the Caribbean were more rebellious. [60]

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[57] O'Callaghan, "Letter of Lieutenant Clarke to the Lords of Trade," *Colonial New York Documents*, Vol. VI, 201-202; Linebaugh and Rediker, *Many-Headed Hydra*, 174-183.

[58]Colden, *The Colden Papers*, 225; O'Callaghan, *Colonial New York Documents*, 201-202; Linebaugh and Rediker, *Many Headed Hydra*, 174-183.

[59] Linebaugh and Rediker, *Many-Headed Hydra*, 179.

[60]Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 88-107; Foote, *Black and White Manhattan*, 161-186; Thornton, "African Dimensions," 1101-1113.

Between May 11 and August 29, 1741, thirteen or fourteen slaves were burned at the stake for their involvement in the plot, with another seventeen or eighteen hanged or executed in other ways. There were also seventy-two to eighty bondsmen deported outside of New York, (most transported to the West Indies). Seven indicted slaves were never found.[61] Around three hundred blacks were accused of involvement in the conspiracy. In all, somewhere between twenty to twenty-five whites were executed for their role in the conspiracy, including John Hughson.[62]

As a result of the 1741 conspiracy, major changes in New York's slave trade occurred. During the 1740s, fewer slaves were imported from the Caribbean, and the number of slaves arriving from Africa increased between 1746 and 1750.[63] In response to the wide-scale participation of slaves from the West Indies in the plot, merchants and other traders in New York suddenly desired to import more slaves from Africa and fewer from the Caribbean. As previously noted, during the 1710s and into the early 1740s, New Yorkers imported the majority of their slaves from the Caribbean. Of the slaves from Africa who did arrive, most were imported from West Central Africa. Before the conspiracy, 70 percent of slaves entering New York originated in either the Caribbean or other mainland colonies, while only around 30 percent of slaves arrived directly from Africa. After the conspiracy, the trend reversed and a much higher percentage of slaves arrived from Africa.[64] Although some African slaves led the 1741 plot, New Yorkers viewed the larger percentage of "refuse," or West Indian slaves, as the prime instigators

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[61] O'Callaghan, ed., "Lieutenant-Governor Clarke to the Lords of Trade, New York, August 24, 1741," *Colonial New York Documents*, 203; Horsmanden, *Journal*, Appendix.

[62] Horsmanden, *Journal*, Appendix, 426.

[63] Davis, *Rumor of Revolt*, 252.

[64] Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 182-183.

of rebellious behavior in the city and they desired to import fewer slaves from the Americas.

Even though the exact numbers cannot be determined due to factors such as piracy and inaccurate records, around 359 slaves were imported into New York from the Caribbean between 1736 and 1740. After the plot, however, the number of imports declined and only 30 slaves were imported from the Caribbean into the city between 1741 and 1750.[65] That trend never changed and New York continued to import larger numbers of slaves from Africa until the end of its participation in the slave trade in the 1770s.[66]

Figure 2.5 Slaves Imported into New York City

Years	Slaves from the Caribbean	Slaves from Africa
1736-1740	359	241
1741-1745	21	155
1746-1750	9	571

Some historians, such as Graham Russell Hodges, view slave rebelliousness as the prime motivator for alterations in the slave trade. Considering that New Yorkers moved to import more slaves from Africa after the rebellion, the evidence appears to

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[65] O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 160. James Lydon discussed the decrease in the number of slaves from the West Indies to New York. In 1723, 100 slaves were imported, 145 in 1725, 218 in 1727, 163 in 1731, 83 in 1737 and 89 in 1739. By 1743 only 7 slaves were transported from the West Indies to New York, while 9 were imported in 1748 and only 4 in 1751. James Lydon, "New York and the Slave Trade, 1700-1774," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (April 1978): 375-394.

[66] I will elaborate more on the number of imports after 1744 in the next chapter. Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix A-1 and B-1; Lydon, "Slave Trade," 377-382. Lydon showed that between 1715 and 1747, only twenty-one recorded voyages were made from Africa to New York but between 1748 and 1774, at least 103 voyages between Africa and New York occurred. Other factors besides the New York Conspiracy led to an increase in the number of voyages and African slaves including changes in the economy, commodities, and the end to the Royal African Company.

support Hodges. Yet while changing the ethnicity of slaves in New York was a prime motivator for alterations in the slave trade, it is also important to recognize that other causes, including European Wars, economic change, and lower slave prices in Africa after the end of the Asiento and the Royal African Company by 1747. While these circumstances led to modifications in slave imports into New York City, it is impossible to determine precisely which factor had the greatest effect on the number of imports, as these events unfolded simultaneously and they all contributed to a decline in the number of slave arrivals.

Although there were other factors besides the 1741 conspiracy in reshaping the slave trade in the North, the conspiracy undoubtedly played a major role. The movement by New York merchants to alter the trade with Africa and import a similar number of slaves per year, indicated the continuing demand for slave labor.[67] While some white leaders such as Justice Daniel Horsmanden attempted to play on white fears of conspiracy as a means to rid the colony of all slaves and free blacks, other whites supported the continuation of slave imports to fulfill the region's demand for labor.

Another significant change after the 1741 conspiracy pertained to the gender makeup of slaves, which fluctuated with an increase in females over the age of 16. The New York census takers listed 52.5 percent male slaves and 47.5 percent female slaves in 1737 compared to 46.6 percent male slaves and 53.4 percent in 1746. As these percentages indicated, there was a slight male majority before the Conspiracy, and after the plot, there was a slight female majority. These numbers revealed a change in the desire for more domestic household slaves requiring greater numbers of female slaves. Whites from New York had always viewed male slaves with suspicion. After the conspiracy, there was a shift in emphasizing domestic, and personal service laborers, with

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[67] Lydon, "Slave Trade," 375-394"; Wax, "'The Great Risque We Run,'" 136-147; Linebaugh and Rediker, *Many Headed Hydra*, 207-208,

a greater demand for female slaves. By 1756, there were around 1,130 black females in New York City working a variety of domestic jobs. More New Yorkers distrusted male slaves and focused on their potential to rebel. After the 1741 conspiracy, New Yorkers feared the growth in number of aggressive, young male slaves who might attempt rebellion or act violently against their master. Many regarded male slaves as difficult to control. Others, primarily white male workers, saw black males as competition in the craft and labor occupations in the city. A growing number of white male workers displayed antagonism over the increased rivalry they experienced with male slaves.[68]

Another factor resulting in alterations in the slave trade involved the role of the Quakers. Pennsylvania Quakers had some influence in turning people against the slave trade and slavery in New York. There was also a growing number of Quakers in New York City, Long Island, and surrounding counties. Radical Quakers including John Hepburn and John Standiford led a campaign to ask the Quaker church to end their participation with slavery. Most Quakers kept their slaves during this period, but Quaker reforms were on the horizon. By the late 1750s into the early 1760s, more Quakers began to speak out against slavery and encourage members to emancipate their slaves, leading to changes in the slave trade.[69]

Conclusions

There were many short and long-term effects on New York City's and Charles Town's slave trades during the first half of the 18th century. Factors such as European wars, demand for staple commodities, and slave uprisings, all resulted in changes in slave imports during the first half of the 18th century. The initial reaction of whites in both cities was to import fewer slaves. During the colonial period, Charles Town had the

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[68] Davis, *Rumor of Revolt*, 252; Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 111.

[69] Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 86. Jean Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 112-148. I will discuss the Quakers in more detail in chapters 3 and 4.

highest percentage of slaves in any city in America, while New York City contained the second highest percentage of slaves during parts of the 18th century, with a significant number of slaves laboring in the nearby hinterland.

In the immediate aftermath of the New York 1712 uprising and the Stono Rebellion, authorities in both colonies wanted to import fewer slaves based on the ethnicity of those who had rebelled. White fear in the midst of slave rebelliousness indicated the preferences for slaves in the aftermath of the rebellion were arbitrary and inconsistent.[70] In examining the slave trades of both port cities, comparing the attitudes of whites in regard to the ethnicity of slaves sheds light on stereotypes of slaves that would not otherwise be recognized by studying the slave trades of these two cities separately. One of the effects on the slave trade involved legislators and slave owners in New York and Charles Town attempting to alter the ethnicity of slave imports during upheaval and after slave disturbances. Whites in New York believed that slaves arriving from the Caribbean were more prone to rebel, while those in South Carolina claimed that slaves from Africa were more prone to rebel. Whites from New York City feared slaves

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[70] It may seem contradictory that in the first chapter, when I discuss slave preferences in regard to labor, I argue that traders preferred certain types of slaves over others, while in this chapter I claim that slave preferences were arbitrary or inconsistent. In terms of labor, however, traders were more consistent in their reasoning behind wanting certain types of slaves over others. Carolinians, for example, desired slaves from certain parts of Africa who had experience growing and harvesting rice. After slaves rebelled, traders and owners from both cities examined the ethnicity of the slaves. In the aftermath of a slave rebellion or conspiracy, if Africans led a rebellion, a huge outcry would follow and many whites argued that they wanted to import fewer slaves from Africa. If slaves from the Caribbean rebelled, whites would claim they wanted to import fewer laves from the Caribbean. For instance, African slaves primarily led the Stono Rebellion. After Stono, many whites said that they wanted to import fewer slaves from Africa and more from the Caribbean because African slaves led the rebellion. Carolina consisted of a higher percentage of African slaves. Charles Town traders could make smart business decisions but were then petrified in the aftermath of a rebellion or plot that they responded in paranoid, irrational ways. Otherwise smart businessmen, the traders and slave owners panicked when confronted with decapitated whites at Stono, for example.

from the West Indies because that is where the majority of their slave imports arrived from. South Carolina whites feared slaves from Africa would rebel more than those from the Caribbean because more slaves were imported from Africa into South Carolina. Those from New York and Carolina viewed *their* slaves as more likely to rebel. In comparing New York City and Carolina, we see that whites blamed slaves from both Africa and the Caribbean for being rebellious.

After the 1741 New York conspiracy, long-term changes in slave ethnicity occurred. After mostly West Indian "refuse" slaves were implicated in the plot, New York traders imported more slaves from Africa from the 1740s until the end of New York's involvement in the legal trade. Up until the 1741 conspiracy, the vast majority of slaves imported into New York had come from the West Indies. After the conspiracy, slave traders believed slaves from the West Indies were more rebellious than those from Africa, and imported more slaves from Africa.

As leaders from New York City and Charles Town examined importing slaves from different locales after slave disturbances, whites revealed their preferences for slaves. In the reverberation of heightened slave violence or an attempted slave plot, whites seeking to change the ethnicity of slaves entering their port was arbitrary in nature. When it came to comparing slave rebelliousness, slaves from both Africa and the West Indies rebelled. Ultimately, of course, it did not matter where slaves were from; slaves rebelled because they were in bondage and wanted their freedom. Yet, some conditions facilitated rebellion. Traders, merchants, and owners may have desired slaves from different places in the aftershock of a conspiracy or rebellion because ultimately, they needed slaves to fulfill their labor demands. Some anticipated that altering the location of where the slaves came from would lower the chances of rebellion.

The timing of the slave uprisings in New York and South Carolina occurring in the midst of Caribbean slave rebellions was also important. Although there were fewer slaves involved in the mainland plots, the slaves succeeded in causing great fear among

the whites. Many believed slave rebellions were international in character, as the slaves showed that they could rebel even where there were fewer slaves in places such as New York or South Carolina.[71]

Slaves involved in these rebellions and the 1741 Conspiracy failed in their attempts to secure freedom and end slavery for themselves and all colonial slaves. Ultimately, the combined factors of fears of a slave rebellion, changes in the economy, and European wars led New York and South Carolina officials to alter their slave trades. The New York and South Carolina revolts and the 1741 conspiracy stemmed from the immediate consequences of punishing the slaves through death or deportation. The incidents also resulted in short-term reactions and adjustments in New York's and South Carolina's slave trade. Traders from both colonies imported smaller numbers of slaves or changed where they imported slaves from after legislators and slave owners discussed changing the location of slave imports.

Both colonies also strove to lower the number of slaves coming into their ports once rebellion threatened the status quo. Carolina leaders sought to reverse its black majority by encouraging white immigrants and lowering the number of African slaves coming into the colony. New York leaders also desired to reduce the number of slaves coming into the city. In both locations however, the slaves were heavily tied to the areas' economy. Even though whites from Charles Town and New York attempted to decrease their slave imports, the lower imports were temporary. The growing Atlantic World economy led merchants, traders, and slave owners to increase slave imports in the late 1740s and 1750s. Charles Town and New York City were both vital centers for imports and exports throughout the Atlantic. Due to the demand for slave-produced commodities, there was a continued desire for slaves even after their rebellious activity.

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[71] Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution*, 41-42.

In the aftermath of the turmoil of the late 1730s and early 1740s, changes in New York's slave-trading patterns were more long-term than those in South Carolina. In New York, slaves were needed in greater numbers for their labor by the 1740s. Those involved in Manhattan's trade wanted to make sure that fewer sickly slaves were sent to the colony. As wheat production grew in importance, slave traders and owners in New York desired larger numbers of healthy slaves directly from Africa. By comparison, Carolina whites witnessed an initial panic and inclination to import fewer slaves from Africa because they were the prime culprits of the Stono Rebellion. When white fear settled after the rebellion, South Carolina whites ultimately believed that slaves from Africa were healthier and at times more experienced laborers than those from the West Indies.

The place of origin of the vessels and their owners who transported slaves into New York City and Charles Town was also pertinent in examining the slave trade. Men from New York continued to be the primary owners of the slave vessels used in importing slaves into the city and the majority of the voyages originated in New York City. By contrast, the majority of Charles Town's voyages started in Britain. Most of the vessels connected to Carolina's trade were owned by the British. Part of the reason why New Yorkers controlled most of their voyages was because New York lawmakers placed a higher duty on slaves imported into the port from Britain.[72] This duty was one of the reasons why Britain imported fewer slaves into Manhattan. It also revealed how crucial slave labor was to the city and hinterlands. Instead of relying on the British to import more slaves into the colony, New York traders took control of their colony's slave trade and imported slaves themselves.

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[72] In 1716, slaves imported into New York by vessels from New York or other colonies had to pay a duty of five ounces of plate per slave, while slaves imported into New York by the British had to pay a duty of 10 ounces of plate. New York (Colony), Charles Z. Lincoln et al., "An Act to Oblige All Vessels Trading Into This Colony," *The Colonial Laws of New York from the Year 1664 to the Revolution*, Vol. I, (Albany: J.B. Lyon, State Printer, 1894), 899.

By comparison, Britain was more involved in Charles Town's slave importations. British merchants often combined their resources to outfit a slave vessel for the trade. Slaving ventures were very costly, and to fulfill Carolina's labor demands, traders needed to import many slaves in large ships. Britain owned various slave colonies and imported millions of slaves throughout the Americas, although nowhere near as many to the mainland colonies. After Britain reaped large profits from the slave trade in the Caribbean, Carolina and Britain engaged in the slave trade together. Many British traders sent ships from Africa to Carolina to transport large numbers of slaves and also profit off of Carolina's trade in people and staple commodities.

As they imported fewer slaves, those connected to New York's slave trade made careful considerations in regard to the traffic to make sure that slaves were safely imported into the city. Many of the voyages from New York to Africa were controlled by New York slave traders who were highly invested in the African trade but had smaller vessels and imported fewer slaves. New York slave owners and traders did not have as much money as British traders importing greater numbers of slaves into Charles Town. The owners of Manhattan's slave vessels continued to include some of New York's most prominent slaveholders, men such as Rip Van Dam, John Watts, and the Van Horne, Schuyler and Livingston families. New York merchants and traders made vigilant decisions in regard to the slave trade because it was smaller. They shrewdly coordinated the vessels used in the voyages and hired astute captains who would closely monitor transporting the slaves and cargo. Traders also recoded the kinds of slaves in demand according to New York's slave market.[73]

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[73] Philip John Schuyler (1733-1804). Philip Schuyler Papers, 1684-1851. 21 reels. [FILM 659] at the David Library of the American Revolution; Cynthia A. Kierner, *Traders and Gentlefolk: The Livingstons of New York, 1675-1790* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 65-71; Cathy Matson, *Merchants and Empire: Trading in Colonial New York* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 200-202; Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces.

Most of Charles Town's voyages started in Britain and were controlled by the Royal African Company and Britons such as Isaac Hobhouse and John Hawkins.[74] Far more capital went into the Carolina voyages, as many more slaves were imported into the southern port due to the greater labor demands from rice and indigo.

As a result of the slave uprisings, both colonies altered their slave imports, but they did so in very different ways. After Stono, South Carolinians placed a prohibitive duty on slaves and tried to stop all slave imports for three to four years fearing that the overwhelming slave majority in the colony would lead to more slave rebellions and violent behavior of their bondsmen. After the New York rebellion and conspiracy, the colony raised its duties on slave imports but did not enact a prohibitive duty. South Carolina legislators placed a duty because they had a slave majority and after the slave rebellion, whites believed they seriously needed to alter the slave majority. Although whites were terrified after the 1741 New York conspiracy, the colony had fewer slaves and believed that altering the slave trade and not completely prohibiting slave imports would be sufficient.

From 1710 through the early 1740s, New York City's and Charles Town's slave trades went through a variety of changes. There were various factors that led to short and long-term effects of the slave trades during the 1730s and 1740s. During this era, European wars, demand for staple commodities, and slave rebelliousness led to changes in the slave trade. Although it is impossible to determine which factor contributed the most, the number of slave imports into the colonies declined in the early 1740s in the aftermath of slave rebelliousness, but started to increase again as the European Wars died down.

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[74] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix F.

Chapter 3

THE SLAVE TRADE IN TIMES OF REVOLUTION

John Kizell knew his way around the Atlantic. As New York City and Charles Town slavers grappled with carrying on the trade in the midst of revolutions throughout the Atlantic, Kizell passed through both ports. Born in Sierra Leone in the Gallinas region in 1760, Kizell was captured as a teenager during an attack on his uncle's village. An African slave dealer carried him to another village, where the young man was accused of witchcraft and "damaging" one of the chief's numerous wives. He was then sold to a slave trader and forced across the Middle Passage to become a slave in Charles Town. He escaped to the North during the Revolution and eventually made it to Canada. He ultimately returned back near where he was born in Sierra Leone. Kizell's life was one of resistance, rebellion, trauma, and triumph during the Revolutionary era, a story that parallels some of the themes of this chapter.[1]

Into the 1760s, slave-trading patterns in New York and Charles Town continued to evolve along a similar trajectory (although of course, the volume of Charles Town's trade was much greater than New York's) but thereafter, these patterns displayed an increasing divergence. In this chapter, I examine the changes in the slave trade around the mid-18th century as the slave trades of New York City and Charles Town imported large numbers of slaves from Africa. The traffic in slaves from Africa to New York City increased in the late 1740s and peaked by 1760. There were fewer slave imports during

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[1] I will elaborate later on in this chapter on Kizell's departure from slavery and where he went after he escaped. Kevin G. Lowther, *The African American Odyssey of John Kizell: A South Carolina Slave Returns to Fight the Slave Trade in his African Homeland* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011), 1-10.

the 1760s than the 1750s, and New York's documented voyages ceased after 1775. New Yorkers imported more slaves during the 1750s than in any other decade. The international slave trade grew in the midst of the French and Indian War, but both trades stopped just before the American Revolution. I also examine some of the reasons why more slaves were imported during the late 1740s and 1750s and why importations started to decline in the 1760s in New York City. By contrast, Charles Town inhabitants witnessed a huge surge of imports just before the Revolution.

I also examine the reasons why a growing number of people from many of the colonies, including New York, started to turn against the Atlantic slave trade by the 1760s. Residents from not only northern colonies, but also southern colonies such as Virginia, grew weary of the Atlantic trade in humans. In comparing New York and South Carolina, we can examine some of the reasons why those from New York and other colonies started to move against the slave trade. Although some started to turn against the trade, many people in New York and other colonies continued to support slavery. In Carolina, most traders continued to engage in and support the international traffic while traders in other southern states started turning against the trade.

Although the American Revolution disrupted the international slave trade, many New Yorkers had turned against the traffic by the start of the War. As a result, the number of slaves imported into New York City and most of the other colonies began to decline by the 1760s. Although many South Carolinians continued to support the international traffic, some, including Carolina's greatest slave trader, Henry Laurens, spoke out against it.

In this chapter, I argue that the slave trades of New York and Charles Town witnessed similar trends from the late 1740s to the early 1760s. Some of the commonalities with these trades included an increasing number of imported slaves from Africa and the enactment of duties on imported slaves. But as with previous decades, although there were some parallels between the slave trades of New York and Charles

Town, the scale and intensity of the slave trades differed. Charles Town imported a much greater quantities of slaves than New York. Traders from both cities imported large numbers of slaves to fulfill their labor demands. Slave import duties in both cities also increased during the 1760s. By the early 1760s, great differences between New York and Charles Town's slave trades emerged. New York traders imported fewer slaves in the 1760s than the 1750s. For New York, the number of *legal* slave imports continued to decline and ended during the 1770s. For South Carolina, traders imported more slaves in the 1760s than the 1750s. Despite a prohibition before and after the Revolution, Carolinians would continue to import large numbers of slaves until 1808.

18th Century Slave Importations and Labor

By the 1760s, the inhabitants of New York City witnessed substantial growth in their slave imports from Africa. The number and volume of docking facilities, shipping, shipbuilding, and commerce also increased. The number of ships owned by residents in the city grew from 99 to 447 between 1747 and 1762, while the number of seamen increased from 755 to 3,552. Population also proliferated from 4,476 people in 1700 to 13,000 in the early 1760s.[2] The growth in population, shipbuilding, and imports and exports all had implications for New York's slave trade, resulting in increased slave importations from Africa from the late 1740s through the early 1760s.

In the late 1740s through the 1750s, both New York and Carolina traders increased slave importations into their colonies. Buyers in the two colonies needed slaves due to the increased demand for staple goods, such as wheat, rice, and indigo. Urban slaves also performed a wide variety of tasks. After a brief lull in slave imports, the

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[2] Workers of the Writers Program of the Work Progress Administration for the City of New York, *A Maritime History of New York* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, and Company, 1941), 60-61; Cathy Matson, *Merchants and Empire: Trading in Colonial New York* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 104, 128, 130.

number of slaves imported into Charles Town increased substantially from the 1740s through the 1750s.[3]

Figure 3.1 Total Slave Imports from Africa and the Caribbean to New York City and Charles Town:[4]

Years	**New York City**	**Charles Town**
1741-1745	176	937
1746-1750	580	2,063
1751-1755	848	8,963
1756-1760	1,099	13,993
Totals:	**2,703**	**25,956**

There were a variety of reasons for the increase in imports, including a growing demand for staple goods. Circumstances around the Atlantic also played a role. By 1731, those associated with the Royal Africa Company ended their slaving voyages and began trading in ivory and gold. The Company dissolved by 1752, but some connected to slave trading formed a new organization named the African Company of Merchants. This corporation represented the interests of merchants and traders doing business in Africa, making it easier for the British and the colonists to trade in slaves. The workers for this new company watched over all of the British factory-forts and trading areas along the coast of Africa. Traders from Bristol, London, and Liverpool were involved in

[3] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces.

[4] Gregory E O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage: Slave Migration from the Caribbean to North America, 1619-1807," *William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 66, No. 1 (January 2009): 125–172; Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; see also, Appendix A.

monitoring the West coast. The British government provided £10,000 to run the factory-forts on the coast, but merchants ultimately controlled the trade.[5]

Although overall imports, mostly from Africa, grew during the 1750s, imports from the Caribbean into New York City declined and stopped by 1760.

Figure 3.2 Slave Imports into New York City:[6]

Years:	**Caribbean**	**Africa**
1741-1745	21	155
1746-1750	9	571
1751-1755	4	844
1756-1760	0	1,099
Totals:	**34**	**2,669**

Before 1747, there were over 720 direct shipments of African slaves to New York.[7] By 1746, the direct imports from Africa increased from previous decades. The number of slaves from Africa increased in the 1750s to a little over 1,900 for the whole decade.[8] Historian John Lydon observes that around "40 percent of the voyages to Africa terminated at New York, signaling a strong motivation for merchants to invest in the

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[5]Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440-1870* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997); Kenneth Gordon Davies, *The Royal African Company* (New York: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1999); William A. Pettigrew, *Freedom's Debt: The Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672-1752* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 1-8.

[6]Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix A-1 and A-2; O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 125–172.

[7] Graham Russell Hodges, *Root & Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613-1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 103-105; James G Lydon, "New York and the Slave Trade, 1700 to 1774," *William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 35, No. 2 (April 1978): 375–394.

[8] Lydon, "New York and the Slave Trade," 394.

traffic."[9] During the 1740s and 1750s, the largest number of slaves were imported from the Gold Coast, Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and West Central regions of Africa.[10]

Even as slave imports from Africa to New York increased during the 1750s, imports from the Caribbean began to end. There were many factors that contributed to the decline. As discussed in the previous chapter, after the 1741 conspiracy, New Yorkers quivered over rebellious slaves from the Americas. Many New Yorkers placed a stigma on slaves from the West Indies, deeming them as recalcitrant slaves who were prone to rebellion. Even at mid-century, the lack of white laborers also continued to be a problem for New York. The collapse of the Royal African Company factored into decisions on imports. The end of the Asiento monopoly lowered the prices of slaves from Africa and opened up opportunities for traders to increase their shipments in African slaves. Smaller vessels also shortened the slave trade voyages allowing for more slaves to arrive in New York City in a healthier condition. As the trade in humans between Africa and New York increased, so did the trade in goods. This led to a growth in the city's overall commerce and exports.

The increase in imports from Africa and the rise in the number of male slaves in the midst of the turmoil of the 1740s, demonstrated the continued need for slave labor in New York City and the nearby hinterlands. As the demand for wheat grew in New York, traders preferred slaves from Africa over those from the Caribbean because those directly from Africa were supposed to be healthier and able to handle greater labor demands. Slave traders such as the Livingston, Van Cortlandt, and Philipse families desired more slaves for wheat production. Wheat exports continued to increase into the 1760s. In 1670, around 60,000 bushels of wheat were exported annually from New York, but by the

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[9] Lydon, "New York and the Slave Trade," 394.

[10] Many of New York's voyages did not indicate specifically from Africa the slaves were imported from. http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix C-1.

1760s, each tenant living on the Livingston manor alone produced around 50,000 bushels of wheat.[11] As a result, New York traders continued to import large numbers of slaves to aid in the production and maintenance of wheat.

During the previous decades, African slaves imported into New York City had labored over a wide variety of jobs. One of New York's most famous slaveholders, Robert Livingston, commissioned his slaves in various positions on his Hudson Valley farm. Livingston's slaves milled flour, "harvested the fields, filled the furnace, worked in ironworks, and performed household duties."[12] Some slaves in the colony even worked as coal miners. Especially as the imports from Africa increased, New Yorkers found that slaves from the Kongo and Angola demonstrated excellent mining skills. The Schuyler family from Bergen County employed over two hundred slaves as miners.[13] The number of black pilots and urban artisan jobs also swelled by mid-century. Slaves could earn for themselves three shillings or thirty-six pence for working along the docks. Both New York City and Charles Town encountered a growth in the number of slaves working as blacksmiths, bakers, coopers, shoemakers, carpenters, weavers, and tailors. The volume of slave laborers in both cities increased at such a rapid rate that some whites were concerned. In New York in 1743, a company of coopers petitioned the Common Council after a group of merchants employed large numbers of slaves instead of white laborers.[14]

Not only were slaves in New York involved in port jobs and wheat and farm tasks, but they also labored in warehousing, sorting and re-shipping slave-produced goods such as rice and indigo. Slaves labored in a wide range of jobs in New York and

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[11]Cynthia A. Kierner, *Traders and Gentlefolk: The Livingstons of New York, 1675-1790* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 65-66.

[12] Hodges, *Root & Branch*, 107-108.

[13] Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 108-109.

[14] Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 108.

the surrounding countryside, demonstrating the colony's continued demand for slave labor. Some New York whites showed their support for slavery and slave imports.[15]

Despite this peak in importations, there was a significant difference in the volume of slaves imported into New York City and Charles Town. There were ten times more slaves imported into Charles Town than Manhattan. Furthermore, more slaves were imported to Charles Town from the Caribbean than were imported to New York City from Africa *and* the Caribbean.[16]

As New York traders altered their slave trade, so did Charles Town merchants. From the late 1740s through the 1750s, traders imported increasing numbers of slaves into the city. In the 1740s, Carolinians imported fewer slaves from West Central Africa, but by the 1750s, they increased their imports from the region with 653 imports during the 1740s and 2,107 in the 1750s. Charles Town continued to import large numbers of slaves from the Bight of Biafra, Gold Coast, and Senegambia regions. The number of slaves imported from Carolina from Sierra Leone also rose during the 1750s.

Figure 3.3 Slaves Imported into Charles Town:[17]

Years	From the Caribbean	From Africa
1746-1750	305	1,758
1751-1755	2,270	6,698
1756-1760	1,279	12,714
Totals:	**3,854**	**21,170**

[15]Thomas M. Truxes, *Defying Empire: Trading with the Enemy in Colonial New York* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 1-8; Samuel Gilford Papers, 1754-1842, 1890-1951.

[16] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces.

[17] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix A-1 and A-2; O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 146.

During the mid-18th century, traders connected to the New York and Charles Town trades encountered a bustle of activity with traders at Bance Island (known today as Bunce Island) located alongside the Sierra Leone River. Traders such as Henry Laurens from South Carolina increased their interactions with the Rice Coast Island of West Africa. Members of the Royal African Company of Britain had established a fort on the Island in the 1670s, but it did not achieve prominence until around the London firm of Grant, Sargent, and Oswald took control of the Island in 1750. Slaves from Bance Island and the Sierra Leone region were known for their skills in cultivating rice. The firm made the Island a commercial success and set up a fleet of vessels manned by crews that transported slaves. They also organized a labor force to proctor the slave trade by obtaining and monitoring slaves and preparing for their departure. Englishman Richard Oswald and Henry Laurens conducted a good deal of business involving rice and the slave trade. Oswald's firm in Britain dispatched several ships a year to the port of Charles Town during the 1750s, containing around 250 to 350 slaves per vessel. One of the ships that transported hundreds of slaves from Sierra Leone to Charles Town was known as *Bance Island*. Henry Laurens advertised the slaves when they arrived at the port of Charles Town and emphasized their skills with rice cultivation. Business increased not only with Charles Town and Bance Island, but also with the port of New York and New England cities. Traders from New York outfitted some of the ships that went to Bance Island and transported slaves to the Americas.[18]

Slave-produced commodities also led to an increase in imports. Between 1738 and 1742, the annual growth rate of rice exports was 6.1 percent. In the midst of European warfare and in the aftermath of the Stono Rebellion, just as slave imports declined from 1748 to 1752, rice exports declined slightly. Changes in Carolina's slave

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[18] *Charleston Mercury*, September 20, 2011: Melbourne A. Gaber, "Bunce Island—The Little Island That Did," *Sewa Chronicle*, 2013.

trade also occurred due to alterations in rice exports. Between 1738 and 1742, 30,547,455 pounds of rice were exported, while from 1748 through 1752, as the number of African imports dropped in Charles Town, there was a slight decline in rice exports. As rice exports increased from 1758 through 1772, so did slave imports.[19]

Figure 3.4 South Carolina Rice Exports[20]

Years	% of Annual Growth Rate of Rice	Pounds of Rice Exported
1738-1742	6.1	30,547,455
1748-1752	-.1	30,285,618
1752-1762	2.8	39,903,255
1762-1772	5.2	66,327,975

Indigo production also grew by mid-century, leading to an increased demand for slave labor. Slave-produced rice continued to bring the most money to the colony, but by the middle of the 1740s, the demand for indigo soared. As the War of Jenkins' Ear severed South Carolina's trade in the 1740s, residents of the colony were in desperate need for another staple commodity that would bring large profits to the region. Planter George Lucas sent his daughter, Eliza Lucas Pinckney, various seeds from Antigua to plant on his lands in South Carolina. After several attempts, the indigo crops bloomed in Carolina. British leaders scrutinized Carolina indigo and imported the produce once they determined it was better than French indigo. Eliza Pinckney remarked that the French so "begrudged their Carolina competition that the exportation of indigo seed from their

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[19] Peter A Coclanis, *The Shadow of a Dream: Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country, 1670-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 83. The reason for the gap in years is due to incomplete and unavailable data for the missing years on the staple commodities.

[20] Coclanis, *Shadow of A Dream*, 83.

islands was made a 'Capital Crime.'"[21] Indigo remained one of Carolina's most important crops for several decades. Between 1747 and 1752, South Carolina averaged 57,460 pounds of indigo exports. From 1758 through 1762, the number increased to 481,140 pounds, and exports continued to rise from 1768 to 1772. At mid-century, as indigo exports increased, so did overall slave importations.[22]

Figure 3.5 Indigo Exports[23]

Years	**Pounds of Indigo Exported from South Carolina**
1747-1752	57,460
1758-1762	481,140
1768-1772	561,340

The French and Indian War

As tensions grew throughout the Atlantic world during the early 1750s and war seemed imminent, those involved in the international slave trade expressed great concern that war with France would lead to a decline in the number of slave imports. New York slave traders such as John Watts feared the threat of a war would result in a decreased demand for slaves. As war loomed, slavers were preyed upon by French privateers, who at times captured their ships and their slaves. After the war began, insurance rates rose between 1756 and 1758, as the number of vessels seized by the French increased. By 1759, the British retook control of the seas and the French threat diminished.[24]

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[21] Eliza Lucas Pinckney, *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739-1762* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 1-3; *South Carolina Gazette*, December 3, 1744.

[22] O'Malley, "Beyond the International Slave Trade," 146.

[23] Coclanis, *Shadow of a Dream*, 61-63, 78, 80-81.

[24] Lydon, "New York and the Slave Trade," 379.

Despite fears that war would undercut the demand for slaves, imports actually increased. In New York, the number of slaves grew not just in the city, but also in the surrounding counties. While census data remained incomplete, evidence does reveal that in Kings and Westchester Counties in 1755, small farm holdings were ubiquitous.[25] By 1760, there were more slaves in New York than there were in any other northern colony.[26] Although the number of slaves in New York paled in comparison to Charles Town, whites in the city and hinterlands continued to desire slaves to fulfill their labor demands. Slave imports from Africa to New York actually increased at the start of the War between 1756 and 1760, but decreased by 1761 due to the boom and bust economic cycle of war and peace. As the trade in and market for Africans in New York increased from the late 1740s through the 1750s, suppliers continued to import slaves into Manhattan.[27]

Some northerners such as Pennsylvania Quaker Anthony Benezet, grew concerned over the growing number of slaves in Manhattan and the threat of rebellion. Benezet feared that a slave rebellion similar to those in the South, the West Indies, or Surinam could break out. Benezet even requested that British anti-slavery pamphlets not be distributed in New York City as the slave population expanded.[28]

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[25] Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 106.

[26] Paul A Gilje and William Pencak, *New York in the Age of the Constitution, 1775-1800* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1992); Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 106.

[27] John Watts, "Letterbook of John Watts," *New-York Historical Society Collections* 61 (1928); Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces.

[28] Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 124-126.

Figure 3.6 Slave Imports from Africa to New York[29]

Years	Slave Imports from Africa to New York
-1755	844
1756-1760	1,099
1761-1765	724
1766-1770	790

New York traders and owners went to great lengths to maintain the city's slave trade during the French and Indian War. One of Manhattan's most active merchants during the war, Quaker Thomas Cumming, contacted Prime Minister William Pitt about seizing France's slave trading stations along Africa's West Coast. After he negotiated with the French during the war, Cumming controlled trading posts in Senegal. The trading posts contained goods such as gold, ivory, and slaves. In 1758, after Pitt sent Cumming as a political agent to West Africa. Cumming easily captured a weak fort along the Senegal River known as Fort Louis. The British maintained control of the fort through the war. Cumming returned from West Africa to New York with his vessel laden with gold, silver, and slaves. The British continued to send men to this outlet. Due to Cumming's actions, parts of Senegal became an important trading station for Britain and the colonies, as goods and people were traded.[30] Although New York's human imports were far smaller than South Carolina's, Cumming's travels to Africa revealed the lengths Manhattan slavers went to in order to maintain their connection with the international slave trade.

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[29]Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix A-1 and A-2; O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 160.

[30] Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 306.

Similar to Cumming, South Carolina trader Henry Laurens participated in Charles Town's slave trade in the midst of war. As the price of slaves waned, Laurens frequently discussed fluctuations in the market with business associates such as Richard Oswald. Laurens wrote several letters on the declining price of slaves resulting in changes in the slave trade. In November 1755, Laurens admitted that there was a "very sudden alteration in our Market." Slave prices for prime Gambian males normally sold for a high of £330, but fell due to problems with the indigo market. In August of that year, the dry weather shortened the growing season for indigo, and a result, the price of indigo increased. Despite fears of war, planters wanted to buy more slaves as the indigo market grew in importance.[31]

Laurens recognized that the price of slaves was "wholly influenced by the value of our Staples, Rice & Indigo." He and his partners received 140 slaves from Barbados in January. The cargo of ordinary, slender slaves did not sell well, but might have sold better were it not for the problems with staple products and the impending war. Laurens bluntly retorted to his partners, if a "War be declar'd which we have the strongest reason to believe… the price of Slaves will beyond doubt be much worse."[32] In July 1756, after accounts of war had been confirmed in Charles Town, Laurens fretted that "Our indigo and Negro provisions is almost totally demolish'd which happens at a time when the

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[31] Laurens to Smith and Clifton, November 1, 1755, Henry Laurens et al., *The Papers of Henry Laurens* Vol. II, 1755-1758 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968), 1. In South Carolina, Henry Laurens frequently worried over the threat of possible war and how that jeopardized the trade in goods and slaves. In 1755, Laurens became trading partners with George Austin and the pair became two of South Carolina's most influential traders. Alongside threats from the French, various French ships were captured and the cargoes were placed under the authority of the vice-admiralty court. Laurens and his partners were able to purchase some of these vessels at this time. He invested in seven ships to transport people and goods associated with his slave trading ventures.

[32] Laurens to Samuel Linecar, May 8, 1756, *Papers of Henry Laurens*, Vol. II, 178.

place is quite Clog'd with Slaves that god knows what we shall do with them." Laurens and his partners tried a variety of methods to sell a group of slaves from Bance Island, but their efforts failed at this time.[33]

Complicating matters was the fact that, just before the war had started, France and Spain closed their markets to the English colonies. Once war broke out, Laurens told Gedney Clarke and John Knight, Carolina planters would purchase fewer slaves as "their produce just now sells poorly" and the sale of slaves from the Gambia "went off very dully."[34] Planters and traders continued to encounter problems in 1756 as the price of rice declined.[35]

In early 1756, Laurens wrote that payments for slaves that year came in "slackly," as the price of rice sold much lower than expected. The low sales of slaves that year was also due to slaves coming in from the West Indies, as people paid less for slaves from the Caribbean.[36] Although many Carolinians preferred slaves from the Caribbean after Stono, larger numbers of slaves continued to be imported from Africa due to their experience in rice cultivation. African slaves also tended to be healthier than those from the Caribbean. For Charles Town, most slaves from Africa arrived from the Bight of Biafra, Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and West Central Africa regions. The number of slaves imported from the Windward Coast increased by the 1760s, with around 4,100 slaves imported from the region.[37]

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[33] Laurens to Robert and John Thompson & CO., July 24, 1756, *Papers of Henry Laurens*, Vol. II, 269.

[34] Laurens to Gedney Clarke, January 1, 1756, *Papers of Henry Laurens*, Vol. II, 57; Laurens to John Knight, January 3, 1756, *Papers of Henry Laurens*, Vol. II, 59.

[35] Laurens to Law, Satterthwaite, and Jones, January 12, 1756, *Papers of Henry Laurens*, Vol. II, 65.

[36] Laurens to Thomas Easton and Co., March 2, 1756, *Papers of Henry Laurens*, Vol. II, 120-122.

[37] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix C-2.

Between 1756 and 1758, high insurance rates and the threat of enemy vessels seizing slave ships caused traders to reduce the number of slaving voyages. But the trade increased again by 1759 as the British regained dominance of the Atlantic and traders felt more comfortable to transport slaves from Africa to the Americas. Between 1758 and 1761, as it became safer to import slaves, investors poured more money into the trade between Africa and New York City, and the trade peaked by 1760. By the early 1760s, as the war continued, owners purchased fewer slaves due to a variety of factors including economic problems and turmoil from the war. In the aftermath of the war, slave imports decreased between 1766 and 1770. A glut in the market occurred and led to fewer slave imports. Between 1761 and 1774, a little over four vessels per year were sent directly from Africa to New York City.[38]

Figure 3.7 Slave Imports into New York City[39]

Years	Africa	Caribbean	Totals:
1756-1760	1,099	0	1,099
1761-1765	724	17	741

In Charles Town, slave imports from Africa and the Caribbean increased in the 1750s into the 1760s.[40]

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[38] Lydon, "New York and the Slave Trade," 378-380. The number of slaves did not decline every year after 1760, but if you compare five year intervals, the number of slaves declined from the first half of the 1760s compared to the second half of the 1760s.

[39] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix A-1 and A-2; O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 160.

[40] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix A-2 Appendix B-2; O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 142-160.

Figure 3.8 Slave Imports into Charles Town[41]

Years	Africa	Caribbean	Totals:
1756-1760	12,714	1,279	13,993
1761-1765	15,416	2,505	17,921

The Interwar Years

Although demand for slaves remained strong in South Carolina, in New York City, and in the surrounding hinterland (and most colonies outside the lower South), the number of overall slave imports decreased between 1770 and the years leading up to the American Revolution. By the end of the French and Indian War, New York's economy was suffering. Rural shopkeepers, in response, could not pay back their urban creditors who themselves had debts to London creditors. Compounding the situation was a series of droughts in 1761 and 1762.[42] New York merchants agonized in the aftermath of the French and Indian War when false hopes of prosperity ensued alongside taxes from Parliament directed at the colonists. On January 27, 1764, New York merchants gathered at Burns' Tavern to draft a petition to protest Parliament's actions and form a long-standing committee on trade.[43]

During the war, in 1762, New York residents owned 477 vessels for trading in goods and humans. As the colony witnessed economic troubles after the war, by 1772, there were 232 ships. Although the number of vessels decreased, New York's slave population witnessed a growth in natural increase as the slave population soared to around 14 percent of the city, or 18,000 slaves.[44]

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[41] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix A-1 and A-2; O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage," 142.

[42] Joseph S. Tiedemann, *Reluctant Revolutionaries: New York City and the Road to Independence, 1763-1776* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 43.

[43] Wilbur Cortez Abbott, *New York in the American Revolution* (New York; London: C. Scribner's Sons, 1929), 36.

[44] Gilje and Pencack, *New York in the Age of the Constitution*, 25.

Figure 3.9 Slave Vessels to New York City[45]

Year	Number of Slave Vessels (New York City)
1762	477
1772	232

Although New York's economy suffered due to the war, some New Yorkers continued to import slaves. In a letter to Gedney Clarke in 1762, John Watts showed his unrelenting support for the slave trade when he requested young male slaves for New York's resale market. Watts described New York's need for hearty slave laborers to work in the city and nearby rural areas.[46] Clarke and others continued to support the trade. Yet, slave imports declined after New Yorkers encountered economic troubles from the war.

There were fewer slave imports during the 1760s than the 1750s. New York and most other colonies observed a general decrease in slave imports as those from most of the colonies struggled to rebuild their shattered economies. As the number of African Americans rose during this period, the creole slave population grew. South Carolina and Georgia, however, deviated from the other colonies and continued to import large numbers of slaves during the first half of the 1770s.

One reason for the large number of imports into Charles Town connected to the continued demand for rice and indigo. The French and Indian War had not harmed South Carolina's economy as much as it had New York's. In the aftermath of the conflict, Carolina traders again looked to profit from indigo. Before the war, there were over three hundred varieties of indigo dye. At first it was difficult for South Carolina to sell indigo because consumers preferred the richer dyes located in places such as India and the West

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[45] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix F.

[46] Donnan, "John Watts to Gedney Clarke, March 30, 1762," *Documents Illustrative*, Vol. 3, 457.

Indies. After the war began, however, indigo from the West Indies was much harder to come by. As a result, the British had a greater desire for indigo from South Carolina. The British also put a bounty on indigo, leading to an increased profit for the Carolina planters. The growth in demand for indigo and rice allowed South Carolina planters to prosper more than ever.[47] The prices of indigo and rice fluctuated between 1758 and 1763. Rice averaged from 20 to 40 shillings per year, and indigo ranged between 25 and 75 shillings.[48]

During the 1760s, the growing demand for rice and other South Carolina commodities heightened the value of the colony's products. Planters in turn bought large numbers of slaves, with the glut causing slave prices to decrease. During the 1760s, 25,165 slaves were imported into Charles Town from Africa, while another 3,367 slaves were imported from the Caribbean.

Slave Import Duties

In the 1750s and 1760s, duties on slave imports continued in both New York and South Carolina. In 1753, New York lawmakers approved a tax on slave imports, while South Carolina lawmakers passed a major duty in 1766 in the aftermath of the French and Indian War. Legislators from both colonies designed these duties to control the slave population and raise money. In response, some merchants turned to smuggling, which continued to be a major problem in New York. In the 1750s, for example, five vessels entered New York's port with a total of sixteen slaves recorded on each ship. In reality, the number of slaves aboard the vessels were surely much higher, because slaves were smuggled in, making it difficult to surmise the actual number of slaves imported into New York. In 1753, in order to prevent slaves from entering outside the port of New

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[47] Lawrence Goldstone, *Dark Bargain: Slavery, Profits, and the Struggle for the Constitution* (New York: Walker and Co., 2005), 73.

[48] Laurens, *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, Volume III, 9- 19.

York and eluding the duty, a tax was added on slaves imported over land. Attempts were also made to prevent smuggling slaves by placing the duty on the buyer instead of the importer.[49]

Before the French and Indian War, merchants such as John Watts and Gedney Clarke compared the duties of New York and New Jersey, complaining about the duties for imported slaves. New Jersey did not have duties on slaves, so many slaveholders from New York found ways of getting slaves from New Jersey without having to pay a duty. Countless slaves destined for New York passed through New Jersey first to avoid the tax.[50] As John Watts acknowledged, "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."[51] New York owners, including John Watts, Samuel Bayard, and Henry and John Cruger, imported at least 290 slaves between 1740 and 1757 through Perth Amboy.[52]

By 1765, New York's five southern counties contained at least fifteen thousand blacks. During parts of the late 1700s, 40 percent of all white families in New York owned at least one slave. Some historians argue that parts of New York, including the Dock Ward, constituted a "slave society."[53] Although these numbers were large for a northern colony, they were much smaller than South Carolina's slave majority. Many

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[49] Lydon, "New York and the Slave Trade," 385-386.

[50] Dorothy C. Bark, ed., *Letter Book of John Watts, Merchant and Councillor of New York, January 1, 1762-December 22, 1765* (New York: Printed for the Society, 1928), 32.

[51] Donnan, "John Watts to Gedney Clarke, 1762," *Documents Illustrative*, Vol. 3, 457.

[52] Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 105.

[53] Douglas R. Egerton, *Death or Liberty: African Americans and Revolutionary America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 23; Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 107-109.

New Yorkers desired slaves, but as the natural slave population grew in the city, there was less of a demand to import more slaves.

While New York lawmakers enacted their duties to control the slave population and raise revenue, South Carolina legislators passed a duty in 1763 largely to lower their increasing slave population. Under Carolina's tax, an additional £100 duty was placed on each slave imported into the colony after January 1, 1766.[54] Once Carolina traders and planters learned about the law, however, they scrambled to import as many slaves as possible before the statute went into effect. Legislators allowed traders, merchants, and planters a three-year period to purchase slaves before the prohibitory duty went into effect in 1766. Lieutenant Governor William Bull alerted the Board of Trade in 1765 that traders had imported 8,000 slaves in that year alone. The number of imports for that single year was roughly the equivalent of three years of normal slave trading. Bull and others worried that such a large influx of slaves in a short period might lead to a slave rebellion.[55]

On January 1, 1766, South Carolina leaders temporarily shut the state's ports entirely to the slave trade. Even after the 1766 duty closed Carolina's slave trade, at least one or two slave ships entered the port city between 1766 and 1768. Some merchants avoided the duty by travelling to Georgia or even Spanish Florida to obtain slaves.[56] As the duty was due to expire by the end of 1768, in January of that year South Carolina lawmakers considered whether the 1766 tax should continue after 1768. A majority of the

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[54] Thomas Cooper, ed., *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, Vol. 4 (Columbia, South Carolina: A.S. Johnson, 1838), 187-188.

[55] According to the slave trade database, there were 6,979 documented slaves imported into South Carolina in 1765. Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces.

[56] Donnan, "Lieutenant Governor William Bull to the Board of Trade, 1765," *Documents Illustrative*, Vol. 4, 415.

members of the Carolina legislature voted against its continuation.[57] Consequently, South Carolina's slave trade reopened on January 1, 1769. In a letter to Richard Oswald on May 24, 1768, a pleased Laurens stated that due to the expiration of the duty and a brief period with few imports, South Carolina would "be the best Market for Africans…of any in America."[58]

New York traders also witnessed a large number of slave imports during the 1750s and 1760s. Direct imports from Africa to New York City increased from the mid-1740s until the early 1760s. Although the total number of imports decreased during the later 1760s, the decade still witnessed the second largest number of imports of any decade of the 18th century (only the 1750s had more imports in that century).

Movements Against the Slave Trade

While the number of imports declined slightly in New York City during the 1760s by comparison to the 1750s, there were still more of slaves were imported than in any other decade. Starting in the early 1770s, however, imports into New York rapidly declined and an increasing number of northerners and even some in the Mid-Atlantic and upper South started to speak out against the slave trade. Slave imports in other colonies also declined. Some of the reasons why people turned against the slave trade included a tobacco crisis in the Upper South, Quaker opposition, the rise of and increasing support for free labor capitalism, the widespread conversations around the Atlantic on banning the slave trade surrounding the Somerset case, and the growth of anti-slave trade literature. Another more politicized and organized movement to abolish the international slave trade took place after the Revolution.[59]

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[57] *South Carolina Gazette*, February 1, 1768.

[58] " Laurens to Henry Bright, December 11, 1767," *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, Volume V, 1765-1768, 75n.; Laurens to Richard Oswald, Charles Town, May 24, 1768, *Papers of Henry Laurens*, 694.

[59] The next chapter provides a thorough discussion of the movement to permanently ban the international slave trade.

David Brion Davis argues that there was a significant shift in anti-slavery and anti-slave trade thought by the 1760s. More whites started to turn against slavery and the slave trade with the emergence of an international antislavery movement leading to a turning point in "the evolution of man's moral perception, and thus in man's image of himself."[60] This shift that Davis discussed happened as imports into New York declined during the 1760s. Davis adds that the "evolution" arose from the "ideological needs of various groups and classes." He stresses the emergence of broad moral, political, and cultural transformations that existed alongside the emergence of capitalism.[61] By the 1760s, a variety of religious, legal, and philosophical tensions associated with slavery emerged across the Atlantic. A growing number of inhabitants in the Western world no longer viewed the slave trade and slavery as an inevitable part of society. More people recognized the contradictions, evil, and inhumanity of human bondage.[62] As Davis explains, the 1760s and early 1770s were "unprecedented" because there was "the emergence of a widespread conviction that New World slavery symbolized all the forces that threatened the true destiny of man."[63] There was a great shift in moral consciousness as an international antislavery opinion emerged by the 1760s. This turning point altered people's moral perception.[64]

During the 1760s, great changes were underway as important developments in Western culture emerged. By the mid-18th century, a combination of factors contributed

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[60] David Brion Davis, "What the Abolitionists Were Up Against," in Thomas Bender, ed., *The Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism As A Problem in Historical Interpretation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 19.

[61] David Brion Davis, "Reflection on Abolitionism and Ideological Hegemony," in Bender, ed., *Antislavery Debate*, 179.

[62] Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 47-48.

[63] Davis, *Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, 41; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 13-15.

[64]Davis, *Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, 41-42.

to the anti-slavery and anti-slave trade movements including philanthropy, the enlightenment, and moral reform which had social implications that contributed to a change in attitudes. Davis also emphasizes the importance of evangelical piety of Quakers and Methodists. Although historically there were elements of Christianity to support slavery, by the 18th century, those associated with different sects of Christianity argued more for social order and reflected on the inhumanity of slavery. As social, cultural, and economic institutions advanced in the 1700s, many Christians turned against the slave trade and slavery. For one, there was the advent of a secular social philosophy as classical and Christian justifications for slavery and the idea of holding someone in human bondage were criticized, condemned, and looked upon as being out of the rational order of human nature. As more whites throughout the Atlantic used terms such as "natural liberty" and "inalienable rights," institutions including slavery had to be put outside of the social compact.[65] A further transformation dealt with the growth of an "ethic of benevolence" which viewed slavery as an obstacle to human progress.

Another change dealt with a transformation among evangelicals from justifying enslavement in the Bible to emphasizing the importance of personal responsibility and recognizing the evils and inhumanity of the slave trade and slavery. A new generation resulted in more people beginning to have ideas on how to treat others and believing that it was morally and ethically wrong to enslave others. As the Enlightenment led people to believe in progress in certain areas, a new generation of people led a movement for a better world. The Quakers and Methodists were also instrumental in leading this shift in thought. In 1774, John Wesley proclaimed that everyone connected to the slave trade and slavery would be judged and condemned for their involvement. These conditions themselves did not lead to the end of the slave trade and slavery, but they weakened traditional arguments that supported the slave trade and slavery in Western culture.

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[65] Davis, *Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, 44-45.

There was also an outpouring of anti-slave trade and antislavery books, sermons, plays, and pamphlets during this period. Cultural and intellectual developments including the Enlightenment and changes in religious thought altered the way people viewed slavery. Reformers worked to transform how people understood the slave trade and slavery.[66]

Some historians have debated Davis's conclusions. For Davis, during a time of growing class tensions, antislavery ideology emerged and contributed to the social stability of the era. Davis also argues that the growth of industrialization and the "growing power of antislavery in early industrial Britain was at least partly a function of the fit between antislavery ideology and the interests of an emergent capitalist class."[67] For Thomas L. Haskell, however, it was not class interest, but the growing market that changed people's attitudes from regarding slavery as a necessary evil to viewing the treatment of slaves as abuse. In acknowledging this exploitation, more people recognized the need for reform. Haskell adds that expanding markets led to a growth in awareness of the connections of events leading to a new humanitarianism. John Ashworth also weighs in on this argument and contends that the labor market led to popular abolition. A variety of family and private responses steered a growing number of people to favor wage labor and oppose slavery.

Davis makes a persuasive case that intellectual movements and a combination of factors, including the Enlightenment, evangelical movements, and the mass print culture that circulated around the Atlantic contributed to an increased number of people in the colonies turning against the slave trade and slavery. Despite this, the evidence does not support a sudden shift in thought and attitudes for many in New York and South Carolina. As I demonstrated, starting in the 1760s, fewer slaves were imported into New

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[66] Davis, *Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, 48, 64-65.

[67] David Brion Davis, "A Reply to Thomas L. Haskell's *AHR* Forum Debate," in Bender, ed., *Antislavery Debates*, 308.

York, which aligns with Davis's notions of a shift in anti-slave trade and anti-slavery thought by 1760. Still, notwithstanding the decrease in slave imports, many influential New Yorkers continued to support both the slave trade and slavery. Although imports later stopped, the number of slaves and slaveholders continued to increase into the 1800s.[68]

Slave imports into New York declined for a few reasons. As natural reproduction in New York increased, buyers did not see the need for continued imports. Many whites also became more involved in the internal slave trade. Anti-slave trade sentiment grew, but most masters were unwilling to emancipate their slaves. After the Revolution, men such as John Jay created the New York Manumission Society, but he continued to own slaves. Many members of the Manumission Society were also slaveholders at the start of the organization. Even so, Quakers and other anti-slave trade advocates were very vocal against the slave trade and took direct action in confronting merchants, traders, and people at the port of New York to end the slave trade. As a result, many traders and merchants ended their participation with the slave trade in New York.[69]

By the 1760s, slave-holders in New York received increasing pressure from Philadelphia Quakers after the Philadelphia Meeting voted against slavery and travelled to the homes of Quakers who owned slaves to convince them to free their bondsmen and women. One of the leading Quakers, Daniel Stanton, spoke to large numbers of Quaker slaveholders in New York during the 1760s. Although New York Quakers began to free their slaves, they lagged behind the Philadelphia Friends.[70]

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[68]In chapter 4, I will discuss the increase in the number of slaves in New York after the Revolution.

[69] Roger G. Kennedy, *Burr, Hamilton, and Jefferson: A Study in Character* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 9.

[70] Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 124-125; Jean R. Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 177; Vivienne L. Kruger

Evangelicals in New England and the northern colonies led the way in supporting the movement to end the slave trade.[71] Although they would not officially prohibit their involvement in the slave trade until after the Revolution, whites from northern states, including New York, reduced their imports during the 1760s. The colonists stopped slave importations altogether in the 1770s as part of the non-importation agreement with other Patriots. In the early stages of moving to end the Atlantic slave trade, the crusade involved mostly the spread of writings from around the Atlantic on the evils of the slave trade. Numerous Quakers from New York joined with Benezet to unite against the slave trade. Reformers from Boston to Philadelphia blended religious and political discourses to draft petitions and sermons, and worked towards the prohibition of further imports to northern colonies. Not only did people move to end the slave trade, but for the first time, blacks in Massachusetts united in a public campaign to abolish slavery itself. [72]

In North America, Davis's conclusions apply more to parts of New England, including Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Vermont, but there were also fewer slaves and connections to the slave trade in these areas. In Boston, Rhode Island, and New York City, although some moved against the slave trade and slavery, there were still a significant number of supporters and participants of the slave trade and slavery.

Little changed in South Carolina, as slaves continued to enter Charles Town's port.[73] A few brave voices in the Deep South did turn against the slave trade. One of the first to do so as early as the late 1760s was Henry Laurens. He stopped his participation

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Born To Run: The Slave Family in Early New York, 1626 to 1827 (Ph.D., Columbia, 1985), 609-611.

[71] Christine Leigh Heyrman, *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 34.

[72] Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Anti-Slavery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 106-108.

[73] In the next chapter, I will elaborate more on the actual number of slave imports into South Carolina after the American Revolution through 1808. I will also discuss anti-slave trade and antislavery movements in the states after the American Revolution.

in the Atlantic slave trade by 1769. Although he lost his partner and made the decision to end his involvement with the slave trade partially based on business interests, Laurens also moved against the traffic for moral reasons. He spoke out against the evils and inhumanity of the slave trade. His son John also engaged in several conversations on the horrors of the slave trade and slavery. Meanwhile, Quakers in New York and Philadelphia petitioned the First Continental Congress to end the international slave trade and emancipate slaves.[74]

Those working to end the international slave trade also found supporters in Maryland and Virginia. By the 1770s, the Virginia House of Burgesses unanimously demanded an end to slave importations. Virginians opposed the traffic for reasons dealing with security. Others worried about the increasing black population and the ratio of whites to blacks in the colony. Many wanted to unite with those in England who opposed the traffic and supported a free society. After a decline in the tobacco crop, many Virginians switched to wheat and distinguished themselves as those who opposed the slave trade but continued to support slavery.

One change specifically among the colonists that differed from the West Indian plantations included the growing creole population. Those in both New York and Virginia witnessed an increasing number of creole slaves. Many believed that due to the large number of black creoles in a colony, a docile, self-sustaining slave population might exist. With war on the horizon, Patriots in both colonies worried that importing more slaves into their region would lead to slave rebellions. As New York's slave population

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[74] H. Von Holst, *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States-State Sovereignty and Slavery*, Vol. I (New York: The New York Public Library, 1889), 89-90; Don E. Fehrenbacher, *The Slaveholding Republic: An Account of the United States Government's Relations to Slavery*, ed. Ward M. McAfee (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 138.

grew, many protested that traders no longer needed to import more slaves because of the increasing number of slaves in the city and hinterlands.[75]

The crusade to end the slave trade met resistance in South Carolina and Georgia. Political leaders and plantation owners in Georgia recognized they could still profit from slave labor. Most white South Carolinians did not wish to permanently end the slave trade in the 1770s because the colony still profited from the trade.

The Somerset case and the outpouring of articles on the evils of the slave trade also persuaded a growing number of colonists to turn against the slave trade. Charles Stuart, a Boston Customs Officer from England, purchased James Somerset in Virginia and returned with him to England in 1769. In 1771, Somerset fled from his master. After the slave was recaptured, Stuart tried to sell Somerset to a plantation owner in the West Indies. Granville Sharp, one of England's most active abolitionists, issued a writ of habeas corpus to prevent Somerset from laboring in the Caribbean. The case came before England's chief justice, Lord Mansfield. At issue was the potential loss of Stuart's chattel. The trial was widely publicized throughout the Atlantic, prompting essays on the evils of the slave trade and slavery which were printed and spread across England and the colonies. In 1772, Mansfield ruled that no master had the right to hold a slave in Britain itself. Mansfield's verdict provided no judicial support for slaveholders' claims in England. He ruled that since slavery was neither allowed nor approved by the laws of England, "the black must be discharged."[76] Many American slaves misunderstood the outcome and thought Mansfield emancipated slaves throughout the British Empire.

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[75] Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 398-411.

[76] Francis Hargrave, James Somerset, Great Britain, Court of King's Bench, *An Argument in the Case of James Somerset, a Negro, Lately Determined by the Court of King's Bench: Wherein it is Attempted to Demonstrate the Present Unlawfulness of Domestic Slavery in England: To Which is Prefixed A State of the Case* (London: Hargrave, 1772).

One of the greatest results of the trial was the spread of anti-slave trade and anti-slavery print literature throughout the Atlantic world. The decision led to a continued discussion among authors of various newspaper articles and other writings on the slave trade and slavery. A surge of print materials describing the horrors and inhumanity of the slave trade spread, and more people throughout the colonies started to turn against the slave trade.

In the midst of the Somerset case, one of the most diligent people working to end the slave trade in the colonies was Anthony Benezet of Philadelphia. Benezet, a member of the Society of Friends, connected with other Quakers to end the slave trade and slavery. Benezet joined with Granville Sharp of England in continuing an anti-slave trade and anti-slavery dialogue between England and the colonies. Sharp and Benezet hoped that an end to the slave trade would, at the very least, improve the condition of slaves in the Caribbean.[77]

As war with Britain loomed, many colonists and reformers throughout the Atlantic worked towards ending their involvement in the slave trade. In 1771, a bill passed the Massachusetts Assembly to end slave importations into their colony. The following year, Benezet and Sharp began an international conversation against the slave trade between those from England and the Americas. That same year, the Virginia House of Burgesses placed a prohibitive duty on slave imports and denounced the traffic as a "trade of great Inhumanity."[78]

Benezet not only united some of his fellow Quakers, but in 1772, he used political methods in contacting Sharp in England to bring the issue of the slave trade before the British Parliament. Benezet also created an international Quaker network to unite against the traffic. Supporters of the anti-slave trade movement distributed numerous writings

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[77] Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*, 234.
[78] Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*, 234.

against the slave trade and slavery, including Benezet's *Caution and Warning to Great Britain and her Colonies*. By 1773, Anthony Benezet advocated that political action should be used to end the African slave trade. In 1774, at the annual Quaker meeting in Philadelphia, measures were adopted to prohibit Quakers from buying or selling slaves. If Quakers had slaves at the time, they were required to emancipate them immediately.[79] While those from most of the mainland colonies stopped their involvement with the slave trade on the eve of the Revolution, many states continued their involvement in the trade after the war.[80]

Between 1771 and 1775, imports into New York City from Africa declined to only 126 slaves. By comparison, during the same period, imports into Charles Town soared as traders imported over 19,000 slaves from Africa and 3,412 from the Caribbean. Though there were exceptions such as Henry Laurens who turned against the slave trade, leading up to the American Revolution. Most planters in Carolina continued to support the Atlantic slave trade. Carolinians temporarily banned their slave trade during the war, but they continued to import more slaves afterwards.[81]

In 1774, as the colonists banded together against British policies, the Continental Congress adopted a resolution that prohibited slave importations and banned anyone from the colonies from participating in the international slave trade.[82] By October, Congress passed statutes forbidding slave imports for all of the colonies. According to the act, by December 1, the colonists were not supposed to import, sell, or continue their involvement in the slave trade, nor were they allowed to have vessels involved in the

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[79] Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*, 234.

[80] Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*, 126, 234.

[81] I will elaborate more on movements to end the slave trade in the states after the Revolution in the next chapter.

[82] W.E.B. DuBois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1904), 43-44.

trade or sell commodities associated with slavery. The colonists adhered to these resolutions with the exception of Georgia. Even South Carolinians were willing to stop their slave trade and unite with the other colonists against Britain.[83] As the colonists moved closer to war with Britain, anti-slave trade tracts continued to circulate throughout the Atlantic. Thomas Paine and Adam Smith both wrote about the evils of the slave trade.[84]

The American Revolution

On April 3, 1776, the Continental Congress voted to stop the importation of slaves into all thirteen colonies. Yet, the *internal* trade in both New York and South Carolina actually increased during the war. Although the trade within and among the colonies continued, the international slave trade stopped and slave owners and traders in New York and South Carolina tried to prevent their slaves from escaping or dying during the war. While the colonists fought for liberty, white slave owners in New York and South Carolina continued to support slavery.

Even though South Carolinians imported more slaves after the war, Henry Laurens, one of the most active slave traders in America, emancipated his slaves in August 1776, shortly after the creation of the Declaration of Independence. Laurens wrote to his son John about freeing his slaves. The elder Laurens proclaimed, "I am devising means for manumitting many of them & for cutting off the entail of Slavery." As did many white Patriots, the older Laurens blamed the British for enslaving Africans first and bringing the practice to the Americas. He concluded that just before the Revolution, the estimated value of his slaves was at least twenty thousand pounds.[85] As

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[83] Daniel P. Mannix, *Black Cargoes: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Viking Press, 1965), 169-170.

[84] I will elaborate more in the next chapter on the economic vs. moral debate on ending the slave trade.

[85] *Henry Laurens to John Laurens*, August 14, 1776.

war drew closer, Laurens rebuked both the slave trade and slavery for being immoral and unjust. During the Revolution, Henry Laurens served as President of the Continental Army and as American envoy to Holland. On his way to his post across the Atlantic, members of the British Navy captured Laurens. Due to his close business relations and dependence on England before the War, the British accused Laurens of treason after he became a leading Patriot. He was imprisoned at the Tower of London. His longstanding business relations and friendship with Richard Oswald before the war, however, led Oswald to post bail for Laurens.[86]

As the war dragged on, three aspects of the Revolution led to a decline in the number of slaves in New York, Carolina, and many of the other colonies. A combination of factors including black military enlistments, wartime proclamations, and the mass exodus of slaves fleeing their states and sometimes America caused the slave population to decline. These three issues played a role in whether or not merchants and planters would decide to import more slaves after the American Revolution.[87] Although the slave trade became illegal during the American Revolution, the majority of state legislators, including those from New York, did not create or pass laws ending slavery in their states. There was even the possibility that some state leaders would reopen their slave trade after the war, considering South Carolina lost thousands of slaves during the conflict.[88]

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[86] The two men who met over rice and trading slaves would go on to negotiate the 1783 Treaty of Paris. Daniel J. McDonough, *Christopher Gadsden and Henry Laurens: The Parallel Lives of Two American Patriots* (Sellinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2000), 251-261; Samuel C. Smith, *A Cautious Enthusiasm: Mystical Piety and Evangelicalism in Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2013), 160; David D. Wallace, *The Life of Henry Laurens: With a Sketch of the Life of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens* (New York: Russell & Russell, Co., 1967), 355-389.

[87] The purpose of this chapter is not to go into detail about the American Revolution, but to discuss how New York and South Carolina slave traders dealt with the slave trade surrounding the Revolution.

[88] Siege of Charleston, 1780.1 microfiche. [FICHE 5], from the David Library of the American Revolution (DLAR).

The British issued slave proclamations during the war that had the potential to alter the slave trade. British leaders encouraged slaves to leave their masters. It was also uncertain whether the British would actually free the slaves if they won the Revolution. On November 7, 1775, Governor John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, signed the Dunmore Proclamation, officially ratified on November 14. Under the proclamation, martial law ws declared in Virginia and there were promises of freedom to all slaves of Patriot masters in Virginia who were willing to serve with the British forces. Estimates of the number of slaves who reached Dunmore ranged from 800 to 2,000. These slaves formed a group known as Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment. Although they did not see much fighting, the slaves donned military garb with the words "Liberty to Slaves" emblazoned across their chests.

With the Phillipsburg Proclamation of June 30, 1779, the British imposed another plan to entice slaves away from their masters. British General Henry Clinton issued the Proclamation while in New York. He declared all of the slaves fleeing to the British lines free, whether they served in battle or not. The British announced this measure for a variety of reasons. First and foremost, it was a military measure created out of desperation. The British army was not faring well. Clinton hoped that large numbers of slaves would leave their master or rise in rebellion against the Patriots, and would then assist the British.[89] The British also instituted the plan to weaken and demoralize the rebels by encouraging runaway slaves to destroy plantations in their path. After the war, state leaders needed to decide on whether to reopen the international slave trade to make up for those slaves who ran away or died during the Revolution.[90]

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[89] Henry Clinton, *Philipsburg Proclamation*, June 30, 1779.

[90] Sylvia R. Frey, *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 113.

After the British issued declarations such as the Phillipsburg Proclamation, thousands of slaves entered British lines. Blacks from the colonies formed a unit known as the Black Pioneers. These men aided the British in a variety of tasks. The British tried to keep track of who was free and who was a runaway slave at the time. They also desired to know who really wanted to fight for the British and who was just fleeing to the British for protection in hopes of ending their enslavement.[91]

Many slaves took General Clinton's proclamation as an act of emancipation. Slaves departed from their master in large groups, and with families. Historian Sylvia Frey refers to the migration as a "tidal flood, particularly for the Lower South."[92] While before and after the Revolution, it was common for young bondsmen to run away by themselves or in small numbers, during the Revolution, slaves departed in larger numbers and with whole families. The sizable number of runaways caused many South Carolina planters and traders to import large numbers of slaves after the war to replace those they lost.

After the Revolution, New York and South Carolina traders and masters had to decide on whether or not to continue to import more slaves. Both New York and South Carolina lost countless slaves during the American Revolution. Although most white New Yorkers wished to end importing slaves from Africa and the West Indies after the war, many still supported slavery itself. Like all American businessmen, merchants in New York and South Carolina had to make decisions in regard to the future of slavery, and that meant the slave trade, too. Wealthy New York families including the Beekman's and De Lancey's had no desire to emancipate their slaves.

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[91]James W. St G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 9.

[92] Frey, *Water From the Rock*, 118.

Planters in South Carolina also had to deal with widespread devastation from the war and decide whether to revive their international slave trade. Some of the slaveholders from South Carolina who suffered the most included Arthur Middleton, William Wigg, and Rawlins Lowndes. Middleton noted that at least fifty of his slaves had fled, while Wigg recorded in 1780 that he lost eighty-eight "prime" slaves and 8 "inferior" ones. Rawlins Lowndes lamented in 1780 that after the siege of Charleston in 1780, seventy-five of his best slaves ran away.[93] The large loss of slave property and a continued demand for slave-produced goods resulted in a resurgence of Carolina's involvement in the international slave trade after the Revolution.

One of the blacks from South Carolina who escaped during the Revolution was Isaac Anderson. Anderson departed from Charles Town to New York with other slaves, including a mason named William Ashe. Whether or not Anderson was free before the war is uncertain. In 1780, Anderson arrived in New York after the British navy transported loyal blacks out of Charles Town. While in New York, Isaac married a runaway and lowcountry slave named Sarah.[94] After the peace, Anderson and his wife joined the mass exodus of slaves leaving New York for Canada. In providing an account of his status in New York, Anderson asserted that he was a free man from Charles Town from the house of Robert Lindsay. Yet later in his life, Anderson mentioned that he was born in Angola. There were two Robert Lindsa(e)y's in Charles Town at the start of the war. One, Robert Lindsey, was a wealthy Charleston slave owner. The other Robert Lindsay was a free black who owned slaves. Whether or not Anderson made a spelling error, or an intentional error, Anderson identified the black Robert Lindsay as his

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[93] Quarles, Benjamin, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 119; Benjamin Guerard Papers, 1783-1786, in South Caroliniana Library.

[94] Cassandra Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and Their Global Quest for Liberty* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007), 34.

employer, and claimed that he was born free. Regardless, he used the war as a way to escape Charles Town. His wife Sarah claimed that her Charles Town master had died five years before her departure from New York. [95]

People from both cities experienced similar evacuations at the end of the war, with thousands of slaves leaving New York and South Carolina. The actual number of slaves who ran away or departed from their master and ultimately America is unknown. Modern historians as well as those alive during the Revolution, pieced together various numbers. According to historian Edward McCrady, in just one instance in South Carolina, "upward of two thousand plundered negroes were shipped off at one embarkation."[96] A Charleston merchant, George Abbot Hall, estimated that over twenty thousand slaves in South Carolina ran away, were removed by the British, evacuated, or died in British lines due to fighting or disease such as small pox.[97]

Historian Sylvia Frey, General Nathanael Greene, and General Alexander Leslie have estimated the number of slaves who either left South Carolina or were killed during the war. According to Frey, while actual evacuation numbers of slaves are difficult to calculate, evidence suggests that around ten thousand slaves fled during Charleston's evacuation. General Greene estimated that around five to six thousand slaves absconded. But Frey contends that Greene underestimated the number of slaves the British army took with them as their own laborers, or slaves imported to other places, and those who sold

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[95] Pybus, *Epic Journeys*, 22-26.

[96] Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775-1780* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1969), 545.

[97] Great Britain. Treasury. Miscellaneous Documents Relating to Refugees, 1780-1836 [American Loyalists] (T 50). 9 reels. Accounts of Loyalist units and compensation and pensions for American Loyalists in the Revolution. Originals in The National Archives (Britain). [FILM 414] in the David Library of the American Revolution; Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 142.

slaves to places like the Windward Islands.[98] Slaves were sent to a variety of locations including East Florida, St. Lucia, Halifax, England, and New York.

All sources agree that the number of slaves lost to South Carolina was far from small. British General Alexander Leslie recorded a great decline in the number of slaves in Carolina due to escaping, death, or departure. Leslie helped organize Charleston's evacuation. On December 14, 1782, General Leslie acknowledged that the clearing of Charleston was complete.[99] Leslie estimated that from 1775 through 1783, around 25,000 slaves either fled or died in South Carolina.[100] South Carolina slave owners may have lost between 20,000 and 25,000 slaves during the war due to running away, theft, disease, and death.[101]

One slave who escaped in the midst of the proclamations and evacuations was John Kizell. Kizell had been a victim of the slave trade and viewed the Revolution and the proclamations by the British as a chance to escape slavery and leave the colonies. After the surrender of Charleston in 1780, Kizell fled with his master and joined the British army. Later that year, the Patriots captured the slave during the Battle of Kings Mountain, and he became a prisoner of war. After the skirmish, Kizell escaped again and returned to Charleston. He then fled to New York City. How exactly he made it to the northern port is unclear, but evidence suggests that he travelled with a group of men led by General Leslie.[102]

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[98] Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 174-175.

[99] Great Britain, Col. Office. New York. CO/5/1097, Film 694, Reel 3, New York, January 18, 1783, in David Library of the American Revolution.

[100] William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, (Arno Press, 1968), 352.

[101] Sylvia Frey, *Water From the Rock*, 174-175; William Moultrie Papers, 1757-1963 in the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina at Columbia.

[102] Lowther, *African American Odyssey of John Kizell*, 91-95.

Ralph Izard claimed the British collected at least 12,000 slaves, 170 of whom were his. On December 14, 1782, the British left Charleston and took with them 5,327 blacks, mostly to the Caribbean. About half of these people were sent to Jamaica, around 500 were transported to East Florida, and some were sent to St. Lucia, Halifax, England, and New York.[103]

On April 15, 1782, British Commander-in-Chief Sir Guy Carleton issued an order that America's Provisional Articles be strictly observed, including America's desire to make sure that slaves be sent back to their master. The first part of the agreement required that all slaves be returned, except those who escaped to the British prior to their truce with American forces. The British agreed to pay their debts and return all material and human property to Americans after the war.[104] During the evacuation, under the Provisional Agreement, Lord North and Lord Carleton interpreted the act to mean that blacks who claimed their freedom through British Proclamations by November 30, 1782, were free and could not be considered American property on that date. Those who came after November 30, were considered slaves and therefore returned to their owner.[105]

New York was the last port evacuated by the British. On January 18, 1783, a ship carrying blacks from Charleston arrived in New York. Merchants from other states traveled to New York in hopes of obtaining their slaves or some form of compensation for lost slaves. The merchants of Charleston issued a memorial to the merchants of New York for recovering debts while under British control. They requested that funds be created to pay for the removal of British merchants out of Charleston.[106] Even though measures were taken to prevent runaway slaves from leaving, many slaves escaped. Yet,

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[103] Quarles, *Negro in the American Revolution*, 166-167.

[104] Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, 344-346.

[105] Provisional Agreement, Article VII, Walker, *The Black Loyalists*, 10-11.

[106] Great Britain, Col. Office. New York. CO/5/1097, Film 694, Reel 3, New York, January 18, 1783. 163, 177, in DLAR.

thousands of people were leaving the port of New York at the same time, so there was no way to accurately tabulate the exact number.[107]

One of the former slaves who departed out of New York was John Kizell, who was one of several thousand who were evacuated to Nova Scotia in 1783. He believed that blacks would never receive equality in America. During the exodus of New York, on April 12, 1783, Sir Guy Carleton wrote that around 4,000 or 5,000 refugees embarked for Nova Scotia and the following day for Port Roseway and St. Johns River.[108] Hundreds of blacks and former slaves also went to London or West Africa. The 'Book Of Negroes" listed 3,000 blacks inspected at New York's docks between April 26 and April 30, 1783, headed for Nova Scotia. Many black Loyalists were given land in Nova Scotia. This land, however, was on the rocky, barren Atlantic coast. Kizell witnessed some of these deplorable conditions in Nova Scotia. Shortly after he settled there, Kizell and his family (along with 1,200 other black Loyalists) departed for Sierra Leone, where they finally settled in Sherbro in 1805. Although a victim of the slave trade, Kizell escaped slavery during the Revolution. After his escape, Kizell worked towards ending the slave trade. Once he returned to Africa, he worked along the coast to end the trade that had carried him across the Atlantic and made him a slave.[109]

Conclusion

In the middle decades of the 18th century, New York and Charleston slave traders imported the largest number of slaves in the century. During the late 1740s into the early 1760s, slave-trading patterns in New York continued to evolve along a similar path. After

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[107] Great Britain, Col. Office. New York. CO/5/1097, Film 694, Reel 3, New York, January 18, 1783, 424-426, 434, in DLAR; John Lamb, (1735-1800). Papers, 1762-1789.3 reels. Correspondence of the Continental Army officer and noted Anti-Federalist from New York. Originals are in the New-York Historical Society. [FILM 429].

[108] Great Britain, Col. Office. New York. CO/5/1097, Film 694, Reel 3, New York, January 18, 1783. 373, in DLAR.

[109] Lowther, *African American Odyssey of John Kizell*, 63-65.

hitting a peak in the number of slave imports from Africa to New York in the 1750s and early 1760s, the number of slave imports started to decline by the mid-1760s into the 1770s. The trades of New York and Charleston began to diverge by the 1760s as an international movement against the slave trade emerged. A shift in Western culture, attitudes, and evangelicalism resulted in many throughout the Atlantic turning against the international slave trade.

Despite their great loss in slave property, New York lawmakers supported keeping the international slave trade closed for their state and abolishing the trade for the entire nation. In the post-Revolution period, New York and most other states supported the end of the Atlantic slave trade. This led not only to the end of the slave trade but movements towards gradual (and in some places immediate) emancipation.[110]

After the American Revolution, New York lawmakers moved to permanently end their involvement in the international slave trade while South Carolina officials temporarily closed their trade as they rebuilt their state. Carolinians briefly closed their trade for a variety of reasons, mostly connected to their economy. Some slaveholders in debt from the war would then buy slaves that they could not afford. In order to meet labor demands, Carolinians opened their traffic once there was more stability. Slaveholders from both states witnessed heavy losses in slave property during the War. A growing number of New Yorkers supported the international ban on the slave trade leading up to, during, and after the Revolution. Discussions of the possibility of emancipating slaves also increased in New York. Although a small but growing number of those from South Carolina supported the end of the slave trade, in the immediate aftermath of the war, most slave traders and owners in the state wanted to continue their involvement in the international slave trade and had no desire to emancipate their slaves.

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[110] Davis, *Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, 410-423; Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 169.

Chapter 4

THE SLAVE TRADE DURING THE CRITICAL PERIOD

"So much misery condensed in so little room is more than the human imagination had ever before conceived." –William Wilberforce.[1]

To honor the demise of America's legal involvement with the international slave trade on January 1, 1808, black activist Peter Williams Jr. delivered a speech on its evils before his congregation, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in New York City. In "An Oration on the Abolition of the Slave Trade," he described the horrors of the trade and proclaimed that "its baneful footsteps are marked with blood; its infectious breath spreads war and desolation; and its train is composed of the complicated miseries of cruel and unceasing bondage."[2] Williams chronicled the physical features of slaves on the vessels, with their "dejected countenances, their streaming eyes, their fettered limbs; hear them, with piercing cries, and pitiful moans, deploring their wretched fate." Much of his speech rejoiced in the demise of the international slave trade, and he thanked advocates such as Anthony Benezet for their stalwart efforts in helping to end it. Williams also conveyed hope that the end of the Atlantic trade would lead to the end of slavery in the United States. After the American Revolution, leaders of the new nation had to decide on the future of the international slave trade. In this chapter, I examine the reasons why

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[1] Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York: Viking, 2007), 327.

[2] Peter Williams Jr., *An Oration on the Abolition of the Slave Trade: Delivered in the African Church, in the City of New York, January 1, 1808* (New York: Samuel Wood, 1808).

those from New York and South Carolina turned against the Atlantic Slave Trade. I also synthesize the international movement to abolish the trade in humans across the Atlantic.

Many of the first changes to the international slave trade during the post-Revolution period occurred on the state level. New York lawmakers moved to officially ban the international slave trade law in 1788. South Carolina assemblymen would alternately open and close their ports to African captives until the federal ban in 1808. Although New Yorkers legally ended their participation in the international traffic and some Carolinians opposed the trade, they did so mostly for different reasons. I ultimately seek to examine the reasons why merchants from New York and South Carolina turned against the international slave trade. For New Yorkers, moral and ideological influences played a major role in closing their traffic. Economic decisions also factored into New Yorkers importing fewer slaves, but religious views informed economic. Northern Quakers, for example, recognized it was wrong to enslave others. In their humanitarian efforts to abolish the slave trade and end slavery, they realized it was also economically backward. New York's Manumission Society also had a great influence in ending the slave trade. For South Carolinians, many continued to support the slave trade until the federal prohibition. Some even supported the Atlantic trade until the Civil War. For those who moved against the traffic in Carolina, it was a combination of primarily economic reasons, competition between the lowcountry with the upcountry and backcountry, and fears that slave rebellions would break out with a growing black population.

After the American Revolution, the states did not have to deal with restrictions previously imposed by British mercantilist policies on the former colonies' participation in the international slave trade. This allowed shippers from the United States to have greater control over their participation in African commerce. During the immediate post-war period, differences in the slave trades of New York City and Charleston grew. Many white Carolinians simply believed that they could not rebuild their post-1783 economy without cheap African labor, but New Yorkers had more options thanks to post-war

immigration. While slaves were smuggled into the state and some arrived legally from the West Indies, there were no documented voyages of legal slave imports from Africa or the Caribbean into New York after 1775. South Carolina's slave trade remained closed after the Revolution but reopened in 1803 for a variety of economic, political, and social reasons. Despite the ban, slaves continued to enter the port illegally.[3]

In New York, there was widespread influence from New England and other northern states together with Atlantic connections disseminating various print materials on the inhumanity and injustices of the slave trade. A group of influential leaders created the New York Manumission Society to end both the slave trade and slavery within the state. Also, in the post-Revolution era, New York witnessed a growing white working class and a growing black community that moved against resumption of the slave trade.[4]

For South Carolina, the question of whether to prohibit the slave trade was very complex due to a greater demand for slave labor. Leading politicians in the state went back and forth in opposing the trade. Large numbers of slaves had escaped during the American Revolution, including John Kizell, Boston King, and Isaac Anderson. Carolinians factored in these losses and assessed their slave trade. Reformers from the North and the Border South spread information on the evils of the slave trade to South Carolina. There was also a small but vocal group of Quakers in Carolina who attempted to persuade inhabitants of the state to end their support and participation in the slave

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[3] Don E. Fehrenbacher, *The Slaveholding Republic: An Account of the United States Government's Relations to Slavery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 16-28, 33-38; Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces.

[4] Daniel Parish, Jr., Slavery Transcripts, 18uu-19uu, notes on the New York Manumission Society, available at the New-York Historical Society; Graham Russell Hodges, *Root & Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613-1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 166-168; Shane White, *Somewhat More Independent: The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770-1810* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1991), 81-88.

trade. At the same time, others either embraced or turned against the slave trade based on threats of slave rebelliousness and whether importing slaves would help or impair their state's economy.[5]

As Manisha Sinha recognizes, South Carolina was "exceptional."[6] As such, the attitudes of Carolinians towards slavery or the reopening the slave trade differed from the rest of the nation. Lawmakers never completely ended Carolina's international slave trade until 1808, when they were forced to by national law. South Carolina had a distinct slave culture and ideology that slaveholders throughout the state adhered to. As these attitudes were embedded in the minds of Carolina planters, it would shape their thoughts on the international slave trade and abolition. Southern planters had an emotional investment in slavery in a way northerners did not.[7]

The Movement to Prohibit the International Slave Trade

Some scholars maintain that economic declension occurred and the slave trade was losing its profitability.[8] Others argue that the spread of various ideologies, including

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[5]Samuel C. Smith, *Cautious Enthusiasm: Mystical Piety and Evangelicalism in Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2013), 6, 37.

[6] Manisha Sinha, *The Counterrevolution of Slavery: Politics and Ideology in Antebellum South Carolina*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 13-14.

[7] Sinha, *Counterrevolution of Slavery*, 2-5.

[8] Two of the major views involve an economic argument and a new moral revulsion. In 1928, Eric Williams formulated two main arguments focusing on economic reasons. The first was that the profits from the slave trade and the money from New Word plantations provided most of the money to finance England's Industrial Revolution. This thesis has been widely discredited by many historians. For his second argument, also known as the decline thesis, he proclaimed that an economic decline in the British Caribbean led to the rise of British abolitionism and this economic decline was also connected to Britain's change from mercantilism to laissez-faire capitalism. Seymour Drescher debated Williams' findings and protested that Britain's economy was actually doing better when they moved against the slave argued that the slave trade was profitable as the British and the United States moved trade. According to Drescher's empirical findings, "abolition of the slave trade was comparable to committing suicide for a major part of Britain's economy." (Seymour Drescher, *Econocide: British Slavery*

enlightenment and revolutionary thoughts on all men being equal and having the right to liberty and equality caused reformers in Britain and America to turn against the trade. As a new generation arose, they were raised up with and surrounded by these new enlightenment thoughts and ideals. The Revolutionary era saw the first large-scale questioning of slavery and the slave trade. By the mid-1750s, humanitarian and enlightenment principles were spreading and began to dominate the Atlantic World. The slave trade was also easier to oppose than slavery. Many saw the horrors of the Middle Passage and the disruption of family life for Africans. People across the globe agreed on the need to end the international trade due to the brutal treatment of Africans on the slave ships. Also, religious groups such as the Quakers and other sects banded together to work against the Atlantic traffic and these groups had a major influence on working to end the trade.

By the Revolution, the colonies had many slaves and most had a self-sustained slave population. Slavery only fell where slaves were relatively few and slaveholding interests were not dominant—first in New England and then (gradually) in the Mid-Atlantic States. The slave trade, however, was banned in most of the new nation. The only exceptions were the two southernmost states, Georgia and South Carolina. The need for bondsmen remained high in these two states due to the continued demand for rice. The invention of the cotton gins by the early 1790s also increased the demand for slaves.

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in the Era of Abolition (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977), XV.) Drescher contended that by the 19th century the economic importance of slavery increased and so did global demand for many slave produced goods including sugar, coffee, tobacco, and cotton. Drescher, Stanley Engerman, Robert Fogel, David Eltis, Rebecca Scott and Herbert Klein among others contend that there were strong anti-slavery and anti-slave trade people and groups that worked to end the slave trade. These historians argue that the end of the slave trade for the United States and Britain was due to more than just humanitarian efforts. Drescher took the moral argument further and reasoned that the slave trade ended due to political abolition and the movements of anti-slave trade forces. Drescher hoped that his work would "lay the groundwork for a fresh investigation of political abolition." Drescher, *Abolition*, 127-138; Drescher, *Econocide*, XIX.

But even in South Carolina, the trade was only reopened for a brief period, as planters desperately tried to increase their labor supply before the expected federal prohibition.

Comparing the arguments regarding the prohibition of the slave trade in New York and South Carolina sheds light on the dynamics of the anti-slave trade movement in the United States. Unlike in England where the laws were universal, the people of each state ended their trade at different times. Leaders from most states passed laws ending the international slave trade before and shortly after the Revolution. In 1774, Connecticut and Rhode Island permanently prohibited the importation of slaves into their colonies. Two years later, Delaware barred the importation of slaves. New York acted similarly to their northern neighbors in desiring to abolish their slave trade and legal importations stopped before the Revolution. South Carolina leaders, by comparison, wanted only to temporarily culminate their involvement in the traffic.

Even Mid-Atlantic and Upper South States moved to prohibit the traffic. In 1778, Virginia lawmakers prohibited the importation of Africans. Legislators in Maryland, and especially in Virginia, moved against the trade because of a switch to cereal crops and a growing, self-reproducing slave population. Virginians worried about the escalating number of slaves in their state and did not think the international trade was necessary due to self-reproduction and the internal trade within the United States. Yet planters in Virginia and Maryland aspired to close their slave trade due in part to moral and ideological reasons. There was also a strong Methodist presence in Maryland that scorned the international traffic.[9]

In examining New York and South Carolina in this debate, some of Davis's points on moving in a capitalist direction and having ideological and moral problems with the slave trade and slavery connected to New York. Residents in New York were inundated

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[9] David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 200-212.

with pamphlets and various forms of anti-slave trade and anti-slavery literature. Groups such as the Quakers and New York Manumission Society also led petition drives and an assortment of other tactics to end the slave trade in New York and other northern states.

Perhaps the most obvious differences between New York and South Carolina centered on the demand for slaves. Although there was a strong religious and moral movement in the North to end the slave trade and slavery, the smaller numbers and lower percentages of slaves in the North allowed northerners to adhere to revolutionary ideology without bankrupting themselves like it would for southerners.[10] Historian Seymour Drescher argues that New Yorkers shared a common revolutionary ideology and religion with their northern counterparts which scorned the inhumanity of slavery and the slave trade.[11] Inevitably, one of the legacies of the American Revolution was a transformation in ideology. The ideas of individual freedom and natural rights permeated the Atlantic, and blacks and whites alike moved to work towards the end of the international slave trade throughout the states.

While it is difficult to precisely measure which factor led people to turn against the slave trade, it appears that class interest and religion played more of a role in New York and the North, other factors were at work in South Carolina. South Carolina had a distinct culture embedded in slavery. This slave culture separated that state from the other original twelve colonies. Groups such as the Methodists, Quakers, Baptists, and Presbyterians disseminated literature, enlightenment thought, and moral ideas. Despite this, the slave system was so ingrained into Carolina: that most Carolinians did not turn against the slave trade for moral reasons. Although slaveholders and traders in South

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[10] Daniel Parish, Jr., Slavery Transcripts, 18uu-19uu, notes on the New York Manumission Society, available at the New-York Historical Society; Davis, *Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, 212-220, 215-222; Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 124-125, 162-165.

[11] Drescher, *Abolition*, 128.

Carolina continued to support slavery, as the inhumanity of the Middle Passage were publicized, some Carolinians moved against the heinous traffic.[12]

For New York, it was a more gradual shift from the 1760s through the early 1800s. It is true that New York's legal trade ended by the early 1770s, but many people who stopped importing slaves did not completely reject the practice. A large number of people in New York City and the surrounding counties also continued to support slavery. Davis is undoubtedly correct in suggesting that in New York, the growth and spread of intellectual ideas led to change. We can see this with attorney and politician John Jay. In 1785, Jay helped found the New York Manumission Society and became the organization's first president. Although Jay and most of the society's leaders owned small numbers of domestic slaves, they organized boycotts against both newspapers and merchants who supported the slave trade. Jay proclaimed that real Christians should abstain from violating the rights of others.[13]

The New York Manumissions Society not only organized boycotts against merchants and newspaper owners connected to the slave trade, but even formed a committee of militants who went to newspaper offices to warn publishers against printing advertisements for the sale of slaves. The committee kept a list of men involved in the slave trade and would boycott their business. The commission worked diligently to end slavery in New York State. Key political leaders including John Jay and Aaron Burr also moved to end the slave trade.[14]

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[12] David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 156, cite Lacy K. Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil: The Slavery Question in the Old South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 5-16.

[13] Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 166, 170.

[14] Daniel Parish, Jr., Slavery Transcripts, 18uu-19uu, notes on the New York Manumission Society, available at the New-York Historical Society; Roger G. Kennedy, *Burr, Hamilton, and Jefferson: A Study in Character* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 97-103.

After belonging to the Society, leading boycotts, and promoting the unjustness of slavery and the slave trade, Jay and his affiliates eventually emancipated their slaves. They could not reconcile owning slaves and simultaneously criticizing the institution. Jay and other members also formed closer bonds with Quakers. Numerous Quakers joined the Manumission Society and worked to establish laws against the slave trade end slavery in the state. Episcopalians and Quakers were also some of the key leaders in the state's Manumission Society.[15]

As historian Graham Hodges recognizes, religion played a key role in ending both the slave trade and later slavery in New York. Although there was a persistent group of slaveholders of Dutch ancestry in the surrounding counties of New York City, there was also a growing number of Quakers, Anglicans, and Presbyterians who freed their slaves and worked towards ending the state's involvement in slavery. Quakers and other religious groups continued to write and spread various pamphlets and other literature on the inhumanity and evils of the slave trade.[16]

South Carolina state leaders prohibited the importation of slaves into their state after the Revolution, but for different reasons than had New Yorkers. Carolina leaders examined their state's economy and its greater dependence on slave labor in decisions on banning the slave trade. Changes in South Carolina's rice and indigo crops resulted in alterations with their slave importations.[17] In 1785, as both rice and indigo continued to

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[15] Daniel Parish, Jr., Slavery Transcripts, 18uu-19uu, notes on the New York Manumission Society, available at the New-York Historical Society; Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 166-168; Kennedy, *Burr, Hamilton, and Jefferson*, 91-103.

[16] Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 165-166.

[17] Unfortunately, many of the records on Carolina's rice and indigo crops from the post-Revolution period to the 1820s do not exist and there are only sparse accounts and broad generalizations about the crops during this period. See Peter A. Coclanis, *The Shadow of a Dream: Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country, 1670-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 61-63, 78, 80-81, 96-98, 117-118, 140-157.

be unprofitable, South Carolinians witnessed a post-war depression that spread throughout America. Many were forced to sell their property or were thrown into prison, unable to pay their debts. A drought followed by a year of heavy rains harmed the indigo and rice crops.[18] Many planters were unable to pay for slaves as their lands had been destroyed during the war and their crops had failed. Some legislators argued that if planters could not afford to purchase slaves, the state should end its involvement in the international slave trade.[19]

By September 1785, a coalition of politicians met to resolve the economic woes of the state. A group assembled to rebuild, including the Rutledges, Pinckneys, Pierce Butler, Ralph Izard, and David Ramsay.[20] The Carolina delegates established a radical program for debt relief and implemented paper currency. Some proposed closing the slave trade for three years because they believed planters bought too many slaves in hopes of profiting in the future. Some legislators recognized that many inhabitants were so in debt that buying more slaves would only add to their economic troubles. David Ramsay reasoned that the rapid influx of Africans into the state after the Revolution led to an unfavorable balance of trade. Congressmen, John Rutledge and Governor Thomas Pinckney claimed that South Carolinians experienced a post-war depression but did not think the overall economy would be harmed by continued slave importations.[21]

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[18] Walter J. Fraser, *Charleston! Charleston: The History of A Southern City* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 173.

[19] Elizabeth Donnan, "Debate on the Importation of Negroes, 1785," *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America. The Border Colonies and the Southern Colonies* Vol. 4 (Washington, DC: Carnegie Inst., 1935), 488.

[20] Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, (1746-1825). Papers, 1775-1817.2 microfiches. [FICHE 6], DLAR.

[21] John Rutledge (1739-1800). Letters, 1780-1782.3 microfiches. [FICHE 9], from the David Library of the American Revolution (DLAR); Fehrenbacher, *The Slaveholding Republic*, 33-38.

Rutledge reasoned that the slave trade had nothing to do with morals or religion, but "interest" alone. He along with other legislators opposed any measure designed to prohibit slaves from entering the state. Rutledge protested that slaves only served to increase the wealth of South Carolina. Thomas Bee responded by claiming that the planters and other slave owners in South Carolina did not have the money to pay for the slaves. He worried that people would purchase slaves they could not afford and the state would suffer from financial ruin.[22]

General Pinckney argued that slaves were the chief producers of the state's staple commodities and restrictions on slave importations would greatly harm the state economically. Pinckney's arguments carried the day, and in 1785 South Carolina state legislators voted 51 to 47 against a measure designed to stop the state's involvement in the slave trade for three years. Yet as the close vote indicated, state leaders were split on the measure.[23]

By 1787, as the economy did not improve, many Carolinians, especially from the lowcountry, thought that the state's debt problem could be improved by closing the slave trade. Debtors and creditors alike agreed that a temporary ban on slave imports would raise the price of slaves and make the debts easier to pay off. The Carolina House voted 79 to 46 in favor of temporarily closing the slave trade. A closer examination shows that lowcountry delegates voted 61 to 17 to close the trade while those from the upcountry voted 29 to 18 in favor of keeping the trade open. Lowcountry planters already had large numbers of slaves and did not want to import additional slaves. They feared further importations would depress the value of their slaves. Ultimately, even though many favored a temporary ban on slave importations, most argued against a permanent

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[22] Stephen Goldfarb, "An Inquiry Into the Politics of the International Slave Trade," *Agricultural History* Vol. 68, No. 2 (Spring 1994): 24.

[23] Donnan" Debate on the Importation of Negroes, 1785," *Documents Illustrative*, Vol. 4, 480-484.

prohibition. South Carolina leaders Charles Pinckney, John Rutledge, and Pierce Butler all supported the bill to temporarily close the slave trade, but only because they believed the restrictions would help improve the debt problem.[24]

Between 1781 and 1785, 7,721 slaves had been carried from Africa into Charleston. After the ban went into effect, the number declined greatly between 1786 and 1790, and only 712 slaves were imported from Africa. Slaves imported from the Caribbean into Charleston witnessed a smaller decrease. Between 1781 and 1785, 1,724 slaves were shipped and 801 were transported to Charleston from 1786 through 1790.[25]

Figure 4.1 Slave Imports to Charleston[26]

Years	Slaves from the Caribbean	Slaves from Africa	Total
1781-1785	1,724	7,721	9,445
1786-1790	801	712	1,513
	2,525	8,433	10,958

There were a number of reasons that explain the decline in slave importations. The planter class may not have had the money to buy slaves or needed more slaves. Another possibility was that more people in South Carolina began to support the prohibition of the international slave trade not just for economic reasons, but also ideological and moral reasons.[27] After the Revolution, some Carolinians who turned

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[24]John Rutledge (1739-1800). Letters, 1780-1782.3 microfiches. [FICHE 9], from the David Library of the American Revolution (DLAR

[25] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces; Appendix F; Gregory E O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage: Slave Migration from the Caribbean to North America, 1619-1807," *William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 66, No. 1 (January 2009): 142.

[26] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces; Appendix F.

[27] *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, Volume XIV, 504.

against the trade contended that closing the slave trade would increase the value of slaves by cutting off supply. The rise in value of the slaves would allow planters to pay off debts from the war.[28]

The Constitutional Convention and the International Slave Trade

As most of the states were moving to permanently end their participation in the international slave trade, representatives from twelve states assembled in Philadelphia to create a new Constitution and government for the United States. The members discussed issues involving slavery and the slave trade in creating a new government.

In New York, the subject of the slave trade failed to be a leading issue when the state decided whether to approve the Constitution. State legislators could still abolish the slave trade for their individual state.New York traders had stopped importing slaves through the international slave trade. Some pamphleteers publicized their dislike over the slave trade clause, however. After this clause was written, a series of essays on what should have been done regarding the slave trade in the Constitution appeared in New York newspapers. Politician Melancton Smith, who used the penname "Brutus," penned some of the articles. Smith condemned the Atlantic trade and the measures passed in Congress associated with slavery. He was a New York City merchant who disapproved of allowing the inhuman traffic of Africans into the United States. Smith did not support the compromise to keep the international slave trade legal until at least 1808. He referred to slave traders and those who wanted to keep the international trade legal as "unfeeling, unprincipled, barbarous, and avaricious wretches who desired to increase the number of slaves into the country for personal gain and more representatives in Congress."[29]

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[28] Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 81-84; Sinha, *Counterrevolution of Slavery*, 16.

[29] Brutus III, *New York Journal*, November 15, 1787; *Philadelphia Freeman's Journal*, November 21; *Philadelphia Independent Gazeteer*, November 23; *Boston Independent Chronicle*, December 13, 1787; Daniel Parish, Jr., Slavery Transcripts, 18uu-19uu, available at the New-York Historical Society.

In South Carolina, politician Rawlins Lowndes opposed holding a state convention for ratification because he passionately opposed the proposed Constitution. Lowndes expressed concern that the national government could soon end the international slave trade under the Constitution. He pleaded that without new slaves, South Carolina "would degenerate into one of the most contemptible [states] in the union." He added that through the slave trade, Africans were transported from a bad country to a better one.[30]

Lowndes feared the actions of northerners. The fact that the North proposed any limitation at all on the South's institution of slavery concerned Lowndes. He wondered "what cause was there for jealousy of our importing negroes? Why confine us to twenty years, or rather why limit us at all?" Lowndes argued that during appropriate times, South Carolina legislators would, and had, stopped the slave trade when it suited their interests. Lowndes protested that only residents of South Carolina, and not a national government or other states, should determine the course of a state's slave trade. He believed if the North attempted to restrict the slave trade or slavery at all, it was only because the region wanted to impede the South's commercial and business ventures. This allowed the North to dominate the country economically. Although Lowndes was against even holding a state convention to ratify the Constitution, few from South Carolina supported him.[31]

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[30] Lawrence Goldstone, *Dark Bargain: Slavery, Profits and the Struggle for the Constitution* (New York: Walker and Company, 2005), 4; Jonathan Elliott, *Debates on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution: Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution As Recommended By the General Convention At Philadelphia in 1787*, Volume IV, (New Stratford: Ayer Publishing, 1987), 272.

[31] Elliott, *Debates*, Volume IV, 272; Carl J. Vipperman, *The Rise of Rawlins Lowndes, 1721-1800* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1978); Constitutional Documents, *Debates Which Arose in the House of Representatives of South Carolina, on the Constitution Framed for the United States*… Charleston, 1788; David Ramsay to Benjamin Lincoln, Charleston, January 29, 1788.

South Carolina delegates David Ramsay and Charles Pinckney disagreed with Lowndes and favored a state convention. Ramsey wrote an extensive pamphlet attempting to persuade delegates to vote in favor of holding a state ratifying convention. He reasoned that South Carolina needed the Constitution because it offered federal assistance to protect the state against domestic rebellion, and South Carolina whites lived in constant fear of a slave uprising. Ramsay also claimed that while Congress *could* prohibit the slave trade after 1808, he believed Congress would not do so because slave-produced products such as rice provided wealth for the entire country. Ramsay wrongly argued that northern business interests connected to southern slavery, such as shippers, deterred northerners from prohibiting the international slave trade altogether.[32]

As the delegates were voting on the Constitution in 1788, New York state legislators updated their laws and prohibited the international slave trade for the state. Under the 1788 laws, any person selling a slave imported into New York from outside of the United States after June 1, 1785, would be deemed guilty of public offence and have to pay the state £100 and the slave would be freed.[33] The authors of the law further stated that anyone caught purchasing or buying a slave for the purpose of removing, exporting, or carrying the slave or slaves out of the state would be guilty of public offence and pay £100 to the state and the slave(s) would be freed.[34]

After the 1788 slave trade act, not only the international trade, but also the internal slave trade within the United States changed. As the state moved towards

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[32] Civis, *Charleston Columbian Herald*, February 4, 1788; David Ramsay, *An Address to the Freemen of South-Carolina on the Subject of the Federal Constitution*, South Carolina, 1787.

[33] Laws of the State of New York, Section 4, Passed 22d. February 1788. 11th Session, Laws of New York, 1788 (ed. 1886) 6756.

[34] Laws of the State of New York, Section 5, Passed 22d. February 1788. 11th Session, Even though legislators did not pass the law until 1788, the date of 1785 was listed in the law.

emancipation, some New York slaveholders desired to sell their slaves to the South to avoid financial loss. In one instance in 1801, a riot broke out after a Madame Volunbrun attempted to sell twenty slaves to the South. Records of the New York Manumission Society indicated that there were several instances when the Society dealt with cases of slaves being kidnapped or those who tried to sell slaves to someone in the South.[35]

South Carolinians also took actions to stop their international trade, but unlike New York and most other states, it was only temporary. As South Carolina's economy continued to stumble due to a decline in the rice trade, assemblymen voted to briefly suspend the importation of slaves. Some leaders worried that slaveholders would be unable to purchase more slaves with economic problems after the Revolution.[36] Legislators passed a law prohibiting the importation of slaves. In "An Act for Penalizing the Importation of Negroes," state delegates prohibited the importation of slaves for three years. Fifty-six South Carolina state delegates voted to allow the importation of slaves while seventy-four voted against the commerce.[37] Anyone caught breaking this law also forfeited the slaves imported and could be fined up to £100 for each slave illegally brought into the state. South Carolina passed statutes curtailing the slave trade in 1792, 1794, 1796, 1800 and 1802.[38]

Despite these restrictions, slaves continued to be imported into the state, albeit on a reduced scale. The trade between Carolina and Sierra Leone, specifically, Bance Island,

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[35] Daniel Parish, Jr., Slavery Transcripts, 18uu-19uu, notes on the New York Manumission Society, available at the New-York Historical Society; White, *Somewhat More Independent*, 38.

[36] Douglas R. Egerton, *Death or Liberty: African Americans and Revolutionary America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 156.

[37] Thomas Cooper and David J. McCord, eds., *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Volume VII: Columbia South Carolina, 1837-1841), 430-449; South Carolina, Journals of the House of Assembly, March 28, 1787, Journal of the House, 398-399.

[38] South Carolina State Documents and Laws: March 1787, 1788, 92, 94, 96, 1800, and 1802.

continued in the 1780s. Yet after the Revolution, the slave trade between South Carolina and Bance Island changed. Due to the strained relations between the British and Americans before and after the war, Americans relied more on the Danish to transport slaves from Bance Island and surrounding areas in Sierra Leone. Records from the 1780s indicated that Danish merchants purchased on average two thousand slaves per year at Bance Island. At the same time, South Carolina newspapers started advertising Danish ships in Carolina's ports filled with slaves from the Windward Coast.[39]

The growth of "King Cotton" also factored into South Carolina's slave trade. During the 1790s and first few years of the 1800s, the ports of Charleston continued to bring in large numbers of Gold Coast and Gambian slaves. They also welcomed slaves from the Bight of Benin, Bight of Biafra, Mozambique, and Angola. As the importance of cotton grew and the demand outstripped the supply of slaves, South Carolinians purchased larger numbers of slaves from various regions of West Africa.[40]

In the 1790s, white Carolinians also feared too many slaves in the state would cause the slaves to unite and rebel. Inhabitants of the lowcountry, especially, feared that their slaves would hear of the rebellion in Saint Domingue, and rise for their own freedom. In 1792, the same year that Henry Laurens died at his Mepkin plantation in Carolina, the Carolina legislature voted to continue the existing ban on the foreign and domestic slave trade by a vote that was so decisive that no roll call was taken. Carolinians worried about their slave majority as rumors spread of a possible attack by blacks from Saint Domingue. The French, they feared, would provoke slave revolts in the United

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[39] *State Gazette of South-Carolina*, August 11, 1785; *State Gazette of South-Carolina*, August 25, 1785.

[40] McMillin, *Final Victims*, 62-63; McMillin also lists origins of slaves and numbers from 1783-1810.

States for strategic purposes. They also feared that Haitian revolutionaries were planning an attack on Carolina due to its slave majority.[41]

The state responded by continuing to suspend all importations of slaves from other countries.[42] Charleston leaders hired officials to check each vessel entering its ports for blacks from Saint Domingue. State authorities also increased the size of the state militia by requiring all able-bodied white males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five to enroll in the militia. State leaders supported the notion that a military presence impeded slaves' ability to rebel.[43] Despite the fear of Saint Domingue, blacks entering the state, and various statutes passed prohibiting the international trade, some slaves continued to be imported into Charleston with little enforcement against those who violated the laws.

Even with the temporary ban, northerners, including many reformers from New York, chastised South Carolina whites for their involvement in the international slave trade. In 1790, members of New York's Society of Friends joined with those from Pennsylvania and petitioned Congress to end the slave trade in the young republic. The states of the lower South viewed the petitions as an invitation to civil war. Legislators voted against the petition and viewed it as unconstitutional.

South Carolina's weak economy and fears of slave rebellion resulted in fewer imports into Carolina during the 1790s. Carolina legislators banned their state's slave

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[41] Jed Handelsmen Shugerman, "The Louisiana Purchase and South Carolina's Reopening of the Slave Trade in 1803," *Journal of the Early Republic*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Summer 2002): 269-270.

[42] Michael E. Stevens, ed., *Journals of the House of Representatives* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 1788 and 1792 Acts.

[43] Fraser, *Charleston! Charleston!*, 182.

trade during the 1790s. By the late 1790s, however, after the creation of cotton gins, 438 documented slaves were imported (all from Sierra Leone).[44]

Figure 4.2 Slave Imports to Charleston[45]

Years	Imports from Africa	Imports from the Caribbean
1786-1790	712	801
1791-1795	106	0
1796-1800	438	0

Cotton production soared as a result of not only Eli Whitney's invention and other copies of cotton gin inventions spread across the Deep South. Cotton exports rapidly increased between 1790 and 1795 and continued to explode into the early 1800s.[46] Even with this surge, many lowcountry residents did not support slave imports because they feared the economic and social implications. By contrast, settlers from the backcountry who wanted more slaves, pleaded for the reopening of the slave trade. In the early 1800s, as the cotton market boomed, a large number of whites from western parts of the Mid-Atlantic and Upper South who moved to backcountry Carolina.[47]

Leaders of the new American Abolitionist Convention asked Congress for a law prohibiting American citizens from participating in the slave trade between Africa and foreign countries. Congressional leaders debated restricting the international slave trade for the whole country. In 1794, Congress passed a statute titled "an act to prohibit the

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[44]Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix A-2, Appendix B-2, and Appendix C-2.

[45] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix A-2, Appendix B-2, and Appendix C-2.

[46]Jed Handelsman Shugerman, "The Louisiana Purchase and South Carolina's Reopening of the Slave Trade in 1803," *Journal of the Early Republic* Vol. 22, No. 2 (Summer 2002): 283.

[47] Shugerman, "South Carolina's Re-opening," 284-288.

carrying on the slave trade from the United States to any foreign place or country." The act contained four sections on ending the international slave trade.[48] The statute made it illegal for any U.S. citizen either master, factor, or owner, to build, fit, equip, load, or otherwise prepare any ship or vessel on any port of the United States or another country for the purposes of obtaining and selling slaves. If people were found trading slaves, the entire vessel and everything inside the vessel would be handed over to the United States government. The act called for a penalty of $2,000 for anyone involved in equipping a vessel and trading of slaves.[49] For each slave illegally transported, the person implicated in the illegal trading was to be fined ten dollars per slave.[50] Despite the law, Congress did not have the power to enforce the act.

The debates over closing the international slave trade for all of the United States continued in Congress. In 1797, Representative Joseph Waln of New York presented a petition before Congress against the slave trade. This proposal, drafted by Absalom Jones, called for increased enforcement of the United States to officially end the slave trade. Representative Rutledge of South Carolina vehemently opposed Waln's measure before Congress. After much debate, Waln withdrew his motion.[51]

Although the slave trade was now illegal in New York, some New York merchants continued their involvement in the international slave trade up through the Civil War. The majority of those from New York and other northern states supported the end of the slave trade, but some Manhattan merchants continued to participate as

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[48] United States Congress, *An Act to Prohibit the Carrying on the Slave Trade from the United States to Any Foreign Place or Country*, March 22, 1794.

[49] *An Act to Prohibit the Slave Trade*, 1794.

[50] *Loudon's Register*, March 12, 1794, Issue 649, Page 2, New York, New York.

[51] *Commercial Advertizer*, 1/4/1800, Volume III, Issue 701, p. 3, New York, New York. It is difficult to determine the number of slaves who were imported illegally because it was a covert practice. In 1797, one writer of a newspaper article provided vivid descriptions of a vessel from New York that arrived in Delaware and mentioned that two of the Africans on board were in "iron such as handcuffs, neck-yokes, leg-bolts…"

smugglers of slaves or as carriers of slaves. The New York *Independent Journal* charged that northerners and southerners were to blame for the continuation of the slave trade The North had "been employed in equipping vessels, armed with the instruments of death, and loaded among their other articles with the badges and insignias of slavery," charged the editor, "to deprive the poor, unhappy Africans of their liberty."[52] Those businessmen who had ties to the South continued to support the trade through their business dealings.[53]

Most traders adhered to the laws, but some continued to import slaves illegally or outfit ships for the trade. It is difficult to determine how many slaves were illegally imported. One example showed "written documents completely authenticating the detail of the voyage to Africa from the first equipment at New-York." The ship traveled to Africa picking up at least 150 slaves before returning to New York and then going to the West Indies, back to Africa, and ultimately landing along the East Coast. The ship carried Spanish papers and tried to remain elusive. Because the slave trade was still legal in some states, certain vessels importing slaves into New York tried to disguise themselves because of measures by the state against slavery and the slave trade.[54]

In another illegal slave trading case, state officials captured the vessel *Lady Walterstorff* on the Delaware River in Philadelphia. The voyage began in New York, and the leaders of the vessel broke New York's slave trade laws by carrying slaves. Two Africans were found on board the ship which contained handcuffs, neck-yokes, and leg bolts packed in casks. There were also written documents detailing the voyage of the ship traveling from New York to St. Croix to Africa. In Africa, one hundred fifty slaves boarded the ship bound for the Americas. All but two of these slaves sold in America.

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[52] *New York Independent Journal*, June 22, 1787.

[53] I will talk more about the illegal slave trade in the next chapter.

[54] *The Herald: A Gazette for the Country*, 2/25/1797, Volume III, Issue 283, p. 2; The author of the newspaper article commented that the owner was a man of opulence and would be prosecuted under the law.

When the case of the illegal voyage was brought before New York District Court, one of the unsold slaves named Bacchus attempted to testify in court against the New York traders. Because he only spoke his African language and could not be understood, his testimony was thrown out. Also on board was a woman who was sold in New Jersey to work as a domestic. Both slaves received their freedom under the law.[55]

Slavery in New York and South Carolina

Although the purpose of this chapter is to focus on the slave trade and not slavery, it is necessary to recognize that movements to end slavery also existed throughout the Atlantic. In Britain, Quakers and other groups also worked to end the international slave trade but also slavery. Many people in Britain formed and joined abolition societies. Quakers in both Britain and the United States collaborated to end the international slave trade. Quakers were very wealthy and well-connected to political leaders. A group of British Quakers and Anglicans formed A Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade (SEAST). SEAST's members included such anti-slavery luminaries as Grenville Sharp and Thomas Clarkson. Sharp and other reformers first worked on ending the slave trade. They hoped that if the trade terminated, planters would take better care of the slaves they owned and would move towards emancipation.[56] Other Protestants and humanitarians worked to end the trade. In 1788, the anti-slave trade movement went further and established the first national petition campaign to end the slave trade in Britain.[57] Leaders such as Clarkson connected and corresponded with people in the

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[55] *The Herald: A Gazette for the Country* , February 23, 1797, Elizabeth Donnan, "Philadelphia, February 23, 1797," *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America: New England and the Middle Colonies* Vol. 3 (Washington, DC: Carnegie Inst., 1932), 460; Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces.

[56] Davis, *Inhuman Bondage,* 325.

[57] Although many people in Britain moved to end the international slave trade, others proceeded more cautiously. Some believed abruptly ending the traffic would greatly harm people throughout the Atlantic. British leaders resisted ending their

United States including Anthony Benezet. These leaders established an Atlantic network designed to end the international slave trade and slavery.[58]

While most northerners and southerners endorsed ending the international slave trade, many people from both regions continued to support slavery. Some northerners funded slavery through business transactions. During the Napoleonic Wars, northerners engaged in a carrying trade of slave-grown produce with the French, Dutch, and Spanish colonies. This trade helped to increase the economic growth of the northern states. As the trade declined after the wars and as cotton grew in importance, many northerners became more involved with the South as northern shipping, banking, insurance, and manufactures increased due to connections to southern cotton production.[59]

The legislators in New York State voted for a gradual emancipation act that went into effect in 1799, but slaveholders from South Carolina showed no signs of ending slavery up through the Civil War. New York legislators passed a series of laws in the 1790s gradually limiting slavery. After John Jay was elected governor of New York, the politician worked to rid the state of slavery with the 1799 gradual emancipation act.[60]

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involvement in the slave trade for fear of what the effects of closing the trade would have on foreign competition and events in other countries. (Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*, 114.) British leaders also had to consider the actions of those from the West Indies. The desire of British leaders to end their involvement in the slave trade required the cooperation of Caribbean leaders to prohibit slave imports in the region. (Davis, *Slavery in Western Culture*, 114-115.) Advocates of ending the slave trade received more support as British plantation owners suffered. In the early 1800s, the owners of plantations in the British Caribbean experienced a drop in profitability, estate values declined, and plantation ownership became a dwindling asset. (Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery*, 230-235).

[58] Clarkson, Thomas. *Three letters (one of which has appeared before) to the planters and slave-merchants, principally on the subject of compensation by Thomas Clarkson.* London, 1807. 16pp; Early Abolitionists: A Collection of Anti-Slavery Writings, 1760-1820 in New York Public Library.

[59] Davis, *Slavery in Western Culture*, 64.

[60] Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 166-170 White, *Somewhat More Independent*, 56, 74, 82.

John Jea, a victim of the slave trade, represented one of many paths that the slaves took to receive their freedom during the post-war period. The exact year and circumstances of Jea's emancipation are unknown. Jea, a slave from New York's hinterlands and the victim of the slave trade, may have learned to read from those he met at a chapel in New York. He surreptitiously attended this organization and was then secretly baptized. Jea went to local magistrates pleading for his freedom claiming that his baptism and ability to read the Bible should set him free. Although many slaves did not receive their freedom this way, Jea was released from his master and lived as a mariner, preacher, and writer.[61]

Even after the passage of New York's gradual emancipation act, many in the city and surrounding hinterlands in the Hudson Valley owned large numbers of slaves.[62] The slave population of New York actually increased in absolute terms after the American Revolution due to natural reproduction and the inter-state slave trade.[63]

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[61] At some point in Jea's young life, he secretly attended a chapel and became infatuated with the gospel. He was baptized without his master knowing it. After his master found out, he abused Jea and threatened him because the harsh master feared Jea would attempt to use his baptism to gain his freedom. The master's fears turned to reality when Jea appealed to local magistrates for his freedom. Most slaves who requested their freedom after conversion did not gain it. It is unclear whether Jea actually received his full freedom at this point or considered himself a free man due to his deep religious convictions. Jea may have been granted freedom as large numbers of slaves were gaining their freedom in the post-Revolutionary period. At any rate, Jea would go on to be a mariner in New York City to travel the Atlantic. Eventually, he retold parts of his life story emphasizing his religious conversion and his deeply religious life. John Jea, *The Life, History, and Unparalleled Sufferings of John Jea, the African Preacher*. Compiled and Written by Himself (England, 1811); Paul Edwards and David Dabydeen, eds., *Black Writers in Britain 1760-1890* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991).

[62] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix A-1 and Appendix B-1. Although there are no documented voyages od slave importations into New York in the slave trade database, other accounts such as Elizabeth Donnan's *Slave Trade* includes records of a few vessels importing slaves into New York after the Revolution.

[63] White, *Somewhat More Independent*, 27, 38, 46-47.

In a pamphlet titled "An Oration on the Abolition of the Slave Trade," author Henry Sipkins noted that even in the 1790s, one in five households in New York City owned slaves. The number of slave owners increased into the early 1800s. Sipkins alerted readers that the only reason the gradual emancipation act of 1799 passed in New York was because the legislature had expanded. By 1799, the power of legislators from the strong slave-holding parts of Long Island and the Hudson Valley declined as the frontier regions of New York or non-slaveholding areas expanded resulting in more legislators from the non-slaveholding frontier to vote in favor of a gradual emancipation act.[64] There was a loophole in the law that allowed non-residents to have slaves in New York for up to nine months until 1841. This clause showed that shrewd slaveholders could find ways to keep slaves in New York years after the passage of the gradual emancipation act. Most people in New York abided by the law and did not own slaves.

Historian Shane White recognizes that in the three decades after the American Revolution, slavery in New York City shifted from the center of the city's economic life to its periphery. These changes also altered the slave trade resulting in fewer imports into New York City and the state. After the Revolution, the typical slave owner changed from a small artisan, retailer, or captain of a ship in need of slave labor to a member of the elite classes of lawyers, successful artisans, and merchants. Lawyers and merchants had always owned slaves, but what changed was that fewer middle class whites owned slaves after the Revolution. The vast majority of slaveholders after the war were merchants.[65]

Shane White mentions that in New York City, a large proportion of households contained slaves by 1790. He demonstrates that 34 percent of white households in Charleston's hinterlands contained slaves, while 39.5 percent of white households in New

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[64]Henry Sipkins, *Oration on the Abolition of the Slave Trade: Delivered in the African Church, in the City of New-York, January 2, 1809* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1809).

[65] White, *Somewhat More Independent*, 46.

York, Kings, and Queens Counties had slaves during the post-Revolution era.[66] Even in New York City in 1790, on every street there was at least one slaveholder, and most residents lived within at least a few houses of a slaveholder.

New York witnessed a rise in total population as the state moved to emancipate slaves. One of the reasons why slavery had been so important in early New York was because there were not enough whites to meet the labor demands for the city and hinterlands. As emancipation drew closer, the white population grew enormously, leading to a shift in free blacks and whites to fulfill the state's labor demands.

Figure 4.3 Population of New York City[67]

Year	# of Slaves	% Slaves	Free Blacks	Total Population
1790	2,056	6.6%	1,036	31,225
1800	2,534	4.4%	3,333	57,663
1810	1,446	1.6%	7,470	91,659

Although northern legislators passed emancipation acts and slavery became illegal, most slave owners from southern states, especially those from South Carolina, did not intend to free their slaves. While some South Carolinians supported the anti-slave trade movement after an international outcry against the traffic, most white people in the state continued to defend domestic slavery. South Carolina leaders argued that the state needed slaves to labor over their staple commodities. Also, as many from Virginia and

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66 Jonathan Elliott, *Debates on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution: Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution As Recommended By the General Convention At Philadelphia in 1787*, Volume I, (Ayer Publishing: New Stratford, 1987),Friday, June 7, 1776, 60; H. Von Holst Ed., *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States* (Chicago: Callaghan and Co., 1881-1892) State Sovereignty and Slavery, 1889, 282-283; White, *Somewhat More Independent*, 14-16.

67 White, *Somewhat More Independent*, 26.

Maryland adamantly opposed the foreign slave trade, they still staunchly supported slavery and willingly sold their surplus workers to the South.[68]

The Final Years?

Reformers throughout the Atlantic moved towards ending their participation with the international slave trade in the 1700s and the early 1800s. Even politicians from Georgia voted to end their trade in 1798. Partially in response to the Louisiana Purchase and the anticipated demand for slaves, South Carolinians reopened their slave trade in 1803. Most of the leaders around the nation, and even a few from South Carolina, were perturbed by efforts of Carolina legislators to reopen their state's international slave trade. Some Carolinians were angered because they did not want a large growing slave or free black population. Although the slave trade followed the contours of labor and agricultural needs, the spread of ideology against the slave trade led some South Carolinians to turn against it for moral and ideological reasons. A group of Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians in South Carolina discussed the evils of the slave trade and slavery. Yet, while some of the key religious groups in the North, such as the Quakers, used a variety of tactics to stop the slave trade and slavery. Many religious followers in Carolina worked to bring religion to the slaves, but not to stop the slave trade or emancipate slaves.[69]

Economic self-interest played a key role in the closing of the trade for South Carolina. After the Revolution, many lowcountry planters wanted to discontinue the international slave trade so that the value of their current slaves would increase. At this time, more whites were migrating and settling in the backcountry regions of South

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[68] Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery*, 321-323.
[69] Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 167-172; Heyrman, *Southern Cross*, 134-135.

Carolina. Competition for slaves between regions of South Carolina became a greater point of contention after the Revolution.[70]

South Carolina newspapers contained articles on the slave trade less frequently, with only about three hundred items on the slave trade in South Carolina newspapers from 1784 through 1808. There were a few common themes in articles on the save trade by journalists in New York and Charleston. Many New York editors were inspired by British authors who wrote articles on ending the traffic. White South Carolinians did not want articles on Britain's attempts to end the slave trade for the obvious reason that many desired to continue their involvement in the slave trade and would not want to print articles supporting the abolition of the traffic.[71]

New York newspaper editors also included copious articles on the horrors of the slave trade and actual examples of what whites encountered on board slave vessels traveling from Africa to the Americas. In one instance, a group of slaves aboard a vessel seized materials from the floor of the ship. The white crewmembers moved the slaves towards the stern of the ship. The captain of the vessel told the slaves that if they proceeded to cause trouble on board he would shoot them. After the slaves annoyed the captain, he shot three of them. In witnessing the captain's actions, the surviving slaves realized they had no chance against the whites and surrendered. Many who opposed the slave trade wanted this story told in the press to portray the dreadful picture of the African slave trade.[72]

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[70] Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 126-128 Sinha, *Counterrevolution of Slavery*, 9-14.

[71] See for example the *New-York Daily Gazette*, *New-York Herald*, *New-York Journal*, the *Carolina Gazette*, *Charleston Courier*, *State Gazette of South Carolina*, and *South Carolina Gazette*, all published from 1784 through 1808.

[72] *Weekly Museum*, 12/19/ 1801, Volume XIV, Issue 10, p. 3, New York, New York.

Some of the editors of South Carolina newspapers rebuked the northern press by arguing that although editors of northern newspapers, including those from New York, published articles condemning South Carolina for their involvement in the slave trade, it was harder for those in the Deep South because the soil and climate of South Carolina allowed for the abundant growth of valuable staple commodities. An author of an article in the *New York Evening Post* also mentioned that even though those from northern cities had stopped importing slaves, many continued to equip slave vessels and trade slaves from northern ports to southern locales.[73]

As the demand for cotton from South Carolina grew, planters desired more slaves. Slave traders, planters, and merchants, insisted that state legislators allow the slave trade to be reopened in the early 1800s.[74] Despite some objections, several factors caused politicians from South Carolina to reopen their slave trade. For one, many continued to trade illegally even when the state prohibited it. Another reason was the huge demand for cotton; those connected to the trade wanted to resume and carry on their trade as much as possible before the end of the legal slave trade for the United States in 1808. The decision of South Carolina leaders to reopen their trade sent trepidation across the nation. In the aftermath of the act, many people in the North joined anti-slavery societies. The slave revolt in Saint Domingue reminded whites about the dangers of large numbers of slaves in one place.[75]

Many Carolinians at this time actually supported stopping imports for a variety of social and economic reasons. After the opening of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, a number of people who opposed imports now supported them. Discussions and legislation

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[73] *The New-York Evening Post*, July 26, 1806, Issue: 1424; p. 2, New York, New York.

[74] Fehrenbacher, *Slaveholding Republic*, 142-144.

[75] W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1896), 86.

on banning slavery in new territory spread, but many, especially in the Deep South, believed that once the territory was opened up, the possibilities for agricultural production would lead to an increased demand for slaves.

Editors from newspapers such as the *Charleston Courier* printed numerous articles and editorials on the importance of the Louisiana territory. The authors of the articles discussed the agricultural importance of the new territory and many from South Carolina saw this as an opportunity to expand cotton production and also slavery. Some of the authors stressed that the development of Louisiana depended on slave labor. On October 20, 1803, the Senate voted 24 to 7 in favor of ratifying the treaty granting the United States the Louisiana Territory. New Orleans was transferred from France to the United States two months later. A few weeks later editors of the *Charleston Courier* and other papers wrote about the ratification of the Louisiana Purchase. South Carolina Governor James Richardson proposed to the General Assembly that Carolina reopen its slave trade. A year earlier, Richardson had voted with the House majority to not open the slave trade. In the midst of the Louisiana Purchase, Richardson claimed that the bill to close the trade was not working and slaves continued to enter. Former Governor John Drayton also reversed his position at the same time. Both of these men, and many others, once again supported the international slave trade as the United States expanded further West.[76]

On December 6, 1803, the Carolina state Senate voted so overwhelmingly in favor of reopening the slave trade that a roll call was not taken. In the Carolina House, some of the same representatives who had voted to prohibit slave importations in 1802 now voted in favor of reopening the trade. Slaves poured into the colony with the possibility of profits due to western expansion and the boom in the cotton market.

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[76] Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 97-99; Shugerman, "South Carolina's Slave Trade," 271-275.

Another main factor dealt with the federal closing of the international slave trade in 1808. Many traders, slaveholders, and those connected to the traffic wanted to import as many slaves while they still could.[77]

Although the lowcountry was filled with slaves, many leaders voted against the reopening of the slave trade for fear of importing too many slaves leading to debt and slave rebellions. Many in the backcountry, however, supported the measure to reopen the trade because they were closer to the Louisiana territory and supported the potential profits. Ultimately the House voted in 1803 to reopen the international traffic with 55 in favor and 46 opposed. A closer examination of the vote shows that backcountry representatives voted 30 to 19 in favor of reopening the trade and lowcountry representatives voted 27 to 25 against reopening the trade.[78] Section 10 of the Louisiana Ordinance in 1804 prohibited slave imports from the international slave trade. Many in Carolina saw this as a huge advantage because South Carolina was now the only southern port where the slave trade was legal. Slaves could then be briefly imported into Charleston before transportation to the West.[79]

Analyzing slave imports between 1800 and 1804 reveals a dramatic change due to circumstances surrounding 1803. Between 1799 and 1803, there were only five documented voyages from Africa into Carolina. In 1804, there was a striking increase in the number of voyages and the number of slaves imported from Africa to Charleston.

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[77] Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 104-106.

[78] Shugerman, "South Carolina's Slave Trade,'" 278-279.

[79] Patrick S. Brady, "The Slave Trade and Sectionalism in South Carolina, 1787-1808," *Journal of Southern History* Vol. 38, No. 4 (November 1972): 612-615; Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 98-99.

4.4 Slave Voyages from Africa to Charleston

Year	Number of Voyages	Number of Slaves Imported from Africa
1799	1	3
1800	1	77
1801	1	66
1802	2	529
1803	0	0
1804	34	6,457
1805	45	5,835[80]

The opening of lands to the West led some lowcountry planters who had turned against the traffic to support the trade. Traders realized that Carolinians could make a profit from the internal slave trade with the West. After the reopening of the slave trade, many lowcountry planters became more willing to support the reopening of the intercolonial slave trade for political and ideological reasons. As leaders talked of prohibiting the slave trade in the West, lowcountry politicians ignored possible economic problems and the threat of slave rebellion and focused on the future demand for slaves for cotton production with the opening up of western territory.[81]

The reopening, support for, and flood of imported slaves from 1803 through 1808 also demonstrated the failure of ideological and moral arguments in Carolina to overturn the trade until they were forced to under national law.

Although it was not as widespread as in the North, after the Revolution, white evangelical opposition to slavery grew in Carolina. Governor John Drayton worried more about the spread of anti-slavery thought than he did over slave insurrection. In 1803, a

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[80] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces.
[81] Shugerman, "South Carolina's Slave Trade," 289-290.

Methodist pamphlet and an anti-slavery pamphlet spread throughout Carolina calling for emancipation. Whereas most New York City and state lawmakers turned against the slave trade and slavery, Carolina's Governor Drayton declared that spreading anti-slavery literature was "incompatible" with the rights of the state.[82]

There was also a growing number of vocal Quakers who spoke out against the slave trade and slavery. Despite the Quaker presence, Carolina Senator Jacob Read believed that when it came to threats against the slave trade and slavery in South Carolina, the Quakers were "harmless" because they did not have an organized body in the Palmetto state. The Methodists in the state were looked upon as a much bigger menace due to solid church hierarchy and connections with many slaves and free blacks.[83] Read also feared the Methodists because they purposely reached out to and formed friendly relationships with slaves. Some also worried over the threat of the Baptists who accepted and reached out to slaves.[84] Although there were some religious groups in South Carolina who wanted to abolish the slave trade and emancipate slaves, the majority of white Carolinians either opposed the slave trade for reasons other than moral and religious or continued to support the slave trade and slavery.

Not only did residents of the North rebuke South Carolinians for their continued involvement in the international trade, but reformers around the Atlantic wrote against the state's involvement in the traffic. Ann Tuke Alexander, a female British Quaker minister by eighteen and child labor advocate, visited the United States between 1803 and 1805. She wrote a pamphlet in Philadelphia in 1805 against reopening South Carolina's slave trade. In her "An Address to the Inhabitants of South Carolina," she referred to the international traffic as "repugnant" and "barbarous." Alexander's treatise was a cry

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[82] Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 90-91.

[83] Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 86-88; *Jacob Read Papers* 1752-1816, in the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina at Columbia.

[84] Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 86-88; *Jacob Read Papers* 1752-1816.

against the callous trans-Atlantic slave trade that resulted in unmercifully tearing families away from their country of origin. She went on to describe how slaves were forced into America where many died due to the cruelties of the Middle Passage and those who survived endured a life of inhumane working conditions.[85]

As the international slave trade temporarily reopened in South Carolina, traders imported large numbers of slaves into Charleston. The large importations between 1804 and 1807 were partially due to a frantic effort by Carolina traders and slave owners to act before the expected prohibition of 1808. Many whites in South Carolina had previously thought that a national ban on the slave trade would not pass. Historians have estimated that merchants and planters brought in anywhere from 40,000 to over 75,000 slaves into the Palmetto State in just a few years. Several individuals and firms handled transactions involving the international traffic, including William Boyd, Charleston's most active slave trader during the early 1800s. Boyd was responsible for shipping more than 400 slaves at a time. Between 1804 and 1807, the port city witnessed a deluge of slaves into Charleston's harbor.[86]

Although New York's slave trade had ended, except for some smuggling, Charleston witnessed a huge growth in imports after the reopening of Carolina's slave trade in 1803, the growth of cotton exports, the opening of the Louisiana Territory, and the impending federal ban by 1808. South Carolina's culture was embedded to a slaveholding ideology and moved in a paternal direction which allowed for the support of the slave trade and slavery.[87] This paternal culture which permeated South Carolina never existed on a similar scale in New York or other northern areas. The slave culture

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[85] Ann Tuke Alexander, *An Address to the Inhabitants of Charleston, South Carolina* (Philadelphia: Printed by Kimber, Conrad, & Co., 1805).

[86] McMillin, *Final Victims*, 86, 94-96; Carl Harrison Brown Jr., The Reopening of the Foreign Slave Trade in South Carolina, 1803-1807 (Dissertation: University of South Carolina).

[87] Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 112-115, 143-144.

embedded into South Carolina made it much more difficult for planters than for small farmers of New York to end their involvement in the slave trade.

4.5 Slave Imports to Charleston[88]

Years	Slaves from Africa	Slaves from Caribbean	Totals
1796-1800	438	0	438
1801-1805	13,565	687	14,252
1806-1807	32,716	706	33,422

In the early 1800s, slaves continued to arrive from the Bight of Biafra, Gold Coast, Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and West Central Africa. The majority of the slaves were imported from West Central Africa.[89]

While some saw the benefits of opening the Louisiana Purchase to slavery, others recognized problems. Some Carolinians feared in the aftermath of the Louisiana Purchase and the potential for additional slave labor to work the new land, people would buy a large quantity of slaves that they could not afford resulting in debt. Some feared that a surge of Caribbean slaves smuggled up from the mouth of the Mississippi through the new territory into Carolina would cause a rebellion.[90]

Charles Pinckney pleaded again with Carolina state legislators in 1806 to prohibit the importation of slaves into South Carolina. While he had supported slavery and the slave trade in the past, in 1806, as governor, he spoke against the traffic and called for an end to the slave trade. Pinckney worried that imported slaves would only lead to

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[88] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix C-2.

[89] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; See Appendix C-2. While some historians estimated anywhere from 40,000 to 75,000 slaves were imported into Charleston. By using the slave trade database, there were around 57,431 slaves arrived.

[90]

continued debt and economic problems. Carolinians witnessed continued financial distress stemming from the American Revolution. Pinckney argued that importing more slaves that slaveholders could not afford would not improve, but only hurt Carolina's economy. As crops failed, slaves continued to be imported into Charleston and the state was on the verge of bankruptcy. With the impending close of the international slave trade, many feared they would not have enough slaves to labor over cotton and other commodities. Several people were tempted into purchasing slaves they could not afford by buying on credit. Debt and crop failures resulted in disaster.[91]

In 1806, Congress prepared a bill on the international slave trade, which President Thomas Jefferson signed into law in early March 1807 and was to go into effect on January 1, 1808. Slave traders involved in the Atlantic traffic in the United States had nine months to end their participation and finish any transactions. Under the terms of the act, anyone importing slaves would be liable for a fine of $20,000. The ship and cargo captured would be apprehended and the cargo, or slaves, would be sold by the state where the offender was apprehended. The federal government considered a conviction for violators of the international slave trade as a high misdemeanor that could lead to imprisonment from five to ten years. The act placed U.S. Naval forces along the Atlantic coast of America to patrol.[92] The most debated aspects of the bill that ended the international slave trade dealt with deciding on the punishments or someone illegally trading in slaves. Another argument surfaced over how much power the federal government should have in regulating the illegal slave trade along the coasts.

The statute terminating the international slave trade for the United States passed in the House of Representatives with 113 men voting in favor and only 5 against. Even

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[91] Donnan, "Governor Charles Pinckney to the House of Representatives, 1806," *Documents Illustrative*, Vol. 4, 519-520; *Charleston Courier*, December 24, 1806.

[92] United States Congress, *The Act Prohibiting the Importation of Slaves*, March 2, 1807.

those from the Deep South conceded the inhumanity of the slave trade. In fact, most of those who disapproved of the bill voted against it because they desired harsher penalties for violating the act and they opposed the sale of slaves captured on the ship. Jefferson and other slaveholders knew that the slave population in America was rising through natural reproduction and believed there was no need to import more slaves.[93]

One of the major issues of the slave trade act that continued to be a problem even after the passage included what to do with the slaves once they were found. The original plan called for slaves to be sold into slavery by the federal government. Many northerners opposed this option and deemed it immoral for the federal government to be involved in the selling of slaves. Southerners contested that the slaves should not be allowed to be free, especially if they were to stay in the South. Northerners also opposed sending the slaves back to Africa to endure what would likely be another horrific voyage. Some northerners suggested sending the slaves to the North to work as indentured servants at first and then gain their freedom, but most people from the North and South opposed this proposal. Even though many northerners disliked slavery, many continued to fear free blacks. The death penalty for convicted smugglers was another possibility. Only one person was ever hanged for his involvement in the slave trade.[94]

When it came to enforcing the slave trade laws, however, the federal government lacked the power to enforce the laws. The Secretary of the Treasury monitored the trade with customs collections agents but for most of the first half of the 19th century they were unable to prevent wide-scale illegal trading. The Secretary of the Navy also monitored the trade. Later on, the Departments of State and War oversaw aspects of the slave trade. Despite efforts from some national departments, America's

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[93] Drescher, *Abolition*, 135-136.

[94] John P. Kaminski, ed., *A Necessary Evil? Slavery and the Debate Over the Constitution* (Madison: Madison House Publishers, 1995), 239-240.

participation in the illegal international slave trade proved difficult to eliminate. As indicated, the fines and possible jail time were severe. Yet, enforcement proved to be a major quandary and many involved in the illegal slave trade were not caught, were captured but never prosecuted, or were convicted but received only minimal punishment.[95]

Under the Jefferson administration, slaves rescued from the illegal international slave trade were treated according to the law of the state in which they were found. Merchants from several states including New York and South Carolina continued to trade in slaves after the 1808 law. Carolinians proved to be among the prime offenders in breaking the slave trade act. Jefferson remained lax on what to do with rescued slaves and allowed the slaves to remain in bondage in America. Jefferson also disinterested in the federal government spending any money on returning slaves who had been captured illegally back to Africa. Not only that, but during the Jefferson administration, the federal government provided little money to enforce the federal slave trade act and did not place enough officials along the coast of Africa or the United States to monitor the illegal trade.[96]

British leaders also ended their involvement in the international slave trade by 1808. After Napoleon revived slavery and the slave trade in 1804, a sense of patriotic hostility led many in Britain to revive the anti-slave trade and antislavery movement. Many people throughout the British Empire continued to discuss the evils of the international trade. During the first few years of the 1800s, various pamphlets, articles, plays, and other forms of print on the inhumanity of the international slave trade spun around the Atlantic. British legislators proposed a bill to end the slave trade where it passed the House of Lords by a vote of 100 to 36 and the House of Commons by 283 to

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[95] W.E.B. Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, 109-110.
[96] 1807 Slave Trade Act; http://abolition.nypl.org/essays/us_constitution/5/.

16. On January 1, 1808, it became illegal for any British ship to engage in the Atlantic slave trade.[97]

Conclusion

As New Yorkers ended their slave trade in 1788 and were moving towards emancipation during the early 1800s, most Carolinians wanted to keep the international slave trade legal and maintain their slave population. Many from the Palmetto State continued to support, justify, and embed slavery into South Carolina's culture through patriarchy and eventually paternalism. The slave culture of South Carolina was much different from that of not only New York, but of most northern and southern states. For most South Carolina slaveholders, the emergence of humanitarianism around the Atlantic and the end of the international slave trade under United States law did not cause a desire to emancipate their slaves, but led to a defense of slavery.[98] Southern planters had an emotional investment in slavery in a way the North did not.

Movements to end the international slave trade existed not only in the Western world. Africans also started moving more vociferously against the slave trade. Larger numbers worked at the West coast ports to prevent African dealers from selling Africans to Europeans. After he left Nova Scotia for Africa in the 1800s, John Kizell would become a significant leader in the movement to end the slave trade in Sierra Leone. Kizell worked with Africans, Americans, and Europeans alike to formulate ways to officially end the international slave trade.[99]

Inhabitants from New York and South Carolina took different paths towards ending the slave trade in the post-Revolution era. Surrounded by northern states and

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[97] Davis, *Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, 48-49.

[98] Ford, *Deliver Us from Evil*, 244-245.

[99] I will elaborate on Kizell's actions in working towards ending the international slave trade in the next chapter. Kevin G. Lowther, *The African American Odyssey of John Kizell: A South Carolina Slave Returns to Fight the Slave Trade in his African Homeland* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011).

sharing a common moral and ideological framework, those from New York worked to end their legal involvement in the slave trade by 1788. Leaders from South Carolina would not pass legislation to permanently end their slave trade and the traffic resumed in 1804 and lasted until the federal ban. The question of whether or not to prohibit the slave trade was highly contested in South Carolina. The state was divided on a number of economic, social, religious, and political issues surrounding the trade. Lowcountry and backcountry residents were also split on the decision to allow slave imports. Many leaders even went back and forth on the issue and supported and rejected calls for importations based on social, political, and ideological factors.

Although most people from the United States did not desire to engage extensively in the illegal slave trade, some throughout the United States continued to participate in it. New York and South Carolina residents imported some slaves into their states after 1808. Many traders from both states also participated in the illegal traffic as outfitters and carriers of slaves throughout the Atlantic.[100] Although those from the North were the leaders in banning slave imports and moving to end the slavery after the Revolution, some people in the North, especially those in New York City, Rhode Island and Boston, continued to provide vessels for the slave trade. Some merchants and businessmen in New York and Rhode Island protested the closing of the trade, and carried on a lucrative illegal slave trade business.

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[100] Although the number of slaves entering the United States remained difficult to determine after 1808, there were some documented accounts of voyages that started in New York, went to Africa and landed in Cuba and Brazil. I will elaborate more on this issue in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

THE ILLEGAL SLAVE TRADES OF NEW YORK AND SOUTH CAROLINA

In June 1858, a vessel known as the *Wanderer* departed from New York for West Africa in search of slaves. The crew of the *Wanderer* carried a cargo of supplies connected to the slave trade. As the *Wanderer* navigated from Africa back to America, the captain of the vessel attempted to distract officials in the Atlantic Ocean who captured vessels engaged in the illegal traffic. After authorities monitoring the Atlantic for slave ships pulled alongside the *Wanderer*, a much larger ship filled with possibly hundreds of slaves sailed across the Atlantic without notice. After the capture of the *Wanderer*, the crewmembers provided a register of the materials on board. The vessel contained all the provisions necessary for a slave trade voyage, including large quantities of water, handcuffs, chains, bolts, and hogsheads. Officials failed to find any slaves on board, however, and the crew of the *Wanderer* continued to sail on. Shortly after, the ship mysteriously appeared in the Savannah River laden with 120 Guinea slaves. Many of these slaves were sold in South Carolina. Those involved with the illegal voyage broke America's international slave trade laws and went unpunished.[1] The *Wanderer* represented a pattern from 1808 through the Civil War as traders in the United States continued their involvement in the illegal international slave trade both as carriers and importers and received minimal, if any punishment.[2]

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[1] "The Wanderer and its Cruise," *New York Times*, January 1, 1859.

[2] W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1896), 185; "The Slave Trade in New York," *Continental Monthly*, January 1862, p. 87; *New York Herald*,

In this chapter, I analyze New York's and South Carolina's participation in the international slave trade after the end of the legal trade on January 1, 1808. Due to South Carolina's slave majority, historians today are not surprised that white Carolinians continued their involvement in the international slave trade after 1808. Many scholars are unaware, however, that a good many people in New York City participated in the illegal trade as significant carriers of slaves.[3] In fact, Manhattan-based traders had more documented voyages than those from any other state as *carriers* of slaves. The typical route started in New York. Captains of vessels then traveled to Africa, from which they then transported their captives to the Americas, especially Cuba and Brazil. As this chapter demonstrates, South Carolinians were hardly the only participants in the illegal international slave trade.

Despite the 1807, 1818, 1819, and 1820 federal acts designed to end the international slave trade, many Americans were ambivalent about using federal power to suppress the traffic. The government's lackluster enforcement of the slave trade laws resulted in an increase in human trafficking during the 1850s, and the trade did not completely stop until the Civil War and the 13th Amendment ending slavery. By comparing the illegal slave trade in Manhattan and Charleston, we can see that executing the trade laws and the illegal trade was a problem not only in a southern city, but also in a northern port. Although most traders from northern states did not participate in the Atlantic slave trade after 1808, of those who did, including those from New York City,

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July 14, 1856; 37th Congress, 2nd Session V. 53; 27th Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 25-26; 26th Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 45-49.

[3] Shane White, *Somewhat More Independent: The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770-1810* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 53. In his message to the state legislature in 1817, Governor Daniel D. Tompkins suggested that July 4, 1827, be set as the date for which all remaining slaves in the state—that is, those born before July 4, 1799, who were unaffected by the Gradual Manumission Act—should be freed. There is little doubt that in making the request, the legislature desired to end slavery in New York on the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

Rhode Island, and Boston, many traders were able to carry out slave trade voyages with little if any punishment.[4]

It is important to distinguish between the two types of illegal trafficking carried out by New York and South Carolina traders. One form included traders who continued to import slaves into their respective state, after their state, and later, Congress prohibited slave imports from abroad. Another mechanism of illegal trading involved traders from the United States as *carriers* of slaves who outfitted vessels for the international slave trade in the states, had a crew send a vessel to the coast of Africa to pick up slaves, and then transported slaves to the Americas, (mostly outside of the United States). New York traders imported few slaves into their state after the state banned importations in 1788, but many did engage in other forms of illegal trading as outfitters and carriers. Directors of slave vessels from New York City sailed for Africa, picked up slaves along Africa's coast and transported the captives to the Americas. Some from South Carolina also outfitted vessels for the African trade. Yet, whereas most of the slaves in New York's ventures went to Cuba or Brazil, many Carolina traders shipped slaves to Charleston.

Under the 1807 federal act, citizens of the United States could not be masters, owners, or factors of vessels designed to transport slaves. Shipbuilders in America could not even construct, fit, equip, load, or prepare a ship for the purpose of transporting slaves to the United States or elsewhere, including Brazil and Cuba. Yet, without international treaties, Washington could do nothing to stop foreign nationals carrying on the slave trade elsewhere. Despite the law of 1807, many connected to New York's port did not stop their involvement in the illicit traffic. Traders reaped large profits. The port of New York was very busy and it was easy for vessels connected to the illegal slave

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[4] A Return of All Ships or Vessels, Brought into Any Port in the Colonies of Great Britain And Condemned Therein, under Any of the Acts for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1808-1812, Great Britain (Book - 1813). Sc Rare F 07-21 in the Schomburg Center.

trade to leave the port undetected. Traders from New York also had a very active trade with Africa in goods other than humans. It was common for ships to clear Africa from New York, so many vessels traveling to Africa to transport slaves went unnoticed.[5]

Throughout the period of the illegal trade, the government of the United States remained ambivalent at both the federal and state level over how to deal with the trade. The vast majority of Americans—including proslavery southerners—condemned the foreign trade. Many, however, especially in the South, were uncomfortable with what they saw as excessive federal interference within the states. Implementing the slave trade laws included hiring and paying a wide variety of people from customs officials, federal marshals, judges, attorneys, the U.S. Navy, and a host of other authorities. Congress was unwilling to spend a lot of money on appointing a strong force of workers to stop the illicit trade. Until the Civil War, the federal government (which was often under the control of southerners) never committed sufficient resources to stamp out slave smuggling and was at best lukewarm about prosecuting slave traders.[6]

Although there were no documented slave imports into New York, in 1808 alone, three slave vessels that originated in New York City brought 458 slaves to the Americas. The crew of a ship known as the *Fortune* intended to transport slaves from Africa to the Americas, but the vessel was captured and condemned. In 1808, nine vessels were outfitted in Charleston for Africa, with most of the slaves then imported south of the United States. Of the nine ships, crewmembers transported 1,286 slaves from Africa to

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[5] Act of 1807 (Prohibition of the Slave Trade), An Act to prohibit the importation of slaves into any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, from and after the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eight.

[6] The Trials of the Slave Traders, Samuel Samo, Joseph Peters, and William Tufft Tried in April and June 1812, before the Hon. Robert Thorpe, L.L.D, Samo, Samuel (Microform – 1812 in the Schomburg Center.

the Americas. There were also eight voyages originating in Charleston between 1810 and 1817 that carried 593 slaves.[7]

In his pamphlet, *Serious Remonstrances to the Citizens of the Northern States*, Thomas Branagan discussed the continuation of the illegal trade. Branagan grew up in poverty, worked his way up the ranks as on slave ships and became a slave owner of a plantation in Antigua. After having a Methodist conversion experience, he became a preacher and devoted his life to working against slavery and the slave trade. He claimed that "even after the year 1808, southerners continued to import slaves as they have done prior to the revival of the slave trade laws, they will do after the abolition of that trade, -- to wit; import thousands of slaves through the instrumentality of smugglers."[8] He noted that it was "well known that these vessels have been fitted out in our own ports," and that slaves continued to be illegally smuggled into the state every day.[9]

New York City newspaper editors also alerted readers to the fact that many people throughout the state were "unaware of the extent to which this infernal traffic is carried on, by vessels clearing from New York, and in close alliance with our legitimate trade." An author of an 1810 newspaper article in the *New-York Evening Post* alluded to the continued illegal trade, not only in the South, but also in northern ports.[10]

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[7] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces. Between 1817 and 1849, there were no recorded voyages that began in Charleston. I will discuss the 1850s later on in this chapter.

[8] Thomas Branagan, *Serious Remonstrances, Addressed to the Citizens of the Northern Atates, and their Representatives: Being An Appeal to their Natural Feelings & ...* (Philadelphia, 1805), xiii.

[9] Brannagan, *Serious Remonstrances*, xiii; Account of Sales of 106 Africans brought into Charleston, S.C., on Brig Three Sisters, Captain Champlin, of Bristol, October 12, 1807 / [[W.H.M.] in South Caroliniana Library; John Melish, Travels through the United States of America, in the years 1806 & 1807, and 1809, 1810, & 1811 in South Caroliniana Library.

[10] *New York Evening Post*, October 10, 1810, Issue 2625, p. 2.

Despite the gradual decline of slavery in the state itself, merchants and men of power were involved in the buying and selling of slaves for years after the closing of the international slave trade in 1808.[11] Some politicians not only addressed the problem of illegal slave trading after that date but created and passed a series of laws designed to stop the illegal slave trade from 1818 until the Civil War. Authors of newspaper articles and politicians routinely referred to the slave trade as flourishing throughout the antebellum period, with large numbers of slaves imported illegally into the Americas. An 1859 article in the *New York Herald* stated that the "Slave Trade continues to thrive as usual," with the ship *Ellen* transporting nine hundred slaves from Africa to the Americas.[12]

Although there were problems of enforcement with the United States, leaders in Britain and Africa initiated zealous efforts to end Africa's slave trade. John Kizell became very active in the movement against the slave trade in Sierra Leone. He wrote letters to chiefs insisting that they should show the Europeans that the slave trade was no longer profitable or acceptable. Kizell advocated the cultivation of African lands and working to improve the economy. His mission in closing off the slave trade along the coast of West Africa included two main features. First, he wanted to travel throughout Sherbro and reach out to the chiefs on how problematic it was to sell Africans to slave traders. Kizell's second goal was agricultural. He championed a solely African initiative for the production of a variety of goods, including rice, coffee, and palm oil in hopes that

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[11] Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, 178-179; *New York Journal of Commerce*, 1857, 24th Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society, p. 56; "The Slave Trade in New York," *Continental Monthly*, January 1862, 87.

Inclosure 2 in No. 796. Extract from the "New York Herald" of January 17, 1859, Reel 3 p. 738.

it would bring money to the region and also show Europeans and Americans that Africans could control and manage their own economy.[13]

Kizell dedicated his life to trying to prevent Africans from getting involved in the slave trade and preventing Africans and Europeans from enslaving Africans and forcing them to the Americas. Kizell formed relationships with African leaders and kings to try to convince them how the slave trade hurt Africa. Despite Kizell's efforts, a thriving traffic pervaded the Atlantic.

Historians disagree on the number of slaves illegally imported into the United States after 1808. Philip Curtin approximated that about 1,000 slaves each year were illegally imported into the United States from 1808 through the Civil War. Don Fehrenbacher calculated that 12,000 slaves were smuggled in from 1810 to 1860, or on average 240 per year.[14] On the higher end, W.E.B. DuBois estimated that between 1807 and 1865 at least 250,000 slaves were smuggled into the United States. Paul Finkelman concedes that after 1820, far fewer than 100,000 slaves were most likely smuggled into the United States. Although we cannot be sure of the exact number, Curtin was closest and there were probably around 1,000 slaves imported per year on average during these decades based on information from court cases and slave trade records.[15]

Many of the voyages involving illegal imports into the United States went undocumented, of course. There were, however, many records of voyages that originated in the United States and delivered slaves to other countries. Much of this chapter focuses

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[13] Kevin G. Lowther, *The African American Odyssey of John Kizell: A South Carolina Slave Returns to Fight the Slave Trade I His African Homeland*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2012), 171-172.

[14] Don E. Fehrenbacher, *The Slaveholding Republic: An Account of the United States Government's Relations to Slavery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 149.

[15] Fehrenbacher, *Slaveholding Republic*, 149-150; Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, Paul Finkelman, *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson*, 2nd ed. (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2001).

on the numbers of slaves transported based on *documented* voyages from the slave trade database that started in New York City or Charleston, traveled to Africa, and then sailed to the Americas. These *documented* voyages provide insights into the illegal trade.

New York traders outfitted far more ships than did their counterparts in Charleston to carry slaves from Africa to the Americas. Between 1808 and 1863, there were 140 voyages that originated in the United States and transported African slaves illegally. Of those 140 voyages, 60 started in New York and 20 in Charleston.[16] As far as undocumented voyages, again, the numbers are difficult to determine due to the covert actions of the traders involved in the illicit business.[17]

Figure 5.1 Documented Voyages[18]

City	Total Documented Voyages for outfitting slaves from Africa to the Americas
New York	60
Charleston	20

For vessels that began in New York, between 1808 and 1863 there were 18,029 slaves who embarked from Africa; these captives disembarked mostly in the Americas with a few in Africa. For Charleston, between 1808 through the Civil War, traders transported 2,782 slaves from Africa to the Americas.[19] These numbers represent only the number of *documented* slaves. Smugglers and traders clearly managed to import more

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[16] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces. Besides New York and Charleston, 6 vessels originated in Baltimore, 8 in Boston, 6 from Bristol, R.I., 1 from Mobile, 2 in New Bedford, 24 from New Orleans, 2 from Norfolk, 1 from Philadelphia, and 3 from an unspecified port in Rhode Island.

[17] Based on the lack of evidence of undocumented voyages and the secretive nature of the illegal trade, I would not feel comfortable providing a guess on the number of undocumented voyages.

[18] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces.

[19] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces.

slaves into the states, which is why these numbers differ from those of other historians who estimated total numbers of slaves imported into the states.

There were a variety of reasons that explain why New Yorkers remained more active in the international slave trade than merchants from Charleston and other ports. The slave trade had been a lucrative business in New York by the early 1700s, and the traffic had become a cornerstone of New York's economy. There was also a long history of networks of people involved in the slave trade in New York City, from the trader to the merchants, to the port agents, dock workers, scriveners, those who made the boats, carpenters, lawyers, and clerks. New Yorkers engaged in building, equipping, and carrying their own slaves. As discussed in previous chapters, the majority of vessels associated with New York's slave trade originated in Manhattan. After the trade became illegal, some continued to participate and made a good deal of money. Carriers from New York mostly sent ships out to carry slaves to other parts of the Americas, whereas Charlestonians smuggled most of their illegal cargoes into Carolina or nearby southern states. New York traders also had a head start as carriers, and most of Charleston's voyages involved the British owning and outfitting the ships.[20]

Traders from New York also carried on a busy trade due to the dynamics of their port. Ultimately, most slaves carried illegally by New York traders were destined for Cuba. New York City was chosen as a base for slavers over Havana for a few reasons. For one, merchants from New York's port enjoyed an honest trade in goods with West Africa. This trade could be used to hide the illicit traffic. There were also fewer British officials in New York than there were in Havana. The British attempted to closely monitor Cuba's traffic. A third reason involved changing ownership of the slave vessels. When a ship connected to America changed owners in Havana it looked suspicious. In

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[20] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces; Appendix F.

New York, there were so many vessels coming in and out of the port. Owners in the city frequently changed possession of vessels every year.[21]

Another reason why those in New York's port were more active as carriers of slaves than those in Charleston included the quantity of businesses set up in New York. Merchants and businessmen of Portuguese and Spanish descent settled in New York and established businesses dealing with the international slave trade. These businesses also hired traders from the United States, including many from New York. For New York, after the international trade became illegal, some merchants and traders from the city continued their involvement. Many Spanish and Portuguese traders moved to New York to set up companies that traded in a variety of goods, including African slaves. New York's port was so active and populated with a variety of ethnic groups that is was easier to carry on an illicit trade business in Manhattan compared to other areas.[22]

The primary motivation for New York's trade involved sugar. Cuban and Brazilian masters offered New Yorkers sugar and wanted African workers in return. As British West Indian plantations began to decline due to the British moving against slavery and closing the slave trade, the markets moved to Cuba's and Brazil's sugar industries. As sugar grew in importance for Cuba, those involved in the business believed that the plantation economy required a large number of enslaved Africans A significant part of this population included traders from New York outfitting vessels in their northern port, sailing to Africa, and sending slaves to either Cuba or Brazil. Many Cubans and Brazilians believed the security of their colonies rested upon the slave trade.[23]

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[21] Warren S. Howard, *American Slavers and the Federal Law, 1837-1862* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 50.

[22] Howard, *American Slavers*, 50-51.

[23] David R. Murray, *Odious Commerce: Britain, Spain, and the Abolition of the Cuban Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), x.

As British West Indian plantations declined along with the drop in St. Domingue's sugar trade due to their revolution and subsequent destruction of their sugar industry, Cuba's sugar industry increased. This resulted in tremendous economic growth for Cuba by the end of the 1700s. Cuba's Sugar Revolution occurred in the second half of the 18th century. For Cuba, there was on average 13,000 boxes of sugar exports per year between 1760 and 1763. Between 1796 and 1800, yearly averages rose to 135,000 boxes a year. Exports continued to soar during the 1800s. By 1840, approximately 700,000 boxes of sugar were exported, and by 1844 exports rose to around 850,000 boxes. [24] There were many internal and external factors that caused the rise of the sugar industry in Cuba, but the continuation of the African slave trade continually replenished Cuba's slave labor force.[25] Shippers based in New York contributed to Cuba's African trade as significant carriers.

New York carriers also transported slaves from Manhattan to Africa and then to Brazil. Similar to Cuba, Brazil's sugar industry required a large slave population. At the start of the 19th century, Brazilians experienced an overall healthy economy. Population growth and industrialization led to an increase in demand for foodstuffs, including sugar.[26] As slavery and the slave trade were declining in the British West Indies, and devastation hit Saint Domingue due to the of the Haitian Revolution, Europeans and Americans looked to areas such as Cuba and Brazil for sugar.[27]

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[24] Murray, *Odious Commerce*, 1-2.

[25] Murray, *Odious Commerce*, 2.

[26] Leslie Bethel, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Britain, Brazil, and the Slave Trade Question, 1807-1869* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 4-5.

[27] Bethel, *Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade*, x-xi; Laird W. Bergad, *The Comparative Histories of Brazil, Cuba, and the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 8-30; Arthur F. Corwin, *Spain and the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba, 1817-1886* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967), 63, 143-147; Lacy K. Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil: The Slavery Question in the Old South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 26-27; Murray, *Odious Commerce*, 1-2.

The Laws of 1818, 1819, and 1820

New Yorkers connections with the sugar industry, together with the continued desire of some South Carolinians for slave imports, led to their dismissal of federal laws as they continued to participate in the slave trade. Although domestic slavery slowly developed into a major sectional issue that divided the country and resulted in Civil War, the actual slave trade itself failed to become a major sectional issue after the traffic was declared illegal in 1807. Even most slaveholders along the Upper South opposed the international trade. While the majority of residents of New York and South Carolina were against the trade, merchants still engaged in the traffic because it continued to be a lucrative business. Congress passed laws in 1818, 1819, and 1820 designed to stop the illegal traffic in slaves by enacting harsher penalties for offenders. Ultimately, even after the passage of these acts, enforcement continued to be a problem and the American government did not provide the proper resources to effectively carry out the slave trade laws.

In President James Madison's annual Addresses to Congress in 1810 and 1816, he expressed alarm over the continued involvement of his countrymen in the international trade. Madison condemned those who participated in the illegal trade,[28] and Congress continued to pass laws against the slave trade that received bisectional support. Most everyone viewed the international slave trade as inhumane. Yet, the government and people from both the North and South for the most part, put greater resources into punishing people for other crimes and considered enforcing the laws of the international slave trade were less of a priority.[29]

British officials took a more proactive approach to stopping the slave trade around the West coast of Africa, Cuba, and Brazil. Parliament pressed the United States for a

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[28] James Madison, *Address to Congress*, December, 1810, 1816.
[29] Fehrenbacher, *Slaveholding Republic*, 204.

more formal joint agreement to suppress the trade and to set up a court system to prosecute those involved. The United States refused to sign an agreement until the Civil War, however. The British also tried to form agreements with Spanish and Portuguese leaders to prevent the slave trade into Cuba and Brazil.[30] In 1817, there were two Anglo-Spanish treaties created to establish a system of courts and officials in Cuba and Sierra Leone. The British would monitor the court in Sierra Leone and Spanish colonial officials would oversee the court in Havana. Under the terms of the treaties, Africans from condemned slave ships were supposed to gain their freedom and receive certificates of emancipation. The British adhered to the terms of the treaty and acted as guardians for the illegally captured slaves. In Cuba, however, most of the slaves from condemned vessels remained enslaved.[31]

Although the leaders of the United States refused to sign an agreement with the British in regard to the international slave trade, Congress did work to create new federal laws to combat the slave trade. One important reason for the introduction of these acts of legislation involved conflicts between America and Spain. Despite agreements with Britain, the Spanish remained heavily involved in the slave trade, and Spanish traders and crewmembers transported large numbers of slaves into Florida. As tensions grew between Spain and the United States over Spanish Florida, the United States partly justified their invasion of the territory by chastising the Spanish for being unable to control the "freebooters" or pirates in the territory. These men allowed thousands of West Indian and African slaves to be smuggled into the United States through Spanish Florida and Amelia

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[30] Leaders from Britain and the United States, as well as Spain and Cuba tried a variety of measures to end the slave trades of Cuba and Brazil. Although some tactics were somewhat successful, the major boost for ending the slave trade for both Brazil and Cuba centered on a change in leadership. As Brazilian and Cuban leaders were dedicated to ending the slave trade for their country, which struck a blow to both trades leading to the complete destruction. Bethel, *Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade*, 359-360; Murray, *Odious Commerce*, 305-310.

[31] Murray, *Odious Commerce*, 271.

Island. In an attempt to place more attention on thwarting the illicit traffic, Congress passed three statutes in 1818, 1819, and 1820. The laws were passed after the substantial importation of slaves to Amelia Island on the coast of Spanish Florida. Many shippers, especially those connected to the slave trade in South Carolina, used Spanish Florida as a base to trade slaves illegally. In his annual message on December 2, 1817, President James Monroe stated that the island was "made a channel for the illicit introduction of slaves from Africa into the United States, an asylum for fugitive slaves from the neighboring states and a port for smuggling of every kind."[32] Many illegal traders from South Carolina brought slaves from Africa to Amelia Island with the hope that the slaves would then be traded to Carolina.

On April 20, 1818, Congress passed an act that expanded upon the 1807 statute and placed greater constraints on the slave trade. The statute acknowledged that the 1807 act included weak enforcement measures and provided tougher punishments. Yet, the 1818 measure actually lowered the fines for fitting a slave ship from $20,000 under the 1807 Act to $5,000 in 1818. The maximum jail time for fitting a ship in 1818 was no more than seven years, whereas the 1807 Act provided from five to ten years. While this law may at first appear to be more lenient than the 1807 act, under the stipulations of the 1818 law, it was harder for those accused to prove their innocence. Under this statute, the law placed the burden of proof on the defendant. Someone accused of illegally trading slaves had to show that the bondpersons were brought into the United States at least five years before the defendant was accused of the act. Those charged with possessing and in possession of, African-born persons would have to confirm that they obtained the slaves legally.[33] The 1818 law encouraged those associated with the illicit trade to turn in those

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[32] Debates of Congress, VI, p. 19; *Niles Register*, II, p. 93, Volume X, p. 400.

[33] Annals of Congress, House of Representatives, 15th Congress, 1st Session, April 1818, p. 1740.

involved in the slave trade by offering informants more money than they would obtain from assisting a slave trader.[34]

In 1819, Congress passed an even stricter law on the slave trade. The act, posed by Virginia congressmen Charles Fenton Mercer, empowered the president of the United States to set up armed vessels to patrol the coasts of the United States and Africa to catch slave traders. As a result, the national government established an African Squadron to monitor the African coast attempting to prevent slaves from being transported from Africa. The law also required that slaves rescued from the international slave trade intended for the United States be returned to Africa rather than keeping them as slaves in the United States. The president hired agents to rescue slaves associated with the African Squadron. The Squadron shipped slaves back to Africa, and when possible, to their place of origin. Under the act, the crew of the ships received incentives to recover slaves and return them and a $25 bounty for every individual rescued from traders. The act further allowed for a $50 bounty per person for informants whose information resulted in rescuing slaves traded illegally. Under the 1819 statute, for the first time, government leaders supported actions by the United States to spend money not only in working towards, preventing the international slave trade, but also in helping captured Africans to be transported back to Africa to regain their liberty.[35]

The national government continued to pass laws against the slave trade. In 1820, Congressman Mercer introduced new legislation, entitled "An Act to protect the commerce of the United States." Under this law, Congress decided the slave trade a form

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[34] Fehrenbacher, *The Slaveholding Republic*, 150-151.

[35] *An Act in Addition to the Acts Prohibiting the Slave Trade*, An Act to Protect the Commerce of the United States and Punish the Crime of Piracy, March 3, 1819; The 1819 statute changed the focus of the suppression of the slave trade by placing attention on the injustices of the act of enslaving a person. Under the 1819 law, the federal government formally recognized that the international slave trade was detestable.

of piracy. Mercer called for stiffer penalties for participation in the international slave trade. Congress made it a capital offense to partake in any aspect of slave trading. Under the act, any citizen of the United States from crewmember to captain involved in a foreign or American slave ship, who took someone for the purposes of slavery, "shall be adjudged a pirate; and … shall suffer death" if convicted.[36] On May 13, 1820, Congress passed the bill by a large majority, and Monroe signed it into law two days later.[37] Many from both the North and South supported the 1820 bill to end the transportation of slaves to the Americas. As a resident of slave-heavy Virginia, Monroe endorsed the bill, and members of his cabinet, such as William Crawford of Georgia and even John Calhoun of South Carolina, supported the act. But there were exceptions.[38]

In the aftermath of the passage of the 1820 law, fewer crewmembers desired to risk financial and personal ruin and even death by partaking in the international slave trade. Many traders ended their involvement in the illicit traffic because they did not want to pay exorbitant fees, prison time, or capital punishment. The powerful British Navy also stepped in and intervened in crushing the international trade along the West Coast of Africa and also in the Americas.[39] Despite an initial decrease in participating in the international trade, yet the trade continued and issues associated with the traffic continued to surface.

In South Carolina, judges, slaveholders, and political leaders encouraged the continuation in the name of slavery's expansion. New Yorkers who supported the trade

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[36] *An Act to Protect the Commerce of the United States and Punish the Act of Piracy, and also to make Further Provisions for the Crime of Piracy*, May 15, 1820.

[37] Douglas R. Egerton, *Charles Fenton Mercer and the Trial of National Conservatism* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1989), 164-168.

[38] Erik Calonius, *The Wanderer: The Last American Slave Ship and the Conspiracy That Set Its Sails* (St. Martin's Press, 2006), 42.

[39] Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776-1848* (New York: Verso, 1988), 388.

included men from the business community, merchants, traders, and other prominent members of New York society. Even though attempts were made by New York lawmakers to tighten controls of the slave trade associated with their state, some businessmen were against the legislation.[40]

There were influential leaders in New York who were either connected to the illegal slave trade, had personal or business connections with the trade in the South, or vehemently opposed any new act putting down the slave trade. [41] One prominent person who defended the illegal trade was U.S. District Judge Samuel Rossiter Betts. He presided over the Southern District Court of New York, which included all of Manhattan. In cases involving the slave trade, there were almost no convictions under Betts' reign. U.S. marshals could capture a vessel filled with hundreds of slaves and equipment for bondage including neck yokes, chains, and shackles, and Betts still failed to convict those involved.[42]

There were a variety of reasons why the illegal trade persisted. For one, traders continued to reap profits from their illicit exchanges and the laws did not frighten them into ending their practices. While so many offenders suffered few if any penalties before the 1818, 1819, and 1820 acts, some rationalized that if they were caught, they might still receive minimal if any punishment. Others alleged that there were more important issues

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[40] Calonius, *Wanderer*, 73-75; Howard, *American Slavers*, 83. I will elaborate below on some of the specific people in South Carolina who supported the international slave trade when I discuss the case of the *Wanderer*. The capture of the *Wanderer* resulted in a court case in South Carolina and the involvement on the crew in the illegal slave trade.

[41] Some New Yorkers continued to support the international slave trade up until the Civil War.

[42] Calonius, *Wanderer*, 74.

than the slave trade that deserved attention, including the Missouri Compromise or the Monroe Doctrine.[43]

It was also arduous to capture traders because of the vast African coastline. Some politicians argued that it was not worth the time and money to place men and vessels along the immense African coast. The United States government continued to endorse the actions of the African Squadron to catch those involved in the illegal trade. The vast African shoreline, combined with the Atlantic waters, made it difficult to capture determined slave traders. Even when detained, many of the slavers were tried in southern courts by judges who proved sympathetic or indifferent to anyone associated with the illegal trade.[44]

Others reasoned that the international slave trade deserved little attention because the majority of Africans were sent to places outside of the United States. Traders from the United States continued transporting or carrying slaves from Africa to Cuba and Brazil, where the traffic shifted out of the view for many Americans. The slave trade in Cuba and Brazil continued for many reasons since they were colonial outposts. Cuba and Brazil avoided, for the most part, the disruptive conflicts of the Atlantic world during the late 18th and early 19th centuries involving the new republics. Therefore, these two countries did not experience similar political and social upheavals as countries such as those in the United States and other people in the Americas.[45]

Many traders connected to New York outfitted ships that eventually transported large numbers of slaves to Brazil and Cuba. One key difference between slaves in the United States and those in Cuba and Brazil, involved natural reproduction. Slave labor in

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[43] Manisha Sinha, *The Counterrevolution of Slavery: Politics and Ideology in Antebellum South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 68-69.

[44] Sinha, *Counterrevolution of Slavery*, 126, 146-147.

[45] Bethel, *Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade*, 62-87; Murray, *Odious Commerce*, 1, 2, 13.

Brazil and Cuba was much more intense than in the United States. Large numbers of slaves died each day in Brazil and Cuba due to the labor conditions of the sugar and coffee industry and exploitation from absentee masters. In the United States, slaves were rarely worked to death, and there was a self-sustaining slave population. Cuba's sugar economy and Brazil's growing coffee production required slave labor and the continued imports of slaves. In Cuba, black slaves and free people of color made up a majority of the population. In Brazil, about two-thirds of the population was non-white.[46] As a result, in the early 1800s, there was almost no movement against the slave trade in either colony.[47]

The Illegal Trade from 1821 through the 1840s

Although Americans continued to participate in the international slave trade and efforts at enforcement remained a problem, the 1818, 1819, and 1820 laws appeared to discourage most from participating in the traffic. Between 1818 and 1847, for example, there was only one recorded voyage that started in New York and traveled to Africa. The vessel *Science* was captured by the United States in 1820 before the slaves even embarked from Africa. There were no recorded voyages beginning in South Carolina

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[46] Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery*, 383.

[47] Davis, *The Problem of Slavery*, 60. The stalwart actions by the British in trying to end the traffic in Cuba and Brazil revealed the difficulty of enforcing the trade even for the British, who put more resources in ending the illegal traffic. Leaders from Spain and Portugal signed agreements and passed laws in Cuba and Brazil to prohibit the trade, but as in to the United Sates, enforcement of these laws proved difficult. Britain had the largest navy in the world, yet those controlling British cruisers along the Cuban and Brazilian coast had little success in completely halting the slave trade. Between 1820 and 1823, the British failed to capture any slave ships along the Caribbean coast. In 1831, Brazil's governing body, the Regency, passed an edict that provided power to slave traders. The act stipulated that foreign treaties were valid only if they were ratified by the Assembly. This act went against the British who sent naval officers to guard the coast of Brazil to seize vessels involved in the illegal slave trade. Despite, these actions, many continued their participation in the illegal slave trade with Brazil. The trade to Cuba and Brazil continued largely uninterrupted until the 1850s.

between 1817 and 1854. This does not mean that slaves were not illegally imported into the state. There was no record of the voyages or the ventures began in places outside of Carolina.[48] Members of various courts in the United States tried slave trade cases throughout this time, so clearly the illegal traffic continued. It is hard to decipher the total number of slaves smuggled though, because it was an illegal business and those involved led covert operations. Many of the voyages went undocumented for a variety of reasons including those who did not see a moral problem with the trade and let it continue, and those from both the North and South who did not enforce the slave trade laws.[49]

Another reason for the decline in activity dealt with the shift in the trade from the external to internal slave trade within the United States. At this point, the internal slave trade was a lucrative business, and there were thousands of slaves transported from the Upper to Lower South each year. As the domestic slave trade matured, some of those participating in the illegal international trade became more involved in the internal slave trade because it was legal and they did not want to risk the harsher penalties from the 1818, 1819, and 1820 laws.[50]

In 1821, President Monroe addressed the evils of the international slave trade by denouncing the traffic as "an abominable practice, against which nations are now combining, and it may be presumed that the combination will soon become universal. If it does the traffic must cease, if it does not it will still be carried on, unless the nations favorable to the suppression unite to crush it."[51] Three years later, in 1824, Monroe signed a treaty with Britain that recognized the slave trade as an act of piracy. Monroe proposed that the Senate collaborate with the British in efforts to stop the trafficking of

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[48] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces.

[49] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces.

[50] Steven Deyle, *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 3-14.

[51] The Papers of James Monroe, Volume VI (New York Public Library), 196.

slaves. Although some Congressmen had endorsed this idea previously, Monroe desired to form a pact with the British to work together in ending the slave trade and provide greater enforcement of the slave trade as an act of piracy.[52]

The proposed agreement allowed Britain to stop and search American ships and curtail the slave trade. Monroe alleged that if the treaty passed the Senate, "it will be the commencement of a system destined to accomplish the entire abolition of the slave trade." Despite Monroe's appeal, Congress voted against ratification of the treaty.[53] The Senate opposed the 1824 measure for a variety of reasons. Although most people were against the international slave trade, many did not want to spend time and money on trials and prosecutions. Some Congressional leaders may have thought that joining a pact with the British was not worth the effort to enforce the international slave trade statutes. Other Americans shared anti-British sentiments in regard to the trade. Some argued that people from other states and countries should not prosecute or punish someone from an individual state. Others contested that inhabitants from individual states should be responsible for the traders from their own states who broke laws involving the international slave trade.

As Americans wavered in their decisions over the illegal trade, John Kizell continued to work towards the end of the slave trade in Sherbro. After two of the most powerful families in Sherbro fought over control of the trade, Kizell confronted one of the leaders of a powerful African slave trading family. Kizell warned the leader that if he did not cease his involvement in the trade, he might be executed. Kizell continued to confront and even imprison those involved in the slave trade along the West Coast of

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[52] American State Papers, Senate, 18th Congress, 1st Session, Foreign Relations: Volume V, No. 371, p.. 315; American State Papers, House of Representatives, 18th Congress, 2nd Session, Foreign Relations: Volume V, No. 403, 629.

[53] *The Papers of James Monroe*, Volume VII, (New York Public Library), 26; Speech of Hon. John McKeon, of New York, on the Bill to Carry into Effect the Ashburton Treaty in the New York Public Library.

Africa from the mid-1820s through 1830. In 1830, Kizell detained a fellow Nova Scotian who had kidnapped a small group of Africans. He also rescued five young African boys on their way to Cuba in 1830. His liberation of the African boys is the last recorded piece of evidence of Kizell's life. His death remains shrouded in mystery. The circumstances that led to Kizell's death and the date are unknown, but one would hope he lasted three more years to witness the abolition of slavery in Britain's colonies.[54]

While Kizell worked to stop the trade along the West Coast of Africa, greater numbers of British abolitionists lobbied to end slavery altogether. Political action was needed and abolitionists sought to continue their push to end slavery. In London, in 1823, abolitionists formed the Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery. Seven years later, leaders of the London anti-slavery organization regrouped and demanded the immediate emancipation of all slaves. In 1833, Parliament received more petitions about abolition than any other issue. In that year alone, reformers brought five thousand petitions with around 1.5 million signatures before Parliament.[55] Finally in 1833, both Houses of Parliament passed a bill for gradual emancipation beginning in 1834.[56]

As England took major strides to abolish slavery, during the 1820s and 1830s, smugglers persisted and enforcement of international slave trade laws remained a problem. Historian Ron Soodalter argues that most of the culprits involved in illegal slave trading went unpunished. Even in the port of New York, where the vast majority of

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[54] Kevin G. Lowther, *The African American Odyssey of John Kizell: A South Carolina Slave Returns to Fight the Slave Trade in his African Homeland* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011), 230-238.

[55] David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 238; Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Anti-Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 127-142.

[56] Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*,243-245; Drescher, *Abolition*, 270-274.

northern prosecutions took place, "only one-sixth of those indicted were convicted."[57] New York judge and slave trade sympathizer Samuel Betts presided over the U.S. District Court of New York from 1823 until he was forced out in 1867. Those not convicted were let go either due to a hung jury or to a court's lack of desire to prosecute. Between 1837 and 1861, approximately 125 people accused of participating in the slave trade were prosecuted in New York City. Only twenty of those were punished with a prison sentence averaging two years. Even worse, ten of those twenty were received presidential pardons, and three who were indicted under the 1820 Piracy Act pled to lesser charges.[58] Convictions in the South proved even more elusive. By 1846, for the most part, southern federal courts failed to prosecute anyone involved in the international slave trade because few thought that there should be a national law prohibiting a state's right to trade in slaves internationally.[59]

Due to events during the 1840s and 1850s, the trade between the United States (especially New York) and Brazil declined, while it expanded with Cuba. Some Brazilian leaders were determined to end their slave trade, and the traffic declined during the 1840s and 1850s. The Brazilian trade had grown at a rapid pace in the 1830s, partially due to the closing of the slave trade in the British West Indies. By the 1840s, there was a sharp decline in the number of slaves imported after the enormous growth of the trade during the 1830s. The large number of imports in the 1830s led to a glut in the 1840s. There was also less of a demand for Brazilian goods from North America and Western Europe by the 1840s. A temporary decline in the world market as a whole led to a decline in slaving voyages between New York outfitters and Brazilian traders.[60]

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[57] Ron Soodalter, *Hanging Captain Gordon: The Life and Trial of an American Slave Trader* (New York: Atria Books, 2006), 9.

[58] Soodalter, *Hanging Captain Gordon*, 9.

[59] Soodalter, *Hanging Captain Gordon*, 9-10.

[60] Bethell, *Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade*, 182-194.

A change in Brazil's government also led to a decline in the trade. For the first time, Brazilian officials placed in power in 1848 provided a stable government and they had the authority and willingness to stop the slave trade. During the 1850s, Brazil's slave trade abruptly declined as new leaders came to power and the British bulked up their navy and monitored the country, even as the trade between New York and Cuba increased.[61] In 1851 and 1852, Brazilian trailblazers stepped up efforts to suppress the international slave trade, partially to get rid of the British squadron around Brazil. Consequently, changes in the Brazilian and Cuban slave trades altered the trade with the United States, especially for New Yorkers who were the primary carriers of slaves. In 1850, leaders of Britain and Brazil signed a treaty designed to permanently end Brazil's trade. More people around the Atlantic turned against the evils of the international traffic at this time. Britain placed a lot more pressure on Brazil to end its trade and even threatened economic sanctions if Brazilians did not abolish their slave trade. With good reason, Britain's Lord Palmerston claimed that Brazil's determination to place a navy along the waters and ports of Brazil. This led the Brazilian government to act and move towards ending their illegal trade.[62]

Brazilian leaders also stationed their own navy around their waters and ports to stop the slave trade. Brazilians admitted that the British had positioned a force of men around their coast for years, but it was not until 1850 and 1851 when the trade began to die because the new Brazilian government and its navy fully committed to ending their slave trade.[63] The 1850 treaty between Britain and Brazil proved successful. Brazilians were willing to cooperate with its terms and few slaves were imported into Brazil during that decade.[64] The numbers of slaves illegally imported plummeted from 23,000 in 1850

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[61] Fehrenbacher, *Slaveholding Republic*, 179-180.
[62] Bethell, *Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade*, 359-360.
[63] Bethell, *Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade*, 361-362.
[64] Bethell, *Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade*, 362-373.

to 3,287 in 1851. Between 1853 and 1855, there were no recorded slave trading voyages into Brazil. There would be a final attempt to revive Brazil's slave trade when vessels used in its suppression were occupied during the Crimean War, but other than that, the traffic terminated.[65]

As Brazil's trade declined, however, the trade between Cuba and New York increased. There were a variety of reasons why New York's involvement with Cuba grew during the 1850s. Some Portuguese and Brazilian traders, especially those connected to the ports of Bahia and Monntevideo, shifted their involvement in the African slave trade by transferring their operations to Cuba.[66] Despite a series of laws and treaties, it was difficult at first to suppress Cuba's illegal slave trade. Enforcement proved to be a problem, as it had throughout the Atlantic. New York carriers continued to build and equip vessels that smuggled tens of thousands of slaves into Cuba. One factor that helped sustain the traffic was the increasing number of estates that were built along the coast. Slaves were secretly sent to these estates. Once they were inside the plantations, authorities were not allowed to enter and retrieve slaves or determine if they had entered legally. Furthermore, once inside an estate, the owner could not be challenged as to whether his slaves had entered illegally.[67] The trade continued as planters reaped large profits from the trade, and sugar prices and exports increased. There was also a cholera epidemic in 1833 that wiped out large numbers of African slaves, resulting in the need for more slave imports to fulfill the labor demands. Due to the intense requirements of sugar labor, there was an overwhelming male slave majority in Cuba, making it difficult for the slave population to increase through natural reproduction.[68] During the 1850s, Spanish leaders proved ineffective and lacked a desire to suppress the Atlantic slave trade. While

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[65] Bethell, *Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade*, 372, 388-389.
[66] Murray, *Odious Commerce*, 248.
[67] Murray, *Odious Commerce*, 250-251.
[68] Murray, *Odious Commerce*, 100-101.

leaders in Brazil worked to end their trade, traders and outfitters stationed in New York City continued to import thousands of slaves into Cuba each year.

The Tumultuous 1850s

Those connected to the Atlantic slave trade witnessed a burst of activity in the 1850s as an increase in the number of participants in the trade, more slave trade voyages, and larger numbers of slaves taken from Africa occurred. There were also resolute movements in the South to re-open the international slave trade and strike down the federal slave trade laws. During the 1850s, the number of illegal slave trade voyages connected to New York City and Charleston increased. By the mid-nineteenth century, the port of New York became known as an underground haven where "more slave-trade voyages were being organized, financed, and fitted out than anywhere else in the world."[69] Yet from 1845 until 1854, only five cases received the attention of the New York District Court. From 1854 to 1856, "thirty-two persons were indicted in New York, but only thirteen had at the latter date, been tried, and only one of those convicted." The dismissed cases rarely were due to lack of evidence but instead due to lack of enforcement of the slave trade laws.[70]

During the 1850s, 43 recorded slave trade voyages began in Manhattan before setting sail for Africa. From these, 17 out of 43 voyages ultimately ended in Cuba,[71] while 18 were captured and/or condemned before they left African shores.

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69 Fehrenbacher, *Slaveholding Republic*, 202.

70 DuBois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, 185, "The Slave Trade in New York," *Continental Monthly*, January 1862, p. 87; *New York Herald*, July 14, 1856, 37th Congress, 2nd Session V. 53; 27th Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 25-26; 26th Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 45-49.

71 Similar to Brazil's treaty with Britain in 1831, Cuban leaders also signed a treaty with Britain to end their slave trade in 1831. For the British, who closed their slave trade in the British West Indies in 1833, it was imperative that they protect the British Islands from unfair competition from Cubans who relied on the continued importation of African labor. Cuban planters were determined to carry out the trade, despite the treaty. Tens of thousands of slaves continued to be imported into Cuba.

Figure 5.2 Voyages from New York City to Africa[72]

Year	Number of Voyages from New York City to Africa
1852	1
1853	4
1854	8
1856	4
1857	7
1858	9
1859	10
Total:	43

Of the documented voyages that were outfitted and started in New York City, vessels that originated in the city carried 3,184 slaves between 1850 and 1854, and another 9,013 slaves between 1855 and 1859.[73]

Figure 5.3 Slaves Carried by New York Traders[74]

Years	Slaves Carried by New York Traders
1850-1854	3,184
1855-1859	9,013

Out of the voyages that originated in New York in the 1850s, there were a total of 14,447 slaves that embarked from Africa. While many voyages began in Manhattan at this time, only two recorded voyages started in Charleston during the 1850s. Both of

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[72] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces.

[73] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces, Appendix F.

[74] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces.

these ships were captured and condemned in Sierra Leone.[75] There were most likely more than two slave ships that entered Carolina's ports. Ships probably went undocumented because many from the state did not care about the people breaking federal slave trade laws. Many stationed at the ports looked the other way when slave ships entered the harbor. Charleston contained numerous slaves, so it was easier for slaves to enter illegally and go unnoticed .Ships could easily sail to obscure parts of the Carolina coast and remain undetected. Slaves could disembark from the ships and blend in with the city's slave majority.

The increase in traffic for New York coincided with the increase in the economy and sugar industry in Cuba. During the 1840s, as the coffee industry in Cuba declined, Cubans focused more on their sugar industry in the late 1840s into the 1850s. The size and number of sugar plantations increased. As a result, sugar exports soared and the demand for slaves rose. Traders from New York increased their involvement as carriers during the 1850s. The production of sugar in Cuba increased from 22,000 tons in 1849 to 359,000 tons in 1856. And New York traders helped to outfit the ships carrying slaves from Africa to Cuba.[76]

The vessels that originated in Charleston were probably caught because of their size as well as the locations in Africa where they attempted to purchase the slaves. The crew for both voyages travelled in a schooner, but ships that originated in New York City tended to be barques and brigs. During the 1850s, the majority of the slave voyages using a schooner, coming out of Charleston, New York City, and New Orleans, were captured either by the federal government or by the British along the coast of Africa. The location of where the ships from Charleston landed in Africa also played a role. New York traders had a better idea of where to go along Africa's coast without being detected. Of the

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[75] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces.
[76] Murray, *Odious Commerce*, 242-243.

documented voyages from New York, four of the vessels from Manhattan traveled to the Bight of Benin for slaves, and twenty-six, or a majority of the voyages, transported slaves from West Central Africa and St. Helena.[77]

Many scholars today are unaware of the extent and covert operations of New York City's slave trade business. The trade was so extensive that shippers from Latin America moved into New York to start their own secret slave trading ventures. One group of merchants created a slave trading business in 1852. They did not reveal their name to the public, but some called it the Portuguese Company. That was not its official name and not everyone involved was Portuguese. The operations of the business remained as enigmatic as possible because this company specialized in transporting goods and people from Africa to Cuba. The New York based company had active members in Spain, Portugal, the United States, and possibly other territories as well. The leaders of the Company chose New York City as a base location. People from around the world arrived to import and export a variety of goods. Those involved in the illegal slave trade believed Manhattan was the perfect place to carry out the business. Many participants in the unlawful trade aspired to act as though they were transporting legal goods. They believed their illegal activity with the slave trade had a better chance of going unnoticed because New York traded a variety of goods with West Africa. American ships could also be purchased for the trade without much suspicion because hundreds of ships were created, purchased, and changed owners around New York's harbor throughout the year.[78]

One of the men involved in the illegal trade who set up an office on Pearl Street in New York was Jose da Costa Lima Viana. He was well known along the coast of Africa

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[77]Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces.

[78]Howard, *American Slavers*, 49.

and traded vessels of various kinds to agents in Punta da Lenha and Banana Point along the Congo River. Another company, Figaniere, Reis & Co., specialized in importing wine but he also traded illegally in slaves. One of the owners, C.H.S. de la Figaniere, was the Portuguese consul general in New York and son of Portugal's minister to the United States. Figaniere's brother, William, his main partner, was a naturalized American citizen who owned vessels connected to the international slave trade. In another office on Pearl Street, John Albert Machado engaged in an extensive legal and illegal trade with West Africa. Machado was a native of the Azores who came to America in the late 1840s and became a naturalized citizen in 1853. The slavers that these men outfitted were usually registered under phony names.[79] The first of the known slavers under the Portuguese Company was known as the *Advance*, which set sail from New York City on September 19, 1852.[80]

During the 1850s, New York City's slave trade witnessed a change that involved the owners of the vessels. When the trade was still legal, most of the owners of the vessels were based in Manhattan. In the 1850s, most of the vessel owners were Spanish or Portuguese. These men had connections with buyers in Cuba and allowed New York's trade in slaves with Cuba to increase. Some of the men who owned vessels engaged in New York's illegal trade were Cunha Dobson Reis, Carlos Cabalier, Valencia, J. Viana, Juan Aguirre, Luis Pimienta, Don Julian Zulueta, Salvador Castro, J. Lima Viana, Jose C. Reventos, Ramon Quadrem, Domingo Martinez, and Antonio Iznaga Valle. During this period of illegal trading, there was only one documented voyage recorded with having a name of the vessel owner; officials recorded his name as "Watson."[81]

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[79] Howard, *American Slavers*, 49-51.

[80] Howard, *American Slavers*, 49-52.

[81] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces There were not many voyages for Charleston in the 1850s. Only one voyage in the 1850s listed the vessel owner as "Watson."

In a letter to British diplomat Lord Richard Lyons, Sir Edward Archibald, the British Consul to New York, discussed the state of the African slave trade that had "matured almost entirely in the ports of New York and Havana." Archibald recognized that the majority of the people in charge of the trade were Spanish and Portuguese. The illegal carriers obtained vessels from American ports in New York and a crew transported these ships to the coast of Africa to meet trading agents who provided them with slaves.[82]

An author of a *New York Times* article believed that in order to stop the slave trade, it needed to become unprofitable. The federal courts needed to enforce the punishments from the slave trade bills that had passed in 1818, 1819, and 1820. Another way to end the slave trade was to make the "risk of capture so great as to render it impossible to insure against losses by the products of successful trips."[83] By 1857, the port of New York "had become notorious for being the place where more slave-trade voyages were being organized, financed, and fitted out than anywhere else in the world."[84]

As New York traders increased their activity in 1850, merchants from the Deep South also remained involved in slave trading ventures. One reason was due to the increased demand for slaves in the Deep South following the end of the depression of 1839 to 1844 and the annexation of Texas. The fifteen boom years before the outbreak of the Civil War saw rising prices for cotton, land, and slaves. Also important were political changes. By the 1840s and 1850s, a larger number of southern Congressmen were upset

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[82] Inclosure 2 in No. 690. Consul Archibald to Lord Lyons, New York, October 4, 1859, Reel 3, 556.

[83] "How to Stop the Slave-Trade," *The New York Times*, December 10, 1858, p. 4.

[84] Soodalter, *Hanging Captain Gordon*, 70-71.

about the prospect of federal interference within the states. As the West opened up, more southerners desired to re-open the international slave trade to fulfill labor demands.[85]

Those involved in the illegal trade may have thought that their days were limited and therefore wanted to try to make some money off of the illicit business or import as many slaves as possible while they could get away with it. Growing tensions between the North and South also prompted some to import more slaves. The rise of the Republican Party caused further alarm among traders. Some of the traders believed that if the Republicans rose to power, they would place greater enforcements, restrictions, and punishments for their participation with the illegal trafficking of slaves.[86]

Although there was a clandestine slave trading business in New York, sectional differences resonated after a group of southerners led a movement to reopen the international slave trade and even leave the Union. No such movement existed in New York. The southerners who launched a campaign following the Compromise of 1850 to reopen the slave trade, were a group of pro-slavery extremists, referred to as "fire-eaters." They ultimately urged the separation of southern states to create a slave-holding republic in which it would be legal to participate in the international slave trade. William Lowndes Yancey of Alabama, Robert Barnwell Rhett Sr. and Jr., of South Carolina, and James De Bow from Louisiana, openly advocated leaving the Union. These men correctly pointed out that the Constitution did not ban the trade, but merely allowed Congress to ban it after 1807 if it wished to do so. The fire-eaters argued that by importing more cheap Africans, they could make slaveholding available to more middle class farmers and spread slavery into the Southwest. Some southern newspapers including *De Bow's Review*, the

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[85] Sinha, *Counterrevolution of Slavery*, 170-175

[86] Howard, *American Slavers*, 66; Sinha, *Counterrevolution of Slavery*, 173-174.

Charleston Mercury, and the *New Orleans Delta*, publicized the pro-slavery thoughts of these men.[87]

Coinciding with discussions of breaking away from the Union, other southerners instigated a significant (although unsuccessful) effort to reopen and legalize the international slave trade. The movement to reopen the slave trade received a boost in 1854 during the Kansas-Nebraska crisis. As northerners and southerners debated the expansion of slavery, fire-eaters propelled the issue of reopening the heinous traffic into the foreground. South Carolina Congressmen William Porcher Miles and Lawrence Keitt led efforts to reopen the traffic. Keitt demanded that the African Squadron be terminated and that the slave trade not be considered piracy. Leonidas Spratt, a Congressman from South Carolina, disliked northerners and viewed people from the region as only looking out for their own interests and not those of the South. Spratt argued that the slave trade needed to be reopened to supply laborers after the opening of land in the West. Although there were various movements and attempts to reopen the trade by some leaders in South Carolina, many who supported the movement did not want to import more slaves; they simply wanted South Carolina and other Deep South and western states to have the option of importing more slaves if they needed them. Spratt also believed more slaves were needed to counter-balance the population of large numbers of European immigrants who were entering the North.[88]

As traders and carriers from New York transported thousands of slaves during the 1850s, there were only two documented slaving voyages connected to Charleston. There were probably more slaves imported into the state, but the exact number is unknown and would be difficult to estimate given the covert operations of the illegal traffic. Despite the

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[87] J.D.B. De Bow, *De Bow's Review of the Southern and Western States* (New Orleans: J.D.B. De Bow).

[88] Sinha, *Counterrevolution of Slavery*, 132-133.

rhetoric of some southerners promoting the reopening of the slave trade, there was relatively little effort to actually import more slaves into the South. Most of the slaves were transported outside of the United States, from Africa to Cuba. Also, the vast majority of southerners were opposed to the idea. There are no statistics to prove how many pro vs. anti-slave trade advocates there were in the South, "but there is ample evidence that southern judges, southern naval officers, and southern juries were as active against the slave trade as their northern counterparts." Finally, many who supported the option to reopen the trade had no desire to continually import slaves, but rather wanted the trade to remain legal in case there was a need for further imports in the future.[89]

There were also grave implications for the United States if legislators were to reopen the slave trade. Even many South Carolinians feared that importing large numbers of slaves would lead to economic problems stemming from a sudden resurgence of slave imports. Throughout the 1850s, there were various movements to revive the Atlantic slave trade, but most southerners, even from South Carolina, generally opposed the reopening of the traffic.

In 1856, South Carolina governor James Adams requested that the state legislature nullify the federal law suppressing the international slave trade as piracy. Prior to Adams' call, Leondis Spratt, editor of the *Charleston Standard*, promoted legalizing the international slave trade in 1853. The next year, local attempts with grand jury presentments in some of the counties in South Carolina advocated the repeal of all federal laws associated with the slave trade. After the state's Committee on Colored Population examined the presentments, the members steadfastly rejected the proposals to reopen the trade and remarked that it would lead "to the unprofitability of the peculiar institution in the slave-rearing states and the probability of emancipation." The House voted on the

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[89] Murray, *Odious Commerce*, 306; Sinha, *Counterrevolution of Slavery*, 126; Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces.

issue of reopening the international slave trade in 1856, and the bill was overwhelmingly rejected by a vote of 183 to 8.[90]

Radicals Robert Barnwell Rhett, Lawrence Keitt, and Maxsey Gregg even plotted to form a southern political party that would reopen the slave trade. Both houses of the South Carolina legislature opposed the measure to create a southern party that was also based on secession. The southern press vehemently scorned the people and their ideas associated with the party.[91]

South Carolina legislator J.J. Pettigrew remarked that reopening the slave trade would be detrimental to the state's economy and would lead to a decline in slave prices and a drop in the value of personal property. Pettigrew reasoned that if the trade reopened, many slaves would be imported into the Gulf States such as Louisiana. Previously, Carolina sold their slaves further South or West through the internal slave trade. Re-opening the international slave trade would result in fewer slaves sent from Carolina because the slaves could be imported directly from Africa and sent to the Gulf and western states. South Carolina would then have to retain their slaves which would then drive the prices of their slave down.[92]

Some legislators attending the Southern Commercial Conventions between 1855 and 1859 also brought up measures to reopen the international trade. Ultimately, southerners rejected these notions because the leaders reasoned that slave imports into the United States would hurt the United States economically. Voters and legislators in South Carolina remained overwhelmingly against the movement to reopen the international traffic through the end of the 1850s. Senators who favored the trade failed to get elected. Opposition to the trade also existed among those in Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and

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[90] Barton J. Bernstein, "Southern Politics and Attempts to Reopen the African Slave Trade," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (January 1966): 17.

[91] Sinha, *Counterrevolution of Slavery*, 193-196.

[92] Bernstein, "Reopen the African Slave Trade," 22-24.

Alabama. Leaders from these states opposed the reopening of the slave trade because the price of slaves were increasing, leaders worried the high percentages of slaves in the population would lead to slave rebellions.[93]

Despite various efforts in the 1850s to reopen the international slave trade, by the end of the decade, most southerners opposed the measure. Many conservatives who originally favored the idea were no longer in office. Also, as tensions mounted between the North and the South, the Deep South wanted to maintain the support of the upper South and remain in the good graces of Britain.

Many southerners saw the reopening of the slave trade as a possible divisive issue that would split the Upper South, when most whites opposed the traffic, from joining with the lower South. More people from the Deep South discussed leaving the Union. Robert Barnwell Rhett and some followers who lobbied hard for the reopening of the trade wound up withdrawing from the Spratt camp. Rhett and others realized that if they were going to break away from the Union, they needed to stop supporting reopening the slave trade. The majority of the leaders across the South did not support the reopening of the international traffic in an effort to unite the South. Deep southerners knew they would not receive the support from the Upper South if they moved towards reopening the trade. Many realized that southern solidarity was paramount for secession.[94] Although there were several traders and businessmen from New York connected to the international slave trade, there were no movements in the North to reopen the Atlantic trade. As the country became more divided, the North remained united against the slave trade while those from the South had to be more calculating in their support for reopening the slave trade because the issue threatened to divide the South.[95]

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[93] Bernstein, "Reopen the African Slave Trade," 31.
[94] Sinha, *Counterrevolution of Slavery*, 185-194.
[95] Sinha, *Counterrevolution of Slavery*, 125-152.

By 1860, New York City was the "largest and most notorious center for the promotion of slaving expeditions, North or South in the United States." Perhaps much of the illegal trade at the northern port went unnoticed because those caught in the act were often released by buying off New York officials.[96] Through the Civil War, New Yorkers continued their involvement in the international slave trade. Between 1860 and 1861, the U.S. Federal Court of Admiralty captured eight American ships in the Atlantic connected to the slave trade, including traders from New York. Prosecutors indicted two captains, seven mates, and an owner, with five convictions, only one of which was a capital crime. Of those indicted, two managed to escape and two were set free due to divided juries.[97]

Despite the problems with administering the slave trade laws, the vast majority of Americans were opposed to the international slave trade. As the illegal traffic continued throughout the Atlantic during the 1850s, New York leaders proposed legislation for greater enforcement of the federal slave trade laws. In 1858, New York Senator William Seward submitted a resolution to the Senate for an amendment to the Constitution to secure stricter enforcement of the African slave trade laws. Senator Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, however, opposed the measure, and the resolution was dropped.[98] Seward proposed changes again in 1859. His proposed bill advocated sending more ships to guard the coast of Africa, more money to pay slavers to capture slave vessels, and greater restrictions on enforcing the prevention of outfitting ships for the slave trade.[99] Even most southern leaders opposed the illegal traffic. United States secretary of the navy and

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[96]Soodalter, *Hanging Captain Gordon*, 77.

[97] Fehrenbacher, *Slaveholding Republic*, 200-201.

[98] Inclosure No. 786. Extract from the *New York Herald* of December 23, 1858. No. 787, Reel 3, 732. Lord Napier to the Earl of Malmesbury. Washington, December 27, 1858, Reel 3, 732.

[99] Inclosure No. 795. Lord Napier to the Earl of Malmesbury. Washington, January 9, 1859, Reel 3, 736. Inclosure No. 796. Lord Napier to the Earl of Malmesbury. Washington, January 18, 1859, Reel 3, 736.

governor of South Carolina, Paul Hamilton, a slave owner and planter from South Carolina, and Senator James Henry Hammond, one of the South's greatest slaveholders, both opposed reopening the international slave trade.[100]

The *Echo*: Southern Wolf and the Federal Sheep

Two examples demonstrating problems of enforcement with the illegal trade include the vessel the *Echo* in South Carolina and Captain Smith, a slave trader from New York. For the South Carolina case, the crew of the slave ship *Echo* were caught and brought to trial. On August 21, 1858, Lieutenant J.N. Moffit, commander of the brig *Dolphin*, captured a slaver known as the *Echo*, formerly known as the *Putnam* of New Orleans. The lieutenant spotted and captured the *Echo* close to Key Verde, along the Coast of Cuba, with over three hundred slaves from Africa aboard. The vessel, controlled by a U.S. naval officer, Lieutenant Bradford of the United States, reached Charleston on August 27. The Africans were sent to Castle Pinckney, and later to Fort Sumter and detained until September 19, when the United States brig *Niagara* transported two hundred seventy-one survivors back to Africa while the remaining stayed in Carolina.[101]

The United States Circuit Court in Columbia, South Carolina, heard the case of the *Echo's* crewmembers. The court charged the sailors with piracy under the 1820 act. They were charged with nine counts, including being caught on the coast of Africa with carrying Africans for the purpose of making them slaves, and transporting them on the high seas while securing and detaining them as slaves.[102]

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[100] Calonius, *The Wanderer*, 67.

[101] The sources do not indicate where in Africa they were taken to, but merely that they returned to Africa. "The African Negroes," *New York Times*, June 25, 1859, p. 1.

[102] *Report of the Trials In The Echo Cases*, in Federal Court, Charleston, S.C., April, 1859; Together with Arguments of Counsel and Charge of the Court. By J. Woodruff, Phonograph Reporter. Columbia, S.C., Steam-Power Press of R.W. Gibbes, 1859, 7.

A major point of the *Echo* case involved the constitutionality of the passage of the slave trade laws and whether the laws were "valid." The lawyers in the case also examined whether involvement in the international slave trade should be considered piracy. Although Congress had passed the acts, some contested that the law was invalid because laws regarding the slave trade should be passed on a local or state level. Lawyers debated whether Congress had the power to pass legislation outlawing the international slave trade and whether involvement in the international trade should be considered an act of piracy.[103]

Isaac Hayne, one of the defense attorneys, also reasoned that the *Echo* was an American vessel, owned by American citizens flying under the American flag. He noted that the ship was not trading with foreign nations and therefore the act should not be considered piracy. He deduced that the crew was carrying on a trade involving commerce and exchange of commodities or slaves. Hayne believed that an American ship should be allowed to carry goods, including slaves from one foreign port to another.[104]

The U.S. District Attorney in the case, James Connor, attempted to prove that the crewmembers of the *Echo* had committed piracy. He contended that the law of 1820 was constitutional and legitimate, and that Congress had the power to control and regulate the slave trade, as well as declare the slave trade piracy and punish offenders by death.[105] Connor claimed that piracy fell under two definitions—one of the municipal laws of the country, the other relating to the law of nations, and therefore. Although he argued the

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[103] Argument, Before the United States Circuit Court, By Isaac W. Hayne, Esq., on the Motion to Discharge the Crew of the Echo. Delivered in Columbia, S.C., December, 1858. Reported by Douglas A. Levien. (Albany: Weed, Parsons, & Company, Printers, 1859), 8.

[104] Hayne, *Argumen*t, 12-13.

[105] Abstract of the Argument of James Connor, Esq., U.S. District Attorney, 96-97.

1820 Act was constitutional, the jury thought otherwise. All of the crewmembers tried in the case were found not guilty of piracy and illegally trading in slaves.[106]

Most northerners were outraged by the verdict. An author of a *New York Times* article chastised the crew and stated that they were "unmistakably guilty of a crime, to which [the] wretched victims were sacrificed."[107]Authors of various articles in the *New York Times* reasoned that the result of the *Echo* Case surprised no one. No jury of South Carolinians would convict people for trading and dealing in slaves, because the state depended on the institution. The author of a *New York Times* article mentioned that the United States judicial system was not perfect, and greater efforts to enforce the slave trade laws were needed for some parts of the country, especially South Carolina. The author continued saying that the captain and crew of the *Echo* got away with trading illegally.[108]

Another inquiry surrounded what to do with the Africans rescued from the *Echo*. Although some slaves were sent back to Africa, there were others who remained in South Carolina. The South Carolina legislature had passed a law in 1835 forbidding any "free negro or person of color to be brought into the limits of the state." Any blacks who arrived in the state were to be arrested by the local sheriff, taken before an official, sent to prison or held on bail, tried by a jury, and either ordered to leave South Carolina or be sold. The sheriff involved in the case of the *Echo* was uncertain what to do with the Africans. The sheriff's lawyers advised him to seize the Africans, but the attorney general told the sheriff he did not have the right to send them to Africa. Many people in South Carolina favored states' rights over the national government. The sheriff hesitated over where the Africans should go. The sheriff decided to formally demand the surrender of

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[106] Report of the Trials in The Echo Cases, In Federal Court, Charleston, S.C., April 1859; Together with Arguments of Counsel and Charge of the Court, 113.

[107] "The Wanderer and Its Cruise," *New York Times*, January 1, 1859, p. 4.

[108] "How to Stop the Slave-Trade," *New York Times*, December 10, 1858, p. 4.

the Africans to the U.S. marshal. The federal government arranged for the ship *Niagara* to return the slaves to Africa.[109]

A similar slave trading case involved a Captain James Smith from New York. Smith, a citizen of the United States, was caught participating in the slave trade and sent to court. Under the law, Smith was clearly guilty. As in the *Echo* case, Smith's defense team reverted to lies and manipulation to free their client. Although those from outside of the United States could be tried in American courts, Smith's lawyer informed the jury that when Smith committed the crime, he was not an American citizen and therefore should not have a trial in the United States. Smith was actually born in the United States, though. Also, investors from Portugal partially paid for the ship Captain Smith used to trade slaves illegally. Smith's attorney tried to blame Portugal and insisted that his client should not be found guilty because Portuguese citizens funded part of the voyage. Smith's lawyer further claimed that the Portuguese consul was involved with obtaining the slaves, but the Portuguese Consul never admitted any association with Captain Smith.[110]

Smith's case demonstrates the problems with enforcement in the United States. Although Smith clearly broke the law, the port of New York witnessed a major problem as many people from other countries, especially Portugal, colluded with New York traders for joint involvement in the illegal slave trade. During Smith's case, the *New York Times* reported that "there are hundreds of Portuguese merchants and others in this City, who are constantly and largely engaged in this traffic; --who carry it on as their regular business, --who grow rich by it... and hold high rank in the rich circles of our metropolis by virtue of their wealth." The journalist elaborated on his city's involvement in the

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109 "The Cargo of Negroes at Charleston—Quandary of the Carolinian Authorities," *New York Times*, September 6, 1858. p. 4.

110 "The Slave Trade in New-York," *New York Times*, November 24, 1854; Howard, *American Slavers*, 192-197.

illegal slave trade by stating "not a month passes which vessels are not cleared at the Custom-House, of whose destination and employment in the Slave-Trade, the houses who ship crews for them, and even the officials who prepare and sign their papers are morally certain." The *Times* added that for several years, New York was one of the "great head-quarters of the African Slave-trade." Even though the jury convicted Smith, who served a minimal jail sentence, he never received the death penalty for his actions. This case demonstrated that even in a northern state like New York, there was a problem of enforcement.[111] In the trials surrounding the *Echo* and Captain Smith, the defense attorneys used manipulation to sway the juries.

As the 1850s wore on, the *New York Times* continually referred to the atrocities by the United States government and political leaders in letting those involved in the illegal slave trade go unpunished altogether or serve minimum penalties. One author called the government's desire to suppress the slave trade a "dead letter." The *Times* charged that the efforts by the U.S. government in watching the African coast, punishing offenders under the law, and the judicial system as it related to the international slave trade were "miserably inefficient." The editor of the *Times* alleged that not only people from the South, but also those from the North, continued their involvement in the slave trade as "year after year fleets depart unmolested; and if… one vessel may be detained and a score of culprits are captured, they have in no case suffered the vengeance of the law."[112]

British Intervention in America's Trade

The British government was outraged by America's continued participation in the international slave trade, especially after the United States failed to unite against the international slave trade with the British in the 1830s. They tried even harder to

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111 "The Slave Trade in New-York," *New York Times*, November 24, 1854.
112 "The Wanderer and Its Cruise," *New York Times*, January 1, 1859, p. 4.

collaborate with the United States in the 1850s after America's involvement in the illicit traffic increased. Britain did not legally have the ability to examine ships with the American flag on them, but London desired the assistance of the United States on the high seas in stopping the crews of all vessels involved in carrying slaves throughout the Atlantic. A slave ship often had multiple papers indicating that it was involved in business other than the slave trade. All attempts were made to hide slaves below decks.

Britain united with other countries against international law to try to stop the international slave trade. The British government formed agreements with other countries to search ships for slaves. In December 1841, Britain, France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia all signed a treaty allowing mutual search rights for ships suspected of being connected to the slave trade. Under the treaty, all five countries viewed the slave trade as piracy. British Commander C. Vesey acknowledged the difficulties in monitoring the slave traffic along the African coast. The British placed various ships along the coast to prevent the international slave trade. By the 1850s, America still refused to sign an agreement with England, although the United States government placed four or five ships along the 3,000 mile-long African coast. Usually, only one or two ships monitored the continent, and sometimes there was not a single vessel stationed along the coast to prevent the illegal trade.[113]

As America's participation in the trade greatly increased during the 1850s, it became harder for British and American officials to stop ships involved in the traffic. British Commander Vesey noted that the British experienced great difficulties as they tried to examine American ships they suspected of carrying slaves. British commanders went after suspicious ships and asked to check their papers to see if anything in the documents suggested a possible slave vessel. Vesey and other British officers who stopped American vessels were met with obscene language and great resistance. The

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[113]Howard, *American Slavers*, 18, 41-43.

Mobile, a schooner from New York was one example. In April of 1858, the British attempted to examine the ship after the vessel was under suspicion of being outfitted for slaves. The captain of the ship chastised Vesey and told him that Vesey confused him with a "God-damned slaver, which he…was mistaken."[114]

Vesey also realized that the language was vague on what exactly to do with the crew and slaves. The burden of proof was often on port officers to monitor slave vessels, and many were unwilling to check the ships for slaves. Vesey noted that officers who actually followed their duties and attempted to check vessels outfitted for slaving or carrying slaves, were often subjected to various kinds of abuse.[115]

Despite this, the British continued to search American ships illegally under international law. Many Americans, both in favor and against the international slave trade, were irate over the actions of British officials and protested that they had no right to search American vessels. In May 1858, a mob gathered at the Merchants' Exchange in New York to express their outrage over Britain's actions against American vessels.[116] The American squadrons along the African coast served not only to monitor slave traders but also to protect American merchants from the British who harassed American vessels.[117] The British insisted on boarding many ships claiming that they were "rescuing" slaves bound for the Americas, but Americans proclaimed that ships flying the American flag were protected and off limits to the British or other countries illegally attempting to stop American ships.[118]

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[114] Inclosure 4 in No. 302, Lieutenant Gould to Commander Vesey, May 25, 1858, Reel 1, 386.

[115] Slave Trade, Reports From Naval Officers, Inclosure 1 in No. 298. Commander Vesey to Commodore Kellett, Reel 1, 381-382.

[116] Inclosure 3 in No. 722, Extract from the *New York Herald*; May 18, 1858, Reel 3, 666.

[117] Fehrenbacher, *Slaveholding Republic*, 157-161.

[118] Reel 3-p. 666-Inclosure 4 in No. 722. Extract from the *New York Courier and Enquirer*; May 18, 1858, Reel 3, 666.

In a letter to Secretary of State Lewis Cass in May 1859, Lord Lyons charged that America's slave trade "continues to be extensively carried on the African coast." The vessels along the African Coast were almost all flying the American flag and had American papers showing that they were vessels from the United States. The letter concluded by stating that by 1859, those from the United States placed only one sailing vessel with only twenty guns along the entire African coast to monitor the slave trade.[119] That same year, Foreign Secretary Lord Russell informed Lord Lyons that America's participation in the slave trade was increasing to an "alarming extent."[120] The British navy did reduce the number of slaves illegally traded from Africa to the states. Yet the trade continued.

The British, who condemned the United States for their continued participation, also had problems stopping the traffic. The British discussed sending hundreds of warships to the coast of Africa, but there were never more than thirty vessels along the expansive slave-coast. Many of the British vessels that occupied the coast were small sailing ships. The French and Americans sent even fewer vessels to monitor the traffic. The British also attempted to stop the trade around Cuba. In 1858, Britain's Lord Napier suggested to officials in the United States that they place a squadron around Cuba to prevent the illegal trafficking of slaves. But the Buchanan administration made no promises to blockade Cuba and the trade persisted.[121]

The Final Policies to End the International Slave Trade

America's connection to the international slave trade continued to be a problem leading up to and during the Civil War. Britain's Lord Archibald calculated that between

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[119] Reel 3 p. 437- Inclosure No. 560. Lord Lyons to General Cass. Washington, May 23, 1859.

[120] No. 569. Lord J. Russell to Lord Lyons. Foreign Office, July 8, 1859, Reel 3, 442.

[121] Lord Napier to Earl of Mamesbury, Washington, April 19, 1858, Reel 3, 632.

1859 and 1862, roughly 170 slave-trading voyages were organized between Havana and New York, and at least 74 vessels cleared New York. Forty-three originated from other ports in the United States, and 40 from Cuba and the rest from European cities.[122]

Lord Archibald's figures consisted of documented and undocumented voyages. For voyages that were documented, New York traders transported 5,367 slaves from Africa to the Americas between 1860 and 1864. During the 1860s, there were 15 voyages that began in New York and traveled to West African factories.

Figure 5.4 Voyages to the Americas[123]

Year	Number of Voyages from Africa to the Americas (Originated in New York)
1860	6
1861	6
1862	2
1863	1

Out of these 15 voyages, 6 were captured by the United States before the slaves embarked.[124] It is intriguing that New York traders continued to outfit a slave vessel even after President Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation. For Charleston, one voyage originated at the port in 1860 and one in 1861. These voyages made it to Africa and eventually transported 990 slaves to the shores of Cuba.[125]

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[122] No. 141 A. Her Majesty's Judge to Earl Russell. New York, December 31, 1863, Reel 2, 3.

[123] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces.

[124] The sources do not indicate whether the traders were prosecuted or convicted.

[125] Slave Trade Voyages Database: http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces.

An 1860 bill passed by Congress under the Buchanan administration allowed the president to take direct action against offenders of the slave trade. Those caught trading slaves illegally were to be returned immediately to the United States to face prosecution and punishment. The president could authorize commanders of armed vessels to go after and retrieve offenders. Despite tougher legislation during Buchanan's presidency, many involved in the trade continued to go unpunished. Another difficulty surrounded southern congressmen who opposed federal government intervention of the slave trade. As a result. Southerners allowed slave traders to go penalized.[126]

Another part of the 1860 act called for American ships caught carrying African slaves or "any person of color" illegally were to provide the captured victims with food, clothing, and shelter for up to six months. The federal government allocated up to $200,000 per year to provide for the food, clothing, and shelter of rescued slaves until they were returned to Africa.[127] Congress passed a second act on June 16, 1860, which allowed the president to collaborate with the American Colonization Society to transport rescued Africans on board ships in the Atlantic directly back to Africa without having to land in America first.[128]

Buchanan finally sent more vessels to the West coast of Africa to prevent the illegal transportation of slaves. Towards the end of 1860, Americans placed eight vessels with 97 guns around the coast of Africa and another four vessels and 16 guns around Cuba. As Buchanan presented his final annual message to Congress on December 3, 1860, he proclaimed that in that year, "not a single slave has been imported into the

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[126] Howard, *American Slavers*, 154; Sinha, *Counterrevolution of Slavery*, 176-200.

[127] Bills and Resolutions, Senate, 36the Congress, 1st Session, Bill 464. In the Senate of the United States. May 23, 1860. Mr. Benjamin, from the Committee on the Judiciary.

[128] Bergard, *Comparative Histories*, 268-277; Sinha, *Counterrevolution of Slavery*, 176-178.

United States in violation of the laws prohibiting the African slave trade."[129] Despite Buchanan's remarks, there were 6 documented voyages in 1860 and most likely, a number of undocumented voyages as well.

Many Americans wondered how rigorous Lincoln would be in enforcing the slave trade laws. His administration made great efforts to close New York's slave trade. Lincoln knew that merchants from New York contributed capital, men, and supplies to the international trade. He set up government officials at the northern port to thwart Manhattan's participation in the slave trade by capturing five New York-based vessels and convicting four slavers within six months.[130] Archibald recognized that at the start of the Lincoln administration, the involvement of New York and other states in the trade changed as the federal government now enforced the laws for preventing the outfitting of slave ships. Partially due to the secession of southern states and the United States fighting a Civil War to end slavery, federal authorities increased their efforts to end the slave trade and pledged to punish those involved in the trade to the fullest extent of the law.[131]

Hanging a New York Trader

In an editorial titled "The African Slave-Trade at New York," the *New-York Evening Post*, rebuked the illicit slave trade business connected to New York City, listing the names of the vessels recently captured. Another report claimed in 1862 that New York "has been of late the principal port of the world for this infamous commerce," and that "slave dealers added largely to the wealth of our commercial metropolis." Editors of

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[129] Calonius, *Wanderer*, 246.

[130] Calonius, *Wanderer*, 246-247.

[131] No. 141 A. Her Majesty's Judge to Earl Russell. New York, December 31, 1863, Reel 2, 3.

the paper alerted readers that along the coast of Africa, "most of the slave ships that visit the river are sent from New York and New Orleans."[132]

Once president, Lincoln revealed that he would take direct action against America's participation in the international traffic.[133] As Lincoln ascended to the presidency, he wanted to provide greater enforcement of the international slave trade laws. On May 2, 1861, under Lincoln's orders, Secretary of the Interior Caleb Smith pursued implementation of the slave trade laws with great vigor. In an executive order, Lincoln gave the Department of Interior the responsibility for the suppression of the slave trade. Officials were stationed along America's Atlantic coast, in particular at the ports of New York, in which all slavers were checked and those monitoring the traffic were provided proper compensation for their duties. Over the next six months, those caught and convicted of international slave trade violations were forced to pay large fines or serve prison time under the slave trade laws.[134]

One trader who tested the push for greater enforcement in early 1860 was Nathaniel Gordon. Originally from Portland, Maine, Gordon had moved to New York City. On August 7, 1860, Gordon loaded 897 slaves aboard the vessel the *Erie* at the Congo River. Of the captives, there were only 172 adult men and 162 adult women and the rest were children. Gordon preferred children, who were less likely to rebel during the voyage. There were large amounts of provisions aboard the ship to feed many slaves, as well as instruments to outfit the vessel, including hooks, iron hoops, and a variety of other materials associated with trading in slaves. [135]

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[132] DuBois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, 179; 26th Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 53-54; Boston Journal, African correspondent; 25th Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 25th Report, p. 122.

[133] *Nile's Register*, XXII, 114; DuBois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, 128.

[134] Du Bois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, 191-192; *Charleston Mercury*, February 13, 1861.

[135] "The Slaver Erie," *New York Times*, November 8, 1861, p. 3.

On August 8, 1860, as Gordon pushed the vessel *Erie* off the coast of Africa, the *USS Mohican* captured Gordon and his human cargo. Officials freed the slaves and sent them to Liberia while Gordon was shipped back to New York City to await trial. As in previous cases, Gordon's lawyers attempted to claim that Gordon was not an American citizen. His father was also an illegal slave trader, so his attorney claimed that because Gordon was born in British waters during one of his father's slave trading ventures, he was therefore not an American citizen and could not be tried in American courts. Evidence suggested, however, that Gordon was born in the United States. He ventured to New York around 1851 after being hired as a captain of the ship *Camargo* that brought Africans to Brazil.[136] Gordon realized the enormous wealth that could come from trading slaves illegally. After his dealings with the *Camargo*, Gordon continued to outfit other slave voyages.

Considering there were many New Yorkers involved in the illegal slave trade, and that so many went unpunished, Gordon probably assumed he could make a lot of money from the traffic and if caught, he would receive a minor reprimand, or escape punishment altogether. According to historian Ron Soodalter, Gordon "was being tried in New York City—the largest and most notorious center for the promotion of slaving expeditions, North or South, in the United States. It was commonly assumed that there was no legal problem relating to the slave trade that could not be resolved by a payment to the appropriate New York official."[137]

Gordon's first trial occurred at the Southern District Court of New York. After hearing the evidence, the jury failed to come to a decision, and the case went to the New York Circuit Court. After only twenty minutes, on November 9, 1861, the New York

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[136] Soodalter, *Hanging Captain Gordon*, 17.
[137] Soodalter, *Hanging Captain Gordon*, 77.

Circuit Court convicted Gordon and sentenced him to death on February 7, 1862. Gordon awaited his hanging.[138]

President Abraham Lincoln had the option to provide Gordon with a pardon. For a moment, it looked as though Lincoln would waver when he changed Gordon's death sentence from February 2 to February 21. Lincoln granted Gordon two weeks for final preparations and closure with his family, but he refused to grant Gordon a pardon. On the eve of Gordon's hanging, the infamous trader attempted suicide but failed. On February 21, 1862, at the Tomb's, a New York City prison, 400 marines, politicians, reporters, and observers witnessed Gordon's hanging.[139]

British official E.M. Archibald discussed the efforts of the Southern District of New York in stomping out all efforts of traders to partake in the slave trade by prosecuting Captain Gordon. At the same time, a slave trader from New York and another from Boston who were connected to Gordon and the illegal trade were arrested and prosecuted for their long-time involvement in outfitting slave vessels. Archibald recognized that the actions of the Courts in punishing those associated with the slave trade in 1862 "struck terror" into those convicted for their participation and also made others realize the United States government would now punish offenders of the slave trade laws to the fullest extent of the law.[140]

The connection of the United States with the Atlantic slave trade also diminished during the Civil War. When the federal government and Great Britain used greater vigilance to stop all vessels suspected of engaging in the slave trade. They had full rights to stop, search, and seize ships suspected of carrying out the slave trade. Not only that,

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138 "Law Reports," *New York Times*, November 9, 1861, p. 3.

139 "The Case of Gordon," *New York Times*, February 19, 1862, p. 5; "The Case of Gordon," *New York Times*, February 21, 1862, p. 5; Soodalter, *Hanging Captain Gordon*, 1.

140 No. 141 A. Her Majesty's Judge to Earl Russell. New York, December 31, 1863, Reel 2, 3.

but British and American officials established a blockade around Cuba, to prevent slavers based in the United States from transporting slaves into the Spanish colony.[141]

In the aftermath of the Gordon affair, the author of a *New York Times* article proclaimed that Gordon's verdict and hanging would result in a major setback for the slave trade. The author added, "Our city has been disgraced by it long enough" and hoped the results would lead to the "destruction of so enormous a crime within the borders not only of this City, but of the whole land."[142] After forty-two years of laws established to convict offenders of the slave trade, however, Gordon remained the sole person to receive the death sentence for involvement in the slave trade. Gordon's case demonstrated the shift in policy and greater measures of enforcement with the Lincoln administration.

The Confederacy and the Slave Trade

In February, 1861, a group of men representing the states that had seceded joined together to discuss forming a government. Robert Barnwell Rhett and James Chesnut of South Carolina were in charge of the committee to create a Constitution for the Confederacy. One of the issues in drafting the Constitution surrounded the question of what, if anything, to include on the Atlantic slave trade. Rhett and Chesnut wanted to create a slaveholding republic. Editor Rhett, one of the extreme "fire-eaters," strongly favored placing no restrictions on the Atlantic slave trade and allowing the states in the Confederacy to import as many slaves as people desired. But pragmatists such as Alexander Stephens, Robert Toombs, and Jefferson Davis realized that there were some strategic problems with allowing for the participation in the Atlantic slave trade.

Many Confederates opposed any future connections the international slave trade. Some argued that it was not necessary due to the self-sustaining slave population. A few

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[141] No. 141 A. Her Majesty's Judge to Earl Russell. New York, December 31, 1863, Reel 2, 3.

[142] "The Execution of Nathaniel Gordon," *New York Times*, February 22, 1862, p. 4.

reasoned that the international slave trade was immoral and inhumane. Another group took a rational approach and opposed the slave trade because the Confederacy hoped to obtain support from the British. Some were also hoping to persuade Virginia, which had long opposed the traffic, to join the Confederacy. Not only would legalizing the slave trade hurt the Confederacy's attempt to get the British on their side, but it would cause problems with the Upper South. Virginians adamantly opposed the international trade before the Revolution and it would be difficult for them and other southern states to unite with the Confederacy if they legalized the trade. On February 28, 1861, Jefferson Davis argued against a clause to allow for the slave trade in the Confederate Constitution. The delegates at the Montgomery Convention voted to ban the slave trade by a vote of 66 to 13. In his *Charleston Mercury*, Rhett Jr. remarked that considering the Confederacy existed to protect slavery, there was no reason to ban the slave trade.[143]

There are no existing records on how many slaves were imported into the Deep South and Gulf states during the Civil War. There were probably few, if any slaves imported, due to the fact that the majority of the leaders and people from the Confederate states opposed the traffic. The Confederacy was also too pre-occupied in fighting a Civil War to import slaves. Finally, although the union naval blockade was not effective in the early months of the War, the North blockaded the southern states along the Atlantic, so it would have been increasingly difficult for vessels carrying slaves to get pass the Union Navy during most of the War.

The End of the Illegal Slave Trade

In 1862, Britain and America united in a joint effort to establish a Mixed Commission Court in Manhattan to suppress the African slave trade. Special courts were set up in New York, Sierra Leone, and the Cape of Good Hope, with a judge from the

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[143] Douglas R. Egerton, *Year of Meteors: Stephen Douglas, Abraham Lincoln, and the War that Brought on the Civil War (*New York: Bloomsury Press, 2010), 266-273.

United States and Britain at each court. The authorities in charge of the Mixed Courts established strict regulations on how cases involving the slave trade should be handled in the course of a trial.[144] Under these courts, those involved in the illegal slave trade could be convicted immediately and sent to jail. Judge Earl Russell of Britain and William Ryder as Arbitrator presided over the Court in New York. The officers of the law were supposed to follow the laws of the United States and Britain in stamping out the slave trade and prosecuting and punishing fully those deemed guilty.[145]

In April 1862, Lincoln asked the Senate to ratify a treaty between the United States and Britain, under which the United States officially granted Britain the power to search and seize American vessels under suspicion of slave trafficking. Although the Senate approved Lincoln's treaty, the measure passed in private in an executive session without being leaked to the press. The British were delighted by the act, but many members of the Senate feared Britain's naval superiority.[146] The United States Navy established vessels specifically designed to monitor the slave trade and provide special authority to carry out its duties under this treaty.[147] After 1862, the slave trade declined rapidly. The treaty between Britain and America proved effective, but the business of slave trading was also waning. A naval officer in the Congo noticed trading stations in the region in a dilapidated condition. Prices for slaves also declined.[148]

In 1862 the Lincoln administration signed a treaty with the British called the Lyons-Seward Treaty of 1862. Under this agreement, the United States and Britain agreed to work together to end the Atlantic slave trade and the illegal activity connected

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[144] No. 136. Earl Russell to Her Majesty's Commissioners, Reel 2, 97-98.

[145] No. 53. Her Majesty's Judge to Earl Russell. Received September 29, 1862, 45.

[146] Calonius, *Wanderer*, Reel 1, 246-247.

[147] Inclosure No. 1. In 134. Mr. Adams to Mr. Earl Russell, Reel 2, 96.

[148] Howard, *American Slavers*, 170-179; Sinha, *Counterrevolution of Slavery*, 176-178.

to the traffic. The Treaty allowed for U.S. vessels suspected of participating in the slave trade to be searched and seized. There was also a court of mixed commission established in New York to try cases connected to the trade. The Senate unanimously approved the treaty showing Britain and the world that the United States would be steadfast with the enforcement and suppression of slave trade laws and treaties.[149] By 1863, the New York mixed court of commission reported that New York City ceased to be an outfitting location for slaving ventures.[150]

The illegal trade with Cuba and New York continued, however. In a letter between British officials E.M. Archibald and Earl Russell in 1863, the officers acknowledged the problem with New York's participation in the slave trade, as those at the port continued to outfit ships for slave-trading expeditions on an "extensive" level. Archibald recognized that "New York has for many years furnished peculiar facilities and advantages for organizing and outfitting slave-trading expeditions."[151] Archibald further addressed the relentless participation of traders from New York outfitting vessels destined for Havana with traders from New York City. New York traders partnered with the Spanish and Portuguese on these illegal voyages. Archibald noted that authorities monitoring the slave trade in the Atlantic often overlooked vessels carrying slaves. In the few cases that went to trial, juries usually did not convict the accusers "even on clear evidence."[152]

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[149] Murray, *Odious Commerce*, 305-306.

[150] Murray, *Odious Commerce*, 306.

[151] No. 141 A. Her Majesty's Judge to Earl Russell. New York, December 31, 1863, Reel 2, 2-3.

[152] No. 141 A. Her Majesty's Judge to Earl Russell. New York, December 31, 1863, Reel 2, 3.

By 1864, however, the strict Union blockade prevented slaves from entering the United States. The Spanish also stepped up efforts to stop smuggling into Cuba.[153] A new government was established in Cuba and the leaders moved to end Cuba's involvement in the international slave trade and enforce laws associated with the traffic. In the Mixed Court of New York, officials recorded that there were no cases of anyone engaging in the slave trade for the United States. In a letter to Earl Russell, received February 1, 1864, E.M. Archibald proclaimed that federal authorities found no cases involving the slave trade for the previous year, whether transporting slaves or outfitting a vessel for New York's port. On December 31, 1864, Archibald observed that there had been no cases on

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[153] Howard, *American Slavers*, 64-65. After the success of the Anglo-American Treaty, Spanish leaders saw the Anglo-American treaty as a possible threat to Spanish control over Cuba. As a result. Spanish leaders felt pressure to end Cuba's slave trade. Spanish officials wanted to maintain control over Cuba and they did not want Britain or the United States to end Cuba's slave trade. Spanish leaders wanted to take charge of the end of the trade. The Spanish imposed some measures in the early 1860s, but those proved ineffective and were unenforced. (Murray 305-310) As in the United States and Brazil, a change in leadership in Cuba aided in ending their traffic. In 1862, Domingo Dulce y Garray governed over Cuba until 1866. Dulce worked to end Cuba's slave trade. Cuba's trade was far from over in the early years of Dulce's leadership. He worked diligently to suppress the trade and even asked for help from the British and expelled slave trade's from the country. Spanish leaders wavered in their actions towards the slave trade, but by 1866, a new comprehensive slave trade law was enacted. Although not everyone supported the bill, Spanish leaders took it upon themselves to create and pass the measure which struck the final blow to Cuba's slave trade. Under the new laws, cases involving the slave trade could be heard in local courts. Actions against those involved were dealt with immediately. The new law also called for stiffer punishments and heavy fines. Many involved in the trade believed the punishments and fines were no longer worth participating in the illicit trade. (Murray, *Odious Commerce*, 319-325.) After the 1866 law, there were no documented slave trade voyages in Cuba and there were no slave traders captured or tried for cases involving the trade. With the 1867 law, the Spanish government demonstrated to the Atlantic world their sincerity in stomping out the slave trade. Leaders in Cuba also took the law very seriously and were dogged in their desire to end the slave trade in Cuba forever.

[153] Murray, *Odious Commerce*, 321-325.

the international slave trade brought before the Mixed Commission Court for New York for that year as well.[154]

Perhaps the last recorded incident of American involvement in the international slave trade occurred when the crew of a body of ten ships in 1866 cruised along Africa's slave-coast. America's participation in the international slave trade officially ended with the passage of the 13th Amendment, obliterating both slavery and therefore the slave trade in the United States.[155]

On November 26, 1869, Earl Clarendon wrote that after the suppression of the slave trade on the coast of West Africa, the governments of the United States, Portugal, and Britain, did away with the Mixed Commissions Court created to monitor the slave trade at the Cape of Good Hope, Loanda, and New York. Clarendon acknowledged that it was no longer necessary to maintain the staff associated with those Courts.[156]

Conclusions

Despite the laws of 1807, 1818, 1819, and 1820, slave importations into other countries rose during the 1850s. It would not be until the Civil War that the illegal international slave trade would end. From the closing of the international slave trade for the United States in 1808 until the Civil War, government leaders at the local and national level demonstrated great ambivalence over the international slave trade laws, and more specifically, the enforcement of these laws. Although most Americans supported closing the international slave trade by 1808, many were not comfortable with the federal government interfering with people from individual states engaged in the trade. During

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[154] No. 150. E.M. Archibald to Earl Russell. New York, December 31, 1864, Reel 2, 115.

[155] Constitutional Acts of Congress, July 11, 1862, Treaty with Great Britain-June 7, 1862; Statutes at Large, XII , 368-369, DuBois, *The Suppression of the Slave Trade*, 191-192

[156] The Earl of Clarendon to Commissioner Archibald, Foreign Affairs Office, November 26, 1869, No. 2; Slave Trade, 1858-1892, Reel 4, 121.

this period, many debated how much control the state should have versus the federal government. This examination over states' rights ultimately included the international slave trade.

Between 1808 and the Civil War, both New York City and South Carolina participated in the international slave trade. Although many overlook New York City's connections to the illegal trade, it is important to realize that not only was Manhattan actively involved in the illegal trade, but New York carriers outfitted more vessels and transported more slaves in these vessels than any other state. Although various acts were passed in the first half of the 19th century against the international traffic, enforcement proved to be a major problem. Many traders incriminated under the law, but went unpunished. Enforcement proved to be a problem in both South Carolina and New York. South Carolina leaders tended not to punish offenders of the slave trade laws while New York officials also let several slave traders who were guilty face minor sentences or escape penalties.

CONCLUSION

James Albert Uawsaw Gronnoisaw, John Jea, and John Kizell were forced around the Atlantic web of bondage. Although they never met, they all retold personal stories of their harrowing experiences with the international slave trade. Through their narratives, we can weave together information on the slave trades of New York City and Charleston, South Carolina. Comparing the most active slave trade in the North with the most active slave trade in the South heightens our awareness of insights that would be overlooked by just examining one of the slave trades. Most historians have slighted the dynamics of specific slave trades. This study adds to the field by scrutinizing the slave trades of New York City and Charleston from their inception through their demise. A few key differences included slaves point of origin (Africa or the West Indies), labor, rebelliousness, responses to the international slave trade movement, the illegal slave trade. Despite these key differences, however, there were also striking similarities between these two trades.

Ethnicity

Traders and slave owners in both New York City and Charleston were very vocal in describing the types of slaves they wanted to labor in their regions. James Albert, John Jea, and John Kizell were all ideal slaves for the slave trade. They were young, healthy men sent to bustling ports with a labor-intensive hinterland or lowcountry nearby. Traders from both New York and South Carolina altered where they imported slaves from based on a variety of factors including the economy, European warfare, and slave rebelliousness. During the first few decades of their involvement with the slave trade, New York merchants imported more slaves from Africa. During the first four decades of the 18th century, however, they imported more slaves from the West Indies. After

changes in the market, more slaves were imported from Africa to New York by the late 1740s until the trade became illegal in New York in 1788.

For Charleston, more slaves were imported from the Caribbean at first, but throughout their involvement in the slave trade, the majority of slaves arrived from Africa. Traders from New York and Charleston claimed that Africans were healthier and better laborers than those from the West Indies. Merchants, and slaveholders termed slaves from the Caribbean "sickly." During the first few decades of the 18th century, traders imported more slaves from the West Indies because they were cheaper. Many New York traders were involved and funded the slaving ventures with the African trade. For most of the 18th century, slaving voyages into Carolina were sponsored and led by the British. The British had more money to fund voyages from Africa. There was more money connected to the Carolina trade. As a result, they had more money to purchase slaves from Africa.

Because Carolina was founded as a slave colony and due to the labor demands of rice, indigo, and eventually cotton, the majority of slaves entering Charleston arrived from Africa. Merchants including Henry Laurens made frequent comments on the physical abilities and features of African slaves. Traders in South Carolina also desired slaves from certain regions of West Africa where specific groups of Africans were known for their skills and involvement with rice. When it came to choosing a certain ethnicity of slaves for labor, those in New York and Carolina appeared very direct and rational in choosing some groups of slaves over others.

Despite this, in the aftermath of slave rebellions or major conspiracies, whites altered their slave trades and placed arbitrary stereotypes on certain ethnicities of slaves. In the 1730s and 1740s, slave rebelliousness ran rampant throughout the Americas. Various factors led to changes in New York's and Charleston's slave trades at this time including European wars, changes in the economy, and slave rebelliousness. Economic change often led to fluctuations in the slave trades, leading to an increase or decrease in

the number of slaves sent to each port. During this period, however, slave rebelliousness was the leading factor that led to abrupt changes immediately following the slave trade. In the aftermath of the 1712 New York City slave rebellion, the Stono Rebellion, and the New York City 1741 Conspiracy, leaders discussed not only changing the number of slaves that entered the ports of New York and Charleston, but more significantly, changing the ethnicity of the slaves who entered through their ports. Both New Yorkers and South Carolinians put forth reasons why they preferred slaves from either the West Indies or Africa.

In the aftermath of slave rebelliousness, white inhabitants of New York City and Carolina became fearful of further black rebelliousness. Whites were motivated by this fear to alter their slave trades. Those from both New York and South Carolina resorted to stigmatizing slaves based on ethnicity after slave disturbances. In New York in 1741, West Indian slaves were targeted as the instigators of fires and conspiring against the whites in the city. As a result, leaders and traders suggested that fewer slaves from the Caribbean should be imported because they were more rebellious than Africans. In South Carolina, after the Stono Rebellion, African slaves were blamed for the attack, so Carolina leaders attempted to import fewer African slaves, whom they saw as more rebellious than those from the West Indies. Leaders in both New York and South Carolina passed laws and duties to import fewer slaves based on the ethnicity of the slaves who rebelled. In the midst of paranoia, whites were quick to place arbitrary stereotypes on the ethnicity of slaves hoping that slaves from other places would be less rebellious.

Leaders and those involved in the slave trade were cognizant of the ethnicity of slaves imported after a significant slave disturbance. After Africans led the 1712 revolt in New York City, more slaves from the West Indies were imported. By comparison to South Carolina, fewer slaves were needed in New York, but there was not as much money to fund the ventures and pay for slaves, so more slaves arrived from the West

Indies. After the Stono Rebellion, leaders pleaded for fewer slaves from Africa, and slave importations stopped. A few years later, however, the importation of African slaves resumed and even grew when slave-produced products increased in demand. Similarly, after West Indian slaves led the 1741 conspiracy in New York, whites feared the importation of slaves from the West Indies. In the aftermath, the number of importations and location of where slaves were imported from changed. More slaves arrived from Africa by the end of the 1740s through the early 1770s, but this was mostly due to a change in New York's market and demand for slaves. The market in New York increased, resulting in a proliferation of slaves sent directly from Africa. Following the slave disturbances, white hysteria led leaders to change the slave trades of New York City and Charleston. The reverberation from these slave uprisings resulted in altered trades. Ultimately, however, market demand for slave labor and slave-produced goods determined the number of slaves imported and their locations.

Responses to the International Trade

One of the benefits of comparing a northern port with a region in the Deep South includes examining the vast differences that occurred when an international movement to abolish the slave trade unfolded. Due to the larger number of slaves imported and the greater dependence on slave labor due to staple commodities, those in South Carolina were more resistant in ending their international slave trade. Although scholars are well aware that most northerners supported closing the slave trade, many southerners were against the movement. Through this study, we also learn that there was a significant group of people in New York who supported the slave trade even after the state abolished the traffic. Yet, the majority of people in New York opposed the heinous trade by 1788. There were also various groups of people in South Carolina who opposed the international slave trade.

As the movement to abolish the international slave trade spread across the Atlantic, a growing number of people in the North discussed prohibiting the international

slave trade and some even moved to abolish slavery. New Yorkers were surrounded by reformers from New England and Pennsylvania who were staunch advocates of closing the slave traffic. Throughout the Atlantic, leaders including William Wilberforce and Anthony Benezet, along with religious groups such as the Quakers, joined together and spoke out against the slave trade. Abolitionists also published and circulated a wide variety of literature on the horrors and inhumanity of the slave trade. Legislators from most colonies passed laws to stop their colonies' involvement in the trade leading up to the American Revolution. Not only were whites working to end the trade, but at this time, John Jea and James Albert were working on their *Narratives*. Their stories of tumult through the Middle Passage were circulated throughout the Atlantic. Some former slaves such as John Kizell even started fighting the slave traffic.

For New Yorkers, moral and ideological influences played a major role in closing the traffic. Economic decisions also factored into New Yorkers' importing fewer slaves, but enlightenment views informed economic. Northern Quakers, for example, turned against the slave trade and slavery for moral reasons, but then realized it was also economically inefficient to enslave laborers. For South Carolinians, many continued to participate in the slave trade until the federal prohibition, and some even supported the traffic until the Civil War. Those who moved against the slave trade in South Carolina opposed the traffic for a variety of factors including economic reasons, competition between the lowcountry with the upcountry and backcountry, and fears that slave rebellions would break out with a growing black population.

According to David Brion Davis, a change occurred within a generation after the Enlightenment broke out across the Atlantic. More people desired to work towards a better, more humane world that excluded enslaving others and forcing them across the Atlantic. In the post-war period, the movement against the slave trade in New York intensified as many northerners could not justify the cruel treatment aboard slave vessels—and forced labor in general—after they fought a war for liberty, justice, and

equality. People from across the North united against the slave trade and prohibited the traffic. Whites from New York wanted to close their trade based on a variety of ideological and moral grievances. New Yorkers and other northerners also became more involved politically in the movement to end the traffic. Leaders such as John Jay created societies such as the New York Manumission Society to end the trade and slavery. Many from New York also turned against the slave trade because they saw America moving towards free labor at this time. New Yorkers witnessed an increase in white immigrants after the Revolution. This growth would help the transition from abolishing slavery which would then make the slave trade unnecessary. An increasing number of northerners reasoned that free labor was more humane and more productive than slave labor. These prohibitions also showed the move of New Yorkers towards capitalism and free labor, while many from the South would support unfree labor until the Civil War.

Not only northerners but southerners also turned against the slave trade. Virginians moved against the traffic due to their increasing creole population and a drop in staple commodities. As the number of slaves rose due to natural reproduction, many Virginia whites believed there was no longer a need to import slaves through the international trade.

As those from New York turned against the trade for moral, ideological, political, and economic reasons, inhabitants from South Carolina temporarily restricted their slave trade mostly for different reasons than their northern counterparts. After the Revolution, many leaders from the Palmetto State feared that slaveholders were buying too many slaves and falling into debt. There were also a number of whites in Carolina who viewed the slave trade as immoral. Some felt pressures from other parts of the Atlantic to end their involvement due to the inhumanity of the trade. There was also a small but growing number of Quakers in Carolina who spoke out against the traffic. Not only Quakers, but others in the state turned against the trade for moral and ideological reasons.

As the promoters of abolition circulated pictures of the slave ship *Brooks* depicting Africans tightly packed into ships traveling under conditions no human should endure. Another explanation included the fear of many Carolina whites that an increasing slave population would allow for a slave rebellion. As the Haitian Revolution lingered on from the 1790s through the early 1800s, Carolinians were panic-stricken that slaves from Saint Domingue would come to the Deep South and start an uprising. Whites also became distressed over the possibility that slaves in Carolina would hear about the black uprising and also attempt to overthrow slavery. Especially in the lowcountry, many whites opposed the continued importation of slaves because they feared there were too many slaves in the region and additional slaves would promote full-scale rebellion. There also was a group of people who did not want to permanently close the trade and thought there should be the option to import more slaves if needed. Some argued for keeping the trade with restrictions based on demand and other factors associated with market conditions.

By the late 1790s through 1807, many whites in Carolina once again supported the international trade in humans. As the state's economy improved, the cotton crop soared, and the end of the slave trade was drawing closer, slaves flooded into the state, especially between 1803 and 1807. Although Carolina's slave population was self-reproducing, some feared that if the demand grew and the international trade was closed off, there would not be enough slaves. The new Louisiana territory also played a role in reopening the trade. As America expanded westward, those from New York and the North wanted the new territory to be filled with free laborers. Many from South Carolina viewed the opening up of new territory as an opportunity to expand slavery. A stalwart group of southerners united in movements to reopen the slave trade to bring new slaves to labor over staple commodities in the new territory. Yet, some southerners worried the increased imports would once again hurt South Carolina's economy or cause a slave rebellion.

Despite a surge in imports just before the federal ban on the international slave trade, many South Carolinians turned against the slave trade. They did so for a variety of economic, moral, and ideological reasons. Many in the lowcountry feared slaveholders would buy slaves they could not afford resulting in debt. Lowcountry planters were also in competition with the upcountry ad backcountry, and feared new imports would threaten the value of their slaves. There were also a growing number of politicians who turned against the trade for a variety of economic and moral motivations. Some religious groups including the Methodists, Baptists, and Quakers spoke out against the trade with greater conviction after the Revolution.

The Illegal Slave Trade

After the international slave trade for the United States became illegal in 1808, some from New York and South Carolina continued to participate in the illicit traffic. Today most scholars would assume that those from South Carolina, other parts of the Deep South, and New Orleans would violate the slave trade laws. One of the benefits of a study that compares a northern and southern city, is that it reveals that not only did southerners break the statutes, but so did those in the North. By opening up the point of focus to the North, one can see that people in Rhode Island, Boston, and especially New York, violated the international laws. New York traders were *the* prime offenders and were involved with more documented illegal voyages than traders in any other state. During the years of the illegal trade, New York carriers transported 21,112 recorded slaves from Africa's coast. Of those slaves, 18,029 slaves reached the Americas. Several people from Charleston also engaged in the illicit traffic. Charlestonians imported many slaves but the exact numbers are unknown and difficult to estimate due to the illicit nature of the traffic. People from Charleston also engaged in transporting slaves, but on a far smaller scale than New York. In the years of the illegal trade, of the voyages that were *documented*, Charleston crewmembers captured 3,542 slaves from Africa and transported 2,782 to the Americas.

Traders from New York and South Carolina participated in very different ways. Traders from New York City were mostly involved in outfitting slave vessels and transporting slaves from Africa to the South, Cuba, or Brazil. Those from Charleston mostly smuggled slaves into Carolina to be sold as slaves in the state or sold to the Deep South or West. New York traders traveled to the Coast of Africa where they transported men, women, and children in large numbers to Brazil or Cuba. South Carolina traders imported many slaves into their state or other regions of the Deep South. As this illegal trade was carried out, by the early 1800s, John Kizell moved to Sierra Leone and fought against the slave trade along the West Coast of Africa. Kizell worked with local kings to come up with ways to improve the region socially, politically, and economically.

Kizell dedicated the last few decades of his life to ending the international slave trade. Despite his efforts, the illegal slave trade witnessed a resurgence in the 1850s as America expanded and the trade between New York and Cuba increased due to a boom in Cuba's sugar industry. It would not be until the Lincoln administration when greater enforcement measures were enacted and the Civil War led to the demise of slavery that the international slave trade would actually end in the United States.

Comparing the Trades

As I demonstrate throughout the dissertation, there were many similarities between the slave trades of New York City and Charleston that historians have missed, due to the hindsight of knowing that slavery died in New York State but expanded in the lower South. These slave trades also deviated from one another along the way, and then finally parted ways after 1783.

There were, of course, some significant variations between the slave trades of New York City and Charleston. Most of these differences surrounded the much greater scale of Charleston's slave trade due to the labor demands of staple commodities including rice, indigo, and cotton. In the first few decades of the 18th century, Carolina became the only state with a slave majority. A large percent of inhabitants in New York

City owned slaves, but most only owned a few. Even in the surrounding hinterlands, for the most part, the numbers of slaves per farm paled in comparison to the lowcountry plantations that often contained fifty or greater slaves. Although these two trades shared more common characteristics in the middle decades of the 18th century, by the 1770s through the ending of the legal international slave trade in 1808, these two trades greatly diverged. New Yorkers moved to end their slave trade while many from South Carolina fought for the continuation of their slave trade. As New York's white population grew during the last few decades of the 18th century and most people in the area viewed slave labor as an archaic system, fewer people in New York wanted to own slaves. By contrast, after the invention of cotton gins and a surge in the importance of the cotton crop, Carolina witnessed an increased demand for slaves and the slave trade.

Due to the extensive scale of Carolina's trade, Charleston imported a much larger number of slaves than New York. The Deep South was much more dependent upon and attached to the slave trade and slavery. Charleston merchants and traders imported 147,564 documented legal slaves from Africa whereas New York received 8,067 slaves imported from Africa. Around 21,122 slaves were imported from the Caribbean to Carolina and 4,250 from the West Indies to New York. These numbers are based on *documented* voyages.[1]

Figure 6.1 Slaves Legally Imported Into New York City

a. From Africa	8,067
From the Caribbean	4,250
Total:	12,317

[1] O'Malley," Beyond the Middle Passage," 142, 160; http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces; Appendix B-1, B-2.

Figure 6.2: Slaves Imported Into Charleston

From Africa	147, 564
From the Caribbean	21,122
Total:	168,686

When examining the *place of origin* for the slave voyages, the number of slaves imported directly from Africa were very similar.[2] For New York, 28,638 slaves were traded in voyages *that started* in New York. For voyages that originated in Charleston, there were actually 27,852 slaves transported, fewer by comparison to voyages that originated in New York.[3] While many people regard New York's slave trade as "small," more voyages *originated* in Manhattan than in Charleston.

Although some traders from New York City and South Carolina engaged in the illegal slave trade, it was only in the Deep South where some men united in an attempt to reopen the international slave trade after Congress banned it in 1808. Leaders including Leonidas William Spratt and James De Bow led print campaigns promoting the reopening. Spratt used the *Southern Standard* as a device to circulate articles on reviving the trade. De Bow also made sure his thoughts on promoting the revival of the trade spread through his newspaper, *De Bow's Review*. As the demand for cotton soared, western lands opened, and the Kansas-Nebraska crisis loomed, a forceful group of southerners joined together to try to overturn the international laws. While the North moved towards modernization and industrialization, the Deep South clung to slavery. That being said, despite a group of fire-eaters, by 1808, many people in South Carolina turned against the international slave trade for a variety of political, social, ideological, moral, and economic reasons.

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[2] I do not know about voyages that began in the Caribbean.

[3] http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces; Appendix B-1, B-2.

There were also important imperative similarities between these two trades. For one, the slave trades of both of these cities were imperative to their regions to fulfill the labor demands of their respective hinterlands and lowcountry. Bondsmen and women were forced into both cities to work on staple commodities such as wheat, rice, indigo, and cotton. Many overlook the rigorous labor conditions in New York's hinterlands. Slaves such as John Jea labored long hours under harsh masters. Merchants and traders connected to both cities were very attentive to fluctuations in the market in monitoring slave imports.

Comparing the slave trades of a northern and southern city, opens up areas of investigation surrounding the slave trade in both regions including the scope and scale of the trades, where slaves originated, movements towards and thoughts about ending the traffic, and dynamics of the illegal slave trade. The slave trades of these respective cities would start to diverge in the first few decades of the 18th century, and they show similarities from the 1740s into the 1760s, and then diverge again leading up to and after the American Revolution as those from New York moved to abolish the slave trade and then slavery, while many from Carolina wanted the trade to continue until the federal law forced it to close by 1808.

There were many commonalities between the trades of New York and Charleston. Although they did not reach the large numbers that Carolina did, Manhattan traders imported their greatest number of slaves during these decades. Also at this time, the majority of slaves entering the wharves of both ports arrived from Africa. As New York's trade grew at this time, they had more money and desired to import what they deemed as healthier African slaves.

Another major similarity involved the illegal slave trade. Leaders from both cities struggled with enforcement of the slave trade laws. Although they engaged in the traffic in different ways, when the trade was illegal, traders from both states broke the laws and many went unpunished. Congress passed a series of laws in 1818, 1819, and 1820 in

attempts to end the illicit trade. As the trade continued, the Buchanan and Lincoln administrations put further restrictions on the slave trade, although most people from the North and South opposed the slave trade by 1808. Yet a growing number of back and upcountry residents in Carolina supported the international traffic. Many southerners, especially from South Carolina, argued that the federal government should not interfere in matters associated with international slave trade. Many Carolinians argued that the state, not the government should manage the international traffic.

Legacies

The slave trade and its closing resulted in various legacies. Hundreds of thousands of Africans were forced into the colonies and states. After lawmakers in New York abolished the slave trade and emancipated their slaves, tensions arose over free blacks. Likewise, South Carolinians would not end slavery for their state until the 13th Amendment. The scale and scope of slavery and the slave trades of New York ad Charleston differed, but the freed people in both cities shared some common legacies. Many freed people were dependent on others after their enslavement, encountered poverty, and experienced racism. Although New Yorkers embraced the ideologies of freedom and equality from the period of Atlantic world revolutions, after masters freed their slaves, the former bondsmen and women encountered a variety tribulations stemming from difficulty finding jobs, housing, and attacks against whites who competed against African Americans for jobs. New York City became notorious for racism and even witnessed racial riots, especially during the Civil War. Even though northern lawmakers gladly voted against the international slave trade, freed people across America endured exploitation, economic troubles, and racism after the Atlantic slave trade and slavery ended. Despite northerners' desire to move on to a more capitalist, free labor with no desire to re-enslave their former human property, racism permeated throughout the northern port. Across South Carolina and the Deep South, many former southern

plantation owners attempted to re-enslave their former bondspeople through methods such as sharecropping after the Civil War.

Just as the United States government encountered problems with enforcing the slave trade laws in the 1800s, there are problems enforcing human trafficking laws today. The 1820 piracy law that punished those involved in illegally trading human beings and resulted in Nathaniel Gordon's hanging is still a law. Interestingly, instead of getting rid of the law, congressional lawmakers actually changed the statute in 1909, making it less severe as some lawmakers claimed the law became more "archaic," as time passed. Under the revised statute, someone punished under the act would not receive a death sentence, but endure life in prison. Lawmakers amended the law again in 1948 to provide a maximum term of seven years in jail.[4] A new form of illegal trading in human beings and trafficking pertaining to women and children especially, has emerged over the last several decades. Tens of thousands of humans are traded illegally at ports in the United States each year. Just as New York City was one of the most actively involved in the illegal slave trade from 1808 through the 1860s. Today, New York City is one of the most active ports where women and children are brought into the United States as victims of human trafficking. Perhaps it is time for the lawmakers, once again, to revert to the original 1820 statute of punishing those convicted of illegal human trafficking by death. But that is another topic, for another book.

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[4] Ron Soodalter, *Hanging Captain Gordon: the Life and Trial of an American Slave Trader* (New York: Atria Books, 2006), 251.

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Appendix

Appendix A lists the number of slaves that arrived in the ports of New York City and Charleston during the years of the legal slave trade. This table organized the number of slaves that arrived based on 5-year intervals. I used 5-year intervals. One could also tabulate how many slaves were imported in a decade. Principle place of slave landing refers to the number of slaves that were imported into New York and Charleston during the 5-year interval period. The first years, for example, are 1655-1659. As listed, 591 slaves were imported into New York City at this time and 0 were imported into Charleston. These numbers are based on *documented* voyages from the slave trade voyages database.

Appendix A

NUMBER OF SLAVES IMPORTED TO NEW YORK CITY AND CHARLESTON

Years:	**Slaves Imported into New York**	**Slaves Imported into Charleston**
1655	391	0
1656-1660	0	0
161-1665	556	0
1666-1670	0	0
1671-1675	0	0
1676-1680	0	0
1681-1685	0	0
1686-1690	0	0
1691-1695	27	0
1696-1700	859	0
1701-1705	24	0
1706-1710	53	180
1711-1715	242	550
1716-1720	367	1,282
1721-1725	179	1,427

1726-1730	0	3,439	
1731-1735	819	10,985	
1736-1740	241	14,262	
1741-1745	155	825	*There were no imports into Charleston between 1741-1743.
1746-1750	571	1,758	*There were no imports into Charleston between 1745-1748.
1751-1755	844	6,698	
1756-1760	1,099	12,714	
1761-1765	724	15,416	
1766-1770	790	6,020	
1771-1775	126	19,153	
1776-1780	0	0	
1781-1785	0	7,721	
1786-1790	0	712	
1791-1795	0	106	
1796-1800	0	438	
1801-1805	0	13,565	
`806-1807	0	32,716	
1808	0	370	

Appendix B lists how many voyages started in New York City and Charleston in 5-year interval periods from the start of the trade through the 1860s. As discussed in Chapter 5, New York traders transported many slaves during the 1850s and this appendix reveals the number of slaves transported by vessels that originated in New York City and Charleston.

Appendix B

VOYAGES THAT ORIGINATED IN THE COLONIES

Years:	Place Where Voyage Began: New York	Place Where Voyage Began: Charleston
1655	0	0
1656-1660	0	0
161-1665	265	0
1666-1670	0	0
1671-1675	0	0
1676-1680	0	0
1681-1685	380	0
1686-1690	128	0
1691-1695	337	0
1696-1700	761	0
1701-1705	174	0
1706-1710	0	0
1711-1715	38	0
1716-1720	43	48
1721-1725	195	0
1726-1730	0	0
1731-1735	259	0
1736-1740	0	0
1741-1745	265	0
1746-1750	382	72
1751-1755	1,193	379
1756-1760	1,420	713
1761-1765	2,335	577
1766-1770	550	67
1771-1775	1,103	1,129
1776-1780	0	0
1781-1785	0	0
1786-1790	77	206
1791-1795	183	732
1796-1800	283	293
1801-1805	128	4,218
1806-1810	255	17,354
1811-1815	0	318
1816-1820	0	0
1821-1825	0	0

1826-1830	0	0
1831-1835	0	0
1836-1840	0	0
1841-1845	0	0
1846-1850	0	0
1851-1855	3,184	0
1856-1860	11,130	600
1861-1865	3,250	390
1866-1870	0	0
Totals:	**28,638**	**27,106**

Appendices C and D Lists the total number of documented voyages from Africa to New York City C and Africa to Charleston D. The first column lists the year the voyage occurred. The second column includes the number of the voyage followed by the name of the ship that transported the slaves. Under the column “Slave Purchase” I indicate what part of Africa the slaves were imported from. The last column indicates the number of slaves that arrived at the ports of either New York City C or Charleston D.

Appendix C

SLAVE TRADE TOTALS: NEW YORK

Date	Voyage Number	Name of Ship	Slave Purchase	Number of Slaves Imported into New York
1655	11295	Witte Paard	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	391
1663	11294	Wapen van Amsterdam	S.E. Africa & Indian Ocean Islands	265
1664	11414	Gideon	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	291
1694	36997	Charles	S.E. Africa & Indian Ocean Islands	27
1697	36998	Margaret	S.E. Africa & Indian Ocean Islands	101
1697	37013		S.E. Africa & Indian Ocean Islands	155
1698	25679		S.E. Africa & Indian Ocean Islands	126
1698	70202	Peter	S.E. Africa & Indian Ocean Islands	126
1698	37015	Fortune	S.E. Africa & Indian Ocean Islands	155
1698	36999	New York Merchant	S.E. Africa & Indian Ocean Islands	70
1698	25678		S.E. Africa & Indian Ocean Islands	126
1705	37263			24
1710	37264			53
1711	21501			74
1711	37265			53
1712	37266			77
1715	25314	Anne and Mary	Gold Coast	38
1716	25315	Anne and Mary		43
1717	75999	Postillion		100
1717	25320	Dragon	Ship Built in Bermuda	100
1717	25363	Catherine and Mary		60
1718	25366	Catherine and Mary		64
1721	75307	Crown Gally	S.E. Africa & Indian Ocean Islands	120
1725	25367	Anne		59
1731	16633	Catherine		130
1731	28051			217
1732	37267	Catherine		155
1733	24309	Katherine	Other Africa	217
1733	25318	Catherine	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	100
1738	37268	Catherine	Senegmabia & Offshore Atlantic	69
1739	37269	Princess Anne		103
1739	37270	Hopewell		69
1744	37059	David		155
1749	24944	Rhode Island	Gold Coast	84

1750	37273	Maria		103
1750	37272	Brave Hawk		155
1750	25321	Hawk	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	126
1750	27230	Revenge		103
1751	27232	Rebeccah	Sierra Leone	69
1751	25340	Wolf	Gold Coast	73
1751	25342	Hawke		155
1751	37018	Neptune		69
1751	37274	Diamond		69
1751	37271	Rhode Island		69
1751	25341	Warren		101
1751	37019	Ruby		69
1752	37049	Prince George		103
1754	25023	Rbeccah	Senegambia & Offshsore Atlantic	23
1754	25370	Sarah and Elizabeth		9
1754	25369	Polly		9
1754	25021	York	Senegambia & Offshsore Atlantic	26
1758	25010	William	Senegambia & Offshsore Atlantic	69
1758	37058	Friendship		110
1758	37275	Saint Michael		74
1759	25014	Friendship	Senegambia & Offshsore Atlantic	450
1760	25329	America		110
1760	37060	Sally		69
1760	25336	Africa		74
1760	25338	Little Betsey	Gold Coast	74
1760	25330	Sally		69
1761	25332	Mary		69
1761	25523	Little Betsey	Gold Coast	74
1761	25328			126
1762	36258	Rebecca and Joseph	Gold Coast	58
1763	25347	Charming Sally	Gold Coast	103
1763	37068	Pitt		69
1765	25352	Success	Sierra Leone	69
1765	25353	Nelly	Senegambia & Offshsore Atlantic	55
1765	25792	Mattey	Sierra Leone	101
1767	37276	Peggy		103
1768	37277	Elliot		103
1769	37278	N.E. Quill		208
1770	75055	Amity	Senegambia & Offshsore Atlantic	65
1770	37023	Elliot		103
1770	17737	Nancy		208
1775	37077	Modesty		126
	Total:			**8067**

Appendix D

SLAVE TRADE TOTALS: SOUTH CAROLINA

Voyage Number	Name of Ship	Year	Slave Purchase	Number of Slaves Imported into Charleston
15203	Loyall Johnson	1710	Africa, port unspecified	180
16083	Union Sloop	1711	Gold Coast	60
16116	Morning Star	1713		190
25718		1714	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
21801	Sylvia Galley	1715	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
76687	Mary	1717		60
25372	John	1717	Gold Coast	48
76686	Flying Brigantine	1717		17
76691	Cartaret	1717		39
76685	Ludlow Gally	1717		218
76226	Susannah	1718	Gold Coast	70
26008	Eagle	1718	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	100
76688	Mediterranean	1718		160
76689	Dorothy	1718	Gold Coast	76
76690	Craven	1718		12
16194	Princess Carolina	1718		86
76103	Ruby	1719		111
76692	Exeter	1719	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	95
16273	Raymond Gally	1720		190
16304	Sarah	1721		190
16324	Pearle Gally	1722		190
76693	Lady Rachel	1723	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	192
76694	Ruby	1724	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	122
16331	America	1724		117
75848	Mary Ann	1725		190
75077	Anne	1725	Gold Coast	236
16410	Greyhound Gally	1725		190
16428	Pearle Gally	1726		217
76130	Samuel	1726	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	35
16404	Cowship	1726		0
76131	Samuel	1726	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
76971	Diligence	1726	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	44
76698	Lydia	1727	Other Africa	218
77063	Resolution	1727	Sierra Leone	144
25141	Glasgow	1727		177
76697	Diligence	1727	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	215
16492	Mediterranean	1727		217
16540	Serleon	1728		188
16532	Pearle	1728		230
25766	Saint Stephen	1728	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	131
25953	Union	1728	Sierra Leone	204
25767	Caesar	1728	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
25776	Ruby	1729	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
16602	Amoretta	1730	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	204
25959	Union	1730		283
16564	Greyhound	1730	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	332
25783	Elizabeth	1730	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
76699	Sea Nymph	1731	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	99
16642	Pearl Snow	1731	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	128
16643	Pearle Gally	1731		210
16650	Susanna	1731	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	301

16626	Indian Queen	1731	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	130
16648	Sereleon Snow	1731	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	171
76757	Elizabeth	1731	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
16659	Bettys Hope	1731	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	222
16655	Aurora	1732	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	209
16723	Greyhound	1732		280
76702	Molly	1732	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	120
16653	Amoretta	1732	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	194
16740	Pearle Gally	1732		217
16707	Berkley	1732		217
16696	Susanna	1732	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	211
26012	Edward	1732		217
16710	Bettys Hope	1733	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	209
16746	Shepherd	1733	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	351
25991	London Merchant	1733		217
16727	Hill	1733		197
16715	Cato	1733		217
16702	Amoretta	1733		217
76715	Margaret	1733	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	283
16745	Sarah	1733		197
16760	Greyhound	1733		217
16775	Scipio	1733	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
76713	Judith (a) Ruby	1733	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	164
76714	Speaker	1733	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	316
16773	Rainbow	1733		217
16781	Bath	1734	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	122
76701	Speaker	1734	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	145
16771	Post Boy	1734	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	344
16752	Amoretta	1734	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	209
76700	Isabella	1734	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	100
16808	Scipio	1734	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	197
16790	Greyhound	1734		202
16814	Amoretta	1735		239
16787	Diana	1735	Gold Coast	62
16817	Berkley	1735	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	412
76851	London Frigate	1735	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	380
76845	Dove	1735	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	248
16803	Pearle Gally	1735	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	351
25992	London Merchant	1735		217
16802	Morning Star	1735	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	327
16791	Happy Couple	1735		141
76950	Molly	1735	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	400
92406	Pineapple	1735		338
76855	Faulcon	1735	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	364
16806	Rainbow	1735		159
16842	Shepherd	1736	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	362
26114	Catherine	1736		217
76859	Girlington	1736	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	303
76865	Bonetta	1736	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	388
76866	London Frigate	1736	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	330
25993	London Merchant	1736		217
16840	Scipio	1736	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	300
16837	Phoenix	1736	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	289
16832	Morning Star	1736	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	61
16815	Amoretta	1736	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	224
76580	Faulcon	1736	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	320

76869	Princess Carolina	1736	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	180
76571	Susanna	1736	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	230
76352	Betty Gally	1737	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	260
16845	Amoretta	1737	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	236
92358	Pineapple	1737	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	250
76705	Mary	1737	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	280
26157	Molly	1737		217
16870	Pearle	1737	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	255
16865	Loango	1737	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	379
26156	Princess Carolina	1737		217
76794	Susanna	1737	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	181
76952	Speaker (a) Speke Gally	1738	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	306
76711	Mermaid	1738	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	176
16919	Seaflower	1738		217
16879	Amoretta	1738		230
16973	Squirell	1738		228
16920	Shepherd	1738	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	360
76708	Betty	1738	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	230
76709	Mary	1738	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	105
76710	Princess Carolina	1738	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	233
76707	London Frigate	1738	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	309
26014	London Merchant	1738	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	351
76937	Mary	1739	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	85
16972	Shepherd	1739	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	339
16925	Amoretta	1739	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	207
16966	Postilion	1739	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	227
26276	John and Henry	1739		217
76712	Hilsox	1739	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	435
16958	Nancy	1739	Other Africa	205
16950	Levant	1739	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	382
16978	Amoretta	1740	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	217
17005	Squirell	1740		217
16997	Medway	1740		148
76939	Griffin	1740	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	234
16963	Phoenix	1740	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	217
17114	Nancy	1744		217
17134	Tryal	1744	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	197
17108	Jason Gally	1744	W. Central Africa & St. Helena	202
17090	Africa	1744	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	209
90226	Brownlow	1749	Gold Coast	156
90120	Pardoe	1749	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	197
90118	Lamb	1749	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	103
17256	Amoretta	1750		217
17245	Matilda	1750	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	209
24932	Hector	1750	Windward Coast	174
90264	Telemachus	1750	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	428
90303	Minerva	1750	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	274
90296	Orrell	1751	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	106
90351	Barbados Merchant	1751	West Central Africa & St. Helena	306
26015	Nancy	1751	West Central Africa & St. Helena	59
17312	Eugene	1752	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	250
24022	Molly	1752	Gold Coast	100
17283	Delight	1752	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	160

17284	Earl of Radnor	1752	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	300
77597	Prince George	1752	Windward, Ivory, Gold, Benin	300
17295	Matilda	1752	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	160
17285	Emperor	1752	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	250
36156	Two Friends	1752	Gold Coast	60
90298	Orrell	1753	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	151
90399	Thomas	1753	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	130
77622	Prince George	1753	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	270
24020	Elizabeth	1753	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	160
24025	Africa	1753	Gold Coast	170
17311	Emperor	1753	West Central Africa & St. Helena	350
77635	Success	1754	Gold Coast	287
76344	Young Prince George	1754	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	50
24026	Africa	1754	Sierra Leone	204
77637	Saint Paul	1754	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	197
77633	Minerva	1754	Sierra Leone	160
17339	Fortune	1754	Gold Coast	180
17345	Matilda	1754	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	150
90514	Orrel	1754	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	170
24021	Elizabeth	1754	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	98
17374	Nugent	1754	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	200
26016	Noble	1754	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
17352	Sylvia	1754		200
77655	Prince George	1755	Windward Coast	227
24024	Gambia	1755	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	120
36175	Hare	1755	Sierra Leone	61
25375	Polly	1755	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	30
17375	Pearl	1755	West Central Africa & St. Helena	251
25026	William	1755	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	40
17371	Matilda	1755	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	170
25378	Prince George	1755	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	60
90646	Enterprize	1755		33
90515	Orrel	1755	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	133
77248	Saint Paul	1755	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	133
24014	Elizabeth	1755	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	112
24028	Concord	1756	Sierra Leone	49
77252	Saint Andrew	1756	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	250
17417	Sylvia	1756	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	197
25029	Kitty (a) Katey	1756	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	42
24023	Molly	1756	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	197
36187	Hare	1756	Sierra Leone	71
17391	Hope	1756	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	150
17418	Success	1756	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	154
17384	Africa	1756	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	300
75237	Carlisle	1756	Sierra Leone	150
90472	Benn	1756	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	350
90394	Cavendish	1756	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	120
78803	Prince George	1756		288
90620	Phoebe	1757		197
27029	Molly	1757	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
24006	Anson	1757	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	70
90643	Lintot	1757	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	197
77676	Black Prince	1757	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	163
77692	Betsey	1758	Sierra Leone	230

77674	Unity	1758		288
90696	Polly	1758	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	118
27054	Hazlemore	1758		208
90684	Glory	1758	West Central Africa & St. Helena	764
17422	Cape Coast	1758	Gold Coast	262
17420	Africa	1758	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	283
90538	Hardman	1758	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	152
90725	Molly	1758	Gold Coast	59
90694	Nancy	1758	Gold Coast	252
90667	Middleton	1758	Windward Coast	186
90556	Mears	1758	Gold Coast	243
17427	Sylvia	1758	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	160
90466	Rainbow	1758	Bight of Benin	201
17425	Polly	1758	West Central Africa & St. Helena	377
90621	Phoebe	1758	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	161
17434	Cato	1758	Sierra Leone	288
24029	Thetis	1759	Windward Coast	212
24012	Marlborough	1759	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	190
24011	John	1759	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	56
24010	Molly	1759	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	200
26017	Betsey	1759	Sierra Leone	220
17429	Africa	1759	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	251
36229	Elizabeth	1759	Windward Coast	46
90734	Marlborough	1759	Bight of Benin	293
17467	Prince Tom	1760	West Central Africa & St. Helena	428
90835	Carolina	1760	Windward Coast	190
77722	Kepple	1760	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	52
26020	Betty	1760	Sierra Leone	180
24030	Molly	1760	Sierra Leone	228
90812	Pearl	1760	West Central Africa & St. Helena	362
90824	Nestor	1760	Gold Coast	208
17478	Racehorse	1760	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	157
24031	Marlborough	1760	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	196
26018	John	1760	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	70
90648	Charming Esther	1760	Gold Coast	204
77834	Ann Gally	1760	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	211
77723	Bance Island	1760	Sierra Leone	337
26019	Molly	1760	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	160
17460	Kingston	1760	Windward Coast	361
90668	Middleton	1760	Gold Coast	155
17496	Roebuck	1760	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	420
75334	Dispatch	1761	Sierra Leone	197
26022	Bance Island	1761	Sierra Leone	300
24032	Marquis of Granby	1761	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	200
75369	Duke of York	1761	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	250
17505	Hannah	1761	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	200
26024	Charming Sally	1761	West Central Africa & St. Helena	351
26023	Fanny	1761	Sierra Leone	204
90890	James	1761	Sierra Leone	150
26021	Amherst	1761		208
24529	Vernon	1761	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
90736	Marlborough	1762	West Central Africa & St. Helena	263
90961	Hope	1762	Windward Coast	150
25063	Neptune	1762	Gold Coast	220
17529	Juba	1763	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	127
90942	Sea Horse	1763	Windward Coast	130
24563	Fly	1763	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
36267		1763		126
91007	Upton	1763	West Central Africa & St. Helena	370

36268		1763		126
36262		1763		126
91008	Charles	1763	Sierra Leone	187
36249	Greyhound	1763	Gold Coast	134
24561	Charlotte	1763		131
24034	Marquis of Granby	1763	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	200
77236	Woodmanstone	1763		73
24035	Marquis of Granby	1764	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	200
75881	Minories	1764	Windward Coast	420
24583	Antelope	1764		208
36941	Black Prince	1764		120
17569	Tryton	1764		127
91056	Marton	1764	West Central Africa & St. Helena	400
37293	Phillis	1764	Sierra Leone	70
17590	Jane	1764	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
26026	Prince of Wales	1764		208
77776	Sally	1764	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	151
25070	Lyon	1764	Gold Coast	127
17565	Sally	1764	West Central Africa & St. Helena	330
24590	Sally	1764	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
91029	Jenny	1764	Bight of Benin	292
76050	Queen of Barra	1764	Sierra Leone	300
90988	Hamilton	1764	Sierra Leone	131
77769	Africa	1764	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	180
77204	Squirrel	1764	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
90790	Hannah	1765	West Central Africa & St. Helena	297
25232	Virginia	1765	Gold Coast	80
91213	William	1765	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	60
36301	Sarah	1765	Gold Coast	74
26029	Essex	1765	West Central Africa & St. Helena	150
36313	Newport Packet	1765	Gold Coast	154
26028	Providence	1765	West Central Africa & St. Helena	100
17604	Speedwell	1765	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	31
17586	Greyhound	1765	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	350
24769	Antelope	1765	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
77804	Dispatch	1765	Gold Coast	220
36297	Three Friends	1765	Sierra Leone	47
24036	Molly	1765	Sierra Leone	200
24038	King Tom	1765	Windward Coast	250
9112	Apollo	1765	Gold Coast	150
17572	Ballea Castle	1765	Gold Coast	190
17574	Bonnetta	1765	Windward Coast	50
77803	Hannah	1765	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	197
77789	Britannia	1765	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
91173	Etty	1765	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	283
75882	Minories	1765	Windward Coast	260
26027	Rodney	1765	West Central Africa & St. Helena	400
75396	Elizabeth	1765	Gold Coast	180
76326	Woodmanstone	1765	Sierra Leone	178
78199	New Britannia	1765		150
90975	Lord Pultney	1765	West Central Africa & St. Helena	213
36295	Speedwell	1765	Sierra Leone	43
77767	Fox	1765	Gold Coast	170
25238		1765		170
24866	Prince George	1765	Sierra Leone	160
24608	Pitt	1765		208
91191	Lively	1765	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	170
36314	Nancy	1765	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	30
77815	Success	1765	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	76
91135	Black Joke	1765	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	90
91182	Cloe	1765	Windward Coast	234

90818	Essex	1765	Windward Coast	190
17583	Duke of York	1765	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	220
17589	James	1765	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	64
24591	Sally	1765	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	90
91014	Captain	1765	Windward Coast	280
90717	Britannia	1765	West Central Africa & St. Helena	220
17637	Antelope	1766	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	209
17644	Cornwall	1767	West Central Africa & St. Helena	351
17638	Betsey	1767	West Central Africa & St. Helena	351
91483	Dimbia	1768	Windward Coast	131
91486	Tryal	1768	Sierra Leone	360
91319	Prince George	1769	Sierra Leone	151
91131	Aston	1769	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	126
76101	Royal George	1769	West Central Africa & St. Helena	360
26031	Dembia	1769	Shipwrecked or destroyed after disembarkation	94
77965	Neptune	1769	Gold Coast	340
91474	Jenny (a) Nancy	1769	Sierra Leone	178
36381	Shelburne	1769	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	138
91393	Harriet	1769	Windward Coast	170
17706	Mercury	1769	West Central Africa & St. Helena	252
91436	Lilly	1769	Sierra Leone	120
17734	King George	1769	Sierra Leone	150
91336	Saint John	1769	West Central Africa & St. Helena	240
91350	Cato	1769	Bight of Benin	239
77966	Squirrel	1769	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	114
91464	Sally	1769	Windward Coast	296
91368	Edgar	1769	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	275
91482	Sisters	1769	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	128
91451	John	1769	Windward Coast	280
91325	Corker	1769	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	127
91344	James	1769	Windward Coast	340
91276	Shark	1769	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	60
75298	Countess of Sussex	1769	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	250
91485	Cavendish	1770	Sierra Leone	190
91588	Mars	1771	Windward Coast	200
91466	Sally	1771	Windward Coast	291
17753	Hector	1771	West Central Africa & St. Helena	351
91713	Lively	1771	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	131
78017	New Britania	1771	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	90
26032	Friendship	1771	Gold Coast	105
91688	Saville	1771	Sierra Leone	172
17778	Gambia	1771	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	133
24689	Jupiter	1771		208
17744	Betsey	1771	West Central Africa & St. Helena	280
79017	Warren	1771	Sierra Leone	120
78278	Charlotte	1771	Sierra Leone	118
91735	Two Brothers	1771	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	200
26033	Henrieta	1772	Windward Coast	98
26035	Sukey and Nancy	1772	Gold Coast	120
25376	Beggar's Bennison	1772	Gold Coast	100
79024	Warren	1772	Sierra Leone	130
17780	Hector	1772	West Central Africa & St. Helena	304
76035	Providence	1772	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	156
75533	Friendship	1772	Gold Coast	390
78812	Africa	1772	Sierra Leone	218
91744	Mary	1772	Sierra Leone	197
91568	Unity	1772	Bight of Benin	363
91729	Two Brothers	1772	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	287

75932	New Britannia	1772	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	220
91704	Molly	1772	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	121
17773	Betsey	1772	West Central Africa & St. Helena	285
91765	Apollo	1772	Windward Coast	147
78057	Venus	1772	Gold Coast	287
78067	Fly	1772	Windward Coast	138
26034	Thomas and Anthony	1772	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	200
79019	Prince George	1772	Windward Coast	123
17806	Gambia	1773	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	170
91915	Hereford	1773	Sierra Leone	287
17811	Jason	1773	West Central Africa & St. Helena	253
91730	Two Brothers	1773	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	160
79028	Nelly	1773	Sierra Leone	150
36423	Liberty	1773	Bight of Benin	175
91959	Hope	1773	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	100
91898	Corsican Hero	1773	Gold Coast	210
91760	Hazard	1773	Windward Coast	165
75625	Heart of Oak	1773	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	104
77171	Providence	1773	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	130
91830	Nancy	1773	Windward Coast	130
91889	Thomas	1773	West Central Africa & St. Helena	160
91825	Charlotte	1773	Sierra Leone	110
78112	Briton	1773	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
78102	George	1773	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	160
75161	Betty and Jenny	1773	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	180
26038	Gallam (a) Mary	1773	Sierra Leone	318
26043	John	1773	Sierra Leone	86
24721	Meredith	1773	Sierra Leone	350
91896	Little Ben	1773	Windward Coast	106
91724	Cavendish	1773	Gold Coast	318
91819	Spy	1773	Windward Coast	197
37024	John	1773	Sierra Leone	86
26014	Friendship	1773	Gold Coast	140
77891	Molly	1773	Sierra Leone	100
76118	Sabina	1773	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	200
17807	Greyhound	1773	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	132
91737	Hawke	1773	Windward Coast	250
91883	Robert	1773	Gold Coast	130
17840	King George	1773	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
17826	Betsey	1773	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
25832	Venus	1773	Gold Coast	350
17814	Maesgwin	1773	Gold Coast	270
79045	Prince George	1773	Sierra Leone	80
24715	Swift	1773	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	65
91903	Stanley	1773	Sierra Leone	155
36440	Sebenia	1773	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	200
91849	Blossom	1773	Windward Coast	274
78840	Rosseau	1773	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	65
78106	Expedition	1773	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	151
91626	Edwward	1773	Gold Coast	180
17796	Africa	1773		190
36439	Fanny	1773	Gold Coast	206
91556	York	1773	Windward Coast	125
78105	Amelia	1773		287
17800	Catherine	1773	West Central Africa & St. Helena	237
26052	Maria	1774	Sierra Leone	36
91826	Charlotte	1774	Sierra Leone	140
17827	Betsey	1774	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	128
75446	Expedition	1774	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	143
17836	Hector	1774	West Central Africa & St. Helena	296
78150	Heart of Oak	1774	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	151
76120	Sabina	1774	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	200
78902	Jenny	1774	Sierra Leone	120

17842	Maesgwyn	1774	Gold Coast	300
91992	Bacchus	1774	Windward Coast	197
78159	Mally (a) Molly	1774	Sierra Leone	200
78124	Prince Tom	1774	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	150
78139	Little Anarchy	1774		92
75778	Lord North	1774	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	180
78131	Brewton	1774		287
17825	Ambris	1774	West Central Africa & St. Helena	49
36473	Fanny	1774	Gold Coast	60
91999	Caton	1774	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	230
17835	Gambia	1774	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	86
91969	Unity	1774	Bight of Benin	378
24748	Mary	1774	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	65
91906	Peggy	1774	Windward Coast	197
78142	Francis	1774	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	280
91590	Mars	1774	Windward Coast	287
24745	Fanny	1775	Gold Coast	126
82818	Nancy	1783		266
25394	Polly	1783		77
37002	Eagle	1783		104
25395	unknown	1783	Gold Coast	126
82795	Molly	1784	Windward Coast	160
25397	Bennington	1784	Gold Coast	90
25396	Two Brothers	1784	Windward Coast	169
84036	Louisa	1784	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	62
81406	Fanny	1784	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Islands	140
82964	Old England	1784	Windward/Gold Coast	181
80323	Antigallican	1784	Bight of Biafra/Gulf of Guinea	220
80847	Clementina	1784	West Central Africa/St. Helena	440
81967	James	1784	Senegambia/Offshore Atl.	290
17917	Alert	1784	Gold Coast	199
83947	Venus	1784	Gold Coast	280
81444	Ferret	1784	Senegambia/Offshore Atl.	65
80917	Comte du Norde	1784	West Central Africa & St. Helena	611
81054	Doe	1784	Sierra Leone	355
25398	Leger	1784	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	300
83636	Success	1784	Gold Coast	263
80548	Betsey	1784	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	90
36515	Betsey	1785	Gold Coast	152
17393	Little Hornet	1785	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	214
82603	Mary	1785	Sierra Leone	154
80884	Commerce	1785	Gold Coast	274
25502	Commerce	1785	Gold Coast	117
35029	General Huth	1785	Gold Coast	158
17947	Alert	1785	Gold & Windward Coast	213
81096	Eagle	1785	Sierra Leone	340
36517	Gambia	1785	Gold Coast	116
37114	Nancy	1785		80
36523	Don Galvez	1785	Gold Coast	127
37006	Brothers	1785	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	164
17943	Sprightly	1785	Senegambia & Offshore Atlantic	18
80676	Brothers	1785	Senegambia/offshoreAtl.	164
35191	Gregers Juul	1785	Gold Coast	188
82678	Mentor	1785	Senegambia/offshoreAtl.	152
37007	Louisa	1785	Senegambia/offshoreAtl.	62
81968	James	1785	Senegambia/offshoreAtl.	260
83564	Sisters	1785	Senegambia/offshoreAtl.	280
25402	Nancy	1786	Gold Coast	80
25286	Collector	1786	Sierra Leone	34
81621	Good Intent	1786	Senegambia/offshoreAtl.	40
36522	Gambia	1786	Gold Coast	82
36521	Industry	1786	Gold Coast	70
25613	Dispatch	1787		77
25403	Williams	1787	Gold Coast	123

36540	Louisa	1787		100
37196	Don Galvez	1787		106
25299	Katy	1793	Sierra Leone	106
25562	Jason	1796		126
25561	Phoebe	1797	Sierra Leone	37
25643	Fame	1797	Sierra Leone	126
36646	Rising Sun	1797		69
83086	Phoebe	1799	Sierra Leone	3
25409	Charlotte	1800	Other Africa	77
37008	Nancy	1801		66
83559	Sir William Douglas	1802	Bight of Biafra/gulf of Guinea	250
81193	Eliza	1802	Bight of Biafra and Gulf of Guinea islands	279
25422	Armed Neutrality	1804	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	124
25410	Martha Crowley	1804	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	100
80314	Anne	1804	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	357
25417	Susan (a) Susannah	1804	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	138
25608	Edward and Edmund	1804	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	86
25421		1804	Gold Coast	100
25412	Sukey and Polly	1804	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	200
25411	Nymph	1804	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	215
25419	Mary	1804	Gold Coast	87
25420		1804	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	100
36786	Argus	1804	Other Africa	279
25418	Hamilton	1804	Windward Coast	201
25416	Harriet	1804	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	61
36787	Favorite	1804	Gold Coast	67
28032	Louisa	1804	Bight of Benin	201
25414	Thomas	1804	Sierra Leone	106
37209	Active	1804		90
36798	Eliza	1804	Gold Coast	112
81642	Governor Dowedeswell	1804	Bight of Biafra and Gulf of Guinea islands	329
80174	Alexander	1804	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	165
82414	Macclesfield	1804	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	298
82355	Lord Rodney	1804	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	333
25415	Horizon	1804	Southeast Africa and Indian Ocean islands	243
81503	Frances	1804	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	185
37105	Aurora	1804	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	65
80434	Barbados Packet	1804	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	212
37106	Daniel and Mary	1804	Windward Coast	250
25413	Brilliant	1804	Windward Coast	148
83439	Ruby	1804	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	391
82051	John	1804	Sierra Leone	170
82396	Louisa	1804		279
25607	Tartar	1804	Shipwrecked	128
80841	Christopher	1804	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	270
81320	Esther	1804	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	367
28036	Concord	1805	Gold Coast	88
81655	Governor Wentworth	1805	Windward Coast	228
25435		1805	Sierra Leone	92
25424		1805	Other Africa	50
25449	Young Edward	1805	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	48
25428		1805	Windward Coast	126
25434		1805		34
25433		1805		10
25435		1805	Sierra Leone	92
25431	Eliza	1805	Windward Coast	180
25438	Louisiana	1805	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	116
36793	Neptune	1805	Gold Coast	144

37107	Kitty	1805	Sierra Leone	129
25448	Maria	1805	Sierra Leone	244
15432	Armed Neutrality	1805	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	131
25551	Yeopum	1805	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	57
37093	Susan	1805	Other Africa	130
81420	Fanny	1805	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	179
82445	Margaret	1805	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	200
25439	Hamilton	1805	Windward Coast	171
36807	Seaflower	1805		108
83210	Prince William	1805	Gold Coast	370
81321	Esther	1805	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	370
81947	Jack Park	1805	Gold Coast	268
36815	Hiram	1805		92
83119	Resource	1805	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	251
81655	Governor Wentworth	1805	Windward Coast	228
36814	Brandywine	1805		130
36848	Rambler	1805	Gold Coast	169
25436	Love and Unity	1805	Windward Coast	59
25449	Young Edward	1805	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	48
25428		1805	Gold Coast	128
36794	Eagle	1805	Gold Coast	117
25429	Thomas	1805	Sierra Leone	133
80362	Ariel	1805	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	260
28036	Concord	1805	Gold Coast	88
82441	Margaret	1805	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	260
36812	Louisa	1805	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	99
25434		1805		34
82940	Nile	1805	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	278
37140	Isabella	1805	Other Africa	144
25437	Fox	1805	Sierra Leone	40
25433		1805		10
15430		1805		50
83071	Perseverance	1805	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	330
82693	Mercury	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	400
36882	Little Ann	1806	Gold Coast	96
80226	America	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	418
30354	Ariel	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	110
25465	Mercury	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	120
80956	Daphne	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	370
81425	Farnham	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	311
82746	Minerva	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	400
25460	Edward and Edmund	1806	Sierra Leone	108
83440	Ruby	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	350
25455	Reliance	1806	Sierra Leone	67
83672	Swan	1806	Gold Coast	194
82611	Mary	1806	Sierra Leone	190
82935	Nicholson	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	360
25432	Fair American	1806	Gold Coast	128
25451	Doris	1806	Sierra Leone	90
25450	Doris	1806	Sierra Leone	96
25457	Gustavia	1806	Southeast Africa and Indian Ocean islands	250
25462	Kitty	1806	Sierra Leone	58
25467	Independence	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	200
25471	Maria	1806		126
36838	Hiram	1806	Gold Coast	53
36835	Fair Eliza	1806	Windward Coast	135
36880	Rambler	1806		170
37159	Washington	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	201
25470	Samuel	1806	Sierra Leone	198
81579	George	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	253
36850	Betsey	1806		122
36828	Hiram	1806		91

36855	Commerce	1806	Windward Coast	103
80474	Bellona	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	279
37118	America	1806	Other Africa	418
81073	Duddon	1806		173
36823	Factor	1806	Gold Coast	102
83905	Union	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	312
36826	Neptune	1806	Gold Coast	132
36827	Marian	1806	Gold Coast	75
25529	Elizabeth	1806	Southeast Africa and Indian Ocean islands	69
25472	Mary	1806		126
83157	Port Mary	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	360
81643	Governor Dowedeswell	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	306
81780	Hector	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	240
81834	Hibernia	1806	Windward Coast	217
36866	Louisa	1806	Sierra Leone	89
25464	John	1806	Gold Coast	74
36841	Agent	1806	Sierra Leone	139
82043	John	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	380
37239	Mary Ann	1806	Gold Coast	75
80774	Ceres	1806	Bight of Biafra and Gulf of Guinea islands	300
25453	Amazon	1806	Windward Coast	222
25528	Susan	1806	Sierra Leone	140
82479	Mars	1806	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	100
25461	Fox	1806	Sierra Leone	67
80940	Croydon	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	307
82127	Kerrie	1806	Bight of Benin	171
36947	Washington	1806	Sierra Leone	130
36840	Three Sisters	1806	Windward Coast	135
18267	Alert	1806	Sierra Leone	249
25463	Nantasket	1806	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	43
36878	Experiment	1806		64
83347	Robert	1806	Senegambia OR Sierra Leone	241
36829	Louisa	1806	Sierra Leone	117
36842	Hope	1806	Gold Coast	182
25530	Tartar	1806	Sierra Leone	105
82118	Kate	1806	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	340
25473	Diana	1806	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	205
36845	Polly	1806	Sierra Leone	33
25469	Hope	1806	Sierra Leone	69
25466	Lydia	1806	Sierra Leone	201
37144	Mary-Ann	1806	Sierra Leone	90
25458	Love and Unity	1806	Sierra Leone	84
25454	Hazard	1806	Windward Coast	126
82446	Margaret	1806	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	150
37137	Hope	1806	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	54
36893	Lavina	1807	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	32
36890	Monticello	1807	Sierra Leone	155
36892	Vulture	1807	Gold Coast	80
36902	Nancy	1807	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	75
36903	Fair Eliza	1807	Sierra Leone	85
25482	Miriam	1807	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	100
25509	William and Mary	1807	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	250
25564	Norfolk	1807	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	130
36907	Ann and Harriot	1807	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	115
36875	Juliet	1807	Gold Coast	63
36876	Hiram	1807	Gold Coast	92
36904	Three Sisters	1807	Windward Coast	121
36908	Eagle	1807	Gold Coast	97
36868	Alfred	1807	Sierra Leone	84
36885	Flora	1807	Sierra Leone	80
36923	Hope	1807	Gold Coast	97

36925	Jane	1807	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	54
36881	Andromache	1807	Gold Coast	166
25488	Africa	1807	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	284
25490	Armed Neutrality	1807	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	200
25494	Hindustan	1807	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	475
80195	Alice	1807	Bight of Biafra and Gulf of Guinea islands	364
80373	Aspinall	1807	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	300
25524	Habit (a)Haabert	1807	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	62
25510	Caroline	1807	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	130
25496	Experiment	1807	Sierra Leone	89
25522	Mary	1807		126
25525	Ellis	1807		126
25519	Fair Eliza	1807		128
25514	Alcide (a) Alcade	1807	Other Africa	88
25549	Eleanor	1807	Siera Leone	201
2552	Horizon	1807		175
25580	William	1807		250
36883	Jane	1807	Windward Coast	98
36921	Hannah	1807	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	51
37120	Bellona	1807	Bight of Biafra and Gulf of Guinea islands	201
80854	Cleopatra	1807	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	362
83158	Port Mary	1807	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	380
83727	Tartar	1807	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	240
25392	Washington	1807	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	32
25498	John	1807	Windward Coast	80
25500	Actor	1807	Sierra Leone	125
25545	Heart of Oak	1807	Sierra Leone	330
25539	Charleston	1807		126
25550	Port Mary	1807		126
25541	Rio	1807	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	214
25581	Fair American	1807		88
25484	Norfolk	1807	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	128
25538	Hope	1807	Other Africa	128
36899	Friendship	1807		49
36913	Louisa	1807		68
83575	Speculation	1807	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	100
25579	Eleanor	1807	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	201
25516	Maria	1807	Sierra Leone	277
25589	Fair American	1807	Bight of Biafra and Gulf of Guinea islands	226
25582	American	1807	Sierra Leone	187
36874	Mary	1807	Sierra Leone	150
36911	Columbia	1807	Sierra Leone	67
36932	Mary	1807	W. Central Africa/St. Helena	150
81074	Duddon	1807	Sierra Leone	174
25523	James	1807	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	93
25795	Kitty	1807	Sierra Leone	78
25495	Edward and Edmund	1807	Sierra Leone	95
25508	Resolution	1807	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	250
37101	Charlotte	1807	Other Africa	40
37186	Eliza	1807	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	218
25479	Eliza	1807	Sierra Leone	68
25501	Albert	1807	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	156
36869	Neptune	1807	Gold Coast	140
36888	Morning Star	1807	Other Africa	54
36898	Little Watt	1807	Gold Coast	117
36896	Agent	1807	Sierra Leone	157
25567	Mary Ann	1807	Senegambia and offshore Atl.	98
36916	Charlotte	1807	Gold Coast	330
36895	Concord	1807	Gold Coast	80
36917	Eliza	1807	Senegambia and offshore Atl.	70
36922	Agenoria	1807	Windward Coast	168

36926	Eliza	1807	Senegambia and offshore Atl.	79
37145	Mary	1807	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	133
25485	Minerva	1807	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	120
25489	Ann (a) Anna	1807	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	350
25521	Eliza	1807	Senegambia and offshore Atl.	100
25527	Amazon	1807	Sierra Leone	80
36900	Lark	1807	Gold Coast	95
80316	Anne	1807	Bight of Biafra and Gulf of Guinea islands	368
36897	Heroine	1807	Sierra Leone	204
37103	Friendship	1807	Gold Coast	128
25547	Polly	1807	Sierra Leone	136
37122	Carolina	1807	Senegambia and offshore Atl.	130
37146	Minerva	1807	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	125
25478	Fourth of July	1807	Sierra Leone	44
25493	Nantasket	1807	Senegambia and offshore Atl.	75
25540	Wealthy Ann	1807	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	202
25546	Jupiter	1807	Sierra Leone	140
25512	Emily	1807	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	201
36894	Betsey and Polly	1807	Sierra Leone	106
25566	Mary	1807		126
25584	Fabian	1807	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	201
37100	Agent	1807	SE Africa & IndOcean Islands	201
37096	Bellona	1807	Bight of Biafra and Gulf of Guinea islands	201
83441	Ruby	1807	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	350
37253	Neptune	1807		128
81462	Flora	1807		279
36910	Commerce	1807	Gold Coast	242
25507	Susan	1807	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	162
25526	Three Friends	1807	Sierra Leone	97
25497	Mercury	1807	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	133
37095	Rio	1807		128
25586	Tryal	1807	Sierra Leone	88
37136	Hope	1807	Sierra Leone	160
36867	Factor	1807	Gold Coast	85
36909	Eagle	1807	Gold Coast	180
36891	Hiram	1807	Sierra Leone	105
36889	Baltimore	1807	Sierra Leone	83
25474	James	1807	Sierra Leone	80
25477	Venus	1807	Sierra Leone	128
25480	Leander	1807	Senegambia and offshore Atl.	110
25483	Governor Claiborne	1807	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	383
25487	Daphne	1807	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	460
25491	James	1807	Senegambia and offshore Atl.	100
25492	John	1807	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	258
25506	Governor Claiborne	1807	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	247
25511	Cleopatra	1807	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	218
25537	Eliza	1807	Sierra Leone	76
36863	Union	1807	Gold Coast	168
37029	Kitty	1808		88
36924	Little Watt	1808	Sierra Leone	63
7632	Africa	1808	W.Central Africa & St. Helena	307
				147564

Appendices E and F provide information on how many slaves were imported from specific regions of Africa. As indicated, many of the voyages did not tabulate which area in Africa slaves imported into New York City and Charleston were imported from.

Appendix E

ETHNICITY OF SLAVES: NEW YORK

Region in Africa:	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Coast	Gold Coast	Senegambia and Offshore Atlantic	Sierra Leone	S.E. Africa & Indian Ocean	West Central Africa & St. Helena	Windward Coast	Other Africa
1655-1659						391		
1660-1664					265	291		
1665-1669								
1670-1674								
1675-1679								
1680-1684								
1685-1689								
1690-1694					27			
1695-1699					859			
1700-1704								
1705-1709								
1710-1714								
1715-1719		38						
1720-1724					120			
1725-1729								
1730-1734						100		217
1735-1739			69					
1740-1744								
1745-1749		84						
1750-1754		73	49	69		126		
1755-1759			519					
1760-1764		309						
1765-1769			55	170				
1770-1774			65					
1775-1779	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals:	**0**	**504**	**757**	**239**	**1271**	**908**		**217**

Appendix F

ETHNICITY OF SLAVES: CHARLESTON

Region in Africa:	Bight of Biafra & Gulf of Guinea Coast	Gold Coast	Senegambia and Offshore Atlantic	Sierra Leone	S.E. Africa & Indian Ocean
1655-1659					
1660-1664					
1665-1669					
1670-1674					
1675-1679					
1680-1684					
1685-1689					
1690-1694					
1695-1699					
1700-1704					
1705-1709					
1710-1714		60	150		
1715-1719		194	250	95	
1720-1724			314		
1725-1729		236	875	348	
1730-1734	2,017		1,343		
1735-1739	1,343	62	603		
1740-1744	623				
1745-1749		156	300		
1750-1754	1, 907	797	1,956	364	
1755-1759	1,531	816	2,978	1,069	
1760-1764	704	1,048	2,820	2,284	
1765-1769	1,145	1,558	2,243	1,587	
1770-1774	132	3,166	5,286	3,363	
1775-1779		126			
1780-1784	360	958	507	355	
1785-1789		1,487	1,140	528	
1790-1794				106	
1795-1799				380	
1800-1804	529	366	574	170	243
1805-1807	1,660	5,927	2,711	6,979	520
1808	0	0	0	63	0
Totals:	**10,044**	**16,957**	**24,050**	**17,691**	**763**

	West Central Africa & St. Helena	Windward Coast	Bight of Benin	Other Africa
1655-1659				
1660-1664				
1665-1669				
1670-1674				
1675-1679				
1680-1684				
1685-1689				
1690-1694				
1695-1699				
1700-1704				
1705-1709				
1710-1714				180
1715-1719				
1720-1724				
1725-1729				218
1730-1734	1,851			
1735-1739	9,109			205
1740-1744	653			
1745-1749				
1750-1754	715	300		
1755-1759	1,392	876	494	
1760-1764	2,504	1,251	292	
1765-1769	2,934	2,481		
1770-1774	2,215	2,925	916	
1775-1779				
1780-1784	1,351	510		
1785-1789	214			
1790-1794				
1795-1799				
1800-1804	2,881	599	201	356
1805-1807	15,683	2,043	171	858
1808	307	0	0	0
Totals:	**41,809**	**10,985**	**2,074**	**1,817**

Appendix G graphs mortality rates for slaves imported into New York City and Charleston. The “Embarked” column refers to the number of slaves that left Africa and the “Disembarked” columns refers to the number of slaves that arrived at the ports of New York City and Charleston. I have also tabulated the total number of slave deaths along the Middle Passage and the percent of slaves who died along the Middle Passage. Most of the voyages did not provide information on mortality rates.

Appendix G

MORTALITY RATES: NEW YORK

Number and Percent of Slaves Who Died Between Africa and New York City

Year	Voyage Number	Name of Ship	Embarked	Disembarked	Number of Middle Passage Slave Deaths	Percent of Slaves Who Died During Voyage
1721	75307	Crown Gally	240	120	120	50%
1733	25318	Catherine	146	100	13	8.90%
1749	24944	Rhode Island	120	84	36	30%
1751	25340	Wolf	75	73	2	2.70%
1754	25023	Rebeccah	36	23	13	36.10%
1754	25021	York	35	26	9	25.70%
Average:					**32.2**	**26%**

Mortality Rates: Charleston

Number and Percent of Slaves Who Died Between Africa and Charleston

Year	Voyage Number	Name of Ship	Embarked	Disembarked	Middle Passage Slave Deaths	Percent of Slaves Who Died During Voyage
1723	76693	Lady Rachel	221	192	29	13.10%
1727	76697	Diligence	218	215	3	1.40%
1735	76855	Faulcon	365	364	1	0.30%
1736	76859	Girlington	409	303	106	25.90%
1738	76707	London Frigate	323	309	14	4.30%
1749	90226	Brownlow	218	156	62	28.40%
1752	17295	Matilda	330	160	70	30.40%
1753	90399	Orrell	150	130	20	13.30%
1754	76344	Young Prince George	64	50	14	21.90%
1754	17374	Nugent	208	200	8	3.80%
1755	36175	Hare	72	61	11	15.30%
1755	90515	Orrel	143	133	10	7%
1758	17422	Cape Coast	300	262	38	12.70%
1758	90556	Mears	270	243	27	10%
1758	17427	Sylvia	205	160	45	22%
1758	90466	Rainbow	250	201	49	19.60%
1758	90621	Phoebe	180	161	19	10.60%
1759	24012	Marlborough	200	190	10	5%
1759	24010	Molly	230	200	30	13%
1759	36229	Elizabeth	50	46	4	8%
1760	90668	Middleton	235	155	80	34%
1762	25063	Neptune	242	220	22	9.10%
1763	36249	Greyhound	150	134	16	10.70%
1765	36313	Newport Packet	172	154	18	10.50%
1765	36297	Three Friends	53	47	6	11.30%
1765	17572	Ballea Castle	200	190	10	5%
1765	77815	Success	80	76	4	5%
1765	17589	James	75	64	11	14.70%
1765	24591	Sally	101	90	24	7.90%
1769	77965	Neptune	350	340	10	2.90%
1769	36381	Shelburne	155	138	17	11%
1769	17734	King George	150	150	0	0%
1769	91276	Shark	72	60	12	16.70%

1771	78017	New Britania	120	90	30	25%
1771	17778	Gambia	153	133	20	13.10%
1772	91568	Unity	378	363	15	4%
1773	91730	Two Brothers	162	160	2	1.20%
1773	36439	Fanny	231	206	25	10.80%
1774	36473	Fanny	112	60	52	46.40%
1774	91969	Unity	400	378	22	5.50%
1784	83947	Venus	320	280	40	12.50%
1784	80917	Comte du Norde	701	611	90	12.80%
1785	80884	Commerce	320	274	46	14.40%
1785	35029	General Huth	260	158	102	39.20%
1785	17947	Albert	225	213	12	5.30%
1785	36523	Don Galvez	133	127	6	4.50%
1786	36521	Industry	150	70	80	53.30%
1787	26540	Louisa	121	100	21	17.40%
1801	37008	Nancy	70	66	4	5.70%
1804	36787	Favorite	75	67	8	8.70%
1804	25415	Horizon	543	243	200	55.20%
1804	82051	John	172	170	2	1.20%
1805	36793	Neptune	161	144	17	10.60%
1805	36815	Hiram	103	92	11	10.70%
1805	36814	Brandywine	146	130	16	11.00%
1805	36848	Rambler	189	169	20	10.60%
1805	36794	Eagle	131	117	14	10.70%
1805	36812	Louisa	104	99	5	4.80%
1806	36882	Little Ann	108	96	12	11.10%
1806	36838	Hiram	59	53	6	10.20%
1806	36835	Fair Eliza	151	135	16	10.60%
1806	36880	Rambler	182	170	12	6.60%
1806	36850	Betsey	136	122	14	10.30%
1806	36855	Commerce	117	103	14	12%
1806	36826	Neptune	148	132	16	10.80%
1806	36827	Marlan	84	75	9	10.70%
1806	36841	Agent	156	139	17	10.90%
1806	36840	Three Sisters	151	135	16	10.60%
1806	36829	Louisa	131	117	14	10.70%
1806	36842	Hope	204	182	22	10.80%
1806	36845	Polly	129	33	96	74.40%
1807	36893	Lavina	36	32	4	11.10%
1807	36890	Monticello	174	155	19	10.90%
1807	36892	Vulture	90	80	10	11.10%
1807	36902	Nancy	82	75	7	8.50%
1807	36903	Fair Eliza	147	85	62	42.20%
1807	36875	Juliet	71	63	8	11.30%
1807	36876	Hiram	103	92	11	10.70%
1807	36904	Three Sisters	136	121	15	11%
1807	36908	Eagle	109	97	12	11%
1807	36868	Alfred	94	84	110	10.60%
1807	36885	Flora	90	80	10	11.10%
1807	36923	Hope	109	97	12	11%
1807	36925	Jane	60	54	6	10%
1807	36881	Andromache	186	166	20	10.80%
1807	25488	Africa	320	284	36	11.20%
1807	36883	Jane	129	98	31	24%
1807	36921	Hannah	57	51	6	10.50%
1807	25541	Rio	220	214	6	2.70%
1807	36899	Friendship	66	49	17	25.80%
1807	36874	Mary	168	150	18	10.70%
1807	36911	Columbia	75	67	8	10.70%
1807	36869	Neptune	156	140	16	10.30%
1807	36888	Morning Star	60	54	6	10%
1807	36898	Little Watt	131	117	14	10.70%
1807	36896	Agent	176	157	19	10.80%
1807	36916	Charlotte	370	330	40	10.80%
1807	36895	Concord	90	80	10	11.10%

1807	36917	Eliza	78	70	8	10.30%
1807	36922	Agenoria	188	168	20	10.60%
1807	25485	Minerva	245	120	120	49%
1807	36900	Lark	106	95	11	10.40%
1807	36894	Betsey and Polly	112	106	6	5.40%
1807	36910	Commerce	271	242	29	10.70%
1807	36867	Factor	95	85	10	10.50%
1807	36909	Eagle	202	180	22	10.90%
1807	36891	Hiram	118	105	13	11%
1807	36889	Baltimore	93	83	10	10.80%
1807	36863	Union	188	168	20	10.60%
1808	36924	Little Watt	71	63	8	11.30%
1808	7632	Africa	326	307	19	5.80%
Average:					**24.8**	**13.58%**

Appendix H and I refer to gender and age ratios. These appendices include information for each of the voyages listed on the percent of males, females, boys, girls, and children imported on vessels transporting slaves from Africa to New York City H and Charleston I. Information on gender and adults vs. children was not recorded for many of the voyages.

Appendix H

GENDER RATIOS: NEW YORK CITY

Year	Voyages #	Name of Ship	Males	Females	Boys	Girls	Total Males	% Children
1664	11414	Gideon	53.30%	46.70%	0	0	53.30%	
1716	25315	Anne and Mary					59.50%	

*"Boys" and "Girls" referred to children 10 and under.

Appendix I

GENDER RATIOS: CHARLESTON

Year	Voyage #	Name of Ship	Embarked	Disembarked	Males	Females	Boys	Girls	Total Males	% Children
1723	76693	Lady Rachel	221	192	79.20%	20.80%	0%	0%	79.20%	0%
1724	76693	Lady Rachel	221	192	79.20%	20.80%	0%	0%	79.20%	
1726	76103	Ruby	143	122						16.40%
1735	76130	Samuel	40	35	85%	7.50%	5%	2.50%	90%	
1735	16814	Amoretta	298	239						1.70%
1735	16802	Morning Star	359	327						17%
1736	16806	Rainbow	199	159						10.50%
1736	16842	Shepherd	398	362						17.50%
1736	16840	Scipio	330	300						22.10%
1736	16837	Phoenix	318	289						23.10%
1736	16832	Morning Star	67	61						9.10%
1737	16815	Amoretta	295	224						12.50%
1737	16845	Amoretta	259	236						19.10%
1737	16870	Pearle	280	255						4.50%
1738	16865	Loango	4116	379						11.10%
1738	16919	Seaflower	271	217						5.40%
1738	16879	Amoretta	287	230						27.70%
1738	16973	Squirrell	285	228						19%
1739	16920	Shepherd	396	360						49.40%
1739	16972	Shepherd	373	339						26.40%
1739	16925	Amoretta	258	207						18%
1739	16966	Postillion	299	227						19.80%
1740	16950	Levant	503	382						14.10%
1754	16997	Medway	185	148						10.80%
1755	17339	Fortune	208	180	14.90%	13.10%	41.70%	30.40%	56.50%	72%
1755	36175	Hare	72	61	52.70%	38.20%	7.30%	1.80%	60%	9.10%
1756	17375	Pearl	278	251	47.70%	18.50%	20.20%	13.60%	67.90%	33.70%
1756	36187	Hare	80	71	44.40%	20.60%	20.60%	14.30%	65.10%	34.90%
1765	17418	Success	180	154	100%				100%	
1769	91213	William	77	60	31.70%	31.70%	23.20%	13.30%	55%	36.70%
1769	26031	Dembia	104	94	41.50%	25.50%	16%	17%	57.40%	33%
1769	17734	King George	150	150						20%
1769	91336	Saint John	294	240	100%	0%				0%
1784	91368	Edgar	337	275						48.40%
1785	80917	Comte du Norde	701	611	29.30%	14.40%	36.90%	19.40%	66.30%	56.30%
1785	35029	General Huth	260	158	27.80%	24.70%	22.20%	25.30%	50%	47.50%
1786	36523	Don Galvez	133	127	48.80%	17.30%	23.60%	10.20%	72.40%	33.90%
1804	36522	Gambia	118	82	51.20%	24.40%	14.60%	9.80%	65.90%	24.40%
1805	25412	Sukey and Polly	239	200					62.50%	
1805	25424		59	50					0%	
1805	36807	Seaflower	101	108	83.30%	13%	2.80%	0.90%	86.10%	3.70%

1806	36812	Louisa	104	99	18%	29.50%	36.10%	16.40%	54.10%	52.50%
1806	36880	Rambler	182	170	54.10%	18.80%	25.30%	1.80%	79.40%	27.10%
1807	36850	Betsey	136	122	53.30%	33.60%	9.80%	3.30%	63.10%	13.10%
1807	25482	Miriam	114	100	22%	18%	38%	22%	60%	60%
1807	36923	Hope	109	97	54.90%	18.30%	14.10%	12.70%	69%	26.80%
	36881	Andromache	186	166	39%	23.70%	27.10%	10.20%	66.10%	37.30%
		Averages:			**51.37%**	**20.58%**	**20%**	**12%**	**64.82%**	**25.01%**

*"Boys" and "Girls" referred to children 10 and under.

Appendix J

VESSELS: NEW YORK

Slaves Imported Into New York City

Voyage Number	Year	Name of Ship	Vessel Owners	Flag
11295	1655	Witte Paard	Jan Sweerts Dirck Pieterson Wittepart	Netherlands
11294	1663	Waapen van Amsterdam		Netherlands
11414	1664	Gideon		Netherlands
36997	1694	Charles	Frederick Philipse	U.S.A.
36998	1697	Margaret	Frederick Philipse	U.S.A.
37013	1697		Frederick Philipse	U.S.A.
25679	1697			U.S.A.
70202	1698	Peter		U.S.A.
37015	1698	Fortune	Frederick Philipse	U.S.A.
36999	1698	New York Merchant	Frederick Philipse	U.S.A.
25678	1698			U.S.A.
37263	1705			U.S.A.
37264	1710			U.S.A.
21501	1711	Jarrat		Great Britain
37265	1711			U.S.A.
37266	1712			U.S.A.
25314	1715	Anne and Mary	Rip Vandam Anthony, Linch Alex Moore Anthony Rutgers	U.S.A.
25315	1716	Anne and Mary	Rip Vandam Frances Gerbransen Alexander Moore Anthony Rutgers	U.S.A.
75999	1717	New York Postillion	William Walton Nathaniel Simpson Richard Janaway	U.S.A.
25363	1717	Catherine and Mary	John Vanhorne Garrett Vanhorne Abraham Vanhorne Andrew Fresneau	U.S.A.
25366	1718	Catherine and Mary	John Vanhorne Garrett Vanhorne Abraham Vanhorne Andrew Fresneau	U.S.A.
75307	1721	Crown Gally	Richard Janaway Isaac Levy William Walton Nathaniel Simpson	Great Britain
25367	1725	Anne	Thomas Hopkins	U.S.A.
16633	1731	Catherine	Daniel Goizin Goizin John Walter	U.S.A.

			Arnot Schuyler	
28051	1731			U.S.A.
37267	1732	Catherine		U.S.A.
24309	1733	Katherine		Great Britain
25318	1733	Catherine	John Walter	U.S.A.
			Arnot Schuyler	
			Peter Schuyler	
			Adoniah Schuyler	
37268	1738	Catherine		U.S.A.
37269	1739	Princess Anne		U.S.A.
37270	1739	Hopewell		U.S.A.
37059	1744	David		U.S.A.
24944	1749	Rhode Island	Philip Livingston	U.S.A.
			Livingston	
			Livingston	
25321	1750	Hawk	Tomas Farmer	U.S.A.
			Johns Watts	
37272	1750	Brave Hawk		U.S.A.
27230	1750	Revenge		U.S.A.
37230	1750	Maria		U.S.A.
24944	1751	Rhode Island		U.S.A.
37018	1751	Neptune		U.S.A.
25340	1751	Wolf	Philip Livingston	U.S.A.
			Livingston	
			Livingston	
25342	1751	Hawke		U.S.A.
25341	1751	Warren		U.S.A.
37274	1751	Diamond		U.S.A.
27232	1751	Rebeccah		U.S.A.
37019	1752	Ruby	Jasper Farmer	U.S.A.
37049	1752	Prince George		U.S.A.
25369	1754	Polly	Jasper Farmer	U.S.A.
			Nathaniel Marston	
25023	1754	Rebeccah	Daniel Thorn	U.S.A.
			William Griffith	
			Garrat Couzine	
			Samuel Bridge	
25370	1754	Sarah and Elizabeth	Thomas Byowan	U.S.A.
			Philip Livingston	
			John Waddie	
25021	1754	York	Thoman Grennel	U.S.A.
			Christopher Robart	
25010	1758	William		U.S.A.
37058	1758	Friendship		U.S.A.
37275	1758	Saint Michael		U.S.A.
25014	1759	Friendship		U.S.A.
25329	1760	America		U.S.A.
37060	1760	Sally		U.S.A.
25336	1760	Africa		U.S.A.
25330	1760	Sally		U.S.A.
25523	1760	Little Betsey		U.S.A.
25528	1761			U.S.A.
25332	1761	Mary		U.S.A.
25523	1761	Little Betsey		U.S.A.
36258	1762	Rebecca and Joseph		U.S.A.
25347	1763	Charming Sally	Samuel Dwight	U.S.A.
			Samuel Bridge	
37068	1763	Pitt		U.S.A.
25353	1765	Nelly		U.S.A.
25792	1765	Mattey	John van Cortlandt	U.S.A.

37276	1767	Peggy		U.S.A.
37277	1768	Elliot		U.S.A.
37278	1769	N.E. Quill		U.S.A.
37023	1770	Elliot		U.S.A.
75055	1770	Amity		Great Britain
17737	1770	Nancy	Henry Cruger Jr.	Great Britain
37077	1775	Modesty		U.S.A.

5 Total from Great Britain
3 Total from the Netherlands
67 total from U.S.A.

Appendix K

VESSEL OWNERS: CHARLESTON

Slaves Imported Into Charleston

Voyage Number	Year	Name of Ship	Vessel Owners
15203	1710	Loyall Johnson	James Bardoe, Daniel Jamineau, James Lea
16116	1713	Morning Star	William Jefferis
25718	1714		
21801	1715	Sylvia Galley	George Barons
76686	1717	Flying Brigantine	
76691	1717	Cartaret	
76687	1717	Mary	
25372	1717	John	
76685	1717	Ludlow Gally	Samuel Baron
16194	1718	Princess Carolina	William, Richard, and Joseph Jefferis
			Noblet Ruddock
			Robert Addison
26008	1718	Eagle	
76690	1718	Craven	
76688	1718	Mediterranean	
76226	1718	Susannah	
76689	1718	Dorothy	
76692	1719	Dexter	
76103	1719	Ruby	
16273	1720	Raymond Gally	Noblet Ruddock
16304	1721	Sarah	William Jefferis
16324	1722	Pearle Gally	Joseph, Richard, William Jefferis
76693	1723	Lady Rachel	Royal African Company
16639	1724	Greyhound	William Challoner
			Thomas Dolman
			Henry Forrest
			John Hawkins
			Christopher Jones
16331	1724	America	Richard and Walter Lougher
			Isaac Hobhouse
			William Jefferis
			William Challoner
			William Baker
16346	1724	Pearle Gally	Joseph, Richard, William Jefferis
			William Brandale
76695	1724	Cape Coast Frigate	Royal African Company
16393	1725	America	Richard Lougher
75848	1725	Mary Ann	Wragg
75077	1725	Anne	Latur
16414	1725	Indian Queen	Walter and Richard Lougher
16410	1725	Greyhound Gally	William Challoner
76130	1726	Samuel	Samuel Wragg
76131	1726	Samuel	Godin
16428	1726	Pearle Gally	Joseph Jefferis

16404	1726	Cowslip	Noblet Ruddock
76971	1726	Diligence	Royal African Company
25141	1727	Glasgow	Andw Allen, Chas Hill
77063	1727	Resolution	T. Eden
76697	1727	Dillligence	Henry Neale, John Lansdale
16492	1727	Mediterranean	Isaac Hobhouse
76698	1727	Lyda	Robert Johnson, James Garrick
			Samuel Wragg, Francis Young
32902	1728	Caesar	
25766	1728	Saint Stephen	
25953	1728	Union	
16532	1728	Pearle	Joseph, Richard, William Jefferis
			William Barnsdale, William Swymmer
16540	1728	Serlon	William Jefferis, Isaac Hobhouse
			William and John Reeves,
			Thomas Wilks, Charles Lloyd
25776	1729	Ruby	
16564	1730	Greyhound	Isaac Hobhouse
25783	1730	Carruthers	
16602	1730	Amoretta	Joseph Iles, Thomas Jackson
			Adam leiland, Joseph Stavely
25959	1730	Union	
16642	1731	Pearl Snow	William Jefferis, Charles Hill
			George Lewis
76757	1731	Elizabeth	
76699	1731	Sea Nymph	William Gerrish
16643	1731	Pearle Gally	Joseph Jerris, Richard Jefferys
			Jenkin Hughes
16648	1731	Sereleon Snow	William Jefferis, William Reeve
			Noblet Ruddock
16659	1731	Bettys Hope	William Codrington
16650	1731	Susanna	Thomas and Philip Freke
			Daniel Lysons
16626	1731	Indian Queen	Walter and Richard Lougher
16707	1732	Berkley	Henry Lloyd
16696	1732	Susanna	Thomas Freke
76702	1732	Molly	John Carruthers, Daniel Godin
16740	1732	Pearle Gally	Joseph Jefferis
16655	1732	Aurora	Edmund Saunders
26012	1732	Edward	
16653	1732	Amoretta	Joseph Iles, Thomas Caster,
			Jonathan Davis, isaac Hobson
16723	1732	Greyhound	Isaac Hobhouse, William Challoner
			William Baker
16746	1733	Shepherd	Abell Grant
16710	1733	Bettys Hope	William Codrington
16773	1733	Rainbow	Edmund Saunders
			Isaac Hobhouse
16775	1733	Scipio	Rogers Heylyn
16727	1733	Hill	William Jefferies
76712	1733	Judith (a) Ruby	Thomas Hail
16745	1733	Sarah	Henry Tonge, Henry Lloyd
25991	1733	London Merchant	
16715	1733	Cato	Walter Lougher
76715	1733	Margaret	
16702	1733	Amoretta	Joseph Iles
76714	1733	Speaker	
16752	1734	Amoretta	Joseph Iles, Thomas Costin
			John Davies
16808	1734	Scipio	Edward Heylyn, Robert Rogers
16781	1734	Bath	Richard Farr, Richard Small

16790	1734	Greyhound	Isaac Hobhouse, William Chalioner
26013	1734	Dorset	
76700	1734	Isabella	John Parker, Thomas Herbert
16771	1734	Post Boy	Thomas Jenys, Paul Fisher
76701	1734	Speaker	William Gerrish
76851	1735	London Frigate	John Acland, William Wallace
25992	1735	London Merchant	
76950	1735	Molly	David Godin, John Carruthers
16803	1735	Pearle Gally	Joseph Jefferys, William Jefferys
16806	1735	Rainbow	Edmund Saunders, Isaac Hobhouse
16817	1735	Berkley	Edmund Saunders, Abel Grant Richard Farr, Humphrey Fitzherbert
16787	1735	Diana	Samuel Jacob, William Thomas, John Rich
76845	1735	Dove	Samuel Bonham, John Sawyer
16791	1735	Happy Couple	Sir William Codrington, Edward Little
16814	1735	Amoretta	Joseph Iles, Thomas Costin, John Davies, Isaac Hobhouse
16802	1735	Morning Star	James Laroche, Joseph Iles, Isaac Hobhouse
76855	1735	Faulcon	Thomas Hall, James Pearce James Fell
92406	1735	Pineapple	John Hardman, Foster Cunliffe Sami Ogden, Richard Hampson
25993	1736	London Merchant	
16837	1736	Phoenix	Richard Farr, John Brickdale Henry Lloyd, William Wraxall
16832	1736	Morning Star	James Laroche, Joseph Iles, Isaac Hobhouse
26114	1736	Catherine	
16840	1736	Scipio	Edward Heylyn, Robert Rogers, Paul Fisher, Thomas Jenys
16842	1736	Shepherd	Abel Grant, Edmund Saunders, Samuel Allen
76869	1736	Princess Carolina	David Godin
76866	1736	London Frigate	Thomas Naysmith, Wallace Cleveland
76580	1736	Faulcon	Richard Taunton, John Fell, James Pearce
76859	1736	Girlington	Henry Neale, Thomas Hill, Lascelles
16815	1736	Amoretta	Joseph Iles, Thomas Costin, Isaac Hobhouse
76571	1736	Susanna	Thomas Herbert, John Dalton Davie
76865	1736	Bonetta	Samuel Hydes, John Hydes
16845	1737	Amoretta	James and Timothy Mainham, Samuel Darlington, Thomas Coster, John Davies, Isaac Hobhouse
76705	1737	Mary	Samuel Wragg
76352	1737	Betty Gally	Thomas Hall, James Pearce
16870	1737	Pearle	Richard Farr, Sr., Richard Farr, Jr.
26156	1737	Princess Carolina	
26157	1737	Molly	
76704	1737	Susanna	Thomas Herbert, Robert Atkyns
16850	1737	Loango	James Laroche, Isaac Hobhouse, James Harding, Joseph Iles
92358	1737	Pineapple	Richard Hampton, Jno Hardman, Foster Cunliffe, Same Ogden
76709	1738	Mary	Samuel Wragg
76711	1738	Mermaid	James Pearce
76710	1738	Princess Carolina	David Godin

16973	1738	Squirrel	Thomas Coster, Isaac Hobhouse, David Jones
16920	1738	Shepherd	Abel Grant, Edmund Saunders, Samuel Allen, Henry Lloyd
76708	1738	Betty	Thomas Burchill, John Butler, George Arnold, David Macdonald, Thomas Truman
16879	1738	Amoretta	Joseph Iles, Thomas Coster, John Davies, Isaac Hobhouse
76952	1738	Speaker (a) Speke Gally	William Gerrish
76707	1738	London Frigate	Thomas Naysmith, John Clelland, William Wallace, Sir Joseph Eyles, Samuel Wragg, Robert Simons
16919	1738	Seaflower	James Laroche, Isaac Hobhouse
26014	1738	London Merchant	
76937	1739	Mary	Samuel Wragg
16972	1739	Shepherd	Abel Grant, Edmund Saunders
16958	1739	Nancy	
16925	1739	Amoretta	Thomas Iles, Thomas Coster, John Davies
76712	1739	Hiscox	Timothy Bridges, Edward Joyner, Joseph Jisox, Thomas Hall, James Pearce
26276	1739	John and Henry	
16950	1739	Levant	
26268	1739	Princess Carolina	
16966	1739	Postillion	
76939	1740	Griffin	James Buchanan
16978	1740	Amoretta	Joseph Iles
16997	1740	Medway	Thomas Kennedy
17005	1740	Squirrell	Joseph Iles
16963	1740	Phoeix	
17108	1744	Jason Gally	William Jefferies, James Laroche, John Plumer, Edward Bourne, John Becher, Cranfield Beecher, George Becher, Anthy Swymmer, Michi Becher
17090	1744	Africa	
17134	1744	Tryal	Jno Coleman
17114	1744	Nancy	
90118	1749	Lamb	Potter Fletcher, James Pardoe
90120	1749	Pardoe	Potter Fletcher, James Pardoe
90226	1749	Brownlow	John Kennion, William Haliday, Edmund Ogden, Peter Holme
90303	1750	Minerva	James Pardoe
24932	1750	Hector	
17256	1750	Amoretta	
90264	1750	Telemachus	Witter Cummings, James Pardoe, Potter Fletcher, Benjamin Harris
17245	1750	Matilda	
90351	1751	Merchant	George Campbell, James Fleetwood, Steel Perkins
26015	1751	Nancy	
90296	1751	Orrell	Robert Hallhead, William Whaley, William Davenport, George Clowes
90351	1751	Barbados Merchant	George Campbell, James Fleetwood, Steel Perkins
17312	1752	Eugene	Samuel Cheston Sedgley, James Laroche, Cranfield Becher, James Banister

77597	1752	Prince George	
17285	1752	Emperor	
17283	1752	Delight	
36156	1752	Two Friends	Ammi Chase
24022	1752	Molly	
17295	1752	Matilda	Nathanial Wraxall
17284	1752	Earl of Radnor	
24025	1753	Africa	
90399	1753	Thomas	William Moore, Jr., Isaac de Pizra, Benjamin Massiah, Elias Minvielle, Susan Minvielle
24020	1753	Elizabeth	
77622	1753	Prince George	
17311	1753	Emperor	Richard Prankard
90298	1753	Orrell	Robert Hallhead, William Whaley, William Davenport, George Clowes
90514	1754	Orrel	James Bennett, John Knight, William Whaley, George Clowes, Christopher Davenport
77635	1754	Success	
24026	1754		Robert Thompson, John Thompson
76344	1754	Young Prince George	
17352	1754	Sylvia	Thomas Farr, Jr.
77637	1754	Saint Paul	
77633	1754	Minerva	
17345	1754	Matilda	Nathanial Wraxall
17374	1754	Nugent	Thomas Eason
17339	1754	Fortune	Henry Weare
26016	1754	Noble	
24021	1754	Elizabeth	
25026	1755	William	
36175	1755	Hare	Samuel and William Vernon
17371	1755	Matilda	
24014	1755	Elizabeth	
77248	1755	Saint Paul	Richard Oswald
17375	1755	Pearl	Thomas Easton
25375	1755	Polly	Nath'l Marston, Jasper Farmer
77655	1755	Prince George	
90515	1755	Orrel	James Bennett, John Knight, William Whaley, George Clowes, Christopher Davenport
90646	1755	Enterprize	William Boats, John Knight, Joseph Kitchingham, Rothwell Willoughby, Edmund Head
24024	1755	Gambia	
25378	1755	Prince George	
77252	1756	Saint Andrew	Richard Oswald
17417	1756	Sylvia	Thomas Farr, Jr.
24028	1756	Concord	
78803	1756	Prince George	
25029	1756	Kitty (a) Katey	
90472	17556	Benn	Richard Nicholas, William Rowe, John Livesley
17391	1756	Hope	John Malcolme
36187	1756	Hare	William and Samuel Vernon
17384	1756	Africa	Thomas Deane
90394	1756	Cavendish	High Ball, Richard Nicholas, James Pardoe, Charles Lowndes, John Chorley, William Whaley, Benjamin Heywood
75237	1756	Carlisle	Richard Oswald

24023	1756	Molly	
17418	1756	Success	Thomas Easton
17409	1757	King David	William Lougher, Isaac Wdwards
90643	1757	Lintot	George Clowes, Richard Nicholas, John Gorrell, William Rowe, John Parke, John Evans
90620	1757	Phoebe	John Knight, Chris Davenport, James Bennet
24006	1757	Anson	Helme
27029	1757	Molly	
77676	1757	Black Prince	
90667	1758	Middleton	Benjamin Heywood, Arther Heywood, Charles Lowndes, Thomas Falkner, Henry Mort, John Waler
77674	1758	Unity	
17425	1758	Polly	Henry Bright, Thomas Brown, Job Charleton, Owen Fandall, Benjamin Lebrook, Richard Meyler
17420	1758	Africa	Thomas Deane, Corsley Rogers, Philip Jenkins, Edward Nicholas
17422	1758	Cape Coast	John Stevenson, Humphry Brown, William Brown, John Galton, John Nutt, Samuel Peach, Hollis Saunders, Thomas Stokes
90696	1758	Polly	William Davenport, John Maddocks, John Kelly, Thomas Rumbold, Thomas Rigby
90538	1758	Hardman	Joseph Yowart, John Hardman, Arthur Heywood, Benjamin Heywood, William Greaves, Robert Greaves
77692	1758	Betsey	Richard Oswald, Alexander Grant, John Sargent, Augustus Boyd
90694	1758	Nancy	John Knight, Thomas Darbyshire, David Giball
17427	1758	Sylvia	Thomas Farr, Jr., Richard Farr, Thomas Rock, Thomas Farr
90466	1758	Rainbow	High Ball, Anthony Grayson, William Whaley, Ralph Whaley, Richard Hardman, Thomas Rumbold, Richardson Douglas, Robert Maken
90556	1758	Mears	Thomas Midgeley, John Knight, Thomas Mears, William Willock, John Hughes, Robert Seel, Richard Clay
90621	1758	Phoebe	John Knight, Chris Davenport, James Bennet
17434	1758	Cato	Richard Millerson, John Braithwaitte, Thomas Hind, Miles Barber, William Watson
90725	1758	Molly	Thomas Harrison, James Barton, John Seddon, Edward Seddon, James Harrison
27054	1758	Hazelmore	
90684	1758	Glory	James Clemens, Lawrence Spencer, Thomas Wycliffe, Richard Powerll, Henry Hardwar, William Williamson
36229	1759	Elizabeth	Robert Eliot, John Miller
17429	1759	Africa	Thomas Deane, Corsley Rogers,

			Philip Jenkins, Edward Nicholas
24029	1759	Thetis	Miles Barber, Thomas Hunde,
			John Preston, Miles Houseman,
			Thomas Houseman
26017	1759	Betsey	Robert Oswald, Nayr Grant,
			John Sergent, Augustus Boyd
24011	1759	John	William Jolliffe, John Guerard
90467	1759	Rainbow	High Ball, Anthony Grayson,
			William Whaley, Ralph Whaley,
			Richard Hardman, Thomas Rumbold,
			Richardson Douglas, Robert Maken
90734	1759	Marlborough	William Rowe, John Crosbie,
			William Crosbie, Richard Trafford,
			William Trafford, John Hutton,
			Ambrose Lace
24012	1759	Marlborough	Robt Dodson, Miles Satterthwaite Mason,
			Simon and William Watson
24010	1760	Molly	William Jolliffe, John Guerard
17468	1760	Racehorse	John Fowler, Edward Nicholas,
			William Delpratt, John Vaughan
90648	1760	Charming Esther	Richard Walker, Maurice Melling,
			Ralph Garlick, Thomas Preston,
			William Davison
26020	1760	Betty	Thomas Hartley, John Hartley,
			Edward Griffith Gletcher, John Kelsick
			William Fletcher, R. Gale, T. Waken,
			William Peper, Joseph White,
			Elizabeth Flower, John Kennedy
77834	1760	Ann Gally	John Biggin
26018	1760	John	William Jolliffe, John Guerard
17496	1760	Roebuck	Thomas Deane, Corsley Rogers,
			Francis Rogers, John Lidderdale,
			Joseph Curtis, Edward Nicholas,
			William Retland
26019	1760	Molly	William Jolliffe, John Guerard
90668	1760	Middleton	Benjamin Heywood, Arther Heywood,
			Charles Lowndes, Thomas Falkner,
			Henry Mort, John Walker
90835	1760	Carolina	William Haliday, Thomas Dunbar
17460	1760	Kingston	Samuel Peach, Thomas Pearce,
			Humphry Brown, William Gough,
			John Galton, William Clymer,
			Hollis Saunders, William Brown,
			Benjamin Smith, Miles Brewston
17467	1760	Prince Tom	James Laroche, John Thompson,
			Richard Farr, (Son) Farr
90812	1760	Pearl	Felix Doran, John Welch, Edward Parr
77834	1760	Ann Gally	John Biggin
26020	1760	Betty	Thomas and John Hartley,
			Edward Griffith Gletcher, John Kelsick
			William Fletcher, R. Gale, T. Waken,
			William Peper, Joseph White,
			Elizabeth Frower, John Kennedy
24031	1760	Marlborough	Robt Didson, Miles Mason,
			William Watson, John Watson,
			Satterthwaite, Inman

17460	1760	Kingston	Samuel Peach, Thomas Pearce, Humphry Brown, William Gough, John Galton, William Clymer, Hollis Saunders, William Brown, Benjamin Smith, Miles Brewston
77722	1760	Kepple	Wm Johnson, Jno Biggin, Anthony Bacon
90835	1760	Carolina	William Haliday, Thomas Dunbar
75369	1761	Duke of York	
26024	1761	Charming Sally	
24032	1761	Marquis of Granby	Miles Barber
75334	1761	Dispatch	
17505	1761	Hannah	Thomas Rock
90890	1761	James	Edward Seddon, Thomas Harrison, Nehemiah Holland, James Harrison, James Barton
24529	1761	Vernon	
26023	1761	Fanny	
26021	1761	Amherst	
26022	1761	Bance Island	Sir Alex Grant, Aug Boyd, Jno Sargent, Rd Oswald, Jno Mill
90961	1762	Hope	James Campbell, High Pringle, Thomas Smith, John Gillman
90736	1762	Marlborough	William Rowe, John Crosbie, William Crosbie, Richard Trafford, William Trafford, John Hutton, Ambrose Lace
25063	1762	Neptune	
36268	1763		
17529	1763	Juba	Thomas Deane, John Curtis, Michael Atkins
24563	1763	Fly	
36262	1763		
24561	1763	Charlotte	
91007	1763	Upton	James Clemens, James Gildart, Thomas Whycliffe
36249	1763	Greyhound	Rod Rivera, Aaron Lopez
90942	1763	Sea Horse	Edward Seddon, Nehemiah Holland, Thomas Ward, Samuel Salisbury, William Earle
77236	1763	Woodmanstone	Benjamin Steed
36267	1763		
91008	1763	Charles	Charles Cook, John Atkinson, Thomas Kelly, John Davies
24034	1763	Marquis of Granby	Robert Dodson, Miles Barber, Thomas Hinde
37293	1764	Phillis	Timothy Fitch
17565	1764	Sally	Thomas Deane, John Gordon, Robert Gordon
77769	1764	Africa	
75881	1764	Minories	Richard Wilson, Benjamin Stead, Benjamin Keaton, Josiah Brydell, Peter Bostock
17569	1764	Tryton	John Fowler
26026	1764	Wales	Abram Parsons
90988	1764	Hamilton	Miles Barber, W. Saul
76050	1764	Queen of Barra	Richard Oswald
24590	1764	Sally	
25070	1764	Lyon	

17590	1764	Jane	James Bonbonous
91029	1764	Jenny	John Knight
91056	1764	Marton	Miles Barber, Samuel Kilner
77204	1764	Squirrel	Hunter
24035	1764	Marquis of Granby	Robert Dodson, Miles Barber, Thomas Hinde
77776	1764	Sally	T. Scott
24583	1764	Antelope	
36941	1764	Black Prince	William Whipple, Joseph Whipple, George Meserve
9113	1765	Apollo	John Kitchingham, William Pownall, Gilbert Rigby, Thomas Rigby, Chris Hasle, Joseph Taylor
26029	1765	Essex	
77803	1765	Hannah	
36313	1765	Newport Packet	Thomas Cranston, Isaac Lawton, John Burse, Benjamin Hicks
91173	1765	Etty	Miles Barber, Samuel Kilner Willian Dennison
17583	1765	Duke of York	John Powell, Isreal Alleyn, John Fowler, James Ruscombe, Richard Symes, Sydenham Teaste, John Caughan
17572	1765	Ballea Castle	John Coghlan
26028	1765	Providence	
90717	1765	Britannnia	William Crosbie, John Crosbie, Richard Trafford, William Trafford
78199	1765	New Britannia	
91182	1765	Cloe	Thomas Weston, Anthony Moory
26027	1765	Rodney	Clemens
76326	1765	Woodmanstone	Benjamin Stead
36295	1765	Speedwell	Polock
75396	1765	Elizabeth	Alexander Grant
75882	1765	Minories	Peter Bostock, Richard Wilson, Benjamin Stead, Benjamin Keaton, Joseph Boydell
24036	1765	Molly	
17574	1765	Bonnetta	John Fowler, William Reeves, Edward Nicholas, John Vaughan
25238	1765		
24038	1765	King Tom	
24866	1765	Prince George	
17589	1765	James	James Bonbonous, James Songster, Thomas Lucas, Richard Merrett
90818	1765	Essex	Thomas Johnson, William Dobb, George Hutton, Thomas Foxcroft, Robert Waterson, John Goad, James Brown, John Salthouse
36301	1765	Sarah	
77804	1765	Dispatch	R. Oswald
36297	1765	Three Friends	Simon Pease, John Simons, Jos Greene
24869	1765	Antelope	
17586	1765	Greyhound	Thomas Deane
77815	1765	Success	Jno Townson, (Capt_ Stevens
90790	1765	Hannah	Edward Prescot, Arthur Heywood, Benjamin Heywood, Edward Cropper, James Leigh, Charles Holme, Charles Caldwell, Charles Cook,

			Gill Slater
91014	1765	Captain	George Hutton, William Dobb, John White, Felix Doran, Thomas Johnson, Nehemiah Holland, John Goad, John Yates, Thomas Foxcroft, William Rice
24591	1765	Sally	T. Scott
77789	1765	Britannia	Benjamin Stead, Michael James
91135	1765	Black Joke	George Austin, John Knight, John Tomlinson
25232	1765	Virginia	
91213	1765	William	William Davenport, William Jenkinson, John Maddocks, James Chapman
77767	1765	Fox	
36314	1765	Nancy	Edward Turney
90975	1765	Lord Pultney	
91191	1765	Lively	John Tomlinson, Jon Knight
24608	1765	Pitt	
17604	1765	Speedwell	John Gordon, Robert Gordon, George Rush, John Vaughan
17637	1766	Antelope	Henry Bright
17638	1767	Betsey	David Hamilton
17644	1767	Cornwall	James Laroche
91406	1768	Tryal	Samuel Kilner, Miles Barber
91483	1768	Dimbia	William Woodville, Richard Tate, John Holman
91325	1769	Corker	William Woodville, John Rose, James Mill
91336	1769	Saint John	Miles Barber
91350	1769	Cato	Thomas Rumbold, Michael Finch, William Gill
77966	1769	Squirrel	
91451	1769	John	William James
17734	1769	King George	Grant Oswald
91474	1769	Jenny (a) Nancy	Charles Cooke, William Dennison
76101	1769	Royal George	
17706	1769	Mercury	
19931	1769	Aston	John Tomlinson, John Knight
91276	1769	Shark	Edward Chaffers, John Crosbie, William Crosbie, William Trafford
91426	1769	Lilly	Thomas Foxcroft, George Hutton, Felix Doran, William Rice, Edmund Brown, John Goad, John Salthouse, Joseph Brown
91319	1769	Prince George	Richard Millerson, William Watson, John Watson, Robert Dodson, Thomas Millerson, John Addison
91482	1769	Sisters	William Morris, Henry Kirby, John Cope, John Wright, Inman Swatterthwaite
91368	1769	Edgar	Ambrose Lace, John Crosbie, William Crosbie, William Trafford, William Rowe, John Bailey, Edward Chaffers, Robert Green
91393	1769	Harriet	William Woodville, Glibert Ross, James Mill
91464	1769	Sally	William James
75298	1769	Countess of Sussex	
77965	1769	Neptune	

36381	1769	Shelbourne	Capt. James Clark
26031	1769	Dembia	
91344	1769	James	William James
91485	1770	Cavendish	Miles Barber
91466	1771	Sally	William James
17778	1771	Gambia	
91688	1771	Saville	James Kendall, Robert Mackmillan, Andrew White
91588	1771	Mars	William Earle, Edward Seddon, Nehemiah Holland, Thomas Birch, Thomas Ward, George Warren Watts, William Dennison, Thomas Johnson
17744	1771	Betsey	David Hamilton
17753	1771	Hector	John Chilcott, Thomas Deane, Thomas Longdon, John Read, Archibald Robe
26032	1771	Friendship	
91713	1771	Lively	John Tomlinson, John Knight
24689	1771	Jupiter	
78278	1771	Charlotte	Dacid Oswald
78017	1771	New Britannia	Mr. Shoolbred
79017	1771	Warren	Richard Millerson
91735	1771	Two Brothers	John Hodgson, Thomas Hodgson
26033	1772	Henrieta	
25376	1772	Beggar's Bennison	
76035	1772	Providence	John Shoolbred
26035	1772	Nancy	
26034	1772	Thomas and Anthony	
78057	1772	Venus	Cambdens
17773	1772	Betsey	
78812	1772	Africa	
91765	1772	Apollo	William Earle, Edward Seddon, Nehemiah Holland, Thomas Ward, George Warren Watts, William Dennison
75932	1772	New Britannia	
79024	1772	Warren	Richard Millerson
91744	1772	Mary	Robert Mackmillan, James Kendall, Andrew Wites
91568	1772	Unity	Richard Savage, Thomas Hodgson, John Dobson, James Lowe, John Copeland, John Green, James Moneypenny
91729	1772	Two Brothers	John Hodgson, Thomas Hodgson Samuel Sandys
17780	1772	Hector	John Chilcott, Thomas Deane, Thomas Langdon, John Read, Archibald Robe
91704	1772	Molly	Samuel Sandys
78067	1772	Fly	
79019	1772	Prince George	
75533	1772	Friendship	
17807	1773	Greyhound	Thomas Sims
91626	1773	Edward	William Jenkinson, John Copeland, Richard Dutery, George Evans, James Lowe, Edward Grayson
91825	1773	Charlotte	Samuel Sandys, James Kendall, Andrew White
91737	1773	Hawke	William James, George Evans
24715	1773	Swift	
26038	1773	Gallam (a) Mary	

25832	1773	Venus	
76118	1773	Sabina	M. Brown
91849	1773	Blossom	William James, George Evans
77891	1773	Molly	
78102	1773	George	
91556	1773	York	William James
91903	1773	Stanley	John Addison, Richard Millerson
75161	1773	Betty and Jenny	
75625	1773	Heart of Oak	
17826	1773	Betsey	David Hamilton
26043	1773	John	
78112	1773	Briton	
36440	1773	Sebenia	
24721	1773	Meredith	
77171	1773	Providence	John Shoolbred
78106	1773	Expedition	
17814	1773	Maesgwin	John Fowler
17840	1773	King George	
91889	1773	Thomas	James Clemens, Robert Kennedy, William Davenport, Edward Lyon
91830	1773	Nancy	Peter Baker, Robert Green, John Johnson, William Rowe, Thomas Yates, Henry Trafford
91898	1773	Corsican Hero	James Carruthers, Arthur Heywood, Benjamin Heywood, Francis Ingram, Joseph Brooks, Jr.
78105	1773	Amelia	Richard Oswald
78840	1773	Roseau	
36439	1773	Fanny	John Wanton, Edward Wanton
17796	1773	Africa	John Anderson
79045	1773	Prince George	
36423	1773	Liberty	
79028	1773	Nelly	
91760	1773	Hazard	William James
91886	1773	Little Ben	Thomas Ratcliffe, Thomas Harvey, Robert Bostock
17806	1773	Gambia	John Fowler
37024	1773	John	John Van Cortlandt, Henry Bogart C., Roger Richards
17800	1773	Catherine	Thomas Langdon
26041	1773	Friendship	Mackenzie
91915	1773	Hereford	William Ormandy, John Tarleton, Daniel Backhouse, Thomas Hereford, William Harrison
91724	1773	Cavendish	Samuel Sandys
91730	1773	Two Brothers	John Hodgson, Thomas Hodgson, Samuel Sandys
91883	1773	Robert	Robert Grimshaw, Jonadab Mort, Samuel Fluitt
17811	1773	Jason	John Chilcott
91959	1773	Hope	John Tomlinson, John Knight
91819	1773	Spy	William James
78150	1774	Heart of Oak	Robert Patterson
78902	1774	Jenny	
91969	1774	Unity	Richard Savage, Thomas Hodgson, John Dobson, James Lowe, John Copeland, Robert Norris, James Moneypenny
78124	1774	Prince Tom	
75778	1774	Lord North	
91999	1774	Caton	John Hodgson, Thomas Hodgson

			Samuel Sandys
91826	1774	Charlotte	Samuel Sandys, James Kendall, Andrew White
75446	1774	Expedition	
17836	1774	Hector	John Chilcott, Thomas Deane, Thomas Longdon, John Read, Archibald Robe, Phillip Protheroe, William Liewellin
17835	1774	Gambia	John Fowler
36473	1774	Fanny	Steph Aryault
26052	1774	Maria	
76120	1774	Sabina	
17842	1774	Maesgwyn	John Powell
91590	1774	Mars	William Earle, Edward Seddon, Nehemiah Holland, Thomas Birch, Thomas Ward, George Warren Watts, William Dennison, Thomas Johnson
91992	1774	Bacchus	William Earle, Nehemiah Holland, John Finch, William Dennison, Thomas Hodgson, Jr., George Warren Watts, Thomas Earle
78131	1774	Brewton	
24748	1774	Mary	Capt. Barville
78159	1774	Mally (a) Molly	Richard Oswald
78139	1774	Little Archy	
17827	1774	Betsey	David Hamilton
17825	1774	Ambris	John Chilcott
91906	1774	Peggy	Peter Baker, Robert Green, John Johnson, William Rowe, Henry Trafford, Thomas Yates
78142	1774	Francis	
24745	1775	Fanny	
37002	1783	Eagle	
25394	1783	Polly	
25395	1783		
82818	1783	Nancy	
81967	1784	James	Ralph Fisher, John Kewly, John Hodgson, Thomas Hodgson, Thomas Dickinson
80917	1784	Comte du Norde	Samuel Hartley, Lamb
81054	1784	Doe	Thomas Twemlow, William McLeod, John Hodgson, Thomas Hodgson, George Johnston, John Chambres Jones
80847	1784	Clementina	George Johnston, John Chambres Jones
			John Elworthy, Thomas Moss, Thomas Sloop
82795	1784	Molly	James Sawry, John Addison
25396	1784	Two Brothers	
25398	1784	Leger	
25397	1784	Bennington	
84036	1784	Louisa	Ralph Fisher, John Hodgson, Thomas Hodgson, John Kewley, Thomas Dickinson
83947	1784	Venus	William Camden, Anthony Calvert, Thomas King
80323	1784	Antigallican	John Coleman, Samuel Warren
82964	1784	Old England	James Sawry, John Addison
83636	1784	Success	
81444	1784	Ferret	Robert Heatley
81406	1784	Fanny	Daniel Backhouse, Thomas Tarleton
17917	1784	Alert	John Anderson
80548	1784	Betsey	James Bloy

81096	1785	Eagle	G. Gibbons
86203	1785	Mary	Richard Oswald
36517	1785	Gambia	Joseph Grafton, Joshua Grafton
37006	1785	Brothers	
83564	1785	Sisters	Plato Denny, Joseph Ward, Thomas Rigmaiden, Ralph Fisher, John Perkins, Joseph Cato, Richard Middleton
36523	1785	Don Galvez	Samuel Brown, William Vernon
81968	1785	James	Ralph Fisher, John Kewly, John Hodgson, Thomas Hodgson, Thomas Dickinson
80884	1785	Commerce	
37007	1785	Louisa	
82678	1785	Mentor	William Lyttleton
35191	1785	Gregers Juul	
25502	1785	Commerce	
17939	1785	Little Hornet	William Randolph
17943	1785	Sprightly	Thomas Vaughan
17947	1785	Alert	John Anderson
36515	1785	Betsey	
35029	1785	Huth	
81621	1786	Good Intent	George Gamer
36522	1786	Gambia	Joseph Grafton, Joshua Grafton
25402	1786	Nancy	
25286	1786	Collector	Pierce Cabot
25403	1787	Williams	
36540	1787	Louisa	Andrew Spooner
25613	1787	Dispatch	
37196	1787	Don Galvez	Samuel Brown, William Vernon
25299	1793	Katy	Daniel McNeil, Daniel O'Hara, John Connaly (Connelly)
25562	1796	Jason	
36646	1797	Rising Sun	Caleb Eddy
25561	1797	Phoebe	
25643	1797	Fame	Brown, Benson, Ives
83086	1799	Phoebe	John Anderson, Alexander Anderson
25409	1800	Charlotte	Samuel Brown, William Vernon (?)
37008	1801	Nancy	James D'Wolf
81193	1802	Eliza	Whalley, Gibson
83559	1802	Sir William Douglas	William Boyd, Caldcleugh
81320	1804	Esther	Caldcleugh
37015	1804	Aurora	
83439	1804	Ruby	William Boyd
36787	1804	Favorite	
25418	1804	Hamilton	
37106	1804	Daniel and Mary	
25415	1804	Horizon	John McClure, Alexander McClure
25416	1804	Harriet	
25417	1804	Susan (a) Susannah	
80314	1804	Anne	William Harper
37209	1804	Active	
82412	1804	Macclesfield	Michael Taylor, Elijah Belcher, John Latham
80174	1804	Alexander	Benjamin Thomas, Alexander Mein
25419	1804	Mary	
36786	1804	Argus	Isaac Manchester
28032	1804	Louisa	
25420	1804		
80841	1804	Christopher	Richard Trotter Tatham
81503	1804	Frances	John Mill, William Begg, James Soutar
80434	1804	Barbados Packet	Michael Taylor, Elijah Belcher, John Latham
82396	1804	Louisa	Thomas Leyland, Thomas Molyneux Richard Leyland
25413	1804	Brilliant	J. Bixby, N. Bixby

25422	1804	Armed Neutrality	
82355	1804	Lord Rodney	John Shaw
25607	1804	Tartar	
25410	1804	Martha Crowley	James Tate
81642	1804	Governor Dowdeswell	Joseph Ward, Robert Ward
25608	1804	Edward and Edmund	
36798	1804	Eliza	John D'Wolf
25421	1804		
25412	1804	Sukey and Polly	
25411	1804	Nymph	
82051	1804	John	Wilson
25414	1804	Thomas	
25432	1805	Armed Neutrality	
81947	1805	Jack Park	John Bridge Aspinall, James Aspinall
80876	1805	Commercce	
36815	1805	Hiram	Elisha Brown, John Cooke, Jr., Andrew Taylor, William Littlefield, Cornel Littlefield, Samuel Brown
25435	1805		
25431	1805	Eliza	
82445	1805	Margaret	Thomas Moss, John Moss
25438	1805	Louisiana	
83210	1805	Prince William	John Boton
36848	1805	Rambler	George D'Wolf, Edward Tayer
25425	1805	Republican	Peter Kennedy
80362	1805	Ariel	Thomas Mossand, John Mossand
36812	1805	Louisa	John Gardner, Silas Dean
82473	1805	Larquis of Huntley	George Geddes
81420	1805	Fanny	Samuel Newton, Thomas Mather, John Carson
83319	1805	Resource	Samuel McDowal, Thomas Twemlow
83989	1805	Washington	
28036	1805	Concord	
36793	1805	Neptune	Clark Cook, William Cook
25448	1805	Maria	
81655	1805	Governor Wentworth	John Boton
37093	1805	Susan	
82441	1805	Margaret	Thomas Claire, Frazer Taylor, Jonathan Fisher
82872	1805	Nanny	John Bridge, James Aspinali
25428	1805		
25449	1805	Young Edward	
36794	11805	Eagle	John Price Jr., William Price, Edward Easton
25433	1805		
25434	1805		
37140	1805	Isabella	
37107	1805	Kitty	
36807	1805	Seaflower	John Clarke
25436	1805	Love and Unity	
25429	1805	Thomas	
25430	1805		
25437	1805	Fox	
25424	1805		
25551	1805	Yeopum	
81321	1805	Esther	Caldcleugh
25423	1805		
25439	1805	Hamilton	
82940	1805	Nile	Thomas Moss, John Moss
83071	1805	Perseverance	Ralph Abram, Ellis Scrimer, William Welsh, William Bancroft, Thomas Mather,

			John Carson, Samuel Newton
36814	1805	Brandywine	William Littlefield, Samuel Brown, Cornel Littlefield
36810	1805	Juliet	Christian Fowler, Audley Clarke
25472	1806	Mary	
82043	1806	John	Hamlet Mullion, Gwalter Borranskill, Richard Lansdale, Richard Land
25453	1806	Amazon	
82479	1806	Mars	William McIver, Duncan McViccar, Hugh McCorquodale, Joseph Tucker, Thomas Lance
36840	1806	Three Sisters	James D'Wolf, Wm Champlin
25463	1806	Nantasket	
25465	1806	Mercury	
25461	1806	Fox	
36838	1806	Hiram	Edward Easton, John Price Jr., Moses Seixas, William Price
36835	1806	Fair Eliza	Benjamin Bosworth Jr., Jonathan Williams, Walter Dalton
25460	1806	Edward and Edmund	
36842	1806	Hope	Joseph Lyon, James R. Dockray, William Walder, William Lyon Jr.
25459	1806	Three Friends	
37159	1806	Washington	
36845	1806	Polly	Martin Benson
25456	1806	Edward and Edmund	
36882	1806	Little Ann	Wm D'Wolf, William Easterbrooks, Samuel Drown
81834	1806	Hibernia	Robert Sellar
37137	1806	Hope	
25454	1806	Hazard	
25458	1806	Love and Unity	
36880	1806	Rambler	George D'Wolf, Edward Tayer
37144	1806	Mary-Ann	
25466	1806	Lydia	
25469	1806	Hope	
25473	1806	Diana	
36850	1806	Betsey	Caleb Littlefield
25452	1806	Fair American	
25451	1806	Doris	
25450	1806	Doris	
25530	1806	Tartar	Frederick Tavel
36829	1806	Louisa	John Gardner, Silas Dean
83347	1806	Robert	Hamlet Mullion
37239	1806	Mary Ann	Samuel Brown
80226	1806	America	
80354	1806	Ariel	
36947	1806	Washington	
25470	1806	Samuel	
25528	1806	Susan	
80956	1806	Daphne	William Boyd
81425	1806	Farnham	
82746	1806	Minerva	
36855	1806	Commerce	Henry Sisson, William Collins
82693	1806	Mercury	Samuel Newton, Thomas Hayes, Benjamin Fray
83440	1806	Ruby	William Boyd
83672	1806	Swan	
82611	1806	Mary	Samuel McDowal, Thomas Twemlow
83157	1806	Port Mary	
36841	1806	Agent	Ebenezer Cole, Benjamin Eddy
25529	1806	Elizabeth	

82935	1806	Nicholson	John Shaw
36823	1806	Factor	Clark Cook, Reuben Cook, Charles Gyles
36866	1806	Louisa	John Gardner, Silas Dean
25457	1806	Gustavia	Spencer John Man
25462	1806	Kitty	
25467	1806	Independence	
25471	1806	Maria	
80774	1806	Ceres	Gabriel James, John Butler, Richard Stevens, Robert Johnson
80940	1806	Croydon	Edward Boyd, Caldcleugh
36828	1806	Hiram	Edward Easton, John Price Jr., Moses Seixas, William Price
82127	1806	Kerrie	Richard Miles
18267	1806	Alert	Charles Anderson
37118	1806	America	
81073	1806	Duddon	William Begg, John Mill
83905	1806	Union	William Thompson, Samuel Clough, James Thompson
82446	1806	Margaret	Hamlet Mullion
82118	1806	Kate	Samuel Newton, Thomas Mather, John Carson
36826	1806	Neptune	Clark Cook, Reuben Cook, Charles Gyles William Cook
36827	1806	Marian	Sam Brown, Robert Lawton
81579	1806	George	Samuel Newton, Thomas Hayes, John Carson
36878	1806	Experiment	James Smith, Joseph Jr., Bernard Smith
80474	1806	Bellona	Joseph McViccar, Duncan McViccar, Thomas Haywood, Thomas Lance
81643	1806	Governor Dowdswell	Joseph Ward, Robert Ward John Bridge Aspinali, John Taylor
81780	1806	Hector	John Carson, Samuel Newton, Thomas Gather, Ralph Abram
25455	1806	Reliance	
25464	1806	John	
36893	1807	Lavina	William Munro
36890	1807	Monticello	George D'Wolf
36892	1807	Vulture	William D'Wolf, Leonard J. Bradford, Daniel Bradford
36902	1807	Nancy	John Davis
36903	1807	Fair Eliza	Jon Williams, Benj Bosworth (II)
25482	1807	Miriam	
25509	1807	William and Mary	
25564	1807	Norfolk	
36907	1807	Ann and Harriot	Allen Munro, Baylis L. Howard
36875	1807	Juliet	Christ Fowler, Audley Clarke, Peleg Wood
36876	1807	Hiram	Edward Easton, John Price Jr., William Price
36904	1807	Three Sisters	D'Wolf, William Champlin
36908	1807	Eagle	Moses Seixas, Edward Easton, John Price, Jr., William Price
36868	1807	Alfred	Robert Ambrose, Jeremiah Peckham
36885	1807	Flora	Charles D'Wolf Jr., W. Carr
36923	1807	Hope	George D'Wolf, William C. Greene
36925	1807	Jane	George D'Wolf, Joseph Martin
36881	1807	Andromache	James D'Wolf, John D'wolf
25488	1807	Africa	William Boyd
25494	1807	Hindustan	A. Holmes
80195	1807	Alice	William Harper, Thomas Harper, James Ashcroft
80373	1807	Aspinall	William Begg, John Williams, Benjamin Thomas
25524	1807	Habit (a) Haabert	

25510	1807	Caroline	
25496	1807	Experiment	
25522	1807	Mary	
25525	1807	Ellis	
255519	1807	Fair Eliza	
25514	1807	Alcide (a) Alcade	
25549	1807	Eleanor	
25552	1807	Horizon	
25580	1807	William	
36883	1807	Jane	James D'Wolf, George D'Wolf
36921	1807	Hannah	
37120	1807	Bellona	
80854	1807	Cleopatra	
83158	1807	Port Mary	William Boyd
83727	1807	Tartar	Joseph McViccar, Duncan McViccar, Thomas Lance
25392	1807	Washington	Job Trask
25498	1807	John	
25500	1807	Actor	
25545	1807	Heart of Oak	
25539	1807	Charleston	
2550	1807	Port of Mary	
25541	1807	Rio	
25581	1807	Fair American	
25484	1807	Norfolk	
25538	1807	Hope	
36899	1807	Friendship	Wm Mason, James Brayton
36901	1807	Mary	John Champlin
36912	1807	Friendship	
36913	1807	Louisa	John Gardner, Silas Dean
83575	1807	Speculation	Alwine
25579	1807	Eleanor	
25516	1807	Maria	
25589	1807	Fair American	
25582	1807	American	
36874	1807	Mary	
36911	1807	Cloumbia	Christian Fowler, Audley Clarke
36932	1807	Mary	Vernon, Vernon, Dean Deblois, Martin
81074	1807	Duddon	William Begg, John Mill
25523	1807	James	
25795	1807	Kitty	
25495	1807	Edward and Edmund	
25508	1807	Resolution	
37101	1807	Charlotte	
37186	1807	Eliza	
25479	1807	Eliza	
25501	1807	Albert	
36869	1807	Neptune	Clark Cook, Reuben Cook, Charles Gyles Samuel Hudson, Wm Cook
36888	1807	Morning Star	Thomas M Moores
36898	1807	Little Watt	George W. Duval
36896	1807	Agent	Benjamin Eddy, Ebenezer Cole
25567	1807	Mary Ann	
36930	1807	Sally	
25548	1807	Mary Ann	
36916	1807	Charlotte	George D'Wolf, John Sabins
36895	1807	Concord	Benj Bosworth Jr., Paul Nelson
36917	1807	Eliza	George D'Wolf, Job Almy
36922	1807	Agenoria	Thomas Fales Jr.
36926	1807	Eliza	George D'Wolf, Job Almy
37145	1807	Mary	
25485	1807	Minerva	
25489	1807	Ann (a) Anna	
25521	1807	Eliza	

25527	1807	Amazon	
36900	1807	Lark	William Bradford III, Thomas Swan, Ephraim Gilford, Paul Nelson, Royal Diman, Thomas M Moore
80316	1807	Anne	William Harper, James Ashcroft, Thomas Harper
36897	1807	Heroine	John Smith
37103	1807	Friendship	
25547	1807	Polly	
37122	1807	Carolina	
37146	1807	Minerva	
25478	1807	Fourth of July	
25493	1807	Nantasket	
25540	1807	Wealthy Ann	
25546	1807	Jupiter	
25512	1807	Emily	
36895	1807	Betsey and Polly	
25566	1807	Mary	
25584	1807	Fabian	
37096	1807	Bellona	
83441	1807	Ruby	
37253	1807	Neptune	
81462	1807	Flora	J. Perkins
36910	1807	Commerce	Joseph Lyon, Wiliam Lyon Jr.
25507	1807	Susan	
25526	1807	Three Friends	
25497	1807	Mercury	
37095	1807	Rio	
25586	1807	Tryal	
37136	1807	Hope	
25474	1807	James	
25477	1807	Venus	
25480	1807	Leander	
25483	1807	Governor Claiborne	
25487	1807	Daphne	
25491	1807	James	
25492	1807	John	
25506	1807	Governor Claiborne	
25511	1807	Cleopatra	
25537	1807	Eliza	
36863	1807	Union	Moses Seixas, Edward Easton, John Price, Jr., Wm Price
36867	1807	Factor	Clark Cook, Reuben Cook, Charles Gyles
36909	1807	Eagle	Clark Cook, Reuben Cook, Charles Gyles
36891	1807	Hiram	Thomas Norris, Isaac Manchester
36889	1807	Baltimore	James D'Wolf
7632	1808	Africa	William Boyd
36924	1808	Little Watt	Charles Clarke
37029	1808	Kitty	

Before the American Revolution:	444 Vessels from Great Britain
	33 Vessels from U.S.A.
After Revolution:	82 Vessels from Great Britain
	253 From U.S.A.