CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON

PUBLICATION NO. 409



1935

Franklin Trust

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SLAVE TRADE TO AMERICA

ELIZABETH DONNAN

Professor of Economics and Sociology in Wellesley College

VOLUME IV

THE BORDER COLONIES

AND

THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

PUBLISHED BY CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON

1935

PREFACE

The method pursued in this, the fourth and final volume of the series of documents dealing with the slave trade before 1808, is the same as that used in volume III. One colony, South Carolina, receives intensive treatment; others are dismissed more summarily. The reasons which seem to justify such an allotment of space are two. Throughout the eighteenth century Charleston was by far the most important of the continental markets and it is there that one can best study the nature of the traffic and its economic effects. In addition, for this colony there exist the illuminating letters of Henry Laurens, material for which at present other southern colonies offer no counterpart. For the seventeenth century, during which the trade of Maryland and Virginia was of greater significance and might well have received fuller treatment, the sources are meagre and unsatisfactory. In part, as a result of this lack of material, many of the hopes entertained at the beginning of this work have not been fulfilled, yet if the unanswered questions and the unexplored fields suggest to future students promising possibilities, the series will have accomplished one of its purposes.

In the preparation of this volume the cordial co-operation of the officers of the South Carolina Historical Society, the Charleston Library Society, the Historical Commission of South Carolina, and the Virginia Historical Society has placed the editor under the greatest obligation. Many of those mentioned in earlier volumes have also aided in bringing this one to completion, and to them the editor repeats her expression of gratitude for their assistance.

ELIZABETH DONNAN

January 15, 1935.

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THE BORDER COLONIES

INTRODUCTION

The slave trade of the border colonies, like that of those to the north of them, had two aspects, the importation of slaves and the carrying of them to other colonies, but the emphasis must here be shifted. In these provinces the importation of slaves was far more important than the carrying trade, which until after the Revolution was almost solely for their own markets. Many of their vessels brought in small lots of negroes from the West Indies, but their commerce was on a restricted scale and they sent few ventures directly to Africa. When contrasted with the traffic of Rhode Island their trading activity was insignificant, while a contrast with South Carolina dwarfs their not inconsiderable importation. Though it continued over a long period it never, even in times of prosperity, reached numbers approaching those of the southern colony.

The materials for the economic history of Maryland, if they still exist, are yet to be gathered together. This dearth of available information is especially noticeable when one attempts a consideration of the slave trade of the colony. We know that negroes were present not long after the first settlers under the Proprietor arrived, and that importation continued through much of the eighteenth century. At the time of the establishment of the Company of Royal Adventurers trading to Africa (1663) Maryland was not sufficiently prosperous to contract for an entire cargo, as that company desired. Up to this time she had obtained her negroes by ones and twos from Virginia and the West Indies. By 1677 however George Thompson of Maryland was urging the Royal African Company to take account of Maryland's need of negroes, and the records of that body indicate that some attention was given to his plea.[1] With the end of the monopoly in 1698 and the increased activity of the separate traders, the number of negroes brought into Maryland increased but in no spectacular fashion. Purchase here, as in Virginia, fluctuated with prosperity and depression in the tobacco industry, but no evidence has come to light which indicates that prosperity brought speculative buying far beyond the needs of the colony. Nor is there reason to believe that the colony felt at any time a pressing necessity to check

[1] Public Record Office, Treasury Papers 70 (hereafter cited as T 70): 77, July 24, 1677. Maryland had not yet established slavery by law but an act of 1664 "concerning Negroes and other Slaves" clearly recognizes its existence. Bacon, *Laws of Maryland*, Sept. 21, 1664.

importation because of the menacing numbers of an alien race.[2] Duty acts were frequently passed but they were probably intended as revenue measures. English merchants objected to that of 1715, not because it imposed a restrictive duty but because it discriminated against English vessels by exempting from duty negroes imported in vessels owned in the colony.[3] A Maryland duty act was also under criticism in the Board of Trade in 1728, but no such measure passed by this colony was ever disallowed.[4]

DuBois says with truth that by the time of the Revolution the importation of negroes was slight. In 1771 a duty of £8 to £9 probably brought it entirely to an end for the time and at the close of the war the importation of foreign slaves was definitely forbidden. This prohibition was re-enacted in 1796 and again, in slightly amended form, in 1797.[5]

Maryland's later connection with the trade consisted in the buying and selling of negroes in the West Indies or the landing of cargoes in Charleston—in all of which Baltimore merchants were engaged. Messrs. Samuel and John Smith, William van Wyck, John Hollins, and Stewart and Plunkett, all of Baltimore, were interested in this trade about 1788 and such traffic continued a part of Baltimore commerce long after 1808.[6]

Our knowledge of the first introduction of negroes to Virginia rests upon the concise, oft-quoted, and much-discussed statement of John Rolfe: "About the last of August [1619] came in a dutch

[2] Various estimates of Maryland's slave population may explain why the colony never made great effort to check the importation:

	Negroes	*Whites*		*Negroes*	*Whites*
1704	4,475	30,537	1756	46,225	107,963
1710	7,935	34,796	1761	49,675	
1712	8,330		1782	83,985	170,688
1719	25,000	55,000	1787	80,000	
1748	36,000		1790	103,036	319,726

[3] British Museum, Add. MSS. 33028, p. 55.

[4] P. R. O., C. O. 391: 38, p. 255.

[5] W. E. B. DuBois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, p. 226. The principal laws relating to the slave trade enacted by Maryland were: 1671, for encouraging the importation of negroes and slaves, re-enacted June 4, 1692; 1681, negroes already imported or to be imported, slaves for life and their children after them; 1695, duty 10 *s.* on negroes imported, for three years, to build a statehouse; 1696, duty made 20 *s.* for one year; 1699, duty of 10 *s.*; 1704, duty of 20 *s.*; 1704, to encourage inhabitants to adventure their ships; 1708, duty of 20 *s.*; 1712, duty of 20 *s.*; 1715, duty of 20 *s.*, negroes imported on Maryland vessels freed from duty; 1716, additional duty, £4 current money; 1717, additional duty 20 *s.* current money; 1719, duty imposed in 1704 repealed; 1728, additional duty of 20 *s.* continued; 1731, issue of £36,000, part of negro duties used to retire bills; 1735, reviving act supplementary to act of 1715, continued till 1773; 1754, additional duty 10 *s.*; 1756, additional duty 20 *s.*; 1763, additional duty £2 current money; 1771, additional duty £5 current money; 1783, importation forbidden.

[6] L. V. Briggs, *History and Genealogy of the Cabot Family*, II. 474, 475-476, 481-482.

man of warre that sold us twenty Negers."[7] This brief record has been the subject of many conjectures, but little positive knowledge can be added to it. One of the perennial questions concerns the connection of this vessel with the *Treasurer,* owned by Robert Rich and known to have been in Virginia and the Bermudas with a cargo of slaves in 1619. A year before, Robert Rich, soon to become the second Earl of Warwick, had with other London worthies obtained a charter for African trade. Though this charter contained no specific reference to trade in negroes, it is by no means unlikely that Rich, already deeply involved in colonial interests, may have conceived of the plantation on the continent as a profitable market for slaves. The possibilities of tobacco were by this time evident and it must have been known to Rich and his fellows that much of the Spanish tobacco culture was carried on by negro labor. That his interest in African trade was not unconnected with his interest in American colonization is a plausible surmise, though it can be nothing more. He may have intended either to stock large land grants in Virginia and the Somers Islands with negroes or to enter upon the sale of slaves on a large scale. Whatever the project, the change in the Virginia government probably made it impossible of accomplishment and there is to-day little chance of determining whether the landing of the first twenty negroes in Virginia was part of some abortive colonial project on the part of a group of Englishmen or merely the accidental venture of an unnamed Dutch trader.[8]

The arrival of this group was not followed by immediate negro importation into Virginia, though abundance of laborers and large profits in tobacco may well have been connected in the minds of the planters. Not until after the Restoration, when England herself had actively entered the slave trade, did a Virginia importation large enough to be significant come into existence. Before this time the home government had little reason to encourage a trade whose profits went largely to the Dutch and which might interfere with the lucrative business of transporting servants to the plantations.[9] Dutch control of the trade could scarcely be destroyed until England could create a strong company, an impossible achievement till the civil wars were over. However, the negro population slowly increased be-

[7] John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Islands* (Richmond, 1819, reprint of ed. 1620), II. 39. An extensive literature already exists on the landing of these negroes and scarcely calls for increase. The most recent and most successful discussion of the problem is that of W. F. Craven, *The Dissolution of the Virginia Company* (New York, 1932), pp. 130-131.

[8] Alexander Brown, *The First Republic in America* (1898), pp. 280, 284-285, 288-289, 292, 311, 324-327, 339-341, 359.

[9] G. L. Beer, *Old Colonial System,* I. 323-325; T. J. Wertenbaker, *The Planters of Colonial Virginia* (1922), p. 125.

tween 1620 and the beginning of active importation, toward the end of the century.

A "List of the Living in Virginia", Feb. 16, 1624, included twenty-two negroes.[10] One of these was landed from the *Treasurer*, one had been brought in by the *James* in 1621, one by the *Margaret and John* in 1622, and one by the *Swan* in 1623.[11] The last three vessels had come from England with passengers and supplies, and the negroes were probably personal servants of the passengers. One negro we know had died since 1619, possibly two. For 1625 the muster rolls give twenty-three negroes.[12] From a study of headrights recorded for the negroes Bruce estimates the following importations from 1635, the year in which the first headright for a negro is recorded:

1635	26	1638	30	1643	18
1636	7	1639	46	1649	17
1637	28	1642	7	1656	30[13]

The total number reported in the colony in 1649 was three hundred, in a population of fifteen thousand whites.[14]

There is little basis for even a plausible surmise as to how much of this annual addition to the negro population came from England, how much from the West Indies, how much from Africa by way of Spanish booty or by trade with the Dutch or the New Englanders. That by each of these methods occasional negroes were brought into Virginia we may be sure,[15] but there is no means of knowing how frequent were such episodes as are illustrated in the documents which follow. How many immigrants brought a negro or two from England? How many ship-captains had one, two, or even more to sell on each voyage? Where did they obtain them? The inhabitants of Virginia were forbidden to trade with the neighboring Dutch, yet it is scarcely conceivable that such an injunction was scrupulously

[10] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1574-1660, p. 57; J. C. Hotten, *Original Lists*, pp. 169-189.

[11] Hotten, p. 224; E. D. Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 15.

[12] Hotten, pp. 201-265, *passim*; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXXI. 22; Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, p. 116; Brown, *First Republic*, p. 627; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, VII. 364. Neill's list contains but twenty negroes.

[13] P. A. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, II. 75, based on a study of Virginia Land Patent Books. Bruce calls attention to the fact that of the 30 negroes reported for 1638, George Menefie entered land for 23 "negroes I brought out of England". For 1639 Menefie is credited with 15, Henry Perry with 12 (see Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 187n.). In 1652 Thomas Goodrich brought seven negroes into Virginia with him. *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XIV. 91.

[14] "A Perfect Description of Virginia" (1749), in *Virginia Historical and Genealogical Register*, II. 68. For a discussion of the status of these early arrivals, the transition of the negro from servant to slave, and Indian slavery see Helen T. Catterall, *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery* (Carnegie Institution, 1926), I. 54-61, 66.

[15] For one source of slaves see this work, III. 425-427.

obeyed.[16] The Dutch were near at hand. They were enterprising and venturesome traders. They possessed a commodity which Virginia needed and offered a vent for a commodity which Virginia wished to sell. In 1660 the colonists took a decided step in encouraging Dutch trade by exempting from the export duty of 10 *s.* per hogshead all tobacco sold to the Dutch in exchange for negroes:[17]

> If the said Dutch or other forreiners shall import any negro slaves, They the said Dutch or others shall, for the tobacco really produced by the sale of the said negro, pay only the impost of two shillings per hogshead, the like being paid by our owne nation.

The establishment of the English African Company in 1663 by no means assured the colony of negroes. There is little indication that this company ever attempted to supply Virginia, and indeed at this time there was little incentive to send to the more remote market negroes who could be sold in the West Indies. Virginia tobacco, cut off from free access to European markets by the Navigation Acts and too plentiful for English needs, had entered upon a period of price depression which meant poverty for the planter. He was during the years following the Restoration in no condition to compete with West Indian rivals and it is not to be wondered at that the Company of Merchants trading to Africa gave scant attention to Virginia.[18] The Royal African Company of 1672, as will be seen from occasional references which follow, made some effort to send negro cargoes here. In the month of January, 1674, it freighted vessels which were to carry 650 negroes to this colony. In planning its trade for 1676 Barbados, Nevis, Jamaica, and Virginia were the four colonies whose markets were estimated. At the same time the company took precautions to see that Virginia developed no direct African trade of her own. Instructions to royal governors adjured them to give every possible encouragement to the company.[19] Yet even to this company

[16] Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections,* fourth ser., IX. 134n. In 1633 William Tucker asked the Privy Council to prevent the Dutch from trading to Virginia (Alexander Brown, *Genesis of the United States,* II. 1034), yet a rumor of prohibition of trade with the Dutch in 1647 brought forth from the governor, council, and burgesses of Virginia a violent protest against such a policy and an invitation to the Dutch to continue their trade (*Journals of the House of Burgesses,* 1619-1659, ed. McIlwaine, p. 74). The passage of the act prohibiting all trade with foreigners, Oct. 3, 1650, was met by another indignant protest (C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum,* II. 425-529; *Journals of Burgesses,* 1619-1659, pp. 75-78), and in 1663 John Bland of London, on behalf of the planters of Virginia and Maryland, protested against the exclusion of the Dutch. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1675-1676, p. 392.

[17] March, 1660, Hening, *Statutes of Virginia,* I. 540.

[18] For accounts of the poverty of the plantation see Bruce, *Econ. Hist.,* I. 401-406; Wertenbaker, *Planters of Colonial Virginia,* pp. 86-100; Beer, *Old Colonial System,* I. 367-368.

[19] *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1669-1674, p. 552; instructions to governors, C. O. 5: 1357, p. 45; 5: 1310, p. 85.

the demand of Virginia was of small moment as compared with the more insistent and more profitable needs of the West Indies.

Despite the habitual neglect of the colony by English purveyors of slaves the negro population of Virginia slowly grew. In 1661 Nicholas Ware, of Rappahannock County, gave bond to John Vassall, merchant of Barbados, in payment of four good negroes.[20] In 1662 Richard Lee obtained headrights for 80 negroes; in the same decade Scarborough had grants for 39 and Carter for 20.[21] In 1671 Governor Berkeley reported that there were 2000 negroes then in the colony, though there had not been above two or three ships with negroes in seven years.[22] In the nineties a study of the land patents shows headrights for negroes for 25, 27, 64, 70, 79, 84, though these are the exceptional and not the usual numbers.[23] By the end of the century the number of blacks in the colony was estimated at 6000, in 1708 it was reported as 12,000,[24] with a total importation between 1698 and 1708 of 6369. One evidence of this increase in the negro population is the frequency of the laws regulating the conduct of negroes.[25] By 1730 there were about 30,000 negroes in the colony, perhaps a quarter of the population,[26] and by 1770 the number of whites and blacks was nearly equal.[27]

For prices during the seventeenth century we have occasional suggestions. Nicholas Ware, in the purchase to which reference has already been made, paid 8617 pounds of tobacco for his four negroes, with tobacco selling for about two pence a pound. In 1672 the company offered to supply slaves at £18 per head, a price higher than it asked in Barbados. Byrd wrote of giving his note for two negroes and of paying £21 for a negro girl about fifteen years old; William Fitzhugh, in 1690, suggested a price ranging from £16 to £20.[28] One assertion can be made with confidence, not only for this century but for the next as well, that is, that the Virginia price fluctuated little as compared with that of South Carolina. Probably an average price of £18 to £20 prevailed throughout most

[20] *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XII. 303.

[21] Bruce, *Econ. Hist.*, II. 78.

[22] Hening, *Statutes*, II. 511-517. If Berkeley's implication that few negroes had come in since 1664 be accepted, there must between 1656 and 1664 have been some importation to account for the number in the colony when he wrote.

[23] Bruce, II. 85; Wertenbaker, *Planters*, p. 130.

[24] C. O. 5: 1362, pp. 374-382.

[25] Hening, II. 170, 481-482, III. 86-88; *Journal of the Council of Virginia*, I. 198, 203; *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1659-1693, pp. 266, 299, 396, 429.

[26] C. O. 5: 1322. Wertenbaker states that by 1715 the importation of negroes had almost put a stop to that of indentured whites. *Planters*, p. 134.

[27] For a collection of estimates of the Virginia population see L. C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (Carnegie Institution, 1933), II. 1025.

[28] *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXV. 262, III. 167. Bruce has gathered many illustrative prices but they are more often for seasoned negroes than for those newly imported. *Econ. Hist.*, II. 89-90.

of the second half of the seventeenth century and a range of £28 to £35 in the next half-century. During the second half of the century the average may have reached £40 sterling.[29]

That the history of the slave trade to Virginia has heretofore consisted in large part of an account of the efforts of the assembly to impose duties, prohibitive or otherwise, results partly from the fact that the acts of the Virginia legislature and the action of the Board of Trade are easily obtainable, while other significant material relating to the subject is elusive. A second reason is undoubtedly that many writers on this subject have been interested to demonstrate the early and persistent antipathy of Virginia to the trade. The unsupported statement that thirty-three Virginia acts intended to put a stop to the importation of negroes were disallowed in England, once made, has been often repeated, but no careful study of the circumstances under which these acts were passed, the purpose or purposes which lay behind them, the conflict of interests which they represented, or even the motives of the British government has ever been made. Some small contribution to such subjects the editor hopes may be found here, but the material presented is by no means sufficient to satisfy the student interested in these and similar questions.

[29] Va. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, IV. 722. The estimated prices are much higher after the Revolution. For a collection of comparative prices see Gray, *Hist. of Agriculture*, I. 368-370.

MARYLAND

1. Richard Kemp to Lord Baltimore, 1638.[1]

[January, 1638.]

To the Right Honoble. and my very good Lord the Lord Baltimore these Present

My Lord: I received yo'r Lor'pps Commands of the second of August Last for the buying of Fortye neate Cattle, ten Sowes, Forty Henns and Ten Negroes to be Transported to St. Maryes for yo'r use.[2] . . .

2. Contract for Negroes, 1642.[1]

1642 March 16.

Leonard Calvert Esq. etc. acknowledged that he hath conveyed and sold unto John Skinner mariner, all those his 3 Mannors of St. Michael, St. Gabriel, and Trinity Mannor, with all the tenements and hereditaments in or upon them or any of them, and all his right title and interest in and to the premises or any part therof, to have and to hold the same to the said John Skinner his heires and assignes for ever. And that he hath further covenanted to finish the dwelling house at Pinie neck, with a stack of brick chimneyes (conteining 2 chimneys) neare about the middle of the house now standing and to make the partition by the said chimneyes, and doores and windowes, and to underpin the frame of it wth stone or brick. In consideration wherof the said John Skinner covenanted and bargained to deliver unto the said Leonard Calvert, fourteene negro men-slaves, and three women slaves, of betweene 16 and 26 yeare old able and sound in body and limbs, at some time before the first of march come twelve-month, at St. Maries, if he bring so many within the Capes, by himselfe or any assignes betweene this and the said first of march, or afterward within the said yeare, to be delivered as aforesaid to him the said Leonard Calvert or his assignes in the case aforesaid. And in case he shall not so doe, then he willeth and granteth that foure and twenty thousand weight of tobacco, be leavied upon any the lands goods or chattells of him the said John Skinner, to the use of him the said Leonard Calvert and his assignes.

[1] [1] Maryland Historical Society, Fund Publication No. 28, *The Calvert Papers*, I. 149. Endorsed: "January 1638, Mr. Rich. Kemp to (Secretary) from Virginea."

[2] Kemp, who was an agent of Lord Baltimore, went on to say that as yet he had done nothing about executing this order save to ask advice, the time of year being unseasonable for carrying it out. Since the first colonists under the proprietary charter had been in Maryland nearly four years it is most unlikely that this order refers to the earliest purchase of negroes. Scharf surmised that Richard Thompson brought one, purchased in Barbados, when he landed with the *Ark* and the *Dove* in 1634. J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland* (1879), I. 66.

[2] [1] *Maryland Archives*, IV. 189. The contract is signed by Calvert and Skinner, and witnessed by John Lewger.

3. Sale of Negroes, 1644.[1]

The 24th July 1644. Received of Capt Tho: Cornwaleys by the hands of Sr. Wm. Berkely Knt. nine pounds sterl: and by the hands of mr. Cutbert Fennick ninety seven pounds and halfe of beaver, and is for or towards satisfaction of a debt of fifty pounds sterl. for two negroes dd [delivered] the aforesaid Capt. Cornwaleys. By me

Rich. Bennett.

4. Governor Charles Calvert to Lord Baltimore, 1664.[1]

[April 27, 1664.]

For the Right Honble. the Lord Baltemore These pr'snt

. . . I have endeavoured to see if I could find as many responsable men that would engage to take a 100 or 200 neigros every yeare from the Royall Company at that rate mentiond in yr Lopps letter but I find wee are nott men of estates good enough to undertake such a buisnesse, but could wish wee were for wee are naturally inclin'd to love neigros if our purses would endure it. . . .

5. Act to encourage the Importation of Negroes, 1671.[1]

[April 19, 1671.]

An Act for the Encourageing the Importacion of Negros and Slaves into this Province

Whereas Severall of the good people of this Province have been discouraged to import into or purchase within this Province any Negroes or other Slaves and such as have Imported or purchased any such Negroes or Slaves have to the great displeasure of Almighty God and the prejudice of the Soules of those poore people Neglected to instruct them in the Christian faith or to Endure or permitt them to Receive the holy Sacrament of Babtisme for the Remission of their Sinns upon a mistake and ungrounded apprehension that by becomeing Christians they and the Issues of their bodies are actually manumitted and made free and discharged from their Servitude and bondage be itt declared and Enacted by his Lordship the Lord and Proprietary of this Province by and with the advice and consent of the upper and

[3] [1] *Md. Arch.*, IV. 304.

[4] [1] Md. Hist. Soc., Fund Publication No. 28, *Calvert Papers*, I. 249. Endorsed: "27 Aprill 1664. My son Charles to me by Cap: Miles Cooke." It is clear that Calvert had been considering the possibility of contracting with the recently created Company of Royal Adventurers trading to Africa for a cargo of negroes for Maryland. Some months later Maryland received negroes from New York. See this work, III. 434n.

[5] [1] *Md. Arch.*, II. 272; passed Apr. 19, 1671. This was by no means the first Maryland law concerned with slavery. In 1664 an act dealt with the status of the wives and children of slaves; in 1666 one was passed dealing with runaways.

lower houses of this present Generall Assembly and by the Authority of the same That where any Negro or Negroes Slave or Slaves being in Servitude or bondage is are or shall become Christian or Christians and hath or have Received or shall att any time Receive the Holy Sacrament of Babtizme before or after his her or their Importacion into this Province the same is not nor shall or ought the same be denyed adjudged Construed or taken to be or to amount unto a manumicion or freeing Inlarging or discharging any such Negroe or Negroes Slave or Slaves or any his or their Issue or Issues from his her their or any of their Servitude or Servitudes Bondage or bondages Butt that Notwithstanding any such Act or thing Acts or things And Notwithstanding any such becoming Christian or Christians or Receiveing the Sacrament of Babtizme Every such Negroe and Negroes slave and slaves and all and every the Issue and Issues of every such Negroe and Negroes Slave and Slaves Is are and be and shall att all tymes hereafter be adjudged Reputed deemed and taken to be and Remayne in Servitude and Bondage and subject to the same Servitude and Bondage to all intents and purposes as if hee shee they every or any of them was or were in and Subject unto before such his her or their Becomeing Christian or Christians or Receiveing of the Sacrament of Baptizme any opinion or other matter or thing to the Countrary in any wise Notwithstanding.[2]

6. Instructions to Captain Marmaduke Goodhand, 1685.[1]

London, the 12th January 1685.

Capt. Marmaduke Goodhand.

You are with the first opportunity of Wind and Weather that God shall send after receipt hereof to sett Sail out of the River of Thames wth yo'r Shipp the *Speedwell* and make the best of Your way to James Island in the River of Gambia according to Charter party, and on

[2] This act was re-enacted on June 4, 1692 (*Md. Arch.*, XIII. 505-506). An act of Sept. 17, 1681, removed any doubt which might have existed concerning the status of negroes in Maryland by providing that all negroes already imported or to be imported were slaves for life and their children after them. *Ibid.*, VII. 203-204.

[6] [1] P. R. O., T 70: 61, pp. 2-3. The Royal African Company of 1672, as well as its predecessor, found the West Indian markets much more lucrative than those of the northern continent and therefore paid slight attention to Maryland and Virginia, but on July 24, 1677, the company received a request from Mr. George Thompson for a supply of negroes for Maryland. This was referred to the committee of shipping for consideration (T 70: 77). Up to this time most of the negroes brought to Maryland probably came from Barbados, yet one finds surprisingly few traces of such trade. The record of one voyage in 1686 suggests what one assumes was a common transaction: "they spoke a ship from Barbadoes, with slaves and sugar consigned to Maryland and intending to load tobacco." *A Frenchman in Virginia* (1923), p. 10.

arrivall deliver our Letters to Agent Alexander Cleeve or in case of his absence, to Such Person as Shall bee appointed to act in his Stead in our affairs whose orders you are dilligently to observe during your Stay in those partes; Wee have ordered our Said Agent to putt aboard your Shipp Two hundred Negroes and as many more as he shall gett ready and yo'r Shipp can conveniently carry with Provisiones necessary for them, besides what are laden here; You being obliged by Charter to Stay at Gambia or thereabouts till Such time as our Factors can procure yo'r Complement of Negroes. It will import you and Wee require [*torn*] for the quicker dispatch that you give them the best assistants you can.

When yo'r Complement of Negroes are aboard or Such part of them as you think fitt to take in, Wee order that you give our Agent or Factor four Bills of Lading for the Number you receive, and for what provisions are shipt for them at the time of yo'r takeing the Negroes aboard or whilst you Stay in the Ryver, And then proceed, with what expedition wind and weather will permitt, to Potomack River in Marry[land] and deliver them to Mr. Edward Portous, Mr. Christopher Robinson and Mr. Richard Gardiner [*blank*] or either of them according to the Order of Mr. Jeffery Jeffereys [2] who will see you paid as well for the Freight of the Negroes, as for what will be due for the care of them during their being aboard

The Law haveing asserted his Majesty['s] right to grant Charters and to punish any Subjects that shall presume contemptuously to break them, Wee have by vertue of his Majestyes Charter given you a Commission to seize Interlopers, and does expect and require in conformity to yo'r Charter party that you put the [it] effectually in execution against all Vessells and Persones you shall meett with and find trading on the Coast contrary to his Majesties said Grant, according to the Instructions Signed by our Secreteary. And for yo'r encouragement vigorously to execute the said Commission the Royall African Company doe hereby eng[age] their Stock to keep and save you harmlesslie for what you act agreeable thereto, and grant you one fourth part of Prizes you shall seize and bee condemned, and Wee have also ordered our Factors in the Plantations to Secure you against any

[2] Jeffery Jefferies and his brother John traded to Virginia also. Of the agents here named, Porteus and Robinson (who are also named in the instructions drawn up for Captain Goodhand in 1686) were inhabitants not of Maryland but of Virginia. Porteus, a merchant from Gloucester County, was recommended by the governor of Virginia in 1693 as a "person of suitable standing and estate" to serve on his Majesty's council. He seems however never to have received the appointment. Robinson was a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1691 and the next year was secretary to the colony. *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography,* V. 1096; *Va. Mag. of Hist.,* I. 397n.

trouble may happen to you for executing the said Commissions. Wee wish you a good voyage and rest.[3]

Yo'r Loving Friends etc.

BENJA. BATHURST Sub. Govr.
GABRIELL ROBERTS Depty. Govr.

EARLE OF BERKELEY	JOHN ASHLY	JEFFERY JEFFEREYS
HENRY TULSE	WM. IVATT	JOHN MORICE
JEREMY SAMBROOKE	JOHN NORTH	FRAN. HOPEGOOD
JACOB LUCIE	GEORGE BONN	RICHARD CRADOCK
JOHN PERY	WM. BOVARY	SAMUELL STAINER
JOHN BENCE	JOHN SHORT	JOHN MORGAN [4]
JOHN VERNEY		

7. CASE OF THE *MARGARET*, 1693.[1]

Legal proceedings alledging that in contravention of two Statutes of Parliament,[2] William Burnett, gentleman, not being an Englishman, master of the ship *Margarett* with a crew of which three fourths were not English, on the 25th of December 1692 imported into St. Mary's River in St. Mary's County, divers goods and merchandise not taken aboard in England, Wales, or Berwick upon Tweed, having sailed in the said ship from England to Barbadoes and from thence to St. Mary's River aforesaid. For which causes the said imported goods are forfeited. . . .

The said William Burnett says the charge of a breach of the laws made against him by the Information is illegal and insufficient, for Negroes are not goods nor commodities intended by the said Statutes, and by no law whatsoever pay any duty or custom either for Importation or Exportation. . . .

[3] Instructions for Captain Goodhand's next voyage are to be found in T 70: 61, under dates of Dec. 23, 1686, and Feb. 21, 1687. His cargo of 220 negroes was directed to York River, Va., to be delivered to Christopher Robinson, William Churchill, and Dudley Diggs. In other respects the instructions are identical with these.

[4] The signers are doubtless those members of the Royal African Company who were serving on the committee of shipping. Wm. Bovary appears in other places as William des Bovery. The signatures to the instructions of 1687 indicate that an election had taken place between the time of these instructions and that date. Gabriel Roberts had become subgovernor, George Bonn deputy governor. The new committee contained William Sedgewick, Peter Joy, Abraham Hill, John Cooke, Thomas Heatley, Robert Williamson, Thomas Niccolls, not on this list, and had lost John Morgan, Henry Tulse, Francis Hopegood, William Ivatt, John Morice, Jeffery Jefferies, John Perry (Pery), Jeremy Sambrooke, John Ashley, John Bence, and John Short. T 70: 61.

[7] [1] C. O. 5: 713, Maryland Original Correspondence, Board of Trade, 1689-1695, pp. 265-267.

[2] 12 Car. II. c. 18, 15 Car. II. c. 7.

An Appraisemt. of the Negros taken on board the shipp *Margarett* of London, Capt. Wm. Burnett Commandr. by us whose names are underwritten Appraisors thereunto appointed.

		ll.
2	Negros Sambo and Jack	26
3	Negros Judith Moll and Maria Girles	30
2	Negro boyes Rough 13 *ll.* Dick at 9 *ll.*	22
1	Mollata Woman 7 years to serve	9
1	Negro Dick at	16
		103

Given under our hands and Seales this 17th day of Feby. 1692/3 [3]

8. Petition of Edward Willy, 1694.[1]

March 1, 1694.

Produced by his Exncy.[2] petition of one Edward Willy Merchant preferred to his Exncy the Governr. of Barbadoes, together with the said Governrs. Lett'r to his Exncy. here, in favour of the Petitioner the Petition setting forth that one Thomas Jones had knowingly bought of Capt. Thomas Hill Commander of the Ketch *Adventure,* a couple of Negro's which the said Hill had brought clandestinly away from Barbado's contrary to Law, therefore prayed that the same might be again restored to the Right owner, So that he as Security for the said Hill might not be damnifyed. Then produced a paper of the said Jones in Answer to the said Peticion whereby was signifyed that he did purchase of the said Hill two Negro's one for 7600 l. of tob and the other for tenn Thousand pds. of tob: wch was by him duely paid, withall setting forth that after his purchase of the same made, he understood the said Negro's did belong to a Plantacion in Barbado's and had a hand in the Plot, therefore were sent on Board the said Hills Vessel to be hid by two of the Seamen and were Accordingly hid, Unknown to the said Hill untill two days after his departure from Barbado's, as the said Hill told the said Jones, And further said that to secure himself of the hazard of their Lives, he would dispose of them, And that if the said Jones would not keep them he the said Hill had Chapmen enough for to take them off his hands.

Ordered that the Attorneys be consulted therein, And their Opinion and Answer upon the same to be given, with all Expedition.[3]

[3] Signed by John Lowe and Richard Vowles.

[8] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XX. 227.

[2] Francis Nicholson, governor of Maryland 1694-1699.

[3] "A List of what Letters and other Pappers were Preferred to his Ex'ncy Govern'r Nicholson by Mr. Robert Nearn on behalfe of Mr. Edward Willy of Barbadoes is as follows *Vizt.*

9. Petition of Richard Hill, 1694.[1]

July 31, 1694.

The Petition of Richard Hill Master of the ship *Hope* of Maryland seting forth that he was bound with his said Vessell on a Voyage directly to Guinia and therefore prayed the Order of this Board for his speedy Clearing, without which the Collector had Refused to dismiss him.

The said Petition was Rejected for reason of a certain Instruction from their Ma'ties to his Excy. relating to the premisses, which runes in these following Words, *vizt.*

And you are to take care that there be no Trading from Maryland to any place in Africa within the Charter of the Royall African Company; And you are not to suffer any ships to be sent thither without their leave and Authority.[2]

10. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1695.[1]

[May 22, 1695.]

An act for the laying an Imposition upon Negroes Slaves and white servants Imported into this Province.

Imp'rs A Letter from Mr. Nearn to his Ex'ncy the Govern'r Dated the 23th of Jan'ry 1694.

Mr. Edward Willys Pet. to the Govern'r of Barbados abt two Negroe Men transported from Barbados by Capt Thomas Hill the said Negro's belonging to one Capt William Porter.

The Opinion of Mr. Plater and Mr. Dent Relating to the aforementioned Negro's.

Mr. Nearns Pet. to his Ex'ncy and Councill abt the af'd Negro's in behalfe of the aforesaid Willy.

A further Report of Mr. Dent and Mr. Plater Concerning the af'd Negro's wth an Order of Councill Annexed.

Thomas Joneses Answer to the Councill abt buying the said Negro's. May the 21th 1695.

Then Recd. the above mentioned Papers for Acco't of Mr Edward Willy I say Recd. per Me Ro't Nearn." *Md. Arch.*, XX. 228.

Whether Maryland was more punctilious than were other colonies about the status of the negroes brought to her shores, or whether it happened that captains actually carried more kidnapped negroes to Maryland than to other markets, it is a fact that a larger volume of the Maryland material discovered relates to the investigation of alleged kidnapping or to the return of negroes to their homes than is the case with any other colony. For the most famous account, that of Job ben Solomon, see this work, II. 414-427; see also J. H. Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland* (1890), p. 30.

[9] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XX. 117.

[2] Nevertheless Hill made his Guinea voyage: "To all to whom this present Writing shall come Greeting. These are to Certify that Arnaut Lahanne, the Bearer hereof a French Man and Doctor or Chirurgeon of the Pink *John* of Bordeaux in the Kingdom of France Peter Rivier Commander was taken and brought a prisoner into this province in the sd. ship by Capt. John Hurle Commander of the ship *Providence* of London, being a Letter of Marque Man And after some short time of Residence here he shipped himself on Board a certain Vessell called the *Hope* of Maryland (whereof Richard Hill is Master or Commander) for Guinea; from whence haveing returned again into this Province in the sd. vessell, he has now shipped himself on Board a certain Briganteen called the *Fisher* of Maryland. . . . 11th day of October, in the Seaventh year of his Ma'ts Reign, Annoq Domini, 1695. Fr. Nicholson." *Ibid.*, p. 338.

[10] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXXVIII. 51-52; see *ibid.*, XIX. 158, 167, 181-182, 185, 186, 191, 193, for the legislative history of this act.

Forasmuch as this gennerall Assembly are deeply sensible of the great charge the Country is at for the building a State house and defraying of other publick dues and duties and being desirous of easing the burthen under which at present the good people of this Province groane have taken into their consideration that it might be of great advantage in order thereunto that an Impost were laid upon Servants and Slaves imported into this Province. . . . And be it further Enacted by the Authority afforesaid, by and with the advice and consent afforesaid that for every Negro imported into this Province either by land or by water and exposed for sale within three months after arrivall within this Province the Vendor or Vendors shall pay unto the Navall Officer as afforesaid the sum of ten shillings sterling for pole on penalty and forfeiture of five pounds sterling per pole for every negro by them imported and kept back or unaccounted for as afforesaid To be collected and gathered deposited and accounted for to the use intent and purpose and in such method and manner as in the act for the Impost of four pence per gallon made at a Session of Assembly begun and held at the Citty of St. Maryes the one and twentyeth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred ninety four is therein mentioned and Express'd any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding, this act to endure for three yeares or to the end of the next Session of Assembly which shall first happen.[2]

11. Proceedings of the Assembly, 1696.[1]

May 11, 1696.

Whereas Major John Thompson Navall Officer at the head of the Bay having received 30 *s.* impost duty for three negroes imported by Mr. John Moll, which negroes are not intended to be exposed for Sale according to the Act therefore.

Tis the Opinion of this house that Major Thompson ought to refund Mr. Moll the sd Summe of 30 *s.*

[2] In May, 1696, this duty was increased to 20 *s.*, the act providing for the increase to be in effect one year (*ibid.*, XIX. 321, 363, 366, 368, 370, XXXVIII. 80-81). The duty of 20 *s.* was again laid by acts of 1699, 1704, 1708, 1712, and 1715 (Bacon, *Laws*, July 22, 1699; *Md. Arch.*, XXVI. 289-292, XXVII. 371-372, XXX. 165, 326-331). The legislation of 1715 freed from the duty importers who carried negroes in vessels owned by inhabitants of the province. This exemption furnished the ground for the complaint of the London merchants in 1731 that the Maryland act of 1715 discriminated against them, as of course it did.

[11] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XIX. 365.

12. Petition of George Lewis, 1697.[1]

To his Exncy. Francis Nicholson Esqr. Capt. Generll. and Govrnr. in chief in and over his Maj'tys Province and Territory of Maryland.

The humble Petition of George Lewis Marriner Sheweth That your Petitioner by the death of Captn. Robt. Roberts Comandr. of the Ship *Fly*, now riding in Leonards Creek in Petuxent River is become Master thereof.

That by one of the owners instructions he finds himselfe obliged to ship another Mate that may be a carefull sober man and th't understands the Guinea Trade and has a family in England else not proceed to Guinea but trade between Barbados and Maryland, till further orders Received from his said owners wch said instruction your Petitioner finds it morally impossible to be complyed with for these following reasons.

1st Such a Mate enjoyn'd to be shipt not being to be had; he knows not any way or means whereby to purchase a proper loading to go to the Barbados with having neither credit nor effects sufficient wherewithall to do it, besides the Ship is indebted above 240 *ll.* for Seamens wages wch if your Petitioner should carry the Ship to Barbados, must necessarily be paid there, and for want of effects and creditt to discharge the same would occasion the Sale of the Vessell and overthrow the Voyage.

2nd Your Petitioner being wholly a stranger in the Countrey cannot possibly give the security the officers require for complying with the laws of the Countrey [2] having apply'd himselfe to severall persons that are concern'd with the owners who all of them refuse saying they have no such orders, for wch said reasons he is advised by all persons th't knows his case and that are well wishers to the Owners for to proceed the Voyage for which the men are Shipt and are willing to go and to desist going to Barbados, he having got a Mate that understands the other Voyage, and is every way qualified except his having a family in England. All wch yo'r Petitioner humbly lays before your Exncy. in behalfe of the owners and th't you would [be] favourably pleased to give such Order to the Officers for his dispatch as to your Exncys. wisdom and prudence shall seem meet; he being ready and willing to satisfy all manner of dutyes fees and other charges by way of goods he having no ready money, and

[12] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXIII. 306-307. Governor Nicholson transmitted the petition to the council: "Maryland, Port of Annapolis: Novem'r the 29th 1697. I having just now received the Petition of George Lewis Commander of the Ship *Fly*, a Copy whereof follows in these words *Vizt.*"

[2] See "An Act for Tonnage and Ascerteining Navall Officers Fees", *ibid.*, XIX. 114-115.

his own bills being refused for discharge thereof; wch being granted Your Petitioner shall ever p[r]ay etc.[3]

13. GOVERNOR FRANCIS NICHOLSON TO THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1698.[1]

. . . There hath been Imported this Summer about four hundred and Seaventy odd Negroes *vizt.* 396 in one ship directly from Guinea, 50 from Virginia wch came thither in a ship from Guinea, 20 from Pensylvania, wch came thither from Barbadoes: a few othrs. from other places.[2] . . .

MARYLAND, PORT ANNAPOLIS Augt. 20th 1698.

14. NEGROES IMPORTED INTO MARYLAND, 1699-1708.[1]

An Exact Account of Negroes imported into Her Majesties Province of Maryland from Midsummer, 1698, to Xtmas, 1707.

Date	By Whom	Vessel	Place	Owners or Traders	Number
May 2, 1699	George Laurence	*Hopewell Jacob*	London		86
July 20, "	Richard Bradshaw[2]	*African* Galley	London		76
Aug. 9, "	Saml. Thornborough	*Fairfax*	London		190
July 20, 1700	Henry Munday	*John Hopewell*	London	M'rs Smith and Petit and Co.	320
Oct. 7, 1701	Edward Briscow	*Betty* Galley	London		64
July 4, 1702	Stephen Jerome	*Endeavour*	London		49
" "	Roger Carnaby	*Hunter* Galley	London		152
Sept. " "	John Gunnell	*Providence*	London		136
July 13, 1703	John Lewis	Pinck *Mary*	Barbados		55
June 11, 1704	Roger Carnaby[3]	*Dolphin*	London		200
July 2, 1705	John Hays	Brigt'n *Dorset*	London	M'rs Rascow	131
" 9, "	John Woodward	*Olive Tree*	London	M'rs Perry Browne and Co.	150
Aug. 11, "	Richard Hinton	Brigt'n *Advent'r*	London		90
Same time	John Hunt	Sloop *Swallow*	Barbados		71
July 1706	John Woodward	*Olive Tree*	London	M'rs Perry Browne and Co.	163
Aug 4, 1707	James Frisby[4]	*Young Margaret*	London	do.	265
" 11, "	Daniel Lewis	Brigt'n *Advent'r*	London		92
				Total	2290

[3] "And if you find the said Petition to be true, you are to take the said George Lewis own bond (in behalf of the owners of the said Ship *Fly*) for performance of the laws of the Countrey and dutyes etc. He not designing to load any tobacco with you are to take care that he comply with, so there will be no occasion for his giveing a navigation Bond; And if it appear to you that it will be for the owners advantage th't he draw Bills upon them to pay the Countrey dutyes fees etca. you take the said Bills; And for doing these things this shall be your sufficient warrant and authority; Given under my hand and Seale the day and year above written. FR: NICHOLSON.

"To Peter Jennings Esqr. his Maj'tys Collector of Patuxent district and To Mr. Sam'll Watkins Navall officer of the same." *Md. Arch.*, XXIII. 307.

[Notes to nos. 13 and 14 on p. 18.]

A List of Negroes Imported into the province of Maryland from the 25th of December 1707 to the 25th of December 1708.[5]

Date	By Whom	Vessel	Place	Owners or Traders	Number
May 25, 1708	Digory Hearle	*Delight* Galley	London	James Wate John Dorrell and Edward Popley	114
June 19, 1708	Saml. parker	*John and Constant* Galley	London		9
July 10, 1708	Rob Cruikshank[6]	*Mary*	London	Rob. Cruikshank Perry Browne and Henry Bock	217
Aug. 4, 1708	Richd. Hinton	*Prosperous* Galley	London	Thos. Mayhew, Saml. Theyser and Wm. Hinton	110
Aug. 19, 1708	John Blake	*Queen Anne* Galley	London	M'rs John Goodwin and Company	79
Oct. 25, 1708	Giles Loame	*Alexander* Galley[7]	London	Wm. Loame, Godfrey Webster, John Dene and Thos. Stringer	119
					648[8]

[13] [1] C. O. 5: 725, p. 348.

[2] During the consideration of the measure of 1698 the merchants and planters interested in Maryland and Virginia petitioned for open trade and protested against the conduct of the African Company. L. F. Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments*, II. 217, 236.

[14] [1] C. O. 5: 716, no. 66i. See *post*, no. 20, for the letter which accompanied this account. It is to be observed that with few exceptions the importation into Maryland took place in the summer months. This was also the case with the Virginia trade. On May 28, 1698, a petition of Edward Carleton of London was read in the House of Lords, asking that the petitioner be excused from the penalties imposed by the act of 1698: "That yo'r pet'rs sent out a ship lately on a trading voyage, and therein also laded a cargo of goods and merchandizes propper for Affrica to purchase negros to carry to the northern plantations in America; but ordered the said ship to trade abroad so long that she might not arrive from Guiny till after the winter should be over, it not being propper to bring negros to those cold countries in that season." Stock, *Proceedings and Debates*, II. 239.

[2] See *post*, no. 16.

[3] Captain Carnaby on his arrival in London made affidavit that, after carrying negroes from Calabar to Maryland, he was not allowed to sail from Maryland to London with a cargo without convoy, which meant a long delay (C. O. 5: 1314, 41a, M 5); for further account of the *Dolphin's* protest over convoy see *post*, no. 74 and n. 4.

[4] See *post*, no. 17 and n. 2.

[5] C. O. 5: 716, no. 66ii. Endorsed: "Maryland. List of Negroes imported into Maryland from Xmas 1707 to Christmas 1708. Rec'ed 11 May, Read 18 July, 1709, referr'd to in Col. Seymour's L'r of the 18th Novr. 1708." In the report made by the Board of Trade to the House of Commons Jan. 27, 1709, seven vessels, all belonging to separate traders, were listed as having carried slaves into Virginia or Maryland. Of these, six appear here as delivering cargoes in Maryland: *Young Marget*, 280; *Mary Crookshank*, 274; *Queen Anne*, 90; *Delight*, 106; *Prosperous*, 100; *Jno. and Constance*, 285. See this work, II. 74.

[6] Feb. 8, 1707/8, "Robert Cruikshank stands bound in recognizance to appear at the bar of the court of Queen's Bench on the last day of the present term, and is advised that he must be continued over till the next term, on April 21. His ship with her cargo being still at Plymouth he may still arrive there in time to proceed on his

15. The Board of Trade to Governor Nathaniel Blakiston, 1700.[1]

P. S. *Feb. 21* [*1700*]. A letter having been communicated to us from Hen. Munday, Commander of the *John Hopewell* of London who has been plundered upon the coast of Guinea, by a pirate named Henry King, who formerly used the Pennsylvania trade, and nine of his men having run away with King, we send you their names, that if any of them happen to come into your Government you may cause them to be apprehended.[2]

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intended voyage to Guinea and Maryland, whose loss would be the ruin of himself and the ship's proprietors. Prays therefore, that his recognizance may be discharged." Hist. MSS. Comm., *Manuscripts of the Duke of Portland*, VIII. 357-358.

[1] In a record of Jan. 8, 1708, the *Alexander*, 160 tons, 12 guns, 26 men, is to sail for Guinea and Virginia, but on Feb. 29, 1708, Sir Thomas Webster and others "Petition to clear *Alexander* for Guinea, then with Slaves to Patuxant R. Md." (*Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, II. 492, 542-543). The item in the *Acts* gives the name of the captain as Giles Love, and loads the vessel with "staves", unquestionably a misreading of "slaves". In October permission was granted to the *Providence*, Thomas Johnson, and the *Dolphin*, Samuel Payne (140 tons, 10 guns, 26 men), to sail from London to Guinea and Maryland. *Ibid.*, p. 544.

[2] These figures reduce considerably those of Colonel Darnel, who testified before the House of Commons in 1710: "Colonel Darnel of Maryland, a Gentleman of admirable Understanding, and known Worth and Integrity, was pleas'd to affirm at the Bar of the House of Commons, the last Sessions of Parliament, *viz.* That since the Trade to Africa had been laid open by the Act of Ten per Cent. Duty, the Separate Traders had imported into Maryland upwards of six Thousand Negroes, the Company never having sent one thither since they were a Joint-Stock; and that by the additional Assistance of which Number of Slaves, they continu'd annually to make 24,000 Hogsheads of Tobacco more than formerly, which are sufficient Lading for Forty Sail of stout Ships per Annum to import the same into Britain; which, in the first place, is so great an Advantage to the Planters abroad; secondly, such a considerable Encouragement to our Navigation and Merchants at home; and thirdly, brings so vast an Income into Her Majesty's Exchequer, that they are Benefits worthy of a Parliamentary Consideration." *A True State of the Present Difference between the Royal African Company and the Separate Traders*, 1710, pp. 35-36.

Though the testimony that the African Company left the trade of Maryland and Virginia entirely to the separate traders is almost unanimous, it must not be taken with complete literalness. Occasionally the company directed vessels to these colonies or considered the wisdom of so doing (*ante*, no. 6, n. 1). On Mar. 6, 1719, the company received a letter from Barbados which reported that slaves could at that time be sold to better advantage in Maryland or Virginia than in the West Indies. T 70: 6, p. 90.

[15] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1700, p. 73. Blakiston was governor of Maryland from 1699 to 1702. On Nov. 13, 1699, Henry Munday, then off Cape Mesurado ("Mounteradoe") wrote to his owners, Pettet and Company of London, that he had been attacked and plundered by the pirate Henry King. His letter, read in a meeting of the Board of Trade on Feb. 20, 1700, prompted the board to write to Maryland, whither Munday was bound, as well as to several other colonies. *Ibid.*, 1699, pp. 519-520; 1700, p. 75.

[2] On receiving this communication, June 27, 1700, the Maryland council issued a proclamation for the seizure of the pirate and his men (*Md. Arch.*, XXV. 94). Captain Munday's disaster did not prevent him from bringing a cargo of negroes into Maryland about a month after the receipt of this news: "August 1, 1700 . . . on the 24th of the last moneth Capt. Passenger gave me an account that the said Henry Mooreday, Commander of the *John Hopewell*, was gon up to Herring Bay in Maryland, and that he had 400 negroes on board. After the misfortune by the pyrates his mate did him an extraordinary piece of service by being too hard for the pyrates, and bringing to him a sloop" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1700, p. 449). Governor Blakiston, on Aug. 6, wrote that Munday, who had then been in Maryland a fortnight, had brought 300 negroes, and had made no report of trouble with pirates. Later letters accused Munday of having disposed of goods which belonged to the African Company. *Ibid.*, pp. 460, 462, 464-465, 624, 629.

16. Minutes of the Council of Maryland, 1700.[1]

Saturday Aprill the 27th 1700.

The Councill Sate present as yesterday. . . .

It being represented to the Board that Capt. Bradshaw Commander of the Ship —— [2] of London who the last Summer Imported Negros into this Province had before he made Reporte and Entry of his Ship ran Twenty Two negros on the Shore side in Dorchester and Somersett Countys without Giveing any acct. thereof and that Mr. George Bayns who lives att Mr. Dashells in Wicocomico River Capt. John Taylor and Mr. Henry Hooper of Dorchester County are knowing thereof.

Ordered Therefore That John Pollard Esqr. one of his Ma'tys Justices of the Provinciall Court do issue his Warrants and Call before him the said George Baynes, Capt. John Taylor and Mr. Henry Hooper and upon their Corporall Oaths upon the holy Evangelists by him to them to be Administred strictly Examine them of what they know thereof, and their said Examinations with all Convenient Speed to Transmitt to his Excellency the Governr.

17. Petition of James Frisby, 1700.[1]

May 6, 1700.

The Peticion of James Frisby Esqre. being read in the house wherein he prays an allowance for the import of Twenty Six Negroes that arrived in Captn. Thornbury and dyed before sale of them was here read.

And Putt to the Vote whether the Peticion shalbe rejected or not. Carried in the Affirmative.[2]

18. Proceedings of the Assembly, 1704.[1]

May 1, 1704.

It has been represented to the house that the Commodore [Evans] imported into this Province Sev'll Quantityes of Rumme, and some Negroes upon which there is a Duty

[16] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXIV. 8. "Signed per order W. Bladen Cl. Concil."
[2] The *African* galley.
[17] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXIV. 61.
[2] The next year, May 13, 1701, "the pet'o of Peregrine Browne thereby praying an order to the Navall officer to refund him the duty of 26 negroes imported in the Shipp *fairefax*, was alsoe Read and Rejected" (*ibid.*, p. 177). The affairs of Brown and Frisby were still unadjusted in 1710: "I enclose a petition of John Chidly and Peregrine Brown of London, merchants, who alledge that they are very unjustly dealt with by one James Frisby, who has defrauded them of a number of negroes to the value of £2700, I desire you will enquire into this matter, and give them all the assistance in your power towards the recovery of their just rights." May 9, 1710, Earl of Sunderland to the President of the Council, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1710-1711, p. 90.
[18] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXIV. 396, 398. This is signed, "Geo. Plater".

Therefore resolved that itt be enquired into of the Navall officers whether Entry has been made of any and what quantity

Mr. Young and Mr. Lynes are ordered to make Enquiry wt Rumm and Negro's were imported and Sold here, and th't they make report thereof to the house forthwith. . . .

Captaine John Evans Commodore and Commander of her Majestyes Ship *Dreadnaught* has not made Entry of any Rumme or Negroes with me, or any other goods whatever.

19. Act to encourage the Importation of Negroes, 1704.[1]

An Act to encourage the Inhabitants of this Province to Adventure their Shipps and Vessells more freely abroad to import Rum Sugar Negroes and other Commoditys.

Be it Enacted by the Queens most excellent Maj'ty by and with the Advice and Consent of her Majestys Governour Councill and Assembly of this Province and the Authority of the same that no Shipp or Vessell built in this Province whereof all the Owners shall be Actuall Residents of this province And that no Shipp or Vessell English or Plantation built purchas'd enjoy'd and held by Owners which are all Residents of this Province nor the Owners thereof shall be lyable . . . to pay the Duty of twenty shillings for every Negro imported menciond in the aforesaid Act but from those Dutys aforesaid And from the Duty of three pence per Tonn payable to the Governour of this Province for the time being shall be fully and Clearly Exempted Any Former Act or Acts of Assembly to the Contrary notwithstanding.

And be it Enacted by the Authority aforesaid that such Owner or Owners of such Shipps or Vessells as aforesaid shall for entring and Clearing pay no more but half so much Fees to the Navall Officers and Collectors with whom they Enter and Clear as other Owners of other Shipps not belonging to the Inhabitants of this Province are lyable to pay Any former Act or Statute to the Contrary notwithstanding. . . .

20. Governor John Seymour to the Board of Trade, 1708.[1]

May it please your Lordships: I have your Commands of the 15th of Aprill, which came to hand by a Chance Sloope from Barba-

[19] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXVI. 349-350. "Septr. 23d 1704, Read and Assented to by the house of Delegates. W. Taylard, Clk h D. Sept. 26th 1704, Read and assented by her Ma'tys hon'ble Councill. W. Bladen Cl Concil. Maryland October 3d 1704." There were in Maryland at this time 4475 slaves in a total population of 35,012. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1704-1705, p. 553.

[20] [1] C. O. 5: 716, no. 66; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 150-151. Governor Seymour (governor 1704-1709) earlier in the year had reported that a considerable number of the 4657 slaves in Maryland had come from "Gambo and the Gold Coast". *Ibid.*, 1706-1708, pp. 758, 760; *Journal of the Board of Trade*, 1709-1715, p. 55.

dos; but not untill the 13th of Octob., by which your Lordships may perceive how tedious and uncertain that Conveyance is; And therefore have not the least apprehensions your Lordships Justice will impute any neglect to me; since in Obedience thereto I imediately made the best Inquiry I could, what numbers of Negros have been supplyd to this her Ma'tys Province by the Royall African Company, or by the Seperate Traders who pay the tenn per ct., Since the 24th of June 1698. And by the List here inclosed, which is as exact as the speedy dispatch of this Answer would admitt, Your Lordships will find the Royall African Company have not supplyd one Negro to this province during that tyme; Nor can I, on Enquiry of above twenty years last past heare of any ship belonging to the Company that has come hither; but Wee have been wholy supply'd by the seperate Traders, as your Lordships may perceive (tho by the Death and Removeall of severall Officers of the Customes here, I cannot learne the Owners or Importers, further than the Names of the severall shipps and Commanders; yet am satisfied they were exclusive of the Royall Affrican Company.

And these Negros have been sold for Bills of Excha. payable in London, generally men at £30 sterl., per head and Women at five and six and twenty pounds.

I have pursuant to your Lordships' directions discurst many of the principall planters here, by whom I am inform'd that before the year 1698, this province has been supplyd by some small Quantitys of Negro's from Barbados and other her Ma'tys Islands and Plantations, as Jamaica and New England Seaven, eight, nine or ten in a Sloope, and sometymes larger Quantitys, and sometymes, tho very seldom, whole ship Loads of Slaves have been brought here directly from Affrica by Interlopers, or such as have had Lycenses, or otherwise traded there. At present the Trade seems to run high, there having been between six and seaven hundred Negro's imported hither this yeare 1708. And the Planters owne themselves obliged to the seperate Traders for these supplys having never had any from the Company, and now the price of Negro's begins to abate, as Wee suppose by reason of the plentifull Importation by the seperate Traders, so that 'tis the Opinion of most here, should the seperate Traders be totally excluded, the Company would take no better care to supply them with slaves, than they have formerly done, which would not only be a great Detriment to the planters, but also to her Ma'tys Revenue of so valuable Customes on tob'o.

As to shipping belonging to this Country and imployed to the Coast of Affrica at present I cannot learne of any, nor above two or three persons concern'd therein wth the Merchts. in London.[2]

I humbly begg your Lordships pardon that the Account of what number of Negro's the province has been yearly supplyd with, and at what Rates has not been transmitted, which being interwoven with the Encouragemt. and Protection I am enjoyned to give the Royall Affrican Company, made me mistake to be intended of those to be supplyd by them only. And to convince your Lordships of my future exact Complyance with Commands, I esteeme so sacred, have sent you a list of those imported this present year 1708.[3] And shall in all other Matters punctually observe and obey your Commands on all Occasions . . .

MARYLAND, November 18th, 1708.

21. ACT FOR LAYING A DUTY ON SLAVES, 1716.[1]

An Act for Laying . . . four pounds Currant money per poll and Additional Duty on all Negroes for raising a Supply Towards Defraying the publick Charge of this province.

. . . And be it further Enacted by the Authority Advice and Consent aforesaid that from and after the time as aforesaid for every Negroe Imported into this province Either by Land or Water the Importer or Importers of such negro or Negroes shall pay unto the Navall officer aforesaid the sume of four pounds Currant money per poll (over and above the twenty shillings Sterling per pole Imposed by a former act of Assembly of this province) for the uses aforesaid on penalty and forfeiture of Twenty pounds Currant money

[2] There is little reason to question Governor Seymour's implication that there was no direct trade to the coast of Africa, but an item from the *Boston News Letter*, June 24, 1706, rouses curiosity: "We are informed from Maryland, That the Assembly there has past an Act Prohibiting the exportation of all European Commodities out of that Province for three Years, excepting Goods consigned or belonging to Persons residing in Virginia or Pensilvania, and Merchandize Imported in order to be Shipt off for the Coast of Guinea." For the text of the act see *Md. Arch.*, XXVI. 631-632.

[3] See *ante*, no. 14, and this work, II. 44-46.

[21] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXXVIII. 198 (July, 1716). "On a motion made that it would be very advantageous to the Countrey to Impose a greater duty than 20*s*. per head on Negroes and Irish papists Servants for the defraying the publick Charge of this Province, The Question was putt whether a further duty shall be layed on them or not and Resolved in the Affirmative by Majority of Votes and then On motion made the Question was putt whether the additionall duty shall be four pounds Sterling. Resolved in the Affirmative by Majority of votes" (*ibid.*, XXX. 505). "Mr. Bordley from the Comittee of Laws delivers Mr Speaker A Bill laying an Additional duty of 4 *ll.* Sterling per poll on negroes and Irish Servants and it being moved that the former vote whether the 4 *ll.* shall be sterling or Current be reasumed the Question was putt whether the additional duty shall be 4 *ll.* sterl or 4 *ll.* Current. Resolved it be Currency and, Ordered the bill be amended accordingly and that it shall be read to morrow morning" (*ibid.*, p. 515). Silver in Maryland seems to have maintained its proclamation value until 1734, when paper money was issued. William Douglass, *A Discourse concerning the Currencies of the British Plantations in America*, Am. Econ. Assn., *Studies*, II. 315.

per pole for Every Negroe kept back or unaccounted for to be applyed to the uses aforesaid and to be recovered as aforesaid.[2]

22. Journal of the Board of Trade, 1726.[1]

May 4, 1726.

Mr. Hunt,[2] a trader to Maryland, being sworn, acquainted their Lordships, that of late years, there are annually imported into Maryland between 500 and 1000 negroes.[3] That the produce of a negroe is about 4 hogsheads of tobacco per annum, and that the duty of 4

[2] Letters of dissent to this act are recorded from Lords Baltimore and Guildford. A duty of 20*s.* had been laid by act of 1715 (DuBois, p. 210). In the session of May, 1717, an act for laying an additional duty of 20*s.* current money, over and above the 20*s.* imposed by former acts, was passed, the proceeds to go to the support of education (*Md. Arch.*, XXXIII. 109-111). The privilege of importing free of duty in Maryland vessels was so frequently abused that in 1720 a supplementary act was passed increasing the strictness of the oath to be taken by importers (Bacon, *Laws*, Oct. 27, 1720). In 1721 a law was enacted allowing inhabitants of the colony to bring in their slaves without payment of duty if they were not to be placed on sale (*Md. Arch.*, XXXIV. 268-270). In 1728 "an act to supply some defects in the act 'for laying an Additional duty of 20*s.* current money per poll on Irish servants and negroes'" was passed (*id.*, XXXVI. 138, 158, 164, 175, 248). On Oct. 14, 1729, the Board of Trade called upon Colonel Hart to explain why Maryland had, in 1715, laid an imposition on negroes. His reply was that it had been done to check the raising of tobacco. On his withdrawal the board agreed to discuss with Lord Baltimore this duty and the favoritism shown to Maryland vessels by the terms of the act imposing it (*B. T. Jour.*, 1728/9-1734, pp. 64-67). On Jan. 18, 1732, the board expressed the opinion that this act was unreasonable, but since it was to expire on Mar. 28, 1732, no action was taken. *Md. Arch.*, XXXIV. 269; "Report of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, Jan. 23, 1733/4", Add. MSS. 33028, p. 255.

[22] [1] *B. T. Jour.*, 1722/3-1728, p. 254. In the absence of official reports occasional items concerning importation assure us of its continuance. On Mar. 15, 1720, word reached Philadelphia that the *Sarah* of London, bound for Maryland, had been captured by pirates in the Gambia River (*Boston News Letter*, Apr. 4, 1720). On Apr. 6 of that year the agents of the Royal African Company at Cape Coast Castle wrote: "Capt. Lambert joyned with Mr. Wm. Younge on a Trading Voyage to Windward. . . . Will consign the Negros to Mr. James Bowles at Puttuxent River in Maryland." Three months later the agents reported: "Shipd on board 260 Slaves *vizt.* 124 Men 112 Women and 26 boys and 8 girls. Consign'd to Mr. Ja. Bowles at Puttuxent River in Maryland" (T 70: 7, pp. 4, 7). On Aug. 2 the same agents wrote that the *Elizabeth*, Captain Bull, was to be sent from Cape Coast Castle to Maryland with slaves, but this plan was apparently not carried through because of the captain's failure to comply with the agreement (*ibid.*, pp. 9, 21). On Feb. 4, 1721, the Gambia agents of the company loaded, or at least planned to load, the *Martha*, Capt. John Levett, with 400 negroes for Maryland (T 70: 123, p. 17). In September, 1722, it was "Ord'd That Mr. Hawkins proposals for 260 Negroes to be delivered at Mary Land, be referred to the Consideration of the Com'tee of Trade". T 70: 91, p. 165.

[2] William Hunt, a London merchant, had extensive dealings with Charles Carroll (*Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIX. 179-192, *passim*). He was probably a brother of the Capt. Henry Hunt who carried Job ben Solomon to Maryland (see this work, II. 421). The *Maryland Gazette*, June 3, 1729, published a curious note relating to Capt. Henry Hunt: "I Do hereby certify and affirm, That I saw Capt. Henry Hunt in Barbadoes, where he arrived from Guinea the 6th of this Instant May, with a large Cargo of fine Slaves. That he acquainted me that he was desirous to come to Maryland, but that he had positive Orders to go to Jamaica, and that he was to sail for that Island the 9th of this Instant, being the next Day after my Departure from Barbadoes. Witness my Hand this 31st Day of May 1729. John West."

[3] If the figures which we have possess any significance whatever, the negro population was increasing rapidly during the years after 1710. One estimate for 1719 suggests that there were 25,000 in the colony (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, V. 605). Maryland had at one time hoped for 1000 pounds of tobacco per slave. E. D. Neill, *Terra Mariae* (1867), p. 201.

hogsheads is about £40 or £50. That the Province would take off more negroes, if they could get them, and that they would increase their trade. That Gambia, the Northern coast, and Angola, are the chief parts of Africa from whence Maryland is supplied. That he believes, if the trade was confined to a Company, negroes would be dearer, and the Province worse supplied. That the price of negroes has formerly been £30 or £40, but are now sold at £18, £20, and £25.

23. Notices of Sales, 1729.[1]

May 20, 1729.

Notice is hereby given that there's a Ship arrived in South-River, with about two Hundred choice Slaves, which will be expos'd to Sale on Thursday, the 22d of this Instant, by Daniel Dulaney, Richard Snowden, and Peter Hume.

June 24, 1729.

This is to give Notice, that the remaining Part of the Slaves, lately arrived in South-River, continue to be sold.

24. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1735.[1]

A Supplementary Act, to the Act intituled, An Act laying an Imposition on Negroes.

Forasmuch as it appears to this General Assembly, to be a Hardship upon the Importers of Servants and Slaves into this Province, to pay Duty for such as shall happen to die, or be exported again before Sale: Be it Enacted, by the Right Honourable the Lord Proprietary by and with the Advice and Consent of His Lordship's Governour, and the Upper and Lower Houses of Assembly, and the Authority of the same, That no Person, or Persons whatsoever, hereafter, importing any Servants or Slaves, shall be chargeable with or liable to pay any Duty for any Servant or Slave that shall happen to die, or be exported out of this Province, before Sale of the said Servant or Slave.[2]

[23] [1] *Maryland Gazette,* May 20, 1729. The first notice was repeated on May 27 and June 3; the second on July 8 and 15. The same signatures are affixed to the second notice as to the first.

[24] [1] *Md. Arch.,* XXXIX. 285-287. Supplements, 1715, ch. 36; continued by 1740, ch. 9; 1744, ch. 9; 1747, ch. 15; 1751, ch. 10; 1754, ch. 6; 1757, ch. 22; 1762, ch. 12; 1765, ch. 18; June, 1773, ch. 2. On July 25, 1754, an additional 10*s.* duty was added, and on Mar. 22, 1756, a 20 *s.* duty. In 1763 an additional duty of £2 current money was laid; in 1771, £5 current money. DuBois, *Slave Trade,* pp. 218, 219, 221.

[2] It is to be remembered that negroes imported for personal use were also exempt from duty: May 24, 1739, "The Petition of John Dabran, Praying an Allowance for the duties of Negroes paid, he having moved himself and family, into this Province with Intent to Settle, and therefore Prays an Exemption from the duty Imposed on Negroes on giving Security not to sell or Dispose of the said Negroes. Read and referred to the Committee of Accounts to Examine the facts." *Md. Arch.,* XL. 347.

Provided always, That such Death, or Exportation, shall happen within Three Months after the Importation of such Servant or Slave; and that the said Person or Persons, who shall desire the Benefit of this Act, shall declare on his, her, or their corporal Oaths, to be administred by the Naval Officer, on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, That such Servant or Servants, Negroe or Negroes, exported or dead, within the said Time of Three Months, is or are Part of the Servants or Negroes imported or made Entry of: any Law, Usage, or Custom to the contrary, in any wise, notwithstanding.

And whereas divers Frauds have been committed by Sundry Persons, not Inhabitants of this Province, importing Negroes from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and other Provinces, who make sale of the said Negroes without Payment of the Duties arising on such Negroes: For Prevention whereof for the Future,

Be it Enacted, by the Authority, Advice and Consent aforesaid, That all and every Person or Persons, in whose Custody any Negroe or Negroes so imported into this Province shall be found, shall be deemed to be the Importer or Importers, and liable to pay the Duties due by Law, to the Naval Officer of the District where the said Person or Persons reside, under the Penalties by former Acts of Assembly in such cases inflicted upon the Importer or Importers of any Negroe or Negroes, concealed, kept back, or unaccounted for, by him, her or them: To be recovered in the Manner, and to the Uses, directed by the aforesaid Acts of Assembly . . .

This Act to continue in Force, for and during the Term of Three Years, and to the End of the next Session of Assembly which shall happen after the expirations of Three Years.

25. Proceedings of the Assembly, 1736.[1]

Wednesday, May the 5th, 1736.

The Question was put that 2/6 per hhd the 20 *s.* Sterling Duty ariseing on Negroes Imported . . . belonging to the Publick Schools be offered by an Address to the Lord Proprietary as an Equivalent for the Quit Rent and Alienation fines Resolved in the Negative. . . .

The Question was put that a Duty of 5 per Cent be raised on the Purchasers of Negroes as part of the ways and means towards raiseing an Equivalent.

Resolved in the Affirmative. . . .

[25] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXXIX, 463, 465, 466.

[As part of scheme for paying the Lord Proprietor an equivalent for his quit rents]

Thursday, May 6th, 1736.

. . . That a Duty of 5 per Cent Sterling ad Valorem be paid by the purchasers of Negroes which Supposeing the Importation of Negroes to be no more than 300 Annually and that they sell in average at £15 Sterling Each will amount to 225. . . .

In order to Ease those who shall pay the Dutys already mentioned it is proposed . . . That the Purchasers of the Negroes and Importers of Rum Spirits and wine be repaid the Sterling Duty they shall pay in Bills of Credit at 50 per Cent advance . . . and that the duty of 20 *s.* Sterling on Negroes which is payable in Bills of Credit be added to the Quit Rents in order to pay the Severall Sums already mentioned and whatever the Neat Ballance shall be Clear of all Charges to be deemed publick money.

26. Philip Lee to Governor Samuel Ogle, 1741.[1]

[June 27, 1741.]

To his Excellency Samuel Ogle Esqr., Governor of Maryland. The humble Remonstrance of Philip Lee Naval Officer of North Patowmeck District

This Remonstrant begs Leave to inform your Excellency, that he with some Others in this Province having been imployed for some years past by some Merchants in Bristol to sell and dispose of what Negroes they should consign to this Remons't and his Partners, and your Remonstrant being Naval Officer of the Port and District af'd presumed he might reasonably expect any Advantage which might accrue to a Naval Officer by the Entry of such ships and Negroes: And for that purpose this Remonstrant took Care to lodge from time to time with the Collector of North Patowmeck as with Mr. Sewall at the Mouth of Patuxent Directions or Orders to the Captains of Such Ships where to repair in order to enter their Vessels and Cargoes.

That agreeable to this Practice a Letter was left with Mr. Sewall directing Captn. Lovey (who was expected in a Ship called the *George* with Slaves) to enter with the Collector and this Remonstrants Deputy at North Patowmeck; That Captn. Lovey upon his Arrival last from Africa with a Cargo of Slaves consigned to this Remonstrant and Partners came to an Anchor with his ship off Cedar Point, and went on Shoar to Mr. Sewalls house, where he found the Directions af'd and agreeable thereto rode to the Collector of North

[26] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXVIII. 242-245. "At a Council held in the Council Chamber on Thursday 11th of June in the twenty seventh year of his Lordships Dominion Annoq. Domini 1741." Samuel Ogle was governor in 1732, 1735-1742, and 1747-1752.

Patowmeck, with whom and this Remonstrants Deputy or Clerk Captain Lovey legally entered his Ship and whole Number of Slaves and gave an Import Bond for the Duties

That Lovey upon his Return carryed his Ship without Drum Point but in the Mouth of Patuxent and then went on Shoar to the Collector there, to whom he shewed his Papers, which certifyed his Entry with the Collect'r and Naval Officer of Patowmeck, notwithstanding which the Collector of Patuxent insisted that Captn. Lovey should reenter his Ship and Cargo with him, and that the Ship being within his District the Entry at Patowmeck was void, and then asked for the Register of the said Ship, which Captain Lovey delivered to him, but the Collector of Patuxent refused to redeliver it; A matter unpresidented, and the Detainer of which without the Masters Consent no officer can answer, and a Ship that went home last Year the Owners are hurt by the Registers being left behind.

From thence he went to the Naval Officer of Patuxent who told Lovey that as he had not been in Patowmeck or broke Bulk, he ought to enter his Ship and Cargo with him, and used threatning Words as that he would be aboard his Ship etc., and therefore Lovey made a Reentry and sign'd an Import Bond with the said Naval Officer, who detained his Plantation Certificate; the just Right of your Remonstrant by the Act of Navigation 12th Charles 2d.

This being a short State of the Transaction with Regard to Loveys Entry this Remonstrant apprehends from the Conduct of the Officers at Patuxent, that they imagined the first Entry with the Officers at Patowmeck to be void and consequently any perquisites from such Entry or the payment thereof the Duties on the Negroes not to belong properly to him as Naval Officer, but he humbly hopes that the Naval Officer and Collector of Patux't will appear to be mistaken for the following Reasons.

1st Your Remonstrant conceives and is advised that the Authority of the Governors of Every Plantation by the Statute 15th Car 2d Cap 7-8 extends in what is there mentioned over Every Part of the Plantation Colony or Province, and therefore that he cannot by appointing a Naval Officer who is only his Deputy abridge the Power of such Officer in such manner as that a Captain shall not be said to have complyed with that Statute by Delivery of a true Inventory etc. to any person authorized to receive it which is a Naval Officer, altho' the Ship should even lye in another District or Port, for that the Statute does not confine the Exercise of the Authority to any Places less than the Land Island Plantation af'd etc. . . .

2dly As this Entry with the Officers of Patowmeck was strictly legal This Remonstrant conceives it is highly reasonable for him

to insist on it since it is in the Case of a Ship consigned to him, since every Merchant may enter his Ship and Cargo where he pleases.

3dly That Lovey about 4 years ago entered in Patowmeck without carrying his Ship in the River, and this Entry was not disputed in Patuxent. Campbell made the like Entry twice and One of them was allowed, the other contested under the Pretext that he was within Patuxent River, and that the Remonstrants Deputy was not present (the latter of these Objections is now removed), notwithstanding which the Naval Officer of Patuxent conscious to himself that I was injured, allowed me half the Advantage of the Entry. . . . as Captain Lovey labours under a manifest Hardship by the Detainer of his Register and Certificate [2] and may be stopt here for Want thereof so I humbly hope Your Excellency will interpose your Authority and order the Delivery of the Certificate which this Remonstrant takes to be his indubitable Right by all the Laws of England and that he is accountable for this Entry and obliged to render a true Account thereof to Your Excellency, his Lordships Agent and the Country for all Fees and Duties arising on the Ship *George*; This being the Case would it not be the height of Injustice for Captn. Lovey to be obliged to pay double fees etc. which must be the Consequence if the Officers of Patuxent claims should be deemed legal, such treatment as this as it will be a great Discouragement to Trade, so it will not fail of being complained of by the Owners which may greatly injure the Interest of Your Remonstrant and Partners, who humbly hope your Excellency in your great Wisdom will seriously deliberate on this Affair, and do therein as to Your great Judgment shall seem meet and for which your Remonstrant will ever pray.

Please N B that the Owners have positively ordered the Masters to enter in my District as by Letter to me will appear.[3]

27. Case of the *Mary*, 1749.[1]

The Examination of Thomas Davison Master of the Ship "Mary" now at Anchor in Patuxent River

[2] In the margin: "N. B. the Reg'r since delivered by Rousby the Certif stopt by Mr. Plater."

[3] To this George Plater, the naval officer of Patuxent, submitted a long reply, the gist of which was that the fees for the entry of any vessel were the perquisites of that officer into whose district the vessel came to anchor. To defend his conduct in the case of the *George* he cited the provisions of the law, and argued that, since a naval officer's power was limited to his own district, Lee was the actual aggressor in the affair by exceeding his powers in certifying the entry of the *George*. Plater's answer was followed by a further communication from Lee, who, learning that the governor intended to submit the matter to the council, protested that it was a private controversy of which the council had no cognizance, and must be decided by the governor himself or by the courts. *Md. Arch.*, XXVIII. 245-247.

[27] [1] *Md. Arch.*, XXVIII. 453. On June 14, 1749, Governor Samuel Ogle laid before the council a letter from Governor Gooch of Virginia, which charged Captain Davison, who was in the employ of Mr. Philpot of London, with having on board his vessel, the *Mary*, six negroes kidnapped at the Isle of May, one of the Cape Verde Islands. Davison had been in Virginia, but on the threat of admiralty proceedings there he had sailed for Maryland. The council at once issued a warrant to the sheriff directing that Captain

This Examinant Saith that after his taking in a Loading of Salt at the Isle of May he went to the Island of St. Jago to water where he staid two days in taking in his water and on the second day a Certain Edward Lope a Black Man and his son made an Offer of Selling to him Six Negroes or Blacks which he understood to be Slaves Whereuppon this Examinant Agreed to buy them if the said Lope would bring them on Board and this Examinant should Like them, And in the Evening of the same day the said Lope brought three Negroes in this Examinants Long Boat on Board of his Ship, and this Examinants Doctor returned with the said Lope in his Boat and fetched the other three Negroes for which said Six Negroes this Examinant Paid the said Lope in his Cabin on board of the said Ship in Money and Goods according to the Value this Examinant and the said Lope agreed they were worth.

ANNAPOLIS, 14th June 1749.

. . . . . .

The Examination of Robert Lusk Mate of the Ship "Mary" whereof Captain Davison is Master and now in Patuxent River in the Province of Maryland taken before the Governor and Council of the said Province this 22d day of June 1749.[2]

This Examinant being first sworn on the holy Evangels of Almighty God deposeth and Saith That he in the said Ship arrived on the 4th of March at the Island of St. Jago, that on the 6th of the same Month about two hours after sunset he being in his Cabin heard some Strangers come on board the said Ship, that the Captain and the said Strangers were in the Cabin making a Bargain that he heard them talking about the Price of Goods, and that he also heard the Sound of Money upon the Table; This Examinant also saith that he saw on the next Morning Six Negroes on board the said Ship That the said Ship Sailed from St. Jago about five or six of the Clock in the morning, that she proved very leaky on her Voyage, and that the Six Negroes worked willingly at the Pump untill the Ship Came within One hundred Leagues of the Capes of Virginia, and that then they were not so forward to worke as before

The Examination of Charles Menzies Surgeon of the Ship "Mary" whereof Captain Davison is Master and now in Patuxent River in the Province of Maryland taken before the Governor and Council of the said Province this 22d Day of June 1749.[3]

[2] *Md. Arch.*, XXVIII. 454. At the request of the captain, the chief mate, the second mate, the doctor, the carpenter, and those sailors who had sailed from England in the *Mary* were called before the council.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 454-456.

This Examinant being first Sworn on the holy Evangels of Almighty God deposeth and Saith That he in the said Ship arrived from the Isle of May to the Island of St. Jago One of the Cape de Verd Islands on the 4th of March last in the Evening That on the 5th of the said Month this Examinant went with the said Captain on Shoar of the said Island of St. Jago and was entertained by one whom they called Captain More being the Commanding Officer of that Port, and whilst they were there Captain Davison seeing two young Negro boy Slaves waiting or serving wine asked Captain More if he would sell either one or both of the boys to which Captain More by his Interpreter answered that he would not sell any to the English, That after Captain Davison went from the said Captain Mores the same day the said Interpreter took Captain Davison aside and had some discourse with him Part of which this Examinant heard to be that the said Interpreter had some Negroes which this Examinant understood to be three or more but that they were at his Mothers and he would send for them That this Examinant with the said Davison went on board and Returned the next day which was the Sixth day of March and were again entertained by the said Captain More and the said Davison demanded his money from Captain More for Goods Davison had sold to him the Day before, that after parting with the said Captain More the said Davison having some Goods on Shoar to Purchase fresh Provisions he by means of the said Interpreter bought some, and then Davison went again to Captain More for his money and Returning to the Shoar where this Examinant with the Carpenter were on the Beach, the said Davison asked the said Interpreter if the said Negroes were come to which the said Interpreter answered they would Come soon, and then it was after sunsett, thereupon Captain Davison was going on board and this Examinant was desirous of going with him but Captain Davison Requested this Examinant to stay untill the Interpreter should bring three Slaves thereupon this Examinant staid and the Captain went on board and sent his Boat back, on the Return of which Boat the Examinant went on board of her in order to go on board of the Ship and had Actually put off with the Boat from the Shoar (being about two hours after sunsett) but being at some small distance from the Shoar the said Interpreter haled the Boat upon which the Boat Returned to the Shoar and the Interpreter brought the three Negroes who together with the said Interpreter went with this Examinant on Board, That this Examinant had heard at the Isle of May and which this Examinant verily believes Captain Davison also knew for this Examinant frequently mentioned it before to Captain Davison that there was some Law or Canon of the Church as well at the Isle of May as St. Jago against selling any Slave to

hereticks and therefore when the said three Negroes were brought as aforesaid on board this Examinant took notice to Captain Davison of such a Law or Canon, That Captain Davison having agreed with the said Interpreter for the said Negroes in Money and Goods the said Interpreter took the Money and Left the Goods on board untill he should Return with the other three Negroes and thereupon this Examinant by the Express Orders and directions of Captain Davison and against the Inclination of this Examinant (he being apprehensive of the said Law or Canon) returned in the Boat with the said Interpreter for the other three Negroes which the said Interpreter with his Son and this Examinant brought on Board about four hours after Sun sett and when they were come on Board this Examinant had some doubts whether the said Six Negroes were the Property of the said Interpreter who by repeated Solemn asserverations assured Captain Davison they did belong to him, after which Capt. Davison Proceeded to Value each Negro and when the Price was fixed this Examinant saw the Money paid and Goods delivered by Captain Davison to the said Interpreter for the Purchase. And this Examinant further Saith that Observing One of the said Negroes was better Cloathed than the Others the Interpreter said He could sound a Trumpet Play on the Fiddle and was a Weaver And this Examinant further saith that the said Ship Sailed early next Morning from the said Island. This Examinant further saith that the sd Interpreter during the whole time called the said Negroes his slaves.

. . . . . .[4]

At a Council held in the Council Chamber on Wednesday the fifth Day of July in the 35th year of his Lord'ps Dominion Annoq Domini 1740.[5] . . .

The Sheriff of St. Marys County attending with the Freeman and Negroes according to the direction of his Warrant they were called in and none of them Speaking English they were by the best Interpreter that could be got here Examined, and they all declared that they were brought by Captain Davison from the Island of St. Jago into this Country against their Will

Upon the whole It seemed to this Board that Captain Davison by a clandestine Contract and Assistance of some Inhabitant of the Island of St. Jago had Procured the said Freeman and Negroes to be brought on board his Ship and that they themselves might have been Prevailed upon by some Specious Promises to Leave the Island.

[4] Evidence was also offered by John Smalwood, carpenter on the *Mary*, William Ahier, master of the *Two Brothers*, which had come from Santiago, William Cook, apprentice to Captain Davison, and Robert Watson, cook on the *Mary*. *Md. Arch.*, XXVIII. 456-458.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 459-460.

It is therefore Ordered by this Board that the said Captain Davison enter into Bond with two sufficient Sureties in the Sum of two hundred Pounds Sterling Conditioned as follows.

The Condition of the Above Obligation is such That if the Six Negroes or Blacks brought by the said Thomas Davison from the Island of St. Jago into this Province shall be Safely Transported and Landed at the said Island at the Expence Costs and Charges of the said Thomas Davison, and in Case any of the said Negroes or Blacks shall happen to die or not be delivered on the said Island of St. Jago that the said Thomas Davison his Executors or Administrators shall pay to the Owner or Owners the full worth of such Negroes or Blacks as shall die or not be delivered as aforesaid And if the said Thomas Davison his Executors or Administrators shall make Satisfaction to the Owner or Owners in the said Island of the said Negroes or Blacks or any of them for all such damages as may be claimed by the said Owner or Owners by Reason or means of the said Negroes or Blacks being brought from the said Island as aforesaid then this Obligation to be Void Otherwise to Remain in full force and Virtue in Law.[6]

. . . . . .

[*Governor Samuel Ogle to the Governor at Santiago.*][7]

Sir, As soon as I was Informed of the Suspicion That Captain Thomas Davison Master of the Ship *Mary* had in an unlawful manner brought away from your Island five Slaves and a freeman I was desirous of doing what Justice I could And Captain Davison with his Mate, Surgeon, Carpenter, Apprentice and Cook were Summoned to Appear before me who upon their Examinations declared what you will see by the Inclosed Papers. And I think he has been encouraged and Assisted by some of the Inhabitants of your Island to do what is now Complained of against him however that you may be satisfyed the English are unwilling to Countenance any unjust Act and Ready to redress every injury as far as they can, Especially towards the Portugal Nation with whom our King is in so good Friendship: I tooke Possession of the Freeman and five Slaves and now send them to you by way of the Madera Wishing they may Arrive in Safety to you and shall be glad to hear that you have received them. . . .

[6] Signed by Thomas Davison, Thomas Ireland, jr., and John Skinner; "Sealed and Delivered in Presence of Charles Menzies, Joseph Skinner, Jona. Slater".

[7] *Md. Arch.*, XXVIII. 461. The negroes were sent to the Madeira Islands with letters to the British consul and the commanding officer asking that they be reshipped to Santiago.

The Petition of Thomas Davison Mariner and Master of the Ship "Mary" now Riding at Anchor in the River Patuxent.[8]

Humbly Sheweth, That your Petitioner in Pursuance of your Excellency and Councils decree hath Shipt off to the Island of Madera those Six Negroes (which he bought at St Jago) in Mr. Samuel Galloways Vessel at the Expence of thirty Guineas, and Nine Pounds Current Money of this Province, and has given Security to him for the making good any damages he may Sustain on Account of his said Vessels being detained for their delivery. And further has been obliged to give Bond to Messrs. Skinner and Ireland to give them Counter Security for that Indemnification to Mr. Galloway, besides Lodging in their Possession all the Profits Accruing on this Voyage; which your Petitioner will greatly stand in need of, for the support of his family and Paying Tradesmen in London when he gets there.

Your Excellency is also well acquainted with the Bond first given with you of two hundred Pounds Sterling for the sending those Negroes to the aforesaid Island of Madera and as it is more than Probable that by this time (the dangers of the Seas Excepted) they have reached that Place, Your Petitioner humbly begs Leave to hope that your Excellency will in this Particular Case Commiserate his hard fate thro' the whole Course of this unhappy affair, and that his Ship being in a Little time to sail, Your Excellency will with your wonted and Established Character and Clemency Admit him to take in the Last mentioned Bond of two hundred Pounds Sterling whereby he may be Enabled to depart this Province in better Circumstances than he at Present Labours under.

Your Excellencys favour in this will in a Particular manner Lay him under a greater Regard to your Excellencys favour and Prompt him to Pray for your welfare and Success, as he will be in duty Bound etca.[9]

28. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1759-1760.[1]

Annapolis in Maryland, August 30 [1759].

Friday Evening last arrived here in about six Weeks from Gambia, the Ship *Upton*, Capt. Thomas Birch, with upwards of 200 very likely, healthy Slaves, which are allowed by Judges to be as choice a Parcel of Negroes as has ever been imported into this Province. Capt. Birch on his outward bound Passage, took a French Letter of Marque

[8] *Md. Arch.*, XXVIII. 464. The governor laid this petition before the council at a meeting of Nov. 25, 1749. The *Mary* was still at anchor in the Patuxent River.

[9] "Upon reading the said Petition and considering the Condition of the Bond entered into by Captain Davison It is the Opinion of this Board that nothing can be done therein, until there is an Account of the said Vessel at the Island of Madera." *Ibid.*, p. 465.

[28] [1] *Boston News Letter,* Oct. 4, 1759, July 24, 1760.

Ship with 8 Carriage and 12 Swivel Guns and 50 Men, after a very smart Engagement of Two Hours and a Half, one Glass of which Time they were so close as to be lock'd together: In the Engagement the French Captain and 12 of his Men were killed, and 16 wounded. Capt. Birch had but 30 odd Men, one of which was killed, and 5 or 6 wounded.

NEW YORK, July 14 [1760].

On the 29th June he [Capt. Lilly] spoke the Snow *Diamond,* John King, belonging to Bristol, from Bonny in Africa, bound to Maryland, who bro't from the Coast 329 Slaves, but lost 99 with the Flux which had abated.[2]

29. CASE OF THE *EDWARD,* 1760.[1]

J. Ross to James Weems.

ANNAPOLIS, 22d September 1760.

Sir, It having been this Day represented to the Governor and Council, that a Negroe called Capt. Gray and three or four more of the Negroes who were lately imported into Patuxent River in the Brigantine *Edward* of which one John Cousins is Master have declared that they are not Slaves but Freemen, that the Negroe called Capt. Gray in particular is the son of a person of some Consequence and Power on the African Coast, and that the said Cousins treacherously stole and brought them away. I am Ordered by his Excellency and their Honours to communicate to you the Information that hath been given them and moreover to Desire that on the Receipt hereof you will send for, and examine the Surgeon Mates and Boatswain of the said Vessell and Endeavour to discover whether Capt. Cousins hath committed the Crime whereof he is accused, and if you shall either by the Evidence of those Persons or any others be inclined to think that the Master is guilty, you will be pleased to have him apprehended immediately and delivered into the Custody of the Sheriff of Calvert County, and to give that Sheriff Orders to deliver him over to the Sheriff of this County, so that he may be brought without Delay before his Excellency and the Council to be dealt with as to them shall seem meet. If you see Cause for having him apprehended you will be pleased to send hither all the Persons that shall be able to give Evidence against him, and whether you Cause him to be

[2] The negro population was estimated to be 36,000 in 1747 and 49,675 in 1761. N. D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province,* p. 132.

[29] [1] *Md. Arch.,* XXXI. 409-410. On Sept. 22, 1760, the council directed that a letter of inquiry be sent to James Weems, chief justice of Calvert County, concerning a complaint which had been lodged against Captain Cousins of the *Edward.*

apprehended and brought hither or not, you are desired to return to me the Depositions or Examinations that shall be by you taken on this Occasion. . . .

[*Deposition of Elias Glover.*][2]

The Deposition of Elias Glover Chief Mate of the aforesaid Brigantine being Sworn on the holy Evangels of Almighty God Deposeth and saith, that as to the Negroe called Capt. Gray he was taken in a Theft on board the aforesaid Brigantine and for that detained, that he afterwards was principally concerned in cutting the Cable and endangering the Loss of the Vessel; that as to the negroe called Capt. Buck, and the eleven other Negroes they were brought on board the Vessel by the Traders, and there left as Pledges, but that to his knowledge there was as much Goods given for them as for the other Slaves, that they had been on board of the Vessel for seven or eight Weeks before the Vessel Sailed, and that the Traders never offered to redeem them and further saith not.[3]

September 27th, 1760, Sworn to before

JAMES WEEMS.

[*Deposition of Eneas Loughrig.*][4]

The Deposition of Eneas Loughrig Aged about twenty-one years who being duely sworn on the holy Evangels of Almighty God Deposeth and saith that he is a Saylor on board of the Brigantine *Edward* John Cousins Commander and that he sailed from Liverpool along with the said Capt. Cousins before the Mast on a Voyage to the Coast of Guinea to purchase Slaves, that during their Trade on that Coast Capt. Cousins made a Purchase of several Slaves and that he this Deponent believes and never heard to the Contrary but that all the negroes brought in by Captain Cousins were Slaves; unless a negroe who calls himself Capt. Gray should be Free whose particular Circumstances are as follows, he Gray was a Servant to a Freeman upon the Coast of Guinea and that he used to be employed by his Master to go in a Cannoo to carry Slaves on Board of Trading Vessels and as a Plavvrer (Palaverer) that he carried some on board of the Brigantine *Edward* whilst he was in that Vessell he stole a Scarlet Jacket from Capt. Cousins who never permitted him (Gray) to go on Shore afterwards, but offered to return him if he could get another Slave for him which was refused by those to whom the Offer was made, they said he was a scandal to his Country and they

[2] *Md. Arch.*, XXXI. 411.

[3] Robert Harrison, second mate of the *Edward,* deposed that he knew the testimony of Elias Glover to be true and that he could add nothing to it. *Ibid.*, p. 411.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 411-412.

would not give a slave of four feet high for him, and this Deponent has heard that it was usual to punish Thieves after than [that] manner in that Country.

Sworn to this 25 Day of Septemr. 1760 before me.

GEO: STEUART.[5]

30. THOMAS RINGGOLD TO SAMUEL GALLOWAY, 1760.[1]

CHESTER TOWN,[2] Decb. 15th, 1760.

Dear Sir. . . . I found a great Deal of Trouble and Diligence required to get anything and severel Things I did not get, there was not one peice of Chiloes or Nickanees or blue Basts in the whole Town nor but 2 ps. of Tapsails,[3] so I was obliged to supply the Defects by Manchester Goods in Immitation as well as I coud. I got enough Stripes like Tapseils coud get but 2 ps. of tapsails in Town and 2 ps. I laid by at Mr. Dicks. I was put to great Difficulty ab't Gunns could not find any of the Trading Gunns but 21 in Town, them I got for 15/ Cash each. I was obliged to take Some light Arms of Willing and Morris they are nett and Handy, not made [——shett?] fashion but yet have all for Bayonetts to them, P'haps they will Sell the Better to the Negroes if not the Captn. must sell them Seperate as Daggors to hang by their Sides. I got also 58 good Nett Cuttlesses Buck Handles and brass mounted at 6/ Currency. The whole goods I got amounts to upwards of £500 [800?] Currency and Shall add a few More Articles. I got them all on board the Shallop. She came away a Friday night and is down. The Goods will be here in a Day or two and we shall send our Schooner down with every Thing hope She'll get away by the last of the week. I did not get any Slops, they were excessive Dear and I did not well know what to get. we shall send home good Dowless shirts which must serve the seamen, and they must provide enough of other Cloaths for the voyage before they go. Getting so few Gunns in Philada. I wrote to Mr. Freman [?] to try to pick me up 100 or

[5] "Advised by this Board that the Captain be Discharged It being their Opinion that the Complaint is Groundless. Whereupon the said Capt. Cousins attending was called in and Discharged accordingly." *Ibid.*, p. 412.

[30] [1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Manuscripts Division, Galloway Papers, Ringgold Letters, 1760-1763. Thomas Ringgold, son of a Thomas Ringgold, was a prominent Maryland merchant, for a number of years a member of the Maryland assembly. His son Thomas married a daughter of Samuel Galloway, also a prominent merchant. For glimpses of the social life of the group, including the Ringgolds, the Galloways, and the Tilghmans, see "Letters of Molly and Hetty Tilghman", *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXI. 20-39, 123-149, 219-240.

[2] The letters exchanged between Ringgold and Galloway refer to a trade more closely related to that of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and the Jerseys than to that of Virginia. Chester Town was on the Eastern Shore of Chesapeake Bay.

[3] India goods in demand on the African coast. Ringgold had just returned from Philadelphia.

less at York of the Cheap sort and send with the Rum. I wrote him also as to Dollars not one of them to be got in Philada.

I have not got Mr. Tilghmans Answer whether Coll. Loyd[4] has any or not but shall send down before our Schooner comes away. I have got powder enough. I spoke to Mr. Dick to save 2 bbs. of his it was F [?] and dear but he had no more and I was fearful it woud be gone and least it shoud be as dear above I desired him to resume it. You can tell him we will take it unless he woud be as willing to keep it. . . .[5]

[P. S.] I got some fig'd Dimathy and some Corded—have taken also 8 ps. of Irish printed Cottens red at 3/2 p yd. they are very good Goods, near as Cheap as Tapsails and much better Goods I think they'l do, and instead of blue bafts I have got a fine blue Linnen with a Nett white Print stampt wth a Copper Plate in Imitation of Dresden Lace, I took 8 ps of that it comes at 4/ p yd. is as cheap as blue bafts and much neeter. I have got a good stock of Checks and Stripes and [*illegible*] checks and some Cotten Romall Handkerchefs and enough of Bandanoes, tho chiefly English and Irish, They'l do.[6]

31. Thomas Ringgold to Samuel Galloway, 1761.[1]

August 15th, 1761.

Dear Sir, Mr. Davis comes Express to us immediately on Captn. Simm's Arrival, in hopes to save Insurance. Had I been in Town the Expence of this Express woud have been saved. I understand his Cargo in is 4 Hhds Rum 14 Negroes[2] and some Cash. Mr. Davis does not know what but believes £150 or thereabouts if so and if Negroes woud bring £40 [*illegible*] round, we shoud make our old [*illegible*]. I have got a proper voucher to draw back our £5 p ct. premium for sailing with Convoy, Our affairs are so circumstanced that I cannot possible come down to you must leave it to you to dispose of the Negroes and the Rum hope the Rum will bring 7/6 p if good Spirit. woud not these Negroes suit Caleb Dorsey and Mr.

[4] It is impossible to be certain which of the many members of the Tilghman family is here referred to. It may have been Edward, whose second wife was related to the Galloways (*Md. Hist. Mag.*, I. 283-284), or Matthew, whose wife was Anna Lloyd, daughter of James Lloyd. *Ibid.*, p. 370.

[5] The remainder of the paragraph is devoted to the French seizures in the West Indies.

[6] The letter is endorsed: "To Mr. Samuel Galloway, To the Care of Benj. Chews Esqr. Philadelphia p. Express." One paragraph of a later letter may refer to these purchases: Ringgold to Galloway, Feb. 23, 1761, "I quite forgot to speak to Mr. Dick about the powder and few Things I laid by for the Guinea Voyage please let him know how matters are". Galloway's wife Anne was a Chew, and his sons married Sarah and Henrietta, daughters of Benjamin Chew.

[31] [1] Galloway Papers, Ringgold Letters, 1760-1763.

[2] These negroes had probably been brought in from Barbados.

Harrisson. They both want much and P'haps might be worth while to send to them Express, if you want any of them y'self can keep them, you'l see what Trades and what value they are. . . . Captn. Neilson got away last Thursday Evening. We sold 14 of the Negroes yesterday very well considering the Cond'n they were in. The wenches and 1 man at 60 each, 1 man £68, 1 Boy £60, Girls at £56, 2 sickly Girls cheap, the Maits Boy for £70, the small poor Boy died coming up. we have only The 2d Maits Fellow and 2 Girls hope they go today. But the worst of it twas chiefly on some Credit, Am glad to get them off so. If those you have don't ruble off before next week send them to Q As [Queen Anne's][3] Court and I will sell them, then they'l not be in the way of Simms's which you may set to work till you can sell them. they lost one it seems by the smallpox coming in. this shoud be kept secret as it may make people fearful, twas very fortunate they had no more to have it. The Insurance Captn. Simms you know pays none of. . . .

To Mr. Samuel Galloway, West River.[4]

32. Thomas Ringgold to Samuel Galloway, 1761.[1]

Chester Town Aug. 28, 1761.

Dear Sir . . . You may well sell so few Negroes as the Sloop has without me, you can judge as well as I of the Quality and Value, and if Tradesmen I hope will sell well. . . . There is a young negro Fellow a seaman, or one however that has been used to the water that was afraid of getting a bad Master and last Night stole on board our Schooner and hid himself, All our people declare they did not know he was on board till this Morning when they were almost at home. Davis and the people told him coming over we were good Masters and the poor Fellow beggs us to buy him so much we have concluded to keep him and to pay what you shall think him worth or what such another sells for. . . .

Now at Annapolis, To the Care of Mr. Middleton

33. Thomas Ringgold and Samuel Galloway to Fowler, Easton, and Company, 1761.[1]

Maryland Septr. 17th 1761.

Sirs, We doubt not before this reaches you you will have recd. ours advising the Arrival of yr. Snow *Alexander* here and the misfortune

[3] A village on the Eastern Shore.

[4] West River was on the Western Shore. Here Galloway had built his home, Tulip Hill, in 1756. Paul Wilstach, *Tidewater Maryland,* pp. 275-277.

[32] [1] Galloway Papers, Ringgold Letters, 1760-1763.

[33] [1] Galloway Papers, Ringgold Letters, 1760-1763.

she met with in the Loss of so great a part of her Slaves. we had but 105 left alive to sell, 11 of them so bad we were glad to get £11 Ster. p Head for them, 6 of the 11 since dead and many of the others in very bad Condition. In the Condition we reced. the Cargo we really made a Monstrous Sale as Captn. Neilson will inform you, and much beyond his Expectation as well as our own; but under the Circumstances they were, we thought it best to get them off as quick as possible, and we refused no offers of a safe Man even upon 9 and 12 Months Credt. being so circumstanced puts it out of our Power to make you above 2/3ds Remittance by the Ship. This is as much as is usually made, but coud we have got pay'd for the whole we shoud by no means have retained the Use of a farthing but remitted all, and we shall ever make it a point in this Bussiness to remit all we possibly can recover. Tho' it allway's helps a sale even of the best Slaves to give Cred't in some Instances and we can by such people get off the worst of the Slaves and enhance the price or keep it up more than Interest of Money considerably. This comes by Way of London and you have here with Copy of our Sales and tho' we assure you we have not yet reced. 2/3ds of the Nett proceeds, and the other third besides our Commissions is yet outstanding, we not only remit you the full 2/3ds but also upwards of £400 Sterling more properly of our own Money, as a fund for protested Bills if there shoud be any, that you may nevertheless be in Cash for full 2/3ds. . . .

Captn. Neilson will Sail in 4 or 5 Days at farthest with a full Load of Tobacco. . . .

Our Duty is higher at present by a Tax of 30/ p head laid on Acct of the war than it will be after peace. You see by the Sales how a Cargo of fine Healthy Negroes may be sold.* and we think we can venture to say they coud fall into no Hands here that coud make more of them than we can, and Shall be glad to serve you or your Friends in that waye.

* but those from the Bite is in the least Esteam with us of any that is imported, Gambia the best and generally comes in best helth as the Passage is quick from thence to this place.

34. Thomas Ringgold to Samuel Galloway, 1762.[1]

Chestr Town Janry. 7th 1762.

Dear Sir, I wrote you when I was at Annapolis ab't the Duty Money due on the Negroes, that Beale Nicholson told me Mr. Bordley[2] had desired him to speak to me abt it. I thought you had settled it, I told him if you had not I dar'd to say you woud when

[34] [1] Galloway Papers, Ringgold Letters, 1760-1763. Galloway was at West River.
[2] Thomas Bordley was a naval officer.

you came from Virginia. . . . If I had then known that Mr. Bordley was so very uneasy abt it as I find he is since I woud have waited on him, and spoke to him abt it. We just before that had some Gold that we chiefly parted with that woud have help'd pay. Since I came home I find that Mr. Bordley was up here whilst I was at Philadelphia and expressed great uneasiness at my not being at Home. Said you and I owed him a large sum upwards of £200 Mary'd Money for the Dutys on the Negroes and he had been obliged to advance his own Money for us that he expected you woud have paid, that yo' had turned him over to me and now I was gone from Home he coud not see me and shoud be kept out of it by us both but he hoped yo' woud not refuse to allow him Interest when we did pay him. I think we ought to take of [up?] his Complaints and make payment at all Events. . . . I will take over all our Negro Papers and we will settle fully, pray if yo' can in the Mean time get Mr. Bordley p'd off by Borrowing or anything. . . .

35. Captain Arthur Craig to Alexander and Andrew Symmes, 1762.[1]

Gambia July 22, 1762.

Gentlemen, This is to acquaint you that I shall sail from this for maryland in three days with one hundred and Twelve Slaves on Board on your account for which I have here Inclosd you a Bill of Leading for the same have sent the Coppy of this by the way of York Directed to Mr. Bell at Philadelphia

36. Thomas Browne to Samuel Galloway, 1762.[1]

Jamess Fort 24th Jully 1762.

Sir, Being inform'd by the Bearer of this, that you are a Corespondent of Jamess Gildarts Esqr.[2] Mercht. in Liverpooll, my owner; have Shipt Twenty Slaves consignd to you, to be sold upon Account of Mr. Gildart the amount to be Remitted in Bill of Exchange or otherwise as Mr. Gildart m[a]y think proper to order. my Chief Mate goes Passenger with Capt. Craigg, youll Please let him have Twenty Pounds sterling which Charge to Account of Mr. Gildart.

[35] [1] Library of Congress, Galloway, Maxcy, Markoe Papers, vol. 6. The letter is endorsed: "For Mr Alex'r And'w Symmes merch'ts in Maryland. Per Capt. Dufey."

[36] [1] Galloway, Maxcy, Markoe Papers, vol. 6. Endorsed: "Samuell Gallaway Esqr. P. Capt. Craigg, Q. D. G. to Samuell Gallaway Esqr. Mareyland."

[2] See this work, II. 493, 497.

37. Captain Arthur Craig to Samuel Galloway, 1762.[1]

Philadelphia 21st October 1762.

Sir, I have the pleasure to Accquaint you of my safe arrival here my reasons for not Proceeding for Maryland. have wrote to Messrs. Alexander Symmes and Co. this day to which refer you.

Inclosed you have Sales of 18 Slaves the property of Mr. James Gildert of Liverpoole, which I procured to be consigned to you but by puting Into Antigua was obliged to have them sold there for his acct. you have also Inclosed Accot. Current Ballance being £261. 18. 6/2, for which have brought Livingston and Furlong on Samuel Turner[2] of London at 9 Months Sight, in favour of said Gildert, woud have Inclosed you the bill but having only the first bill the rest haveing sent by different conveyances I thought it most prudent to waite your directions, how to dispose of it. There was Twenty slaves but two of them died on the passage which you'll please accquaint Mr. Gildert off.

38. Alexander Symmes to Thomas Ringgold, 1762.[1]

Chester [Pa.?] Friday Novr. 4th 1762.

Sr, I am now on my way to Philadelphia, in consequence of a Letter Recieved from Captn. Craig, who arrived there from Antigua the 20th Ulto, he has brought with him Accot Sales [?] and Accot. Currant from Messrs. Livingston and Furlong for the Accn [?] of his Slaves as also Bills Exch'es drawn by the above Gentlemen

£860.5.1	at	3	mths	sight
860.5.1	"	9	"	"
860.5.1	"	12	"	"

£2580.15.3 Stg. by which you'll Perceive the bad voyage he has made.[2] . . .

[37] [1] Galloway, Maxcy, Markoe Papers, vol. 5. Endorsed: "To Samuel Galloway Esqr. at Anapolise Maryland."

[2] In 1750 Samuel Turner was a member of the London committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa. See this work, II. 477n.

[38] [1] Galloway Papers, Ringgold Letters, 1760-1763.

[2] On Nov. 16, 1762, Ringgold wrote to Galloway: "The Conclusion of Cragg's Voyage with a View back at all the Trouble Loss and Disappointment we have had in Guinea Schemes had made me firmly resolve never to have any thing to say to them and I did not doubt it woud have had the same Influence on you. I was therefore very sorry to find you had engaged in another Vessel to put it in the power of another be him who he woud, to serve you as Craigg has you cant think better of him than you did of the other whatever is the Meaning of it there are more disasters in those Voyages than any others whatever." *Ibid.*

39. Samuel Galloway and Thomas Ringgold to James Gildart, 1762.[1]

Maryland Annapolis Novemr. 30th, 1762.

Sir, We ware part owners of a Vessel to the River Gambia in the Slave Trade the last Summer in which Capt. [Craig] Shipt Twenty Slaves on Freight to the Address of our Samuel Galloway on your Acct. and risque expecting the Vessell would return to Maryland but unfortunant for you as well as ourselves she fell into Antego, where the Cargo as well as your Slaves Sold considerably lower than they would have done here—besides our loosing the Commission two of your 20 died on the passage and for the other 18 you have Mesrs. Livingston and Furlongs Sales and there bills for £261.18.6 1/2 paiable at 9 Months sight on Samuel Turner Esq. in London for the full proceeds. We think we can very Justly say we should have made a much more agreeable return had she Arrived here. we have had heretofore the pleasure of rendering much more profitable Accts. to the Gentlemen we have done Business for in that way, our Terms for Sales and remitance are 8 p Ct. on Gross Sales to remit one half by the Ship the other half in 12 months. this is the Greatest Indulgance Stipulated and we have hitherto done much better. We take Occation to tell you, that we have agreed to execute all Business of this kind Jointly that may come either Jointly or Sepertly to us and tender you and your Friends our best Services in that way.

Our additional Duty laid here on acct. of the War will Expire next June when we shall have but 20/ Ster. and 20/ Curency Duty and we believe you will find this Market as good or better on Trial than any other.[2]

40. Thomas Ringgold to Samuel Galloway, 1763.[1]

Chester Town July 10th, 1763.

Dear Sir, . . . Devonshire and Reeve [2] writes us requesting us to take a Power of Attorney to get our Money out of a Certain Gent'ans Hands for them. They say they know it is in our Power to serve them and we may depend they'l procure us the Consignment of our African Ship solely on their Interest, we shall endeavour to serve them. . . .

[39] [1] Galloway, Maxcy, Markoe Papers, vol. 6.

[2] The reference is probably to the law of 1756 which laid a duty of 20*s*. Actually, Maryland added a duty of £2 currency the next year.

[40] [1] Galloway Papers, Ringgold Letters, 1760-1763. Among these papers is a brief item of Apr. 20, 1763, stating that Galloway had sold negroes for £21, which was to be paid by a bill on Samuel Touchett, London. For further information concerning Touchett see this work, II. xliii, 521-522n.

[2] For further references to the trade of Messrs. Devonshire and Reeve see *post*, nos. 173, 202.

41. THOMAS RINGGOLD TO SAMUEL GALLOWAY, 1764.[1]

CHESTER TOWN May 6th, 1764.

Dear Sir, I have been looking over our Guinee Accts since I came home, and They really are almost got out of my Hand. I wish we coud get them settled whilst we can understand them. Pray bring with you Your Account Books of the Guinae Affairs, I will put the other Papers in such a posture that we shall be able to settle P'haps, if not whilst you are up, if I have the Books I can st[?] them so that we may do it the first Time I come down. shoud be glad if you coud get the Exact sum Carlisle and Dalton paid, and that you'd look over our Acct. and we coud finish the whole together. . . .

We shall want Mr. Graves's Acct. of protested Bills.

42. THOMAS RINGGOLD TO SAMUEL GALLOWAY, 1764.[1]

WEST TOWN Augst. 27th 1764.

Dear Sir, I find every thing as Dull here as possible and no prospect of selling the Slaves, nor is there the Least prospect of Selling any at Queens Town. Brother Will has sold but 5 since I went away so that thers 32 left, for these Mr. Richie offerd £22 10 *Sh* round and take them all in the vessel which he has sent round to Philadelphia, but as by our selling them here the Duty cannot be drawn back Mr. Hill woud not take it but I tell him that if he takes them up himself by Duck Creek he can either sell them to Richie or take the same Chance as Richie had, which he was candid enough to tell us was that there was Comn. and agent come from the Havannah to buy, that he coud Land them in the Jerseys and get £25 Stg. round and 50/ p Head woud pay him for his risque and Expence, so Mr. Hill thinks if he does not break if [up?] present assortment he can get the price going of those people himself and I advise him to take that rout and gladly give up the Comsn. for the part he takes and on carrying them out of the province he is intitled to the Draw back of the Duty. This I think better for us than puzzling at Queens Town and selling none and then sending to Sam Henson as I before proposed, for the Gentln thought £22 10 Stl. round too much without the Duty off and then if his Tobo shoud prove bad and Mr. Hill shoud suffer by it or we coud not sell it again we might loose Reputation and if we advised trying further and he shoud beat us down lower than Mr. Hills Expectations he might think we had our Comn. more at heart than his Interest so pray get a Permit from the Collector and Naval Officer to take 32 that is 11 men, 5 women 8 Boys and 8 Girls of the Cargo

[41] [1] Galloway Papers, second folder. This is addressed to Annapolis.
[42] [1] Galloway Papers, second folder.

to the Counties of New Castle Kent and Sussex or Delaware,[2] and we may get a new Permit if necessary to go from there to the Jerseys and we shall be clear of any further Trouble. . . .

N. B. we keep the 4 reserved for Will Hamslin [?] and one woman thats sick behind. . . .

43. Thomas Ringgold to Samuel Galloway, 1766.[1]

Chester Town May 4th, 1766.

Dear Sir, I wrote you a few Lines in a great Hurry about the Sloop with the Negroes, Yesterday by Mr. Steuart and sent You the Owners Letter to us and to the Captn. Inclosed is Copy of the Letter we wrote the Gentn. last October since which we have not heard from them.

We suppose they will have no Duties to pay if they carry the Negroes to Rhode Island and we fear they woud not sell here for ready Bills but at a very low rate such as woud not give Content, we are shure they woud not sell at all on this Shoare. You know best what they will do on your Side. If you think theres any prospect of Selling so as to give the Gentn. Content and are amind to try it, write us a Line and we will step over, otherwise youl advise the Captn and we will join in a Letter to the Owner's letting them know as we found they woud not sell here we had persued their Orders in sending them to Rhode Island. The Captn. will see by the Copy of our Letter to his Owners and by this to you that you are joined with us.

44. Thomas Ringgold to Samuel Galloway, 1766.[1]

Chester Town July 4th, 1766.

Dear Sir, I received yours of the 25th but Yesterday. I really think if you had taken £23 round of Mr. Barnes it would have been more than the Slaves were worth Yet as we have such odd people to deal with I think it better they shoud have them themselves; as they woud not let us know what woud satisfy them, saying they heard Slaves woud bring [*torn*] £40 to £45 Sterling here [*illegible*] not all, they shoud have [*torn*] what they woud bring with them and then they woud have given us some proper Foundation to judge what was best for their Interest.[2] . . .

[2] New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, in Delaware, were all accessible from the Delaware River, as were Delaware County, Pa., and the Jerseys.

[43] [1] Galloway Papers, second folder.

[44] [1] Galloway Papers, second folder. This is addressed, care of Joseph Galloway, Annapolis.

[2] On Aug. 27 Ringgold wrote: "I hope you'l be able to receive all the Money for the Negroes and that we can remit them the Ballance soon but we must [take care?] in our Remittance to charge our Coms. on the returns made." Two, or perhaps three,

45. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1766.

Annapolis in Maryland, Sept. 11 [1766].[1]

Some very remarkable Causes, about 20, have been determined this Week, at our Assize Court. The Actions were brought by some Seamen, against the Master of a Guiney Ship, for Ill usage, and Wages; and the Sailors got much the Weather gage of their Captain, and lay so far to windward of him, that they run him down, by Recovering very considerable Damages, their Wages, and Costs of Suit, which amount to many Guineas, the Actions being first brought in the County Court, from thence remov'd to the Provincial, and from thence to the Assizes. (This was a Guinea Voyage indeed.)

Aug. 25, 1770.[2]

Ran away from the Subscriber, living in Charles County, near Pamunky Warehouse, on Tuesday the 14th Instant, a Negro Man, named George, just imported in the Snow *Providence*, Capt. Davis from Africa: He is about 5 Feet 8 Inches high, has a Scar on the right Side of his Head, the Inside of his Hands and the Soles of his Feet are remarkably speckled: Had on, when he went away an old blue great Coat, a brown Roll Shirt and Trousers.

Whoever takes up, and secures the said Negro, so that I may get him again, shall have a Reward of Thirty Shillings Currency, including what the Law allows, and reasonable Charges if brought home, paid by Alexander M'Donald.

June 4, 1771.[3]

Just arrived In the *Mary*, Captain Samuel Haycroft, from Africa, A Small Parcel of about One Hundred choice Slaves, consisting of Men, Women, Boys, and Girls, which will be sold, on Monday next, the Tenth Instant, at Selby's Landing, on Patuxent River, for Bills of Exchange or Current Money, by the Subscribers. James Dick and Stewart [and] Judson Coolidge

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years later he wrote: "Saturday [1768 or 1769] Mr. Symmes just lets me know he has entered into a Scheme for the Coast of Guinea etc. and has left Room for you. I think the Matter may be conducted to great advantage and what yo. incline to do in it we will be concerned with yo. if yo. choose it." The last reference to the trade found in this correspondence is an undated note which precedes a letter of 1770: "Queens Town Wednesday afternoon. I have waited here for the Negroes all day with much Impatience, this was the Day for Sale and most people hope they [may] yet be here tonight."

[45] [1] *Massachusetts Gazette and News Letter*, Oct. 2, 1766.

[2] *Md. Gazette*, Sept. 6, 1770.

[3] *Ibid.*, June 6, 1771. The last two items confute the statement of William Eddis, cited by DuBois, that the last importation of negroes into Maryland took place in 1769. DuBois, *Slave Trade*, p. 15, n. 5.

46. Perkins and Burling to William Van Wyck, 1789.[1]

Cape [François], Feb. 20, 1789.

If it should be in your power to purchase a few serviceable stout negroes, some Tradesmen (as Carpenters, Blacksmiths and a Cooper) and others acquainted with the Culture of Tobacco, we sh'd be glad you would do it on our acct. and ship them here, one or two at a time, as opportunity offers. We suppose common working Negroes may be had from 40 to 45£ your money, and Tradesmen from 50 to 70£. We wish 15 or 20 of this description as we intend sending them to the Natchez.

47. Perkins and Burling to John Hollins, 1789.[1]

Cape François, May 27, 1789.

The ports of St. Domingo, Carracas and Havanna are opened for the reception of Negroes in foreign bottoms, for the space of two years, free of duty. . . . The Cargoes must consist of one Third Women, but we suppose you will have it published in America.

There is a fine field opened for Guinea Speculations. Our general has opened the Ports of Aux Cayes, Jaemel and Jeremi, for the Introduction of Negroes by foreigners, to commence the first of August next and continue five years. . . .

48. Perkins and Burling to Stewart and Plunkett, 1791.[1]

19 Dec. 1791.

Two Guinea-Men have arrived here, and as we observe your main object is to dispose of this Vessell or find some advantage from her returns from the Havanna, we have succeeded in the purchase of 16 prime male negroes at 1650. . . . We have drawn upon you in favour of M. Hautval for the amt. of the 16 slaves.

[46] [1] L. V. Briggs, *History and Genealogy of the Cabot Family*, II. 475-476. William van Wyck was a Baltimore merchant. On Jan. 24, 1788, Perkins and Burling had offered their services in the Guinea trade to Messrs. Samuel and John Smith of Baltimore. On Oct. 7, 1788, they wrote to this firm concerning the cost of landing a cargo of young slaves in Santo Domingo. Such negroes were at that time selling in the island for 25 joes (*ibid.*, pp. 474-475). The editor has not examined the Perkins and Burling letters.

[47] [1] Briggs, *The Cabot Family*, II. 476. Hollins was a Baltimore merchant. It was probably to this house that Perkins and Burling wrote in 1792: "An excellent voyage may be made by taking Negroes from hence, and sugar and molasses in return (from Havanna). New choice Negroes will pay a freight of 50 or 60 dolls. pr. head." *Ibid.*, p. 482.

[48] [1] Briggs, *The Cabot Family*, II. 481. Stewart and Plunkett were Baltimore merchants. On Feb. 4, 1792, Perkins and Burling wrote to them: "Capt. Snyder's first Idea was to effect an exchange of flour for Negroes and to proceed to the Havannah. Since then he has declined this plan, and we have sold part of his cargo" (*ibid.*, p. 482). The *Phoenix*, which visited Baltimore in 1800 and then sailed for Angola, may have belonged to Maryland owners. Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, I. 23.

49. Negroes imported into Maryland, 1753-1765.[1]

[*Ships that have entered Annapolis, Maryland, October 10, 1753—January 5, 1765.*]

Date	Ship	Master	Built	Registered	Owner	Negroes	From
1753 Oct. 26	Sloop *Achsah*	Thomas Hammond	Maryland 1753	Annapolis, Nov. 3, 1753	John Carnan and Co.	11	Barbados
1758 May 12	*Two Sisters* Ship	James Hanrick	Maryland 1757	Annapolis, Nov. 9, 1757	Samuel Galloway	2	Barbados
1759 June 18	*Two Sisters* Ship	James Hanrick	Maryland 1757	Annapolis, Nov. 9, 1757	Samuel Galloway	5	St. Christophers
1754 Sept. 2	Brigantine *Triton*	Alexand'r Scoughill	Maryland 1752	Annapolis, July 4, 1752	James Wardross of Maryland	4	Barbadoes
1761 July 29	Ship *Alexander*	John Neilson	N. England 1751	Bristol, Oct. 2, 1760	John Fowler and Co.	110	Africa
1762 July 5	Schooner *Success*	Benja. Beale	N. England 1761	Boston, Sep. 18, 1761	Philip Higgins	1	Boston
Aug. 19	Ship *The Favourite Polly*	Thomas Campbell	French Prize 1761	London, June 9, 1761	Archibald Maclane and Thos. Ashurst Maclane	80	Africa
1763 May 24	Sloop *Charlotte*		Maryland 1762	Annapolis, May 19, 1763	Samuel Chew	1	Barbadoes
1764 May 23	Brig *Freemason*	Robert Bryce	N. England 1762	Barbadoes, Apr. 2, 1764	Robert Bryce and others	6	Barbadoes
Nov. 26	Brig *Kitty*	Henry Herbert	French Prize 1762	Martinique, July 8, 1762	Thomas Ogilvie and David Ochterlong	18	Antigua

[49] [1]P. R. O., C. O. 5:750. This list, drawn from the Naval Officers' Lists by Miss Ruth Anna Fisher, is intended to include all vessels which brought any negroes into the colony. The signatures of the naval officers and the dates showing the period for which each report is made have been omitted. The *Triton* entered in the port of Patuxent, not Annapolis.

50. John Ellzey to Edward Nicholas, 1628.

1628, May 13, Southampton.[1]

. . . The *Fortune* has also taken an Angola man with many negroes, which the captain bartered in Virginia for tobacco, which has come home in a ship called the *Plantation*. . . .

1628, May 27, Southampton.[2]

Concerning the tobacco I advertised you of returned upon the *Plantation* for Negroes sold in Virginia, I came not to the Knowledge thereof until all or the most part of the tobacco was carried away to London. I find that there was imported 85 hogshds. and 5 buts of tobacco, being the proceeds of the said Negroes, and here received by Richard Paleford, John Sherron and one Watkins, being assignees for Arthur Guy, Captain of the *Fortune*, of London.[3] You may inform yourself of the contents of the tobacco exactly by one Peter Andrewes, Master of the said *Plantation*, who is now resident in London, being brother in law to one Mr. Vassall, a Turkey Merchant, eminent upon the Exchange.[4]

51. Order of the Council of New Netherland, 1655.[1]

Order on a petition of Edmund Scarborough, who desires to sail to Virginia.

On Tuesday the 24th of August [1655].

After reading before the Council the request of Edmund Scarburch for permission to sail in his vessel with some purchased negroes

[50] [1] *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, VII. 265; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1628-1629, p. 110; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1675-1676, p. 69. Edward Nicholas was secretary for the Admiralty under the Duke of Buckingham, and John Ellzey, collector of the Admiralty tenths for Hants, which facts explain the occasion for the two letters here printed. On May 10, 1628, Nicholas had written to Mr. Oliver, "Has spoken to Sir Henry Marten concerning the Duke's tenths of about 100 negroes taken in a Spanish vessel by the *Good Fortune* of London, set forth by Sir Thomas Love, John Hanger, and others" (*Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1628-1629, p. 107). This is probably the *Fortune*, of which the captain, Arthur Guy, was also part owner. *Ibid.*, p. 289. See also note 3, below.

[2] *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, VII. 265; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1628-1629, p. 131; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1675-1676, p. 69.

[3] The *Fortune*, of London, owned by Arthur Guy and others, was granted a letter of marque in July, 1626 (*Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1628-1629, p. 289). The incident is recounted by Neill (*Virginia Carolorum*, p. 59n.). Bruce suggests, without offering reasons for the belief, that the captain's name was Grey not Guy (*Economic History*, II. 73n.). One of the owners of the *Fortune* may have been Benjamin Brown of Lyme, who, in need of money, made over his interest in the profits of a voyage commanded by Arthur Guy to one Valentine Oldis, merchant, Nov. 19, 1627. *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Virginia*, 1622-1632, 1670-1676, pp. 157-158.

[4] Probably Samuel Vassall, who was apparently better known as a merchant than was his brother William. The brothers were both interested in colonial trade. Whether Samuel had at this time any direct connection with the slave trade remains an unsolved problem. Thirty years later he was known as a Guinea trader. See this work, I. 82, 129n., 134.

[51] [1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, XII. 93-94. Bruce describes Scarborough as one of the most distinguished planters of the Eastern Shore. The Scarborough headrights for slaves

from here to Virginia, it was decided, the opinion of every one having been asked:

The request is granted, provided that the petitioner give bail to the amount of five thousand pounds sterling to enter the Southbay or the Southriver [Delaware River] neither directly nor indirectly and that his people promise the same under oath nor to give anybody any information at sea or on land. Date as above.

Before me, Cornelius van Ruyven, Secretary in the service of the General Incorporated West-India Company, appeared Edmund Scarburgh, a resident of Hacco Macco in Virginia, who in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, promises, that he will not within four weeks from date either directly or indirectly enter the South bay and the Southriver or touch at any land within six miles south or north thereof, much less sail into, anchor at or come into harbor at said Bay or River, except it happened, which God forbid, that he by God's wind and weather were compelled to touch at the South Bay, in which case they shall not run in farther, than where they can save their lives, without sending any person from on board ashore, or allowing anyone to come aboard. Also, that during said time, neither he nor his crew will either directly or indirectly, by sea or by land, by the present or by any other barks or sloops nor even by any man in the world, furnish or give any intelligence to those in the aforesaid Countries. For the observance of all that is aforesaid he, Scarburch, becomes bound in the sum of five thousand pounds sterling to be paid to the West-India Company in case he or any of his men were hereafter found to have acted contrary hereunto; submitting to all courts, tribunals and judges his person and property, present and future. For greater security and observance of what is stated above Mr. Thomas Willett[2] becomes bail and co-principal *in solidum*, that all that is aforesaid shall be observed and effected by Edmund Scarburch and his people, pledging to that end his person and property, and subjecting the same to all courts, tribunals and judges.

In testimony whereof the parties and witnesses have signed this at AMSTERDAM in NEW-NETHERLAND the 24th August A. 1655.[3]

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amounted to 39. In 1656 Tabitha Scarborough of the Eastern Shore imported 30 negroes. Bruce, *Econ. Hist.*, II. 75-76.

[2] Thomas Willett, a merchant who carried on considerable trade between the Dutch and English colonies after 1644. He was later mayor of New York. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, XII. 94n.

[3] The order is signed by Edm. Scarburgh, Ths. Willett, and Cornelis van Ruyven, secretary; the witnesses are "Claes Ptsen and Roeloff Corslense".

52. Case of the *Blessing*, 1661-1662.[1]

Order and Instructions for Mr. Thomas Outlaw, Master of the "Blessing" of London Bound for Ginny dated Novr. 1661.

Sir, our Order to you is that winde and weather serving, you are to set saile for Tilberie Hope, and there to wayte for the opportunitie of a faire winde to carey the shipp into the downes, and from thence, with the first opportunitie to set saile, for the River of Reagrandie [2] upon the Coast of Barbary or Ginny or to any other Port or place, within one hundred and twentie Leagues of Cape de varde,

And there to dispose our Cargo Loaden on board of the shipp the *Blessing* for our best Advantage,

And our order is that if you can get Twentie Tunne of Olevants Teeth or upwards then to Returne for England, with your shipp and that Ladeing to the Port of London,

But if you cannot procure so many Teeth, then to get as many as you can Reserving as much of your Cargo, as will procure one hundred and fifty Negros at Least, and not exceed two hundred and twentie, which you are to transport to Mary Land in Virginia,

And when it shall please God you arrive there to repaire to Mr. Edward Loyd merchant, who is to assist you in disposeing of them to our best Advantage, And not to dispose of any in the Country, without his advise or approbation your provision excepted being one in the Twentie,

And further our Instructions are, with the helpe of Mr. Edward Loyd merchant to Relayde the shipp with what good shall be procured by him or what fraight shall there present,

And for want of fraight, then in such a case you may dispose of so many Negros for Tobacco and about tenn tunns of saxafras as will make up your fraight, and come for London, and there end your voyage, And now in the case of Mortallitie that if Mr. Edward Loyd should be deseased before you arrive, or you should finde him sicke, not able to assist you then in such a case so advise with Mr. Richd Preston a Planter there in the disposeing of the Negros, and relading of the shipp, as the other should have done,

And further our Order is that if the master should happen to depart this mortall life (which the Lord prevent) before the Cargo be all sould in Ginny, that Mr. John Smith and Maxamillion Spencer [3]

[52] [1] Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Suffolk Court Files, no. 414, p. 82. Page 81 is the original document, p. 82 a copy. The copy is here used since the original is undecipherable. As will be seen from the next document, certain difficulties incident to this voyage were brought to the Massachusetts courts, a fact which accounts for the presence in the Suffolk Files of a number of papers relating to the *Blessing*. The reason for placing the material here is that the original destination of the voyage seems to have been Virginia.

[2] Rio Grande, south of the Senegal.

[3] This name in the documents which follow is written Maximillian Pinson.

doe advise together, and dispose of our goods to the best Advantage, which is if you can get twentie tunn of Teeth or upward, then to come for London, or otherwayes to proceede the voyage to Virginia with the Negros to be delivered to Mr. Edward Loyd, and if he be dead to Mr. Richd. Preston and there relayde and come for London, as Mr. Thomas Outlaw should have done, And in so doeing this shall be your discharge

witnes our hands the day and yeare above.[4]

Att A speciall Court held at Boston in New England 25 August 1662.[5]

Francis Moore Chiruegeon in ship *blessing* of London plaintife agt Maximillian Pinson master of the sd ship Defendt. in an action of the Case for withholding a debt of twenty pounds or thereabouts for service for nine months service or thereabouts performed in sd ship at fourty fouer shillings per moneth and Due damages attending to Attachment Dated 22th 6 mo 1662. After the Attachment and all thee evidences in the Case produced were Read Committed to the Jury and are on file the Jury brought in their verdict They found a speciall virdict *i.e.* they found that Francis Moore was shipped in London by one Thomas Outlaw master of the ship *blessing* of London for a voiage to Ginny and so to Virginea and so for London and there to end the voiage they also found that the abovesayd Outlaw dyed and maxmillian Pinson supplyed his roome as master by the choise of the Company and also found that by the testimony of three of the sayd shipps company being at sea the ship being very leake and foure Feete water in hold that then John Smith and maximillian Pinson did promise the deponent and the rest of the Company to cleare them from the ship and pay them their wages as soone as they came to the next Christian shoare, also they found by one testimony that maximillian Pinson did on the sixteenth day of August 1662 cleare the Chiruegeon and Gunner and the rest of the Company from the sayd ship but the master in the face of the Court Denyed it and sayd he had no power so to doe and withall sayd it was a word spoken in haste therefore if the Lawe doe determine that the promise of the sayd Pinson at sea so circumstanced and also at shoare as is said doe legally bind him to pay the sayd wages then they finde for the plaintife that he shall have his wages but if not they find for the defendt. Costs of Court but the Legality of the same they leave to the Bench to determine. the magists after perusall of this virdict and the evidences produced Declared they found for the plaintiff nineteen pounds

[4] The signatures are John Owen and Stephen Thompson; the endorsement, "This is a true Copie Compd with the Originall and left on file instead of originall As Attests Edw Rawson Secrety".

[5] Suffolk Court Files, no. 461, pp. 128-132.

damage for nine Moneths services on the ship to this time and Costs of Court so as he engage to the master per a noate under his hand to goe with the master and follow his buisness till the Voyage be ended at London. This A true copie of the Courts Judgmt as Attest.[6]

the defendant Appealed from this Judgmt to the next Court of Asistants: And sayd maximillian pinson and Wm. Bartholmew of Boston merchant Acknowledge themselves heirs etc. Joinctly and severally bound in the some of thirty eight pounds sterl. to the Tresurer of the countey the party on this Condicion that the sayd Maxmillian Pinson shall persecute his Appeale at the next Court of Assistants to effect 25 August 1662. This is a true copie as Attest.

53. Minutes of the General Court, 1675.[1]

[June 19, 1675.]

There being a proclamacion Read in Court about negroes and the Gunney trade It is Orderd that the Severall Collectors take Care that the Said proclamacion be proclaimed in their Severall precincts.

54. John Seayers to the Royal African Company, 1679.[1]

Virginia 17th Feby. 1678/9.

I gave yo'r Honors An Accompt in mine of the 4th Novemb.[2] last by way of Barbados of the Arrivall of the Ship *Katherine* and that yo'r Agent Mr. Skinner being dead the Governr. had honored me with the imploy, In pursuance of which Trust I did then give you an Accot that the Ship Arrived here on the 20th of Septembr. last, and John Allen being Drown'd on the Coast of Guiney before he came to yo'r Factories, Tho. Bessenger Cheife mate became Master, came to yo'r Factories tooke in 350 Negroes, and 49 which were more then Contract proceeds to this Collony and before day the Night of his Arrivall Conveys on Shoare 46 of The Choicest and best Negroes of The Ships Loading and sells them before Entry to Collr. Warner Collr. of his Ma'ties Customes Majr. Smith Depty. Collectr. and Mr. Phillip Lightfoot Comptroller Genll. of his Maj'tes Customes in This Colloney and some few to other persons as would Appeare by A list then inclosed, and A Coppy herewith sent declared by Bessenger in Open Court and there Recorded. I did then Advise you that besides

[6] Edward Rawson's name is signed here and at the end of the next paragraph.

[53] [1] *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Virginia*, 1622-1632, 1670-1676, p. 415. The proclamation to which reference is here made was that forbidding all trade in negroes to adventurers not belonging to the Royal African Company (see this work, I. 194-196). At least two vessels, with a capacity of 650 negroes, had been freighted by the company for Virginia in 1674. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1669-1674, p. 552.

[54] [1] T 70: 15.

[2] Summaries of this letter and of that of Nov. 4 are to be found in T 70: 10.

those 46 Negroes there was only 74 Left Alive After the Expiration of 7 dayes 61 whereof were Received by Ald'm Jefferyes [3] Agents and 13 they Refused, som being extreme old, some very small and others sicke. Five of that Numbr. Dyed before I came aboard to sell them and 6 of the Remaining 8 I sold on board by the Inch of Candle [4] and 2 were dezesed which no Body would bid for one where of is since dead and the other sold according to the inclosed Accott. I then promised to send you what Bills of Excha I could gett by the first Shipp for London which I have here inclosed. They are at 3 severall paymts. According to yo'r Declaration and Contract Drawne on John Jefferyes Esqr. by Mr. Page and Mr. Barnham for 106 Negroes 1908 *l.* Sterl. it should have been for 107 But one of the 46 which Bessenger put ashore dyed before the 7 days were out as you will see by the Inclosed under Mr. Pages hand. I Referr it to you and Ald'm Jefferyes to agree about that perticuler. what bills I can gett for those I sold, you shall receive with what speed I can.[5]

55. Nathaniel Bacon and Edward Jones to the Royal African Company, 1679.[1]

Virginia June the 25th 1679.

Here arrived in Yorke River the 17th May Last past the good Ship called the *Arrabella* whereof Jos. Pitck was formerly Comandr. who died at Guiynie and Wm. Booth is now Comandr. by him wee recd a Lett'r from Mr. Thomas Thurloe [2] wth a Bill of Lading for 201

[1] In June, 1677, John Jeffreys proposed to the Royal African Company to deliver to Virginia 150 negroes by April or May of the following year, "on the Compa'ls tearmes". The Court of Assistants evidently accepted the offer, since, on Aug. 14, the committee on shipping was instructed to prepare the agreement with Mr. Jeffreys ("Minute of the Court of Assistants", T 70: 77). Jeffreys had sent negroes to Virginia at least once before this date: on Oct. 18, 1677, one John Page presented to the Committee for Trade and Plantations on behalf of Jeffreys a petition for the payment of a bill of exchange drawn by Sir William Berkeley for £100 sterling, in payment for four negroes delivered to Berkeley (*Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXII. 357). The Page and the Barnham mentioned in this letter were Virginia agents of Jeffreys. It is probably to this voyage of the *Katherine* (which delivered 46 negroes to Jeffreys' agent in October, 1678) that reference is made in the somewhat unilluminating items in the "Council and General Court Records" for Sept. 30 and Oct. 4, 1678, which speak of the importation of more negroes than were allowed by the contract. *Minutes*, 1622-1632, 1670-1676, pp. 494, 519, 521.

[4] That is, by auction while the candle burned an inch.

[5] This sale continued to cause trouble. On Mar. 25 Seayers wrote: "There is one Negroe more that was put on shoare by Tho. Bessenger then Mast'r of the said Ship and dyed before the 7 dayes were out. The Gentl'm who had him hath Declared upon Oath That he did not Buy him of Tho. Bessenger but tooke the Negroe upon his request and Ald'm Jeffreyes agents refuse to Pay for him." T 70: 15.

[55] [1] T 70: 15. A summary of this letter is to be found in T 70: 10. In May, 1679, the *Marigold*, another company vessel, may also have brought negroes to Virginia. She had carried 115 into Barbados not long before this, had disposed of 47, and had then sailed for Virginia, apparently with the remainder still on board. June 10, 1679, T 70: 10.

[2] Thomas Thurloe was the agent of the Royal African Company at Gambia. See this work, I. 234-236.

Negroes whereof he had 2 Boys and 2 Women for his Comission Negroes and 159 wee recd. for Accot. of Richd. Booth Esqr. and 14 Negroes Refuge wee Recd. upon yo'r Accots. in all 177.

There was not full 4 his due by Charter Party but in Consideracon of his extraordinary Paines and care wth the Negroes in the P[*erased*] after delivery where most of them remaind 3 Weeks on yo'r Provisions Payd in for the Voyag wee did allowe him 2 boys and 2 women. Wee also Recd. Ordrs from Mr. Thos. Thurloe to take into o'r Care the Refuge Negroes for the Royall African Compa. and to dispose of them the best wee can wch wee shall do. they were 14 in Numbr.[3]

Wee have Recd. uppon the Accot. of Richd. Booth Esqr. 74 women and 85 men in all 159 for wch wee have here inclosed sent you Bills of exc'g at 18 *l.* per head amounting to 2862 *l. vizt.*

By Bills drawen on Richd. Booth Esqr. at 2 mots. sight	£ 954
By Bills drawen on Richd. Booth Esqr. at 4 mots. sight	954
By Bills drawen on Richd. Booth Esqr. at 6 mots. sight	954
	£2862

56. Instructions to Thomas, Lord Culpeper, 1679.[1]

[July 8, 1679?]

49. And you are to give all due encouragement and invitation to Merchants and others who shall bring Trade into our said Colony or any way contribute to their advantage and in particular to the Royal African Company of this our kingdom of England.

[3] Another copy of this communication contains the following more explicit paragraph: "Wee recd. Orders from Mr. Tho. Shuster [Thurloe?] to take into Care the Refuge Negroes for the Royall African Company and to dispose of them for the best wee can which wee shall doe, they were 14 in Numb'r wee hartily wish the Factor had Lived to have saved us of that trouble for truly they are a sad parcell some of them soe old others soe Infirme that it is a Shame that such Negroes should be Shipped a board which serve only to anoy and destroy them of better value but we shall doe the best we can to put them off and give you Acco't. Here is 2 of them dead and 2 wee bleive will not Live Long and now good Negroes are soe plenty that few will buy bad though at Low Prizes" (T 70: 10). On July 22 Bacon and Jones again complained of the refuse negroes, who were not yet sold. T 70: 15.

[56] [1] Va. State Lib., McDonald Transcripts, V. 313-314. Lord Culpeper became governor of Virginia in 1677, but remained in England until the end of 1679. He reached Virginia in May, 1680, only to leave in August (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, pp. 131, 449, 455, 523, 588). His return to Virginia in December, 1682, did not prevent him from losing his patent the following August because of absence without leave (*ibid.*, 1681-1685, pp. 251, 308, 385, 473). The first instructions to be found in the *Calendar* (1677-1680, p. 451) are those of Dec. 6, 1679, four days before he sailed for Virginia, but earlier instructions are referred to (*ibid.*, p. 353) in the journal of the Lords of Trade, who on Apr. 16 had "settled" the instructions for Lord Culpeper. The influence of the African Company in England caused admonitions similar to these to be included in the routine instructions to the governors of all the colonies offering a market for slaves.

50. And you are to take care that there be no trading from Virginia or any of the Territories depending thereon, to any place or part in Africa within the Country of the Royal African Company. And you are not to suffer any ships to be sent thither without their leave or authority.[2]

51. And you are yearly to give unto Us by one of Our Principle Secretaries of State and to the Lords of our Privy Council appointed a Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations an account of what number of Negroes the said Colony is yearly supplied with and at what rates and how paid for.[3]

57. William Fitzhugh to Ralph Wormeley, 1681.[1]

June 19th, 1681.

S'r. . . . I understand there are some Negro Ships expected into York now every day.[2] I am so remote that before I can have

[2] On the margin of the Virginia transcript is written: "There never went one Ship that I could hear of from Virginia thither but 'tis impossible in those great bays and waters to hinder Interlopers. But our poverty this last year has quite spoiled that Trade." Culpeper's method of making his reports seems to have been to write on the margin of his instructions. He is probably writing in December, 1681, after his first visit to Virginia (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 157). The low price of tobacco had induced the Virginia assembly to request the king to order a suspension of planting. Culpeper, in his "Present State of Virginia" presented for the information of the Lords of Trade, emphasized the desperate condition of the industry and suggested various remedies. "But that which is more to us than all other things put together, and will be the speedy and certain ruin of the Colony, is the low price of tobacco. The thing is so fatal and desperate that there is no remedy; the market is overstocked and every crop overstocks it more. It is commonly said that there is tobacco enough in London now to last all England for five years; too much plenty would make gold itself a drug. Our thriving is our undoing, and our purchase of negroes, by increasing the supply of tobacco has greatly contributed thereunto. Free importation into Russia would revive our drooping spirits, for we want nothing but a vent." *Ibid.*, p. 156; see also Beer, *Old Colonial System*, II. 148-152.

[3] On the margin of the Virginia transcript: "formerly about 5 or 600 in a Year by Estimate but now our Poverty deters Every one from dealing with Us", from Culpeper's reply of December, 1681. The instructions of Jan. 27, 1682, repeat the matter of the first two paragraphs above, then substitute the following: "And as wee are willing to recommend unto the said Company that the said Colonie may have a constant and sufficient supply of Merchantable Negroes at moderate rates in money or commodities, you are to take special care that payment bee duly made and within a competent time, according to their agreement. It being against reason to expect that any should send good wares to a known bad market" (*Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXVIII. 41; McDonald Transcripts, VI. 38). Throughout the last quarter of the century the difference between the complaints of the West India plantations over the scarcity of negroes and the need for them and the indifference of Virginia is noticeable. Beer, *Old Colonial System*, I. 367-368.

[57] [1] *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, I. 37-38. William Fitzhugh, a lawyer by training, a planter and merchant in practice, had settled in Virginia about 1670. Here he died in 1701, the possessor of some 54,000 acres of land and many slaves. Ralph Wormeley, also a large land owner, was, in 1676, appointed one of the seven collectors of customs in Virginia, which had no port of entry. He became a member of the council in 1677, and secretary of state in 1693 (*ibid.*, pp. 115-116n.; Beer, *Old Colonial System*, I. 279). A copy of the letter-book containing the letters here printed is in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society. The letters are printed in the *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, vols. I. and II.

[2] Possibly the *Lady Frances* and the *Katherine*, to which reference is made by Bruce, II. 83.

[heard] they'll be all disposed of or at least none left but the refuse. Therefore S'r I request you to do me the favour if you intend to buy any for yourself and it be not too much trouble to you, to secure me five or six whereof three or four boys if you can and please to send me word of it and I shall readily come down and thankfully acknowledge the favour.[3] . . .

58. William Fitzhugh to Mr. Jackson, 1683.[1]

February 11th, 1682/3.

Mr. Jackson: As to your proposal about the bringing in Negroes next fall, I have this to offer and you may communicate the same to your owners and Employers, that I will deal with them for so many as shall amount to 50,000 lbs of Tob'o and cask which will be about 20 hhds. under the condition and at these ages and prices following, to say—to give 3000 lbs Tob'o for every Negro boy or girl,[2] that shall be between the age of Seven and Eleven years old; to give 4000 lbs Tob'o for every youth or girl that shall be between the age of 11 to 15 and to give 5000 lbs Tob'o for every young man or woman that shall be above 15 years of age and not exceed 24, the said Negroes to be delivered at my landing some time in September next, and I to have notice whether they will so agree some time in August next. And I do assure you and so you may acquaint them that upon your delivery and my receipt of the Negroes, according to the ages above mentioned and that they be sound and healthfull at their Delivery, I will give you such sufficient caution for the payment of the Tob'o accordingly by the 20th Decr. then next following as shall be approved of. The ages of the Negroes to be judg'd and determin'd by

[3] The purchase here projected was not the first made by Fitzhugh. He had written to Capt. Francis Patis (Partis?) in the previous December that he had bargained with Mr. Vincent Goddard for two negroes at £29 sterling (*Va. Mag. of Hist.*, I. 31). On July 14 Fitzhugh wrote again, Wormeley evidently having asked for more explicit directions about the purchase: "I desired you in my former to buy me five or six, whereof three or four to be boys a man and woman or men and women, the boys from eight to seventeen or eighteen, the rest as young as you can procure them, for price I cannot direct therein because boys according to there age and growth are valued in price" (*ibid.*, p. 44). The Virginia price of a newly imported adult man was about £18. Boys might vary from £10 to £14 or £15.

[58] [1] *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, I. 108; also in R. A. Brock's "New England and the Slave Trade", *William and Mary College Quarterly*, II. 176-177. Jackson's vessel belonged to residents of Piscataqua (Portsmouth), N. H., among whom was a Mrs. Cutts, to whom Fitzhugh had previously written giving advice about methods of carrying on trade with Virginia. On June 5, 1682, Fitzhugh sent to John Withers directions for the purchase of negroes, but the prices cited indicate that new negroes were not under consideration. *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, I. 51.

[2] With tobacco at 1*d.* per pound, these prices would be £12 10*s.*, £16 13*s.* 4*d.*, and £20 16*s.* 8*d.* (Wertenbaker, *Planters*, p. 123). Brock gives the price of tobacco as 2*d.* a pound at this period, but with the same prices for slaves, obviously a miscalculation. Brock, "New England and the Slave Trade", *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.*, II. 177; see also Brock, "A Succinct Account of Tobacco in Virginia, 1607-1790", 10th Census, *Statistics of Agriculture*, p. 217, in which the price set on tobacco in 1682 is given as 10*s.* per hundred weight.

two or three such honest and reasonable men here as your self shall nominate and appoint. The whole sum of the Tob'o to be paid in the compass of twenty miles, perhaps not so remote.

To Mr. Jackson of Piscataway
In New England These.

59. Lord Culpeper to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, 1683.[1]

September 20, 1683.

58 I have strictly forbid it [trading from Virginia to Africa] and verily Beleeve none from Virginia have ever traded there.

59 I never heard of any price set by the African Company on Blacks or of any bought of the said Company by any of the Inhabitants of Virginia, soe have had noe occasion to doe Any thing herein. But in regard of the Infinite profit that comes to the King by every black (far beyond any other plantation) at least six pounds per Head per Ann [2] and that the Low price of Tobaccoe requires It should be made as cheape as possible, And that Blacks can make it cheaper than Whites, I conceive It is for His Ma'ties Interest, full as much as the Countryes, or rather much more, to have Blacks as cheape as possible in Virginia.

60. Colonel William Byrd to Thomas Grendon, 1684.[1]

Virginia, June the 21st, 1684.

. . . Mr. Kennon and Pleasants have lately received 34 Negro's and 7 or 8 Tun of Rum and Sugar, besides dry Goods, which are all sold for next years pay, so that I believe a great part of the Tobacco in these parts is allready disposed of.[2] . . .

[59] [1] Va. State Lib., McDonald Transcripts, VI. 150, 152; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 497.

[2] According to Bruce (I. 337) one man could produce at least 1600 lbs. of tobacco annually. The duty was 2 *d.* a pound. Culpeper was obviously ill informed concerning the activities of the African Company. On paper at least, it had set a price on negroes delivered in Virginia and, as has been seen (*ante*, nos. 54, 55), had sold cargoes there.

[60] [1] *Va. Hist. Reg.*, I. 117. For an account of the Byrd family in Virginia see that of J. S. Bassett in *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd* (1901), pp. xiv-lxxxviii; for a description of the letters see *Va. Hist. Reg.*, I. 60. Thomas Grendon, a cousin of Byrd, had gone to England in February, 1683.

[2] Kennon and Pleasants apparently were not always so successful in disposing of their negroes as they seem to have been here. See an order on a petition of John Pleasants and Richard Kennon, printed by Bruce (II. 100-101, n. 6, from "Records of Henrico County, 1682-1701", p. 81): "On the petition of John Pleasants and the motion of Richard Kennon, consignees of William Paggin and Company, desiring the resolution of this Right Worshipful Court concerning some negroes of the said Company consigned them to sell, but at the time of listing tithables, remaining in their possession undisposed of: It is the opinion of the Court that the said Kennon and Pleasants ought not to pay levy for them this year, because the said negroes being goods belonging to merchants in England, ought not in any reasonable time to put them to more charge by taxes than other of their commodities imported thither."

61. Colonel William Byrd to Perry and Lane, 1684.[1]

Virginia, June 21st, 1684.

. . . I hope what you send will be early; Mr. Paggen haveing sent about a fortnight since into these parts 34 negros, with a considerable quantity of Dry Goods, and 7 or 8 tun of Rum and Sugar, which I fear will bring our people much in debt, and occasion them to bee carelesse with the Tobacco they make. . . .

62. Colonel William Byrd to Sadleir and Thomas, 1685.[1]

per Wells

Feby. 10th, 1685.

Gent. . . . By him[2] I desire the goods and negroes hereunder written. I have allready wrote to Messrs. Perry and Lane about itt.

4 Negroes, 2 men and 2 women, not to exceed 25 years old and to bee likely. . . .

63. Instructions to Captain Thomas James, 1685.[1]

London the 18th March 1685.

You are with the First oppertunity of Wind and Weather that God shall send after receipt hereof to Sett Sale out of the River of Thames with yo'r Shipp *Two freinds,* and make the best of yo'r way to James Island in the River of Gambia. And on Arrivall there deliver our Letter to Agent Alexander Cleeve (or in case of his absence, to such Person as shall be appointed to Act in his Stead in our Affaires) together with our Goods which wee have Laden aboard your Shipp consigned him whose Orders you are dilligently to observe during yo'r Stay in those parts. Wee have ordered our Agent

[61] [1] *Va. Hist. Reg.,* I. 118. On Apr. 25 Byrd had written to Perry and Lane: "What you wrote about English Servants I had anticipated by the *Culpeper,* and therefore shall say no more of it, for the negro's (if they come), I shall take some if they prove well." In the fall he again wrote to the same firm: "If you send the Pinke to Barbadoes on our acco't I would have by her 506 [5 or 6] Negroes between 12 and 24 years old" (*Va. Mag. of Hist.,* XXIV. 229, 232). Perry and Lane were London merchants with large Virginia interests, such as are described by J. S. Bassett in "The Relation between the Virginia Planter and the Virginia Merchant" (Am. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report,* 1901, I. 553-575). For an account of Micajah Perry, see "Eighteenth-Century English Merchants: Micajah Perry", *Journal of Economic and Business History,* IV. 70-91.

[62] [1] *Va. Hist. Reg.,* II. 206. Messrs. Sadleir and Thomas were merchants of Barbados.

[2] Mr. Wynne, who had sailed for England, intending to return by way of Barbados.

[63] [1] T 70: 61.

to putt aboard your Shipp one hundred and Ninety Negroes or as many upon Agreement with you as you can procure above one hundred before the end of June next, according to an Agreement with Mr. Perry and Lane. When the said Number of One hundred and Ninty Negroes or Such above one hundred (as you shall under yo'r hand declare to bee content with), are aboard; Wee order that you give our Agent or Factors Four bills of Lading for the Number you receive upon the contract here made with Mr. Micajah Perry and Mr. Thomas Lane, And for what provisions are shipt for them at the time of yo'r takeing the Negroes aboard or while you are in the River, and then proceed with what expedition Wind and Weather will permitt to James River in Virginia and deliver them the Dangers of the Seas excepted to Mr. Peter Perry [2] and Company according to the order of Mr. Micajah Perry and Mr. Tho. Lane from whom you are to receive whatsoever we have Agreed to pay for hire of your Ship, and to whome you are to bee accomptable for what relates to them during their being aboard. And for the better enabling our said Agents to comply with the Agreement with Mr. Perry and Lane aforèsaid, you are diligently to prosecute such Orders as from time to time you shall receive from him.

But in case our Agent cannot procure such Number of Negroes to comply with the Contract aforesaid soe as you may be dispatched in all the Month of June, then you are to ply and abide in such parts in the said River of Gambia and parts adjacent as our said Agent shall direct untill such time as hee can procure and Shipp the said Number of one Hundred and Ninty Negroes. And the said quantity of One Hundred and Ninty Negroes being Shipt you are to take our Agents dispatches, and proceed with them to Antigua one of Caribe Islands and deliver them to Mr. Clement Tudway and Mr. Edward Pearsons our Factors there, from whome you are to receive Two Thirds of yo'r Freight in Negroes by lott and a Certificate to us for the Remainder.

The Laws having asserted his Majesties right to grant Charters and to punish any Subjects that shall presume contemptuously to violate his Prerogative therein; Wee have by Vertue of his Maj'ties Charter given you a Commission to seize Interlopers and doe expect and require in conformity to your Charterparty, that you put the same effectually in Execution against all Vessells and Persons you shall meet with and find trading on the Coast contrary to his Maj'tie Said grant according to the Instructions Signed by our Secreatary. And for yo'r encouragement vigorously to execute the said Comission, the Royall African Company doe hereby engage their Stock to keepe

[2] Peter Perry, a prominent inhabitant of York County, Va., and a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, was a brother of Micajah Perry. *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.*, XVII. 264.

and Save you harmless for what you act agreeable thereto, and grant you one fourth part of what Prizes you shall seize and bee condemned, And wee have alsoe ordered our Factors in the Plantations to Secure you against any trouble may happen to you for executing the said Commission.

At yo'r clearing from Gravesend you are to send us up a Perfect list of all Passengers then aboard, And at yo'r arrivall in the Downes send ashore to Mr. Morgan Lodge for what other Orders or Letters he may have for you. Wee wish you a good Voyage and rest.[3]

64. Colonel William Byrd to Perry and Lane, 1685.[1]

Virga., March the 29th, 1685.

. . . Paggens concerne [have] certain intelligence of a negro ship wch will be here by [the last] of May, if no extrorardinary accident intervene, they offer [high?] for the trade. I believe Tobacco may doe well another year, but am Sure, they that are not early Supplyed here, can expect little, and I am halfe out of heart with Hall, to expect him a first ship, unlesse he comes out a month or two before any other. . . .

If your designe by barbados fails, wee shall bee fairly [fouly?] disappointed for without Servants or slaves, no great crop is now to bee purchased. . . .[2]

65. Colonel William Byrd to Perry and Lane, 1686.[1]

9 br the 10th, 1686.

Gent. . . . I have been mighty unhappy in the Negros by Capt. James, Mr. Hartwell Stopping the ship at Towne, mr. P'r Perry, mr. Harrison and himselfe lotted them there, and kept the

[3] The signatures (not here printed) are the same as those affixed to the instructions to Captain Goodhand (*ante*, no. 6) save that the names of the Earl of Berkeley, John Verney, and Richard Cradock are here omitted and that of William Turnor is added.

[64] [1] *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXIV. 351; *Va. Hist. Reg.*, II. 78. The *Register* ascribed the letter to Perry and Lane, which is probably correct. On Mar. 8, 1685, Byrd had written to this firm: "should have been glad to know whither wee might Expect any Negro's or not, that wee might (if yr. project had fail'd) have provid'd otherwise" (*Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXV. 50). On June 6 he wrote, probably to Perry and Lane: "Since my last I recd. one from you via Barbados, wch keeps us still in hopes of the Pinke, you formerly menconed: and wee now daily expect, if it should faile twould bee an unhappy disappointment haveing neglected all other ways of Supplying our Selves with those commodityes". *Ibid.*, XXIV. 356.

[2] On Dec. 8, 1685, Byrd wrote to an unidentified correspondent: "Hope Tob'o may doe well this year. All agree its generally better than hath been of late years. The proposition abt negro's I hope will bee comply'd wth and Wynne dispatched, for Paggen's Concerne may justly glory in the trade of this River haveing been mighty Successfull these two last years." *Ibid.*, pp. 359-360.

[65] [1] *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXV. 134. On May 10, 1686, Byrd expressed fear that the market would be supplied before the vessel in which he was concerned should arrive. Bruce, II. 83, n. 3.

ship 3 or 4 days in bitter cold weather; all that had the Small pox (itt seems) hapned into my lott, one dyed on board, and another in the Boat, my people that went for th[e]m caught the distemper and brought itt into my family, whereof poor mrs. Brodnax and 3 of my negros are allready dead, and ab't fifteen more beside my little daughter have them. Pray God put a Stop to itt, for I have allready cause to repent I ever was concern'd in James, I allways understood they were to bee delivered att Swinyards and not for one mans convenience to run the Hazard of the Whole, but now there's no help for itt. . . . I recd. 15 Negros from James beside one dy'd in the Boat and one (they Say) dyed on board wh was design'd for mee therefore hope I shall bee charged no more than I recd. alive from on board. . . .[2]

66. Instructions to Francis, Lord Howard, 1687.[1]

April 3, 1687.

. . . And wee doe hereby strictly charge and require you that, upon due information exhibited before you or any of our Judges or courts of Justice within your Government against any person or persons who have been or shall bee concerned in any interloping ships or in any Negros or goods imported contrary to our Charter granted to the Royal African Compa. or agaynst such as shall bee aiding or assisting to any Interloper or their accomplices or shall in any manner whatsoever bring any Negros into any part of your government or purchase any others than such as are imported and brought in by our Royal African Company their factors or Assignes you doe in all such cases take care that all such contemners of our Royal Charter and Command bee severely punished by Fines Imprisonments and such other penalties as the quality of their offence may require. By his Matys. Command.

[2] On Oct. 18 Byrd had written to Sadleir and Thomas: "The negros proved well, but two of them have the Small pox wh was brought into my family by the Negro's I recd. from Gambo." *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXV. 133.

[66] [1] C. O. 5: 1357, p. 120; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1685-1688, p. 353. The first two sections of the instructions to Lord Culpeper are repeated (*ante*, no. 56), then follows this paragraph. The instructions of Oct. 24, 1683, are practically the same as these, as are those to Andros in 1692. After the passage of the act of 1698 the form, of necessity, was somewhat changed and those to Nicholson read: "You are to take care that there be no trading from Virginia to any place in Africa, within the charter of the Royal African Company otherwise than prescribed by the late act of parliament, Intituled an Act to settle the Trade to Africa" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, p. 526; C. O. 5: 1357, p. 45; C. O. 5: 1310, p. 85). Francis, Lord Howard was lieutenant governor from Apr. 16, 1684, to Oct. 20, 1688.

67. William Fitzhugh to Oliver Luke, 1690.[1]

August 16th, 1690.

Honoured Sir: . . . I will presume at his [2] Instance to give you the best method for such a Settlement, which is by lodging in some merchant's hand in London 150 or 200 £ for the buying a good, convenient seat of land . . . and then about such an other sum lodged in the hand of some of the Royall African company, who for that will engage to deliver negroes here at 16 or 18 or to be sure at £20 p head. . . . A Settlement thus made, will make a handsome gentile and sure subsistence. . . .

68. Case of the *Society*, 1691-1692.[1]

Minutes of a Meeting of the Virginia Council.

Octobr. 20th 1691.

Ordered that an Order be prepared for the Rt. Honoble. the Lieut. Govrs. signeing to be directed to the Sherriffe of Norfolk County requireing him to give publick Notice in the said County, and perticulerly in the Churches thereof, that all persons who can give any account of the Arrivall of the Ship *Society* [2] of Bristoll in the yeare 1687, the disposeing of the Negroes, Elephants teeth etc brought in, in her, or the Casting away of the said Ship, appeare at James Citty the 29th day of this Instant, to Testifye their knowledge therein, also requireing the said Sheriffe to Sumons the four first in the Comission of the Peace who were of the Court on tryall of the said Ship, Mr. George Newton the then Sherriffe, and the Clerke of the Court (who is to bring the Records of that Tryall with him) and all Evidences on the said Tryall to appeare at the time and place aforesaid, that soe a full and perfect acct. of all the transactions relateing to the Seizeing and Condemnation of the said Ship etc. may be had, and the said Order being prepared and read is approved of; And for that Princess Ann County

[67] [1] *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, III. 167. Oliver Luke was a resident of Bedfordshire, Eng. [2] The reference is to Oliver Luke's son, who settled in Virginia and married a sister of William Fitzhugh. *Ibid.*, p. 167n.

[68] [1] *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* (ed. McIlwaine, 1925), I. 196.

[2] The *Society* had been seized by the collector in November, 1690. James Twyford and James Hallidge of Bristol, owners, appealed to the Privy Council on Apr. 10, 1690. The Council referred the controversy to the Lords of Trade. That body, after hearing from the Royal African Company that it regarded itself as in no way concerned, referred the case back to Virginia, where the Virginia council began a search for information with the order here printed. Ten days later Robert Caufield, who was acting as agent for the owners, obtained from the council a postponement of the hearing of the case because his witnesses were ill (*ibid.*, pp. 196-197). For the preliminary steps taken in England see Va. State Lib., Sainsbury Trans., IV. 289-291, 360, 362, 389, 428, V. 53; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1689-1692, pp. 245-656, *passim*; in C. O. 5: 1308, an extended account of the hearings before the council is to be found; see also C. O. 5: 1358, pp. 58-60.

in the yeare 1687 was parte of the aforesaid County an Order being prepared for the Rt. Honoble. the Lt. Govrs. signeing to be Sent to the Sherriffe of that County was also read and approved of.

[*Deposition of James Lemount.*][3]

October 30, 1691.

The Deposition of James Lemount, in regard to the landing of one hundred and twenty negroes and a quantity of Elephants teeth on the Eastern Shore, by officers and owner of the Ship *Society,* of Bristol, on sunday morning, the 7th August, 1687; and the loss of the vessel by being wrecked on the Coast on the same day. It appears the said Lemount and others afforded assistance in putting the negroes on shore, for which service he received "thirty pounds sterling", which the Master of the shipp "paid by two young negroes, a boy and a girle". The excuse given for landing these negroes and Elephants teeth, was that the ship was short of provisions, But the officer in command had been careful to enquire "Whereabout the Man of Warr lay," and "whether there weare conveniency there to land A Parcell of negroes?" before he ventured to bring his ship sufficiently near the shore to effect this. Coll. Cole, Collector, had seized the vessel, crew and cargo, and the latter being forfeited to the Crown, had been sold by him according to law.[4]

[*Deposition of John Corprew.*][5]

April 21, 1692.

The deposition of Jno. Corprew, Aged 49, or thereabouts, being at James Lemmon's house some time in August, in the yeare of our Lord, 1687, and there meeting with the master of the ship *Society,* that was cast away, by name John Skeetch, whoe desired me to take a parsell of negroes home with mee, which if I would, hee would pay mee for their diet and my care and trouble. About [*blank*] I would take 20 of them, and hee sd I must feed them twice a day with meat, and I should bee well paid, and the sd Skeetch . . . brought or

[3] *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* (1875), I. 30.

[4] The Virginia *Calendar* contains two earlier references to this case: Nov. 22, 1687, "Acct. of rigging, etc., of ship *Society,* of Bristol, 'Seized and forfeited to his Majesty' for failure to comply with Port regulations, payment of import dues on slaves, etc." and May 10, 1688, "I doe Acckowledge to have recd. of William Cole, Colltr. of his Majistyes' dutyes in the Lower Precints of James River, the full sume of Eight hundred ninety-one pounds two shillings and three pence, sterg, being for two parts of the Produce that the Negroes, that were brought into the Country In the Shipp *Society,* of Bristoll after the Charges Deducted, and were seized and condemned as Forfeited to his sacred Majesty. In Testimony whereof, I have hereunto sett my hand and seale, this 10th day of May, 1688, and in the fourth yeare of the Reigne of our Sovraigne Lord, King James the Second. EFFINGHAM." *Ibid.*, I. 19, 20.

[5] *Ibid.,* I. 36-37.

sent 20 negroes or thereabouts. Whereof I Agreed with him, and bought an old man, and a young boy 6 yeare old for fiveteen pounds, which money was to bee allowed mee by the sd Skeetch in consideration of my diet, care and trouble of the sd negroes, and after this the Honorable Coll. Cole came to my house and sd to my wife that I must bring the negroes I had in my possession to Mr. Spratts, whereupon I obeyed his order, and then hee confirmed the sale of the Foresaid two negroes to mee For Fiveteen pounds, which I gave up, by his order, and Further deposeth not.[6]

69. Orders of the Privy Council, 1692.[1]

November 3, 1692.

[Permission to Sir Richard Levett and others for the *Katherine* to sail to Guinea and load negroes for Virginia, on showing that they have license from the African Company for so doing and on agreeing to deduct the ship's complement from the quota directly assigned to the owners for the Virginia trade.][2]

[In a similar petition Thomas Starke, John Mudge and others, owners of the *Concord*,[3] allege] that having had no supplies of Blacks since the warr with France, and the Whites in their service growing out of their times and becoming free, their Plantations are falne under a great Scarcity of hands, so that they have not sufficient for the management of them. [Like conditional permission is granted, with the additional stipulation] that the Commissioners of the Customes on conferring with the merchants Trading to Virginia upon the intended Repartition for this yeares Trade do think fitt to assigne the aforesaid number of men to the Petitioners for Their respective Dividends.[4]

[6] Endorsed: "Sworn to before the Rt. Hon'able the Lt. Govr. and Councill. Test: W. Edwards, Clk Coun." Throughout April, 1692, the council gathered information concerning the *Society* and on June 24 transmitted a letter to the Lords of Trade relating to the case. *Ex. Jour. of Col. Va.*, I. 219, 235-236, 252-253, 261.

[69] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 219. The brackets are used in the *Acts*.

[2] Feb. 2, 1693, "Owing to the illness of Arthur Bayly, one of the owners of the *Katherine*, by whom the arrangements under the Order of 3 November were to be made, that ship was left out of the Virginia list. Hence Sir Richard Levett, though a person of considerable interest in that trade, has no ship assigned him for his share in that distribution: but Mr. Bayly offers the 13 men who were assigned for his ship *Ann* towards the *Katherine's* complement of 30, and his Majesty grants another seventeen out of the 30 assigned to Milford Haven, but not yet apportioned, for the voyage to Guinea and Virginia" (*ibid.*, p. 220). "The *Katherine* is allowed, besides her 30 seamen, 1/3 of that number foreigners, and 1/5 of the whole complement landsmen, for looking after the negroes." *Ibid.*, p. 221.

[3] For the fate of the *Concord*, probably on a later voyage than the one for which permission is here granted, see *post*, p. 76.

[4] To secure sufficient seamen for the navy it was customary to limit the number allowed to merchant vessels. In 1690 the Privy Council had allowed to the Maryland and Virginia trade 1200 English seamen, in addition to foreigners, who might make up one-quarter of the crew. The apportionment of this number among the merchants of each port was left to the Commissioners of Customs. The London traders to Virginia and Maryland had in 1690 been allotted 800 of the total, in 1691 their allotment was increased to 1000. *Acts P. C. C.*, II. xxiii-xxiv.

70. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1699.[1]

An act for laying an imposition upon servants and slaves imported into this country, towards building the Capitoll.

Whereas the state house of this his majesties colony and dominion in which the generall assemblyes and general courts have been kept and held hath been unhappily destroyed and burnt downe, and it being absolutely necessary that a capitoll should be built with all expedition, and forasmuch as a more suitable expedient cannot be found for avoiding the laying a levy upon the poll for the building the same than by laying an imposition upon servants and slaves imported into this his majesties colony and dominion,

Be it enacted by the Governour, Councell and Burgesses of this present generall assembly and the authority thereof, and it is hereby enacted, That from and after the publication of this act . . . twenty shillings for every negro or other slave which shall be imported into this his majesties colony and dominion shall be from time to time paid and satisfyed to his majestie, his heirs and successors for and towards the erecting and building a convenient capitoll for this his majesties colony and dominion and for no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever, which said sume or sumes shall be paid by the importer or importers of such and for the better levying and collecting the said duty and impost,

Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted, That from and after the publication thereof no servant or servants, negro or negroes, imported into this country shall be landed or put on shoar out of any shipp or vessell before due entry first made with the officer or collector appointed for the customes in such port or place where the same shall be imported, nor before the master of the said shipp or vessell hath made oath to such officer or collector who is hereby impowered and required to administer the same of the number of servants or slaves imported in such shipp or vessell and of the reputed place of the birth of such servant or servants, nor before the duty due and payable for the same shall be fully paid and satisfyed to such officer or collector, and that every warrant for the landing of such servants or slaves shall be under the hand and seale of the said officer or collector respectively upon paine that all such servants or slaves as shall be landed or putt on shore contrary to this

[70] [1] Hening, *Statutes of Virginia*, III. 193-195. This act was renewed in August, 1701, expired Dec. 25, 1703, and was revived in May, 1704 (*ibid.*, pp. 212-213, 225). The renewal of 1701 allowed a drawback of three-fourths of the duty on any slaves exported from the colony within six weeks of entry. For a brief period after Dec. 25, 1703, the law apparently lapsed, as that passed in 1704 is entitled, "An act reviving Impositions". The measure seems to afford no ground for the belief that it was animated either wholly or in part by a desire to prohibit, or even to check, the traffic. There may have been about 6000 slaves in Virginia at this time. Bruce, II. 108.

act or the vallue thereof shall be forfeited and lost and shall be recovered of the importer or proprietor of the same.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted, That if any master of shipp or vessell shall witingly or willingly make a false entry of any such servants or slaves and be thereof convicted he shall forfeit and pay for every such offence the sume of one hundred pounds sterling, and if any collector or officer shall directly or indirectly take or receive any bribe, recompence or reward to connive at any false entry of any such servants or slaves, or if any person or persons shall give or pay any such bribe or reward he or they so offending shall forfeit and pay the sume of one hundred pounds sterling, all which penaltyes and forfeitures in this act expressed shall be divided into three equall parts, one third part thereof to his majestie, his heirs and successors towards the better support of the government and the contingent charges thereof, one other third part to the governor for the time being, and the other third part to him or them that will sue or informe for the same by action of debt, bill, plaint or information in any court of record within this his majesties colony and dominion, in which no essoigne protection or wager of law shall be allowed.

[Collectors were to be appointed by the governor; all sums raised were to be accounted for to the treasurer of the colony; the act was to be in force three years.]

71. Lieutenant Governor Francis Nicholson to the Board of Trade, 1700.[1]

James Town, August 1, 1700.

. . . I have an account that there will be very few hogsheads of old tobacco left in the country after 4 or 5 ships are sailed, one of which is Capt. Joseph Moonday, who came lately from Guiny and brought into Yorke River about 230 negroes and I heard they were sold from 28 *l.* to 35 *l.* per head; the greatest price that has been known. There were as many buyers as negros, and I think that, if 2000 were imported, there would be substantial buyers for them. They expect several ships from Guiny with negros, but I am afraid that no more will come.[2] . . .

[71] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1700, p. 452; C. O. 5: 1360, p. 31. "Endorsed: Recd. 19th, Read 21, October, 1700." Francis Nicholson was lieutenant governor from Oct. 16, 1690, to Oct. 16, 1693, and from Dec. 9, 1698, to Aug. 15, 1705.

[2] On Aug. 27, 1700, Nicholson wrote to the Board of Trade: "I do not hear of any more negroes being come in, which I am sorry for, being they would make so much more tobaccos, which I hope would increase His Majesty's revenue; therefore wish that the African Company and others that trade thither would send in some, and that whilst the people have money to buy them, for it may so happen that if negro's don't come in within a year or two that people may dispose of their money some other way." *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1700, p. 497.

72. Journey of Franz Ludwig Michel to Virginia, 1702.[1]

April, 1702.

Most of the wealth consists in slaves or negroes, for if one has many workmen, much food-stuff and tobacco can be produced. These negroes are brought annually in large numbers from Guiné and Jamaica (the latter of which belongs to England) on English ships. They can be selected according to pleasure, young and old men and women. They are entirely naked when they arrive, having only corals of different colors around their necks and arms.[2] They usually cost from 18 to 30 pounds. They are life-long slaves and good workmen after they have become acclimated. Many die on the journey or in the beginning of their stay here, because they receive meagre food and are kept very strictly. Both sexes are usually bought, which increase afterwards. The children like the parents must live in slavery. Even if they desire to become Christians it is only rarely permitted, because the English law prescribes that after seven years service they are (in that case) to be freed in accordance with the Mosaic law.[3] When a slave is bought from the captain of a ship, he is not paid at once, but the slave so bought usually plants tobacco in order that the captain may be paid with it. Lately, before my departure, I was over night on a ship, which several days before had come from Guiné with 230 slaves.[4] They get them there

[72] [1] "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701-December 1, 1702." Translation in *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXIV. 1-43, 113-141. The selection here printed is from pp. 116-117. The German original is in the Stadtbibliothek in Bern; see Faust, *Guide to Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives*, p. 72. Michel was at the time of writing this entry on his way to visit some Swiss families, possibly forty miles from Williamsburg.

[2] It is to be hoped that the traveller's information was more accurate at other points than here. Few owners of slave cargoes would have been so reckless as to send negroes north of the Caribbean waters without the protection of clothing, though it may have happened occasionally.

[3] Michel is likewise mistaken about the existence of law or custom granting freedom after seven years' service to Christianized slaves, though in the early days of negro slavery a sense of the impropriety of holding Christians as slaves retarded efforts to convert the imported negroes. To do away with this obstacle to Christianizing the blacks the assembly passed a law in 1667 declaring that baptism did not alter the condition of a person "as to bondage or Freedom" (Hening, II. 260). In 1670 an act, not to be found in Hening but known by a reference to it in 1682 (*ibid.*, pp. 490-491), defined as slaves imported servants who were not Christians. This raised a difficulty which apparently had not been foreseen. West India slaves were often Christians, and when such was the case they could not be sold in Virginia. The act was therefore repealed and a law declaring slaves to be those servants whose native country was not Christian (excluding Turks and Moors) was substituted. The purpose of this legislation seems obvious. The colony was searching for a formula which should declare the status of the negro to be that of a slave, while it excluded indentured servants from such a category. For further discussion of the effect of baptism on the status of the blacks in Virginia see Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, I. 57-59; see also Neill, *Terra Mariae*, pp. 146-147.

[4] There seems here no reason to accept the editor's assumption that Michel was referring to French Guinea. The term Guinea was used very loosely and tells no more than that the negroes were not from the Gambia region but came from the Gold and Slave coasts. Indeed, it is occasionally used as synonymous with West Coast of Africa.

for a small sum, as also gold and ivory, but a hundred of them died on the journey to Virginia. It is said to be a very unhealthy climate. Half of the sailors died also, including the brother of the captain, who had sailed along as clerk. The others were sickly and yellow in their faces. It often happens that the ships must be left in Guiné, because everybody dies of sickness. The captain, to whom I refer, was named Schmid. He almost shared the same fate. I was surprized at the animal-like people. The savages (Indians) are so far better breed. Among such people food tastes so badly, that one can hardly stand it. The negro fever is due to this, because it is their common sickness. . . .

73. Answer of Thomas Starke to James Westmore, 1702.[1]

Jud: 11° die Nov 1702.
S. Keck, Herne

The further Answear of Thomas Starke defendant to the Bill of Complaint of James Westmore Complainant,

All advantages of Exceptions to the manifold uncertaintyes and insufficiencyes in the Complain [an]ts said bill of Complaint conteined materiall or effectuall in the Law for him this Defendant as he is advised to make answeare unto, he this Defendant answereth and saith that during the time of the Voyage and since he this defendant did pay or caused to be paid to the Complainant or his order the severall summes of money which are mentioned in severall Bills drawne by the Complainant on this Defendant and in the receipts given this defendant for the same the dates and Contents of which this defendant hath herein incerted and are as follows *vizt.*

Deale the Thirty first day of October one Thousand Seaven Hundred.

Sir Be pleased to pay unto Valentine Boules on order the Summe of fourteen pounds (value received of him) for the use of your Shipp *Affrica* Galley as per advice from your humble Servant to command James Westmore. To Thomas Starke Merchant in Mincing Lane London.

August the nineteenth One Thousand Seaven hundred and one. Received of John Sheffeild on Account of the Ship *African* Gally Twenty Eight Pounds as witness my hand James Westmore.

[73] [1] P. R. O., Chancery Proceedings, Class C 5, Bridges Division, bundle 277, no. 10. "Plaintiff Defendant Date Subject County
Westmore, James Starke, Thomas 1702 Money (answer) Middlesex"
From the reference to Starke to be found *ante*, no. 69, it is clear that he was a Virginia landowner as well as a London merchant.

Received August the Twenty first One Thousand Seaven hundred and one of John Sheffeild more Twenty nine pounds fifteen on the above account JAMES WESTMORE.

September the Sixth One thousand Seaven Hundred and one Received of John Sheffeild Thomas Sanders his obligation for fifty nine pounds which I promise to be accountable for or to returne to him or to his order as witness my hand JAMES WESTMORE.

VIRGINEA October the [*blank*] One thousand Seaven hundred and One. At thirty dayes Sight of this my third of Exchange my first nor Second not paid pay unto Captaine John Rogers or order the full summe of Six pounds Sterling it being for Provisions for the use of the Shipp *Affrica* Galley at time make good payment and putt it to the Account of your humble Servant JAMES WESTMORE. To Mr. Thomas Starke Merchant in London.

VIRGINEA October the Seaventeenth One thousand Seaven hundred and One. Att thirty dayes sight of this my first Exchange Second nor Third paid Pay to Miles Cary or order the just summe of Thirty four pounds Eight Shillings Sterling for the Virginea dutyes and Port Charges of your Shipp the *Affrica* Gally and place the same to the said Ships account JAMES WESTMORE. To Mr. Thomas Starke Merchant in London.

VIRGINEA October the Twenty first One Thousand Seaven hundred and one Att thirty dayes sight of this my first of Exchange my Second or Third not paid Pay unto Mr. William Syers or order the Summe of Two pounds Sixteen Shillings and Six pence for the use of the Shipp *Affrica* Gally and place to account of your humble Servant JAMES WESTMORE. To Mr. Thomas Starke merchant in London.

Received the fourteenth of October One Thousand Seaven hundred and one Five Pounds on account of my husbands wages due upon the Shipp *Affrica* Gally my Husband James Westmore Comanders arriv-all in Virginea. SARAH WESTMORE.

Received December the Sixth One Thousand Seaven hundred and one the Summe of Six pounds upon account of my wages I say received per me JAMES WESTMORE.

Received December the Thirtieth One thousand Seaven hundred and one five pounds for account of disbursements on the *African* Gally I say received per me JAMES WESTMORE.

Received January the t[en]th One thousand Seaven hundred and one the Summe of Twenty pounds on account of Ship *African* Gally I say received per me JAMES WESTMORE.

Received January the Thirty first one Thousand Seaven hundred and one the summe of Tenn pounds on account of the Shipp *African* Gally I say received per me JAMES WESTMORE.

Received February the Twelfth One thousand Seaven hundred and one the summe of Twenty pounds on account of wages and disbursements Ship *African* Gally James Westmore Comander I say received JAMES WESTMORE.

And this defendant saith that the said severall moneyes were paid by this defendant on the account mentioned in each receipt and where the Receipt w[as] given generally the same was paid either towards wages or disbursements laid out for the use of the Ship as there should be occasion and not perticularly meant or intended by the defendant to be appropriated to any one Single or perticular account. And this defendant further saith that he hath been informed by the Complainant that he brought into York River Fifty Seaven Negroes alive and no more and that in the time of the sale of forty three of them and one Child Two dyed there and that the Complainant delivered to one Sheffeild this defendants Factor att Virginea Eleven of the said fifty seaven Negroes to be carryed to Maryland one of which Eleven dyed before they were sold. And this defendant hath lately received from the said Sheffeild an account of the sale and disposall of fifty three of them and one Child and no more together with the prizes for which they were sold and the names of the persons to whom sold which is as follows.

Sold to Elizabeth Darrell one man one woman and one girle att ninety one pounds. Sold to Phillip Smith Three Men and Three Women for one hundred Eighty three pounds.

Sold to Robert Nash One Man and one woman for Sixty one pounds.

Sold to John Moore Two Men Two women and a Child for One hundred Thirty two pounds.

Sold to William Thornton Two women for Sixty pounds.

Sold to Elizabeth Richardson one man and one woman for sixty one pounds.

Sold to John Royston one man one woman for Sixty one pounds.

sold to John Bannister One Man and One Woman for sixty one pounds

sold to William Thornton One Man and one Woman for Sixty one pounds

sold to William Howard One Man and One Woman for sixty one pounds

sold to Robert Pryer One Man and One Woman for Sixty one pounds

sold to George Pendexter Three Boys and one Girle for ninety two pounds

sold to Henry Fox Two Men for Sixty two pounds

sold to Nathaniell West One Man and Two Women for ninety one pounds

sold to Seth Wickins One Girle for Thirty pounds

sold to Samuel Clayton One Woman for Thirty pounds

sold to Stephen T—n one Woman for Thirty pounds

sold to Thomas Saunders One Man and One Woman for fifty nine pounds

sold to William Stone One Boy and One Girle for forty two pounds

sold to Joshua Cecill Two Women for fifty one pounds

sold to Thomas Cook One Man and one Woman for fifty two pounds

sold to John Beale One Woman for Twenty four pounds

sold to Samuel Quekett one Girle for Twenty one pounds Tenn shillings

sold to Thomas Stone one Girle for Twenty one pounds and Tenn shillings

allowed for one Man six pounds, amounting in the whole to One thousand five hundred and five pounds but this defendant has as yett received no more then the summe of Eight hundred Twenty seaven pounds and five shillings on the said Account And this defendant doth admitt that this defendant was to allow the Complainant the severall Comission mentioned in the Complainants bill to be agreed to be paid by the defendant to the Complainant pursuant to the Articles of the Eighth day of August One thousand Seaven hundred made between this defendant and the Complainant but this defendant saith that it appeares by the said Article to which this defendant referrs himselfe that the Complainant was not to be allowed such Comission money till all the accounts of the Voyage were settled and adjusted which this defendant doth insist the Complainant hath not performed And this defendant saith that this defendant did send severall letters to the Complainant relating to the Voyage the Coppyes of which this defendant hath taken from this defendants book of letters and are as follows

James Westmore: LONDON October the twenty Second one thousand Seaven hundred. I have here inclosed an Invoyce and bill of lading for the Cargo of goods Shipt on board your Shipp *Affrica* Gally consigned to your selfe as also instructions for the disposall of the same And these are to desire you to make your best of your way into the Downes with all speed possibly you cann with safety then with the first oppertunity saile from thence and make the best of your way to the Grand Coast [2] in Guinea and there purchase what Guinea Grain, Teeth and Gold dust you cann in a day or two or three not to exceed as you go along the Grand Coast and if with a day or two att Cape Coast or thereabouts to purchase what Corne you think is needfull and from thence to Cape Formoso

[2] The context suggests that the Gold Coast is meant.

which make the Bite in Guinea and if you should have a good passage thither that in probability you are before the Shipp that now goes out along with you that intends for New Callebarr I would have you goe downe a long shoare from Cape Formoso to New Callebarr and at every opening where you may with Safety anchor and send your Boate on Shoare and trade for Negroes [and] Teeth and if any encouragement you may stay a day or two att a place especially at Tone and another place adjacent. I am informed there is plenty of Slaves and Teeth and if any encouragement you may stay six or seaven dayes if it be in the Month of December or the beginning of January for if I were not afraid of the other Shipp being before you att Callebarr I should not desire your being there before the middle of January. If Negroes present you may buy a hundred or more as you shall see fitt before you come to Callebarr. endeavour to buy what Teeth you cann if plenty. buy no small ones. At all these places where you shall trade you must shew all your small Comodityes that are not Staple att New Callebarr and aske for them more then I have barred them att, especially what they seem to fancy and alwayes observe to persuade them to take of your Hatts Pewter some Clapper Bells Round Brass Bells Shirts Knives Lookinglasses Trunks Chaires Tables Flints and some Cases of Spiritts for they are not Staple Comoditys att New Callebarr and Bandy as other goods are. What Slaves you buy in them places lett them be very likely to believe you may buy them for Eight or Nine Iron Barrs per head but you may give to Tenn or more for very likely men and I would have you att all these places buy what Yeames you cann and when please good you shall arrive att New Callebarr take all care possible you cann to find out the best depth of Water over the Barr which I am informed is to Eastward take time before you venture over and send out your Boats to sound all about to find out the best depth of water. For your Governance to goe over New Callebarr as follows *videl[i]cet* New Callebarr is the Eighth or Ninth opening from Cape Formoso a very fair large opening larger than any of the Rest which when you have well opened and Fogo Point which is on the westside of it bares North and North and by west distance about three Leagues then you will have a Spitt of Sand which lyes to the westward of Fogo Point about Two Miles from you which you will see above water or else the Sea to breake upon itt and when you have stood so farr to the Eastward as to bring Bandy Point which lies on the Eastermost side of the River and the Eastermoste parte of Bollante Cope Island to be just shutt in with Bandy Point will bare North East and by East or East or East North East then you may steer in with Bandy Point East North East or North East and by East your sounding being without the Barre five four and about three Fathom water hard sand and when you are upon the Pilch [Pitch?] of the Barr which is about a Cables length over you will have about three Fathom att High water likewise the Spit of Sand which lyes from Fogo Point to the Eastward will be a Breast of you. To know when you are over the Barr you will find the water deeper from three to four five Six and Seaven Fathom water soft clay ground and when you are over the Barr you may Steer away more Northerly to bring Bandy Towne open which lyes on the Eastside of the Eastermost Rivers there being Two Rivers And when you have the River fair open you may runn up keeping the Eastside a board from Tenn to Fifteen Fathom water graduate sounding and soft ouzey ground and bringing Bandy Point South west and Bandy Towne South you may anchor in Fifteen Fathom water about a Musquett shott of Shoare. the water Ebbs and Flows hereabout Seven or Eight Foott and when please God you are gott over saile up to the Point which is near Callebar and then anchor where you may ride open to Bandy as well as to New Callebarr

(as I am informed) so that the Negroes may see you to come on board out of both places and by that meanes you will have an oppertunity of trading from both places and agreeing with them for the purchase of your Slaves at a reasonabler rate then if you went wholly to one place and have a quicker dispatch. The people att New Callebarr are much greater than the people of Bandy but there are more Shipps go to Bandy than new Callebarr especially Dutch and Portugueese the Chanell being better to Bandy than to New Callebarr so that Slaves and Teeth are dearer att Bandy than att New Callebarr and also I am informed that there is more plenty of Slaves and Teeth at New Callebarr than att Bandy. When please God you arrive there you will be sensible of the trade of each place therefore leave it wholly to your discretion where to cutt a trade at one or both places and which will engage to furnish you cheapest and quickest there cutt for the most and if they should pretend to keep up their Slaves High you must declare you will be gone. Formerly Men Slaves have bought for Nine and Tenn, Women for Seaven Pecys [3] and girles for five and six Iron Barrs per Head But rather than lye there if you cann have a quick dispatch you may cutt a trade for Twelve for Men Nine for Women and Six or Seaven for Boys and Girles as you shall see they reserve. The trade which you cutt with the Kings is alwayes the highest, those Slaves which are brought by others out of the Countrey you may buy cheaper. If they should hold upp their Slaves higher than is expected your holding off Two or Three dayes will make them comply with you if there be no other Shipps but if there be you must doe as well as you cann. I have inclosed an account what Custome used to be given to the Kings to Trade. Note That Iron Barrs is the Staplest Comodity there and you haveing great plenty of them may give Seaven or Eight Iron Barrs with other goods for a Man Slave and for a Woman five and Six Iron Barrs with other goods there is no certainty for Boys or Girles of any sort of goods but as you cann agree and have to spare. In Copper for Men Three or Four Copperr Barrs for Women Two Copper Barrs that being the next Staple Comoditye and in other goods you must make upp the Rest of the Barrs you are to give. You may be asked for Guinea Stuffs but you have none. you have a good quantity of Blew Callicoes which is in great esteem there but you cannot sell them for more than a Copper Barrs length for a Copper Barr nor you must not sell them for less. the Pewter is not soe much desired but will goe off for Slaves with other goods. Beads Manelices [4] Clapper Bells and severall other goods are in very good esteem and will go of with Iron and Copper for Slaves. I cannot direct you how much of each sort of all the goods you shall certainly give for a Slave for some will have more or less of each sort only your Iron and Copper them sorts you must keep att a certainty as near as you cann for Men Slaves but for Women Boys and Girles you may lessen the Quantity of Iron and Copper and make them take more of other goods that you have most off. Alwayes those goods that are not much desired putt off for Boys and Girles Teeth and Yeames and all the parcells of goods that are not Staple being not of a certaine value there you must endeavour to gett more for them then I have barred them att but if you cannot gett so much for Hatts Shirts Chaires Tables Cases of Knives Flints and Horse Bells and Trunks and looking glasses and Cases of Spiritts you may abate. I doe beleive I have advised you the needfull as to the sale of the Cargoe which with your discretion doubt not but you will buy your Slaves as cheape and dispose of your Cargoe as well as others have done. You have a Cargoe enough to buy four hundred and fifty Slaves and above three

[3] Possibly a misreading of accies.
[4] Manelloes, the metal rings frequently mentioned in African trade.

Tunn of Teeth and some gold dust and Provision sufficient for the Slaves therefore desire you will endeavour to buy all the Teeth you cann refuseing none that are large. At the first of your Slaving you may venture to dispose of the value of Seaven or Eight hundred Barrs for Teeth and Mallegatoes. I would have you if it be not loss of time to fill the Partition of the Beane room with Mallegata and what dry Casks you have empty. you must observe that all Teeth that have any Rents Cracks or any part broaken off are much less in value then if they be clear. You must not buy any Negroes that are above Thirty yeares of Age and take perticular care that both Men and Women Boys and Girles be all clear from any distemper burzen [brusen?] or any sore upon them alwayes takeing the doctors advice upon every Negroe that you buy so that you may buy none but what are healthy sound and clear limbed alwayes keeping an account entring every day of the Month what Negroes and quantity of Teeth Mallegata Yeames and Gold dust you buy and the perticular quantityes of what goods you give in Barter for each Negroe or Negroes and for each Tooth and Teeth and each quantity of Yeames Gold dust and Mallegata that you shall buy of any one Man att one time. And when you have bought four hundred and fifty Slaves or more and also Teeth Gold dust and Mallegata and Provisions as much as your Cargoe will purchase or that if it should soe happen Contrary to expectation that you cannot purchase above four hundred Slaves or not soe many without tarrying a long time for them and that per sicknesse or any other reason that you shall judge it best to Saile from thence with what you have You must make the best of your way to Virginea and go up the Bay to the opening of Yorke River and come to anchor without the River so that you may not be obleiged to enter your Ship there and send one of your Mates with your Boate to Tyndall Point and there he must hire a horse and ride up to Mattapony in King and Queen County and goe to Mr Henry Fox and there you shall receive orders where to go with your Negroes and in the mean time take perticular care and also at all other times that none of your Negroes is runn a shoare for if any be your Ship and Cargo will be co[n]fisticated to the Government and you and your Shipps Company to the Owners here. And you must deliver to Mr John Sheffeild to whom my order is which you will receive from Mr Henry Fox all your Negroes, Teeth, Mallegata, and Gold dust for to take an account and weigh and give bills of lading for them to be delivered att London to me freight free And when you are slaved and come from Guinea you must fill up Bills of lading mentioning the number of Slaves Quantity of Teeth Mallegata and Gold dust that you have then on board and consigne them to Mr John Sheffeild or my Assignes in Virginea for my account and Company And what remaines of the Cargoe if any deliver to Mr John Sheffeild or my orders in Virginea which you will receive at Mr Foxes. The Portugueese that come to Bandy and St Thomay [5] where you touch to water and take in Provisions they generally do buy the Remaines of Cargoes with gold they purchase att other places so hope you will putt of[f] all your Cargoe And as soon as you come from Slaving Copy out the whole disposall of your Cargoe for both Men Women Boys and Girles Slaves and also for Mallegata Gold Teeth and Provisions and likewise an Invoyce of what goods you left that you may have ready to enclose and send per any Ship that you shall meett with bound for England adviseing how many Negroes you had then liveing and a perticular account in every respect of the Voyage to that day that in case of your Mortality I may know what to demand of them that shall succeed you. And when please God you arrive att Virginea you must deliver a coppy of the same to Mr John Sheffeild or to my order which

[5] San Thomé.

you shall receive from Mr Henry Fox sealed up and directed to me in London. In Case of your Mortality which I pray God in his Mercy to prevent as soon as you find yourselfe ill deliver a Copy of all your Barters and disposeing of the Cargoe and goods unsold and what Negroes, Teeth, Mallegata and Gold dust and all perticulars as above directed to your Second Mate or any other that you cann best trust so that nothing may be concealed from me and the owners per the Cheife Mate or him who takes possession after you and take care that the Boatswaine and other officers keep the Ship cleane and them and no other of your Men abuse the Negroes and also be sure you keep a continuall Centry to prevent your Negroes getting to your Armes or any riseing per them. Wash your decks with Vinegar and smother between decks with Pitch and Tarr every other day or as you shall see occasion and prevent your Negroes coming up in the Night as much as you cann for the Cold dews in the Night hath been the cheife occasion of the Negroes Gripes and endeavour what you cann to make your Negroes Chearfull and pleasant makeing them dance at the Beating of your Drumm etc. In fair weather keep them upon decks as much as you cann giveing them dramms when occasion and they that have the Gripes to Boyle water and thicken it with Flower and chaulk for them and also to rellish your Beans and other food for your Negroes with some of your Beefe as you shall see occasion and for change lett them have a day in a week of Grout [6] or more if there be enough. All this I leave to your discretion to order as you shall see fitt. Take a perticular care that your doctor and his Mate doe daily their duty in looking after their Negroes that they want for nothing, the whole benefitt of the Voyage lyes in your care in Preserving the Negroes lives. trust not to the Account your Officers shall give you of your Provisions and Stores but examine them yourselfe every week and that you see your Cooper search the Water Casks every week that if any leake it may be prevented. trust to no man but see that every man do his duty in his Station and that the Steward Boatswaine Cooper Carpenter and Gunner give in writeing every week what Stores is expended dureing the whole Voyage and that you enter them in a booke to be delivered to me when please God you returne and that you take care your Yeames are well dryed and stowed away where they cann take no whett and not be bruised and be sure you purchase Yeames enough early and use no Beans nor Grout nor meat while you are a Slaving nor till after you are come away from St Tomay not till your Yeames are almost spent without they will [not?] keep. These b[e]ing all at present that I cann think of only praying to God for your health and a prosperous Voyage I am your Friend THO. STARKE.

Post: Faile not to lett me hear from you per all oppertunityes especially when you first go into a Port and when you depart from thence and be sure you alwayes advice what letter or letters with their severall dates which you shall have received from me after your last writeing to me. When please God you arrive at St Thomay enquire for Raphaell Luin Coeltha from whom I received a letter per Doctor Young concerning the Ship *Concord* Henry Foster deceased late Commander giveing an Account that he had in his possession the Produce of the Ship *Concord* her Negroes and English Cargoe which as I am informed per the doctor that the Governour seized and putt to publick sale and turned all the Men out of the Shipp to shift for themselves and would not allow them Provisions nor nothing else for their support t[——] the occasion of this I cannot understand but am afraid the doctor and the Shipps Company that was liveing belonging to the *Concord* joyned with the Dutch Captain

[6] Grout was a coarse meal. The term is occasionally used for malt before fermentation.

Mathias Spreque who lent hands to bring the *Concord* from Bandy, Therefore I desire you will enquire and gett what prooffe you cann of the Doctors and Dutchmans proceedings whether they made sale of any Negroes or goods out of the Shipp and what designe and where the doctor did designe to go with the Ship or dispose of the Cargoe there and what reason caused the Governour to seize of the Shipp Slaves and Cargoe and to gett account of the Shipp and her Materialls the Number of Slaves the perticulars of all the English goods and every thing that was on board with Account of the Sales and prove it as well as you cann before a Notary for to bring to me haveing no account of the Sales or perticulars from Raphael Luin Coeltha. Your care in examining into the truth of this matter will obleidge your Friend T: S:

Invoyce of Merchandize loaden on board the *Affrica* Galley James Westmore Commander bound for the Groyne [7] Gold Coast and Bite in Guinea for four hundred and fifty Slaves Mallegeta Elephants Teeth and Gold dust consigned to ditto James Westmore under the Marke and number as per Margent the perticulars being barred amounts to. October the Twenty Third One Thousand Seaven hundred and are to be disposed of as follows videlicet A.

Number One A Caske Containing Fifty Three Pint Pewter Tankards at one Iron Barr each Fifty Barrs. Twenty dozen Pewter Spoons at Eighteen per Iron Barr Thirteen one quarter Iron Barrs.

A Caske Number Two containing Fifty Four pounds Pewter Basons at one Iron Barr each Fifty Barrs. Fifty one pound ditto at one Copper Barr each Twelve and an halfe Iron Barrs.

A Caske Number Three containing One Thousand Manelies at Sixteen per Iron Barr Sixty Two and an halfe Iron Barrs. Tenn dozen Brass Large Clapper Bells at Four per Iron Barr Thirty Iron Barrs.

A Caske number Four containing Forty dozen small Clapper Brass Bells at Six per Iron Barr Eighty Iron Barrs.

A Caske number Five [*word erased*] containing Sixteen gross of Pipes [*space*].

Number Six a Caske containing Eighteen Gross of Pipes [*space*].

Number Seaven containing Twenty Four Carolina Beavers laced at Five Iron Barrs each one hundred and Twenty Iron Barrs. Eight dozen large lookinglasses at one Copper each Twenty four Iron Barrs. a Trunk Four Iron Barrs.

Number Eight containing two Nests Trunks containing Eight Trunks each Nest at Eight Iron Barrs each Nest Sixteen Iron Barrs.

Number Nine containing Two Nests Trunks containing Eight Trunks each Nest at Eight Iron Barrs each Nest Sixteen Iron Barrs.

Number Tenn containing Two Nest of Trunks containing Eight Trunks each Nest at Eight Iron Barrs each Nest Sixteen Iron Barrs.

[7] Coruña, Spain.

Number Eleven containing Eight dozen Iron Hatchetts at one Copper Barr per Hatchett Twenty four Iron Barrs.

A Caske Number Twelve containing four hundred Copper Barrs at four per Iron Barr a hundred Iron Barrs.

A Chest Number Thirteen containing four hundred Copper Barrs at four per Iron Barr one Hundred Iron Barrs.

Number Fourteen containing four hundred Copper Barrs at four per Iron Barr one hundred Iron Barrs.

A Chest Number Fifteen containing One hundred and Twenty peices Blew Baffs [bafts] each containing Eighteen Yards at one Copper Barr per yard five hundred forty Iron Barrs. A five for Chest att five Iron Barrs five Barrs.

Number Sixteen containing Six Cane Chaires at four Iron Barrs each Twenty four Iron Barrs.

Number Eighteen [Seventeen] containing six cane chaires at four Iron Barrs each Twenty four Iron Barrs.

Number Eighteen containing Six Cane Chaires att four Iron Barrs each Twenty four Iron Barrs.

Number Nineteen containing Six Cane Chaires at four Iron Barrs each Twenty four Iron Barrs.

Number Twenty Two Ovall Wainscott Tables at Eight Iron Barrs Each Sixteen Iron Barrs.

Number Twenty One containing Two Ovall Wainscott Tables at Eight Iron Barrs each sixteen Iron Barrs.

Number Twenty Two One large Wainscott Table att Twelve Iron Barrs.

Number Twenty Three containing One ditto att Twelve Iron Barrs.

Number Twenty Four containing Seaventy Bunches small goosebery Beads containing five Marshes [8] each Bunch at five Copper Barrs per Bunch Eighty Seaven and an halfe Iron Barr. One hundred and Eight Bunches dove coloured ditto containing five Marshes each Bunch att five ditto per Bunch, One hundred Thirty five Iron Barrs. Forty three Bunches of Purple ditto containing five Marshes each Bunch att five Copper Barrs each Bunch fifty three Iron Barrs and Three Quarters a Chest four Iron Barrs.

Number Twenty Five containing Six Dozen Speckled Shirts at six Copper Barrs each One hundred and Eight Iron Barrs. Two dozen fine ditto at Two Iron Barrs each forty eight Iron Barrs. Two dozen fine ditto att Two Iron Barrs each forty eight Iron Barrs. Forty dozen Bone haft Tower head Knives att Eighteen per Iron Barr Thirty Iron Barrs. Six Cases Pewter Haft Knives att Two Iron Barrs each Twelve Iron Barrs. Six Cases Black Haft ditto at

[8] An obsolete word for meshes.

One and an halfe Iron Barrs each nine Iron Barrs. One Thousand Flints at Twenty five One Copper Barr Tenn Iron Barrs. A chest Four Iron Barrs.

Number Twenty Six containing five Peices White Cotton Two pounds fine Thread and Halfe a Hundred of Needles.

Number Twenty Seaven containing Three Hundred one quarter and Seaven pounds Suttle Three Hundred Seaventy One pounds of Tobacco.

Number Twenty Eight containing five hundred dozen Horse Bells att Two dozen per Iron Barr Two hundred and fifty Iron Barrs.

A Caske delivered to the Master forty two dozen of Knives at Sixteen per Iron Barr Thirty one Iron Barrs and Three Quarters.

Thirteen Stuffe Coates att Four Iron Barrs each Fifty two Iron Barrs. Three dozen Red Capps att one Copper Barr per cap Nine Iron Barrs. One Paire Seizors att [*space*]. One paire markeing Irons att [*space*].

One Bagg containing Seaventy Eight Pounds, Tare Two pounds, Nett Seaventy Six pounds Rowled Tobacco.

Eighty cases of Spirritts at four Iron Barrs each Three hundred and Twenty Iron Barrs.

A Caske containing Seaventy Seaven Gallons Ditto Containing Seaventy Nine Gallons is One hundred fifty and Six Gallons of Spiritts.

Two Iron bound Puncheons of Beef [*space*].

Three thousand six hundred sixty three whole Iron Barrs is Three Thousand Six hundred Sixty Three. Four hundred forty eight Peices Iron Barrs is One hundred Sixty Three Iron Barrs.

Two Oxen containing Thirteen Hundred one Quarter and Seaven pounds of Beefe.

Forty Five Bushells of Grout [*two or three words obliterated*].

Thirty five Quarter of Beans Delivered to the Doctor. Two Paire of Sheets.

Six Thousand five hundred Fifty Three Iron Barrs and one quarter.

I haveing barred all the goods as above and on the other side I shall not enumerate here upon the severall perticulars.

When you first come to Callebar or Bandy the Kings belonging to each towne will demand custome upon your first trading and upon the cutting the trade you may pay the Custome for Two Hundred Slaves and so as you buy to pay the Custome which is two Manelioes per Head in such goods as you shall think fitt or cann pay in but be sure you agree before you pay Your Custome what you shall give for Men and Women Slaves and the value you must deliver your severall goods att and if possible doe not agree to give above Tenn Iron Barrs for Men Slaves and Seaven or Eight for Women and five or six for Boyes and Girles. When I first traded there Men were sold for

Eight or Nine Iron Barrs and Women Boys and Girles under proportionably but since the trade hath been spoiled per some Strangers which have given Twelve for Men Nine for Women and Boys and Girles five six or seaven Iron Barrs per Head and if you cannott gett them under you must do so to All which I leave to your discretion to cutt a trade as Low as you cann but I hope you [will] not abuse my liberty and give more than you need to do. It is usuall to make some present to the Kings and great Men which are called dashes to the value of an Iron Barr to some and to the value of One Copper Barr or two to the others as you will see reason if it be a little more especially to a King you may present him with a laced Hatt or something else that he shall fancy if it be to the value of five or six Iron Barrs as you will see his kindness in Trade with you deserve and be pretty free with your Liquors to him and them that are your cheife traders and treat them handsomely for it is usuall for the Kings and Great Men to present a Negroe or two for their kind entertainment and dashes and others will present you with some small gifts of Teeth etc. Note that Yeames are bigger or lesser and are bought from one hundred to one Hundred and Eighty per Iron Barr. The Biggest and Best Kings Yeames are one Hundred per Iron Barr and though I mention only Iron Barrs to buy them I mean the value of an Iron Barr in other goods which are not Staple Comodityes for Slaves But if you have Iron to spare you may give Iron att all places where you trade. buy Yeames that you may have early as many as you shall have occasion for for the Slaves you are to buy. I am informed that King William the King of Bandy played the Rogue with Captain Foster and kept up his Slaves at a very High Price untill Foster had cutt a trade with King Robin att New Callebar, as soon as he see that he lett him have Slaves which before he would not and Fosters people being Sick and he and his Mates dying the doctor informs me that King William did come on Board and encourage the Negroes to rise and had not a Dutch Man arrived and assisted them to carry away the Shipp the Doctor sayes that he does believe King William would have destroyed them. Therefore I would have you tell King William that if he don't treat you very Civilly I will send a Shipp that shall fire and destroy all the Towne and that I did intend to have presented him with a Scepter and Crowne but haveing this Account I send none. All this I leave to your discretion to act as you shall see fitt. I sent per Captain Gray a Scepter and Crowne to present to King Robin if he deserved itt. Here underneath are the names of severall great Men and traders att Bandy *viz*. King William, Alderman Booby, Adam Jeffry, Captain John, Captain Tom Bolio, Duke Tundo, Lame Dick, Captain Serco, John, Godfrey, Keach, Gundy, Guinea Company and others. Your Cargo being considerably more than will Slave you be sure to encourage them to bring Teeth on Board and buy all you can and send your Boate up into the Rivers to buy Teeth as well as Slaves. . . . [9]

Note that I have not taken any notice of the value of pi[ece]s Cotton, Thread, Tobacco, Beans, Spiritts, Beefe and grout which are for the use of the Negroes. I pray take perticular care that your Shipps Company do not make use of the Tobacco Liquors or anything else that is for the use of the Negroes nor nothing imbezilled but duly given to the Negroes as there is occasion. the Cotton are to make them Mantles that are not well. Note that when you are a Slaving all your Iron Barrs your Boatswaine delivers out of the hold and all other goods you must take into your great Cabin and keep them under Lock and Key and appoint one Man that you cann trust to deliver out what goods you

[9] The section omitted gives directions for buying teeth.

send for For you must not carry any of the Negroes you trade with into your Cabin where your goods are but keep them upon quarter deck and their Bargain with them and send downe to him that is in your Cabin for what goods you sell or want to see and you must alwayes write upon a peice of paper what goods and the quantity you will have sent unto you and upon the delivery of that Tickett to him that is intrusted with your goods he deliver the goods and file upp the Tickett and so for what Iron you want you must send a Tickett mentioning the number of Barrs that you would have the Boatswaine deliverr att a time and the Boatswaine must file upp your Ticketts and every Night you must compare with the Boatswaine and the Man that delivers the goods out of the Cabin and see your Account that you have kept of the goods sold do agree with the Ticketts you have sent to them that day your Ticketts being dated the Month and day per this meanes daily observing this method you cannot loose any goods and file up your Ticketts as you adjust with them and keep them for Vouchers to answear your Account of Sale And alwayes when you first open any Chest Caske or Bundle examine the whole contents of each number before you dispose of any and be sure Alwayes shew all sorts of your severall goods which are not Staple and force as many off as you cann. Your Tables Chaires Trunks and other goods which is not common with them doe not let them know but that you have but very few of them sorts. I desire that you will take perticular care that your Ships Company do not drink of Palme Wine or any other Liquors to disorder them and that they do not lye open in the nights to the Air where the dews may come upon them which practice hath caused a great Mortality and overthrown many Voyages. And remember that your Bunches of Beads have all five Marshes in them and that you must unloose them all and bind them upp in four Marshes.

London October the Twenty Eighth One Thousand Seaven hundred. *James Westmore*: This day received yours of the Twenty Seaventh Currant per your Wife who is gott well home and am satisfyed with your Sailing and hope these will find you Safe in the Downes and faile not to send me a perticular account from the Gunner Carpenter and Boatswaine of the goods they have received for stores and otherwayes from every Tradesman and also what salt was used in repacking the Meat *vizt.* West Ship-Carpenter, Canning Blockmaker, John Todd Ropemaker, Edward Thorne Smith, John Padley Dealeman, and what others that I have not named as Millison Sailmaker and the Cooper etc. I am afraid you have forgott Forelocks and Rivetts for the Shackles. I do not find any note for them. I have here inclosed a letter to Captain Roger Gray and not Sealed that you may read it and after you have read it Seale it up and deliver it to him he being wholly hired per me and all his Cargoe my Adventure only One Eighth part that I lett Captain Keach have. I desire you and he will joyne your Interests together for the most advantage you cann in Slaving. If he be not slaved before you arrive see that you may not prejudice each other but both to contrive and study your severall interests as one and if any other Ship or Shipps should be Slaving both you to hold together for your owne Benefitts. I have since considered of your touching upon the Gold Coast and these are to countermand my former orders that you must not touch upon the Gold Coast only the grain Coast as you go along to buy Mallagata and that must be with very little hinderance of time. When you come to Cape Formosoe go directly to New Callebarr and if you find Shipps there that you cannot have a quick dispatch you may send your longe Boate down to Tone and a long Shoare as far downe as to Cape Formoso as you shall think fitt for do verily believe

there is soe many Ships gone to Old Callebarr that you cann have no trade there. I pray God direct you. I leave all to your discretion to act as you shall see reason. I bought Thirty five Quarters of Beanes but as I remember you have but Twenty Eight quarter on Board and I haveing paid the Tenn per Cent to the Affrican Company [10] you may take Seaven quarter more on board and per reason you do not touch upon the Gold Coast to buy corn I would have you buy Seaven quarter of Beans. I gave Twenty Shillings per quarter but if you cannot buy them soe you must give a Shilling or Two or Three more rather then go without them. they must be Old Beans or else they will not keep and if you have time and cannott gett them att Deale you may have them at Sandwich. inquire there for Mr Thomas Jenning, he I am well acquainted with and he will give you creditt upon your drawing a bill on me if you shew him but this part of the letter. The cheife Mate and second Mate, Boatswaine, Gunner, Doctor and his Mate as also John Phelps, Ralph Scott and John Reade have all signed to the agreement of paying of wages but the Carpenter and Carpenters Mate nor none of the other seamen have done it. Therefore I have sent you on the other side a Coppy what I would have them sign to which is as the Mates and the rest have done and when signed send me it upp. I hope you have putt the man that pretends to be a Cooper at worke that you may see what he cann doe and let me know how you approve of him and all mens names you must send me that you have Shipt which I did not pay at Gravesend and what wages. I hope your doctor is on board. he had of me Two Paire of Sheets. one paire of them were very large. I pray see that he have them on board. this is all I cann think off. I pray God send you a fair wind and be sure to take the first oppertunity to saile and in all things observe your orders. praying to God for your health and prosperous Voyage I am your assured Freind THO. STARKE.

Wee the subscribed, Vincent Hostwell Carpenter, Richard Jones Carpenters Mate and soe name every Man that have not signed and when all their names are mentioned then you must say have shipt ourselves on board the Ship *Africann* Galley James Westmore Commander bound for Guinea and from thence with Slaves to Virginea and back to London to have as follows *viz.* Vincent Hostwell Carpenter three pounds per Month, Richard Jones Carpenters Mate one pound fifteen Shillings per Month, and all the rest as their Wages are. Upon the arrivall of the Shipp *Affrican* Galley at Virginea or any of his Majestyes Plantations in the West Indies which shall be her delivering Port of Slaves etc. then and there their wages to be due but in case the said Shipp should mis carry which God forbid and not to arrive at Virginea or any other of his Majestyes Plantations to deliver her Negroes and loading then no wages to be due nor demanded. Witness our hands the day of the Month and year and soe all to subscribe.

If you should find that they are not willing to doe it you must omitt it rather than breed any difference but first you may make only for the Carpenter and his Mate and gett their hands which I doe beleive they will not deny doing it per reason all the Officers have done it and it is very probable that all the rest will follow.

LONDON November the Twenty first One Thousand Seaven hundred. *James Westmore*: I hope these will find you in health and safe arrived att New Callebar. I am greatly concerned that there is so many Ships bound for New Callebarr there being three Shipps bound there which went out with you besides Captain Gray and Captain Edwards per whom these goe and others

[10] The duty provided by the act of 1698. See this work, I. 424.

as I am informed is designed thither which will not be long after him all which I fear cannot gett their Complement of Slaves there but do hope you may gett a Trade att Tone and other places adjacent as formerly directed You being acquainted with the trade and severall places in the Bite leave it wholly to your discretion to send or go with your Ship to any place or places where you cann best procure your Slaves but desire you will first send your Boat and be well assured of your Slaving before you remove your Ship and if it should soe happen that you cannot buy your Slaves at the prices I have formerly advised you must give such prices as you cann buy them att and rather than you should lye a long time there and run the hazard of your health Ships Company and Negroes and not to go of from thence in good time before the Rains to Virginea in July I would have you saile with Three hundred Negroes if you cannott gett more, all which I leave to your discretion praying to God to direct you for the best. As I formerly advised you that I would have you consult and advise with Captain Gray and assist him what you cann endeavouring for his Interest next unto your owne and if it should so happen that you should find a place where you cann Slave better than where you are I would have you keep that to yourselfe untill you are Slaved but after you have accomplisht what you designe and have secured your owne Slaves than acquaint Captain Gray and give him your advice for his Slaving and in all things do you and he hold together and conceal from others your intention and management in your Slaveing whereby it may be a benefitt to your selfe and Captain Gray. I had rather you should go away for Virginea with Three hundred Slaves than to tarry there the Raines and run the hazard of Sickness in your Shipps Company and Slaves in the time of the Raines for it may soe happen that you may loose more Slaves in tarrying the time of the Raines and with the Sickness that may be occasioned by the Raines in your voyage to Virginea than you may buy in the time of the Raines and if Captain Gray should loose soe many men as should disable him and you have men to spare I would have you supply him or his Shipps Company if he be dead to enable them to proceed their Voyage and so I have writt to him to do the same if please God you should have the like occasion and he be capable of spareing any help. Conclude praying to God for your health and good success in all your endeavours assuring you that your honest and Prudent Management shall ever be rewarded in future concerns by him who is your Reall Freind T. S.

And this defendant doth beleive that the said severall letters herein before sett forth are true Coppyes of such originall letters as this defendant did all the severall times for that purpose mentioned send to the Complainant but for this defendants greater certainty therein this defendant doth referr himselfe to the Originall letters now in the Complainants Custody as this defend't supposeth. And this defendant saith he doth not remember that he hath at any time sent the Complainant any other letters then what this defendant hath herein and in his former answear set forth without that that any other matter cause or thing in the Complainants said bill of Complaint conteined materiall or effectuall in the Law for him this defendant to make answear unto and not herein and hereby well and sufficiently answered confessed or avoided traversed or denyed is true, all which matters and things this defendant is and shall be alwayes ready and

willing to averr justify maintain and prove as this honourable Court shall award, and therefore humbly prayes to be hence dismist with his reasonable costs and Charges in the behalfe most wrongfully susteined etc.[11]

74. Case of the *Dolphin* and the *Mermaid*, 1705.[1]

[*Petition of Sir Richard Levett and William Lone to the Queen.*]

Feb. 18, 1704/5.

Sir Richard Levett and William Lone, in behalf of themselves and the rest of the owners of the *Dolphin* and *Mermaid* now lying in Bristol outward bound for Callabar. These ships, carrying letters of marque, and being lately arrived from Virginia,[2] where they delivered in Sept. last 546 slaves for the benefit of the inhabitants there and in Maryland, and paid also to the said Governments 546 *l.* by virtue of an Order of Councill in those Colonies made for all ships bringing slaves there to pay 20 *s.* per head for every slave towards the building of a Colledge and other charitable uses,[3] and were afterwards not permitted by the said Governours of Virginia and Maryland to take in any of the growth of those Plantations, unless they would continue there untill a convoy should present from some other of your Majesty's Plantations, there being no convoy there to convoy them to England, altho' built on purpose to saile without convoy, nor were permitted to clear in their ballast directly from thence for England, but were obliged upon their being cleared, to give bond to touch at the Island of Maderas, which severe usage being of great discouragement to your Majesties subjects adventuring their estates for the support of your Majesties Plantations and to trade in general, Petitioners pray for H. M. letters commanding all and every of the Governours of your Majesties Plantations in the West Indies or Virginia, into what Port soever the said ships shall of choice put in or by contrary winds be forced into, not to detain them beyond the

[11] The manuscript ends with the words "inc p a° 1702 Bill res ad Meeres. Wm. Lightfoot", in a different handwriting from the rest of the record.

[74] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1704-1705, pp. 63-64. The covering letter of Sir Charles Hedges, recently appointed secretary of state, was sent with this petition to the Board of Trade Feb. 21, 1705. Hedges did not ask for an opinion on the "impressment of men, for which there is a standing rule" (*ibid.*, p. 388; C. O. 5: 1314, no. 39, and 5: 1361, pp. 50-53). There is a confusion of dates in the *Calendar*, which has caused the placing of Hedges's first letter after the reply of the Board of Trade.

[2] The *Mermaid*, Capt. James French, a London not a Bristol vessel, was reported among the Virginia arrivals Aug. 8, 1704. The *Dolphin* does not appear among the Virginia entries until June 13, 1707. She probably entered in Maryland alone on the voyage of 1704. See *ante*, no. 14, and *post*, no. 130.

[3] This must refer to the act passed in April, 1704. If the petitioners are correct, the purpose for which the revenue from the duty was to be applied was not that stated in the earlier acts which this continues.

time their Commanders shall judge agreeable to the interest of the owners, nor that any of their ship's crew shall be lyable to be imprest by any of your Majesty's Commanders of ships of war, etc.[4]

[*Representation of the Board of Trade.*][5]

March 2, 1704/5.

Though it do's in the Generall very much contribute to the security of a trade that all ships bound from the Plantations to England do saile with convoy according to your Majesty's Instructions to your Majesty's Governors in America, yet forasmuch as these two ships are designed for the coast of Guinea and from thence to Jamaica, with negroes, which may likewise promote the trade with the Spaniards, so that the time of their arrival at, and departure from the Plantations cannot be so well ascertained as to depend upon convoys, and they being light sailors and of force, we have nothing to object why your Majesty may not grant your orders to your said Governors to permit the said ships to sail without convoy for the present voyagge to be performed within 12 months.

[4] The Privy Council at the same time had two further requests from these petitioners, one for protection from impressment, on the score that it rendered impotent African vessels which might be useful to her Majesty's service; the second a request for passes to sail without convoy to Calabar and Virginia. Lone, who was evidently managing the business, attended the meeting of the Board of Trade on Feb. 23, and was directed to obtain fuller information from the masters in Bristol. On Feb. 27 he reappeared with the statements of the masters, to learn that the Board of Trade could make no report until it had a statement from the Privy Council or the Queen on the Order in Council involved. The petition here printed was returned to Secretary Hedges on Mar. 2, with the representation which follows. The petition itself bears the following endorsement: "H. M. approves of the Report so far as that the ships shall not be stopt for convoys, letters to the governors accordingly; as to the press, care is taken for that in a Gen'll Standing Order, to the Governor and Commander." The request for passes to sail at once was referred to the Admiralty, on whose recommendation it was granted Mar. 13 (*B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, pp. 99, 102; C. O. 5: 1361, pp. 55-56; *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 456). Though the object of the convoy system was to protect English shipping, merchants objected to it strongly and requests for passes to sail without convoy were frequent. The grounds on which such special requests were made were the necessities of some needy community, the perishable nature of the cargo, or some service done for the government which entitled the doer to reward. The form of procedure in considering such petitions may be seen in *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 544. Among the vessels for which special consideration was asked were the *Thomas and John,* for a voyage to Guinea and Virginia, Jan. 25, 1702; the *Morris* to Guinea and Virginia, "with negroes for the petitioners' and others plantations in Virginia", Apr. 12, 1702; the *Alexander,* Giles Love, to Guinea and Virginia, Jan. 8, 1708; the *Dolphin,* Samuel Payne, to Guinea, Virginia, and Maryland, October, 1708. *Ibid.*, II. 388, 393, 492, 544.

[5] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1704-1705, pp. 64-65. A paper similar in substance is to be found in *Manuscripts of the House of Lords,* 1706-1708, new ser., VII. 275-276, among the papers of a select committee appointed (1707) to receive proposals for fitting out privateers in the West Indies (see *Journals of the House of Lords,* XVIII. 341, 342). A circular letter in accordance with the representation of the board was prepared on Mar. 6, 1705. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1704-1705, p. 428.

75. Act for laying an Imposition on Liquors and Slaves, 1705.[1]

Forasmuch as the late Impositions upon liquors and upon servants and slaves imported into this colony and dominion have proved very usefull and advantageous, and that no better expedient can be found to lessen the levy by the poll or to defray the charge of any publick design than impositions of that nature. . . .

And be it further enacted, That the sum of twenty shillings shall be paid for every negro or other slave which after the said five and twentieth day of May shall be imported or brought into this colony and dominion from any port or place whatsoever by the importer or importers of the same.[2]

[No slaves to be landed until due entry is made.]

Provided always, and it is hereby further enacted, That if the importer of any liquors or slaves for which the dutys and customs according to this act shall be paid shall within six weeks after the importation thereof into this colony and dominion be desirous to export the same or part thereof in such case the said importer shall give . . . a particular account of the slaves he intends to export to the collectors with whom at their importation they were entered and shall subscribe the same and declare upon oath that the duty or custom for the liquors and slaves he desires to export were at the entry duly answered and paid according to this act, and that the said liquors and slaves shall be directly carried out of this dominion and not sold, delivered or put on shore within the same and then it shall be lawfull for the said collector and he is hereby required and enjoyned to allow to the said importer three-fourths of the duty or custom paid for the said liquors and slaves so to be exported, any thing in this act contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, That if the master of any ship or vessell importing slaves after the publication of this act shall wittingly or willingly make a false entry of any of the slaves so imported and be thereof convicted he shall forfeit and pay for every such offense the sum of one hundred pounds sterling, and if any collector of the dutys upon slaves shall directly or indirectly take or receive any bribe,

[75] [1] Hening, *Statutes*, III. 229-235. This was renewed in 1710 for three years, and again in 1712 for two years (*ibid.*, p. 482; IV. 30). In the same session of the assembly was passed: "An act for raising a publick revenue for the better support of the government of this her majesty colony and dominion of Virginia, and for ascertaining the sallary of the Councill. . . And be it also further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted, That every ship or vessell which shall at any time hereafter come into any port, creek, harbour or road within this colony and dominion, and shall be there entered in order to unlade and put on shore goods, merchandises, passengers, servants or slaves, shall pay six pence per poll for every passenger, servant, slave or other person imported in her the marriners belonging to and in actuall pay of the said ship or vessell and every one of them excepted." This was repealed in 1708 by proclamation and renewed in 1710. *Ibid.*, III. 344-349, 490.

[2] Here follows the subject-matter of the third paragraph of the act of 1699, *ante*, no. 70.

recompence or reward to connive at any false entry of any negroes or slaves imported as aforesaid, he shall forfeit and pay the sum of one hundred pounds sterling and be forever afterward disabled in his said office and rendered uncapable of holding any office or imployment relating to the customs in this colony and dominion, and the person or persons giving or paying such bribe or reward shall forfeit and pay the sum of one hundred pounds sterling.

And for an encouragement to import mony into this colony and dominion,

Be it further enacted, That whatsoever person or persons shall pay any of the impositions, dutys or customs accruing due by virtue of this act in good and lawfull mony of his or their own importation into this colony and dominion to be proved by the oath of the party paying the same such person or persons shall have an abatement and allowance of ten per cent in all dutys so paid and sattisfyed, and every collector of the duties so paid is hereby authorized and required to make allowance accordingly.

And be it further enacted, That upon any entry payment or drawback where an oath is directed and injoyned by this act, the collector of the dutys where such entry or payment shall be made or drawback allowed be impowered and required and such collector is hereby impowered and required to administer the oath.

And be it further enacted, That the several impositions, dutys or customs by this act laid upon liquors and slaves be from time to time paid and sattisfyed to our sovereign lady the Queen, her heirs and successors to and for the uses, intents and purposes hereafter mentioned, and to and for no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever.

And be it further enacted, That the severall forfeitures and penaltyes which shall or may arise by virtue of this act shall be divided into three equall parts, one third part whereof shall be to our sovereign lady the Queen, her heirs and successors for and towards the better support of this government and the contingent charges thereof, one third part to the governor of this colony and dominion for the time being, to and for his own proper use and behoof, and the other third part to him or them that will informe or sue for the same, to be recovered with costs in any court of record within this colony and dominion, wherein no essoin, protection, or wager of law shall be allowed.[3] . . .

[The collectors to be appointed by the governor, to account to the treasurer, the governor, the Council and Burgesses.]

[3] The subject-matter of the fifth and sixth paragraphs of the act of 1699 follows.

And be it further enacted, That this act shall continue in force for two years from the said five and twentieth day of May [1706] and no longer.[4]

76. Journal of the Board of Trade, 1707.[1]

November 28, 1707.

Mr. Perry, Mr. Hide, Mr. Milner and other Virginia and Maryland merchants attending. . . .

These gentlemen being further asked what benefit or disadvantage they find in the plantations by allowing seperate traders to the coast of Africa, they said that the separate traders had furnished to the plantations above 800 negroes annually, since the passing of the late Act, and that the company had sent none to Virginia or Maryland since, nor for seaven years before, that the said negroes (such as are merchantable) are sold from 25 to 26 a head; that the separate traders have paid to the company considerably more by the ten per cent. than the said company have laid out upon their forts and fortifications; and that the said seperate traders have no protection from the said forts, but on the contrary have received all the discouragement imaginable from the company's factors there.

77. Edmund Jennings to the Board of Trade, 1708-1710.[1]

Virginia November the 27th, 1708.

May it please yr Lordships, It was the 11th of last moneth and the Fleet then sailed, before I had the honr to receive yor Lordships of the 15th of April concerning the Negro Trade Since which I have endeavoured by the means of the proper Officers, and the informations of the ancient Inhabitants, to answer Yo'r Lordps Commands, and in

[4] On Dec. 21, 1705, Governor Edward Nott wrote to the Board of Trade: "I understand there hath been brought into the Country this summer about 1800 Negroes sold generally for 54 *l.* sterl. a Man and Woman, at the Least, all these Except a few are imported since the imposition Act Expired" (C. O. 5: 1361, p. 421). J. C. Ballagh (*History of Slavery in Virginia,* p. 15n.) says that the committee which was revising the Virginia laws continued the duty act of 1705 for two years. This however does not agree with Hening, according to whom the duty act expired in April, 1705, was revived in October, but was not to go into effect until the next May. This corresponds with the suggestion in Governor Nott's letter, that for a time there was no duty. For the importation in the summer of 1705 see *post,* no. 130. In April, 1706, the assembly was considering an act laying a duty of 20 *s.* to defray the cost of a house for the governor. See *Journal of the House of Burgesses,* 1702-1712, pp. 180, 183, 194, 195, 199, 201-203.

[76] [1] *B. T. Jour.,* 1704-1709, p. 430. For some account of the contentions of the African Company and of the separate traders see this work, II. 50-68, 75-78.

[77] [1] *N. C. Col. Recs.,* 1662-1712, I. 693-694. With minor differences, this letter is also to be found in *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1708-1709, pp. 156-157; C. O. 5: 1316, no. 15; C. O. 5: 1362, pp. 365-368. "Signed, E. Jenings. Endorsed. Recd. 16th April, Read 3rd May, 1709." See also *B. T. Jour.,* 1708/9-1714, p. 25. Jennings was president of the council of Virginia and acting governor between the death of Edward Nott in August, 1706, and the arrival of Alexander Spotswood as lieutenant governor, June 23, 1710.

Order thereto have herewith sent yo'r Lordships an account of all the Negros imported into this Colony from the 24th of June 1699 to the 12th of October last past distinguishing those imported by the Royal African Company (679), and those by Seperate Traders (5928),[2] wherein yo'r Lordships will perceive the latter have had much the greater Share. As to the particular Rates at which those Negros have been sold, they have been variable according to the Different times of their coming in and the quality and ages of the Slaves, but the medium for men and women may be reckoned from 20 to 30 pounds a head for those sold by the Company and from 20 to 35 £ a head for the like kinds sold by the Seperate Traders, who in gen'll have sold theirs at a higher rate than the Company.

How the Country was supplyed with Negros before the Trade to Affrica was laid open in the year 1698, I have endeavoured to Inform my Self from some ancient Inhabitants conversant in that Trade as well as by recollecting what hath happened in my own knowledge, and find that before the year 1680 what negros were brought to Virginia were imported generally from Barbados for it was very rare to have a Negro ship come to this Country directly from Africa since that time, and before the year 1698, the Trade of Negros became more frequent, tho not in any proportion to what it hath been of late, during which the Affrican Company sent several Ships and others by their Licence (as I have been informed) having bought their Slaves of the Company brought them in hither for Sale, Among which I remember the late Alderman Jeffrys and Sr Jeffry Jeffrys were principally concerned, but all this time the price of the Negros was currant from £18 to 25 per head for men and women and never exceeded that Rate. Whether the opening the Trade to Africa having created an Emulation between the Company and the Seperate Traders which should outbid the other in the purchase of their Slaves there, or whether the dexterity of their Factors there in taking advantage of the prevailing humour of our Inhabitants for some years past of buying Negros even beyond their abilities, or the Concurrence of both, hath raised the Rates of Negros so extravagantly I shall not pretend to determine but this I may venture to say that it will be much harder to lower the price again now 'tis raised unless there be the same Freedome of Trade continued as formerly for tho the Inhabitants of this Country in gen'll will not be so fond of purchasing Negros as of late being sensibly convinced of their Error which has in a manner ruined the Credit of the Country yet there will still be some that must, and others that will at any rate Venture to buy them, and if

[2] The lists enclosed in this letter, together with all other figures on the amount of Virginia importation, have, for convenience of printing, been placed at the end of the material on Virginia, nos. 130-134. They should be used in connection with the material which precedes them.

the Company alone have the Management of the Trade, they'l find pretences enough to keep up the price if not to impose what higher rate they please, which the buyer must submit to, knowing he cannot be supplyed by any other hand. As for Vessells trading directly from this place to the Coast of Africa I never knew of any nor is the same practicable this Country not being provided with Comoditys suitable for carrying on such a Trade. This is the best account I am able to give in answer to yor Lordships Commands wherein if I have failed or mistaken in any point I beg yo'r Lordships favourable Construction thereof Since I can with truth assure yo'r Lordships that no man hath a greater Desire to serve yo'r Lordships.[3] . . .

P. S. The Instructions to our late Governour were sealed up at his death, and were not opened till I had the hon'r of being intrusted with the Government by her Majesty's late Instruction, else I should not have failed in sending yr Lordships the amount of Negros required therein.

VIRGINIA, Jany 11, 1709/10.[4]

. . . I am sorry my letter of Nov. 27 concerning the negro trade hath given your Lordps. the trouble of a new enquiry. The difference in the price of negros between the Company and the separate traders was occasioned by the dilligence of the latter in sending their ships early, and thereby gaining the advantage, once or twice, of a better market than the Company who came after them; for when negros come in about the beginning of the summer, the planters are abundantly more fond of them, and will give greater prices for them, because they are sure of the advantage of their labours in that years crop, whereas negros bought at the latter end of the year, are of little service till the next Spring, and this is the true reason of that

[3] The last sentence is not in the *Calendar*, the postscript is (p. 157). On the same day Jennings wrote that the number of negroes in the colony was about 12,000, an increase of "laboring tithable persons" for the past three years of 3000, chiefly the result of the importation of negroes. This number the Board of Trade might have expected to be greater when they compared it with negro importations, but he explained that in addition "to the distempers usual among new negros wch carry off not a few of them, many of our poorer sort of inhabitants daily remove into our neighbouring Colonys, especially to North Carolina". *N. C. Col. Recs.*, 1662-1712, p. 692; *B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1714, p. 25; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 158.

[4] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1710-1711, p. 4. Endorsed, "Recd. 3rd, Read 20th April, 1710". On July 27, 1709, the Board of Trade wrote to Jennings: "The accounts of negroes you have sent us will be made use of as occasion shall offer. But it came too late for the last Session of Parliament, where the African trade was under consideration. However, we have reason to beleive that the next winter that Trade will be further look'd into, and then your accounts will be of service. But there is one particular wherein we are yet in the dark, *viz't.*, you say that the Company have sold their negroes from 20 to £30 a head, and the separate traders from 20 to £35. We wish you had explained the reason of this difference, and therefore desire you to do it the first opportunity" (*ibid.*, 1708-1709, p. 429). In its report to the House of Commons in 1709 the board estimated the annual demand of Maryland and Virginia at 4000 negroes. See this work, II. 63.

difference of price, and not that the Company have been at all more favourable to the planters in the sale of their slaves than the separate traders, for both have sold as dear as they could. . . .

78. Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood to the House of Burgesses, 1710.[1]

November 27, 1710.

. . . Wherefore give me Leave to Tell you That I fear The high Duty Intended on Negro slaves May be Interpreted as a prohibition of That Trade Which her Majesty is gratiously pleased to Countenance, as you may perceive by such her Royal Instructions which I now send you; and I hope it may not be yet too Late for you to make Some amendments That may shew you bear a Just Deference to her Majestys Most Gracious Recommendations. . . .

79. The Virginia Council to the House of Burgesses, 1710.[1]

Thursday, November 30, 1710.

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses: The Council having Taken into Consideration The Bill sent up from your house for Laying a Duty on Liquors and Slaves and being Desirous to Remove all Objections which may be Made against so good a Law as well as to preserve That good Correspondence with your house, which is Necessary for The Publick Service before They proceed farther on That Bill Think fitt to acquaint you That Complaints have been frequently made By The Traders That The former Imposition Acts have not Excepted Negro Children, and others Who by Accidental Infirmitys are not to be Sold for so much as The Duty Laid on Them And also That no Drawback hath been Allowed for Negros

[78] [1] *Journal of the House of Burgesses,* 1702-1712, p. 281. Hening (III. 482) gives the title of an act for laying a duty on liquors and slaves, which he says agrees almost verbatim with the first chapter of the act of 1705. There was however the important difference that the earlier act laid a duty of £1, the act now under consideration and soon to be passed placed a duty of £5, on imported slaves. The bill was well advanced toward passage when Governor Spotswood sent his protest (*Jour. of Burgesses,* 1702-1712, pp. 271, 273, 276). On Nov. 28, 1710, "The house proceeded to Take into Consideration The Message from The Governor Relating to The high Duty on Negro Slaves in The Imposition bill, and Thereupon, Ordered That The Comittee of Propositions and Grievances (according to The Directions of this house) Make a Suitable Answer to the said Message in the Address allready ordered to be, by Them prepared". The next day the committee reported the following: "The way we have Taken for Raising of Mony by Laying a Duty on slaves And Liquors, is what this house and former Assemblys have long Since thought Least Burthensome to The people And most Agreeable to The Constitution of this Government And Wee humbly Conceive The Manner in which it is now Laid, is very much for The Service of her Majesty, and The Advantage of The people We Represent Therefore pray The Bill as it now Lyes before The Councill, may have your Honours assent" (*ibid.,* pp. 282, 286). Alexander Spotswood was lieutenant governor of Virginia from June 23, 1710, to Sept. 27, 1722.

[79] [1] *Jour. of Burgesses,* 1702-1712, pp. 286-287.

Dying before Sale; Wherefore The Council propose That Your house will Consent That a Proviso be Added to the Bill: That all Such Negros as Either by Reason of Their Infancy or Any Accidental Disabillity happen to be sold for Less Than fifteen pounds shall pay no greater Duty Than one Third of What They are Sold for; and That for Negro's Dying before Sale and within Six Weeks after The Importacion a Drawback of The Whole Duty be Allowed.

And forasmuch as most of The Negros Imported from her Majestys Plantations are Either Such as are Transported for Crimes or Infected with Disseases, the Council Submit to the Consideration of Your house Whither it may not be proper That a higher Duty be Laid on Them Than on Negros Imported Directly from Africa, Allowing Still The Same Exemptions as above proposed. . . .

80. Journal of the House of Burgesses, 1710.[1]

Thursday, November 30th, 1710.

[The House] Resolved—That Leave be given to The Council to Amend The Bill for Laying a Duty on Liquors and Slaves by adding two proviso's prepared by This House on Consideration of their Message Relating to The Said Bill which Proviso's are in The Words following.

Provided allways and be it hereby Enacted That Nothing in This Act before Contained shall Extend or be Construed to Compell Importer or owner of Any Slave or Slaves into this Colony at any Time During The Continuance of This Act to pay the Duty by This Act Imposed on Slaves for any Negro or other Slave Male or female Child Which is not or shall not be at the time of Importation able to go Alone but that it shall and may be Lawfull for all Such Children to be Imported and Sold here Without paying the Duty by This Act Imposed or any part Thereof any Thing before in This Act Contained to the Contrary Notwithstanding.

Provided also That if by Virtue of This act a Duty be paid by the Importer, for any Negro or other Slave and Such Negro or Slave happen to Dye Within forty Days next after the Day of his or her Arrival into Any port of This Colony and be not Actually Sold it shall and may be Lawfull in Such a Case to and for The Collectors to whom The Said Duty shall be paid and Such Collector is hereby Required and Injoyned to allow and pay Back to The Said Importer the Duty paid for Such Negro or Slave in Case The Importer Making Demand of Such Drawback make Oath before The Said Collector That the Said Slave did Dye Within The Said forty Days and Was not Sold before his or her Death but not unless Such Oath be Made

[80] [1] *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1702-1712, p. 287.

any Thing in This Act to The Contrary or seeming to the Contrary Notwithstanding.[2] . . .

81. Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood to the Board of Trade, 1711.[1]

Virginia, Mch. 6th, 1710/11.

To the Lords of Trade: . . . For raising of which sum [2] and discharging sundry publick debts contracted since the last Assembly, which amounts to almost £1800, they have by another Act layed a duty on liquors and slaves for three years. The duty on liquors is the same that was laid the last Assembly; but that on slaves they have thought fitt to advance to five pounds a head, for all imported by water, and 20 *s.* on Indian slaves imported by land; I soon perceived that the laying so high a duty on negros was intended to discourage the importation, and therefore thought it necessary to use the arguments in my message of Nov. 27 (Journal of Assembly),[3] besides my endeavours with particular members for moderating that duty: but they urged what is really true, that the Country is already ruined by the great number of negros imported of late years; that it will be impossible for them in many years to discharge the debts already contracted for the purchase of those negros if fresh supplys be still poured in upon them while their tobacco continues so little valuable, but that the people will run more and more in debt, and must be forced to imploy their hands upon other manufactures. Whereupon finding them unanimously resolved rather to lose the Bill than to go contrary to the general inclinations of the country, I at last yeilded to pass the Act as they had prepared it after having been assured by the most considerable traders that this duty will be no discouragement

[2] The act was approved Dec. 9, 1710 (*ibid*, p. 298). DuBois (*Slave Trade*, p. 13) is mistaken in thinking that Spotswood went so far as to veto this measure, as his letter next printed makes quite clear. The duty act of 1710 was continued in 1712 for another three years (*Jour. of Burgesses*, 1712-1726, pp. 32, 35, 36, 40-42; *Jour. of Council*, I. 550, 552-553). On Dec. 29, 1713, Spotswood wrote to the Board of Trade: "They have likewise placed a further confidence in me, by allowing me without any controul to finish the Governor's house, and by agreeing that without limiting the sum the charge thereof shal be paid out of the dutys on liquors and slaves" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1712-1714, p. 278). For earlier correspondence of Spotswood with the board see *post*, no. 132, n. 1. In 1714 a further measure was passed to remove the defects in the existing law (*Jour. of Burgesses*, 1712-1726, pp. 66, 97, 101-102, 110-112, 117; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1714-1715, p. 84). Apparently no further duty was laid until 1723. Occasional petitions asked that the duty imposed by the act of 1710 be omitted. In November, 1712, Mr. Frederick Jones was allowed to bring in slaves from North Carolina duty free, as they had originally gone from Virginia. *Jour. of Council*, I. 541-542.

[81] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1710-1711, pp. 415-416; Va. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, I. 52, and VI. 11. The text here used is that of the *Calendar*. Endorsed: "Recd. 5th, Read 8th June, 1711."

[2] Note: "£2195 to build a house for the governor."

[3] Page 281 in the printed *Journal*. The text in the *Collections* reads, "to use the arguments which Your Lordsps will find in the Message of the 27th November, mentioned in the —— page of the Journal of Assembly marked No. 1".

to the negro trade, if tobacco becomes valuable, and on the other hand, tho' no duty were laid on negros, the country is not in a capacity to purchase any number while their tobacco is at so low a rate; and that this duty will only affect some few merchants that perhaps may import negros before they are acquainted with the circumstances of the Country, but none that are thoroughly versed in this trade. Since therefore the duty is only for three years, and that it will at least require so much time before the Country can possibly be in a condition to pay off the debts already contracted, I hope the passing this law, which is so necessary for the ease and satisfaction of H. M. subjects here, will not be disagreeable to H. M. Your Lordps will observe in the above mentioned message another exception I took against this Bill, which was, that the Virginia owners enjoyed a greater priviledge and exemption than H. M. British subjects. . . .[4]

82. Instructions to the Earl of Orkney, 1715.[1]

April 15, 1715.

102. You are to give all due Encouragement and Invitation to Merchants and others who shall bring Trade to our Colony or any way contribute to the Advantage thereof and in Particular to the Royal Affrican Company.

103. And as we are willing to recommend unto the said Company that the said Colony may have a constant and sufficient Supply of Merchantable Negroes at Moderate Rates in Money or Commodities so you are to take especial Care that Payment be duly made and within a competent time according to their Agreement.

[4] This applied to that portion of the act which dealt with the duty on liquors. On Mar. 20, 1711, Spotswood again wrote to the Board of Trade: "The unhappy circumstances of the trade of this Colony oblige me to lay before your Lordp's, the ill consequences which I am apprehensive it may have on that of Great Brittain without the application of some proper and speedy remedy. The great number of negros imported here (so long as there remained any money or credit in the country to buy them) and solely imployed in making tobacco, hath produced for some years past an increase of that commodity far disproportioned to the consumption that could be made of it in all the marketts which the war had left open" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1710-1711, p. 430, printed in Va. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, new ser., I. 72, and VI. 11). Spotswood goes on to show that this condition is driving the people into manufacturing to supply their wants since tobacco will no longer do it. For the amount of importation which followed this act see *post*, no. 131.

[82] [1] *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXI. 351-352. George Hamilton Douglas, Earl of Orkney, was governor of Virginia from 1697 to 1737, though during that time he never visited the colony. These instructions, with the exception of art. 105, are the same as those sent to Francis Nicholson Aug. 30, 1720, when he was appointed governor of South Carolina (C. O. 5: 400, p. 41, sects. 83-86), and are typical of those sent as a matter of routine. See those to Robert Hunter in 1707 (C. O. 5: 1362, p. 181, sects. 101-104) and to Orkney Dec. 15, 1727 (C. O. 5: 1365). In 1718 the Board of Trade directed an addition to the governors' instructions: "that they do not pass any Act which may any ways affect the trade or shipping of the Kingdom without a Clause Declaring that the said Acts shall not be in Force until they be Approv'd and Confirm'd by His Majesty". *Acts P. C. C.*, 1680-1720, p. 721.

104. And whereas the said Company have frequently great Sums of Money owing to them in our Plantations in America, they have been much hindered in the recovery of their Just debts there, and discouraged in their Trade by too frequent Adjournments of Courts, and it being absolutely necessary that all Obstructions in the Course of Justice be effectually remov'd You are to take Care that the Courts of Justice be duly and frequently held in our Colony and Dominion under your Government, so that all our Subjects in the said Colony, and Particularly the Royal African Company may enjoy the Benefit thereof, and not receive any undue hinderance in the recovery of their Just Debts.

105. And you are to take care that there be no Trading from Virginia to any Place in Africa within the Charter of the Royal African Company otherwise than prescribed by Law.

106. And we do further expressly Command and require you to give unto us, and to our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations an Account every half Year of what Number of Negroes the said Colony is Supply'd with, that is what Number by the African Company, and what by the Seperate Traders, and at what rates Sold.

83. The Royal African Company: Minutes of the Committee of Shipping, 1720.[1]

At a Com'ee of Shipping held February 14th 1720.

Agreed with Capt. John Mitchell to freight the Ship *Prince George* from the port of London to Cabenda in Guinea to take in there 350 Negroes and to proceed from thence to Virginia and there to deliver her Negroes att Six pounds ten Shillings per head freight for all delivered alive and three pounds five Shillings per head dead Freight for all shipt short of the 350 and the Capt. to be subject to the usual covenants in the Companys charter partys. The Ship to be ready to take in Goods by the 20th of this Instant. And to Depart Gravesend by the 20th of March wind and weather permitting.

84. Case of the *Callabar Merchant*, 1720-1721.[1]

[*Deposition of Alexander Bradford.*]

Surr ss.

Alexander Bradford late Cheife Mate of the *Callabar Merchant* Maketh Oath that the Said Ship (Thomas Kenedy being Master) was fitted out and Sail'd from Bristoll in the Month of September 1719,

[83] [1] T 70: 131, p. 57. Signed, "Wm. Dilke". On subsequent days the committee directed that the committee of goods ship 100 tons on the *Prince George*, and that they place on board cloths for 350 negroes. The cargo was to be consigned to Nurse Hereford, governor of Cabenda (*ibid.*, pp. 59, 60). For some account of further efforts of the company to supply Virginia with slaves see *post*, no. 133, n. 4.

[84] [1] C. O. 5: 1319, p. 53.

and was Bound for and proceeded to the Coast of Africa and had on Board no other Cargoe than what was proper for purchasing Negroes which was the Intent of the Voyage and the Negroes there purchased was to be Transported to the Collony of Virginia.

That about the 11th day of Xbr. att the Dawning of the Day in the Same Year the Said Ship in the prosecution of her Voyage being near to Old Callabar on the Coast of Guinia had the Misfortune to fall near Three Ships And a Brigantine wch proved to be all pirats one of which having Twenty Guns mounted And two hundred Men whose Commanders Name was England came up wth them, And Hoysted a black Flagg wth Death's Head in itt And Fired at the *Callabar Merchant* and Soon entered on Board her by force of Arms and Beat and Abused Several of the Said Ships Company and threatned to Burn the Ship with her Cargoe. And forced the Master Thomas Kenedy with the Ship and her Company to goe with them into the River of Old Callabar and whilst there the pirats fitted their Ships and Cleaned them. All which time the Master and Company of the *Callabar Merchants* were prisoners and the Ship in the possession of the said piratts and that the said pirats After they had fitted their Ships and Cleaned them Departed from that river forceing the *Callabar Merchant* to Saile with them to Cape Lopas, and from thence to the Iland of Anabona and near the Said Iland After having been Nine Weeks in the possession of the Said Pirats and their prisoners all that time Did Obtain Liberty to Depart from them and proceed on their Voyage to Virginia and at their Departure they put on Board Twenty one Negro Men wch they gave the Master as a Satisfaction for the Damage they had done him the Said Twenty one Negroes were all new Negroes for they could Speak no European Language.

That the *Callabar Merchant* was fitted with Stores And of Burden and Accomodations And also had Sufficient Cargoe to have purchased upwards of Three Hundred Slaves had She escaped falling into the hands of these pirats who took away and distroyed whilst they had the possession of the Said Ship the Following Goods (*Vizt.*).

One Hundred and Thirteen Copper Barrs, Six Iron Barrs, Six peaces of photas,[2] Twelve peaces of large Topseals, Twenty four peaces of romalls, Thirty peaces of Cuthleas, Ninty ps. of Brawles, four hundred forty five Bunches of Beads, Between three and four hundred weight of Nailes, Between four and five hundred weight of pewter, one hundred and four Laced Hatts, Seven plain Hatts, Ten Barrells of powder, one hundred and Eleven Tradeing Guns and Several other Goods damaged.

[2] Photas or photees, East India cottons, romalls, sometimes called sea-handkerchiefs, cuthless or cushlaes, probably coarse cotton cloth. These and many similar goods are frequently referred to in volumes I. and II. of this work.

And Also of the Ships Stores three ps. of Canvas, Six Casks of Beef and porke, two butts of Bread, Ten Anchors of French Brandy, three West India Barrels of Bottled Beer, Sixty Platform planks, Six Quoils of New Cordage, Two Firkins of Butter, and Fifteen Cheeses with all the Ships other Stores Except a Hundred of Bread and a Barrell of Bull Beef the Water and Negroes provision.

That We being forced from the Coast as Aforesaid And with but one half of our Compliment of Slaves (*Vizt.*) one hundred and Sixty, Thirty Six of which Dyed at Sea and Virginia Whereof this Deponent verily believes Twenty of them dyed partly and through the Ill useage they had from the pirats and by the want of provision at Sea, And the Superfluity After they arrived at Virginia, Also that the Slaves Brought into Virginia was for Want of Provision So Maugre that the price was much Diminished.

There was Also lost at Callabar and Cape Lopas Three Slaves which was Occasioned by not keeping a Strict Watch as Usual which was out of our power to do being so Harrassed And always under the Command of the Said pirats, And this Deponent further Saith that he had taken from him by the said pirats In wearing Apparrel to the Value of Seven pounds Ten Shillings.

ALEXR. BRADFORD

Jurat 24th die Martii 1720.
Coram me RA. HARSERY

[*Lieutenant Governor Spotswood to the Board of Trade.*][3]

May the 20th, 1720.

My Lords: . . .[4] There have also been bro't in hither last Month in the Ship *Callabar Merchant* of Bristol, Tho. Kennedy, M'r, one and twenty Negro Slaves, wch he delivered up to me as Piratical Effects, and upon wch I am to wait his Majesty's Commands. These Slaves were given to Capt. Kennedy by one Edward England, Commdr. of a Pirate Ship by whom Kennedy was taken on the Coast of Guinea last Winter and as the Pirats had detained him for some months and plundered him of sundry Goods, they pretended to give him these Negroes in recompense for his Losses. When Masters of

[3] Va. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, II. 338-340.

[4] Earlier in this letter Spotswood wrote of the capture of pirates who had the previous year been on the coast of Guinea, and who had in their possession when captured three negro men and a boy. The next year Spotswood wrote to the board of a Spanish privateer which had ravaged the Virginia coast. On Spotswood's protest all the prizes captured had been returned save a London sloop bringing negroes to Virginia, "Yet he would by no means part wth the Sloop wth the Negroes, wch was more valuable than both the others, but alledged that that Sloop was a lawfull Prize for having Redwood on Board, wch he said was the Growth of the Spanish Plantations, tho it was evident the same was brought from the Coast of Africa". *Ibid.*, p. 347.

Ships are so honest as to discover and Yield up what is thus given them in lieu of their own private losses, I cannot but recommend them to his Maj'ty's favour that some consideration may be had of their sufferings and damages. . . . And seeing Capt. Kennedy has in like manner acted so just a part in delivering up the Negroes given him by the Pirates, in consideration of the damages he and his Owners had sustained by their Means, I beg leave to recommend him, also, to Yo'r Lord'ps assistance for obtaining Reparation out of the produce of the Slaves he has thus delivered up to his Maj'ty's use.[5] . . .

The Case of Francis Stevens, Abel Grant, Tho. Melton, Samll. Allen and Samll. Fry, Merchants and Owners of the Ship "Callabar-Merchant" of Bristol.[6]

[March 22, 1721.]

That the said Ship the *Callabar Mercht.* was fitted out of Bristol in the month of Sept. 1719, with a Cargo proper for purchasing Negroes and no other, And also provision for the said Ship's Company and no more than a Sufficiency for the Voyage.

That the Master Thos. Kenedy was sent with the same from Bristol to Guinea with no other Intent than to purchase Negroes there, and from thence to transport them to the Collony of Virginia.

That being on the Coast of Guinea and near old Callabar, on the 11th Xbr. in the same year At the Dawning of Day, the said Ship fell near to three Ships and a Brigantine, wch weere all Pyrates, One of the Ships whose Commanders Name was England, came up with the *Callabar Merchant*, and the said Pyrate Ship hoisted a Black Flag, with Death's Head, and firing at the sd *Callabar Merchant,* soon enter'd on board her, beat and abused the said Master and his Men, and kept them as Prisoners for Nine Weeks, in which time they made use of, destroyed and took away great part of the said Ship's Cargoe, Provision, and Stores, and often threatening them to burn the said Ship, but at length the Master Kennedy obtained Liberty to depart from them with his Ship to proceed on his Voyage to Virginia, and at their parting with him, they put on board and gave him the said Kennedy Twenty one Negroe Men as a Satisfaction for the Damage they had done him.

[5] In a letter written on the same day to Secretary Craggs, Spotswood adds that he is keeping the negroes till he receives his Majesty's commands or application from their owners. Va. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, II. 343.

[6] C. O. 5: 1319, pp. 39, 41. On Mar. 28, 1721, Lord Carteret sent to the Lords of Trade and Plantations a letter on this subject, enclosing Spotswood's statement (C. O. 5: 1319, p. 9). Endorsed: "Mem'dm The Original return'd to the Treasury." Captain Kennedy made affidavit to the facts here related on Nov. 14, 1720 (C. O. 5: 1319, p. 39). Abel Grant was master of the Society of Merchant Venturers in 1729.

As soon as arrived at Virginia, the Master Kennedy acquainted the Honble. Alex. Spotswood Esq. Govr. thereof; W[h]o seized the said Negroes for his Majesty's use, and have only allowed for the same One Hundred and Twenty Six pounds, which is not one fourth part of the Value, Notwithstanding the Damage sustained by the said owners of the said Ship, occasion'd by the said Pyrates, amounts at least to twelve hundred pound Sterling, as per Affidavit, is made to appear.[7]

[*Journal of the Board of Trade.*][8]

WHITEHALL, March 28, 1721.

Mr. Erle, Member of Parliament for Bristol, attending with Mr. Francis Stevens, and desiring the Board to take into consideration the case of the said Stevens and others merchants and owners of the ship *Callabar Merchant* of Bristol, which was lately plundered by pirates on the coast of Africa, and brought some negroes to Virginia, given by the said pirates to the master of the said ship, in lieu of great part of her cargoe, so plundered; the said negroes being seized there for His Majesty by order of Colonel Spotswood, Lieut. Governor of that colony; a letter from Mr. Charles Stanhope, dated the 22nd instant, signifying the desire of the Lords of the Treasury that this Board would give them their opinion on the said case, was read; together with the case itself; as also the affidavits of the master and chief mate of the ship in proof of the facts set forth in the said case; and their Lordships observing to Mr. Erle and Mr. Stevens, that the negroes, which the owners of the said ship desire to have restored, or the value of them, may possibly be claimed by persons who were robbed of them by these pirates; Mr. Erle thereupon said, that security should be given to answer any Legal claim on that account if His Majesty should be graciously pleased to bestow the said negroes, or value of them, on the owners of the said ship and others concernd therein.

A Letter from the Lord Carteret of this day, referring to the Board an extract of a letter from Colonel Spotswood, Lieut. Governor of Virginia, in favour of Captain Kennedy, Commander of the said ship *Callabar Merchant*, was read; and their Lordships gave some directions for preparing a letter to the Treasury, relating to the case of the owners of the said ship.[9]

[7] This statement the owners sent to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, asking that Spotswood be instructed to deliver the negroes to them, or to find some other satisfaction for their losses. C. O. 5: 1319, p. 41.

[8] *B. T. Jour.*, 1718-1722, pp. 262, 263; C. O. 391: 30, pp. 83-84.

[9] In accordance with directions given by the board, William Popple, on Mar. 31, communicated to Charles Stanhope, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, the judgment of the board that if the owners of the *Callabar Merchant* would give security to answer for any legal claim which might be made for the negroes the board saw no objections to the satisfaction they asked being granted to them (C. O. 391: 30, p. 89, C. O. 5: 1365, pp. 227-228; *Cal. Treas. Papers*, 1720-1728, p. 52). The warrant carrying out this judgment was signed May 15.

85. Captain Edward Holden to the Owners of the *Greyhound*, 1723.[1]

Tindalles Point York River, Virginia
May the 26th, 1723.

Sir, this With my Humble Servis to you and the Rest of the Gentellmen Owners and to satisfie you of my Arivall hear from Barbados the last Night haveing 23 days Pasage from thence and brought in hear 172 Slaves and all butt 3 or 4 as outt a Littell of flesh the Rest full and harty free from any Destemper or Disorder 89 Men 63 Women 14 boys 6 Girles hear is No Slaves Came into this River this year and do Hope Slaves will bear a Good Price for I may be Bold to say thatt tiss allmost Imposible to bring in Likelier or Better hear or Elswhere on all Acctts then you have att Presentt onbord your Shipp. pray God send them as Well of. Sr I Wright to you from Barbados of my Proceedings thear of Delivering Mr. Crump and Heasell 25 Mawger Slaves butt when under Saill Lett them have 8 more 30 three in all and doe belive itt was for your Intrus or I had Nott don itt for thay InComodeing the Rest thatt Those as Was Well and Harty held itt much better then thay Would had the others been onbord as sone as I Came to the Mouth of the River the Pilott Came and Mr. Moor [2] has Order Me as sone as Entered to bring the Ship to West Pointt Wich I shall obey and God Willing to Morrow to Make the best of my Way up as he has Directted me. on the Coast of Africa and hear saw Nor herd of any Rougs[3] and Hope Never shall.

86. Augustine Moore to the Owners of the *Greyhound*, 1723.[1]

Virg'a June the 4th, 1723.

Gent'n, Your *Greyhound* Capt. Holden is lately arrived with 170 Negroes as the Capt. Saies, they have had a great Loss in the voiage by Mortality, however these that are here is Likely and full flesht. Capt. Canady [2] Arrived in Rappa. with Near 300 fine Slaves a day

[85] [1] Bristol Public Library, Bristol, Eng., Jefferies MSS., p. 68. At this period the London merchants were chiefly concerned with the Spanish trade, leaving that of Virginia and Maryland to the merchants of Bristol, many of whom had factors in these colonies. Probably the owner of the *Greyhound* was Isaac Hobhouse, head of an important commercial house of Bristol. See this work, II. 382-383, 387-388, 431-433, and *post*, no. 167.

[2] Augustine Moore.

[3] Pirates.

[86] [1] Jefferies MSS., p. 69.

[2] This may be a reference to the *Shirley*, a Bristol vessel which arrived in the Rappahannock River May 24, with 230 negroes. In the Naval Officers' List the name of the captain is given as Scanderet, *post*, no. 133.

or two before the *Greyhound* so that Maj. Tayloe [3] is intirely taken up to tend the Ship. his Sale began Six daies Since, the price Sett upwards of forty pounds per pair, but they went of very dull. wee begun our sales of the *Greyhound* yesterday at west point, set the price at forty pounds Sterl. a pair, where they took Six or Eight and forty two a Man and woman, a very poor Story after such a Loss in the voiage but this price was very well Considerd before Sett, the times being hazerdous and the great Number of Negroes Expected from the Comp. to Coll. Spottswood [4] and a Ship from London to Coll. Digges as made the Gent'n dull and not willing to buy at these prises, however have Sold upwards of fifty at the above prises, and hope shant be Longue before I gett them off, can only Say shall doe my best for your interest, and give all the Dispatch in my power. The advantages you prop'd in Rappa. by divideing the Negroes is over there being eneough of the kind there. I shant trouble you further at this time, shall advise per all opertunit's of our proceedings.

87. Captain Edward Holden to the Owners of the *Greyhound*, 1723.[1]

Matapani River Virginia
June the 22th, 1723.

Sir, this With my Humble Servis to you and the Rest of the Gentellmen Owners of the *Greyhound* and is to satisfie you how things is hear Concerning your Ship and Cargo. when I Came up to West Pointt acording to Mr. Moors Orders he Apointted a day of Sale and Sent hors and man Throw the Cuntry to aquaintt Gentellmen and Others of the Arrivall of your Ship With Slaves. The Day Came and a Greatt many Chaps Came from one place or another Likewise Major Tayloe Was there So because There shuld be No Exceptions Major Tayloe sett the price £40 Starling apair and so Whentt Presenttly for Rapahanock to Dispactt the *Serloo* so Mr. More sold thatt day fivety butt Nott under butt a Littell advance on sum itt being on Munday and the Sunday following being att Mr. Moors there Came Major Tayloe to see how things was so I porpose to send a Slope Round for Tobaco for I hope he Would Favor you with sixty or seventy Hoggds. for to send your ship sone away. His answer was he Could Nott promise one hoggd. for he must Dispactt the *Serloo* and the *Tayloe* when there and Tobaco being so scarce he Could Nott promise any. The Munday Morning he Whentt over the River for Rapahanock. there Was Six or Eight Men Coming over to Mr.

[3] Probably John Tayloe.
[4] See *post*, no. 133, n. 4.
[87] [1] Jefferies MSS., p. 72.

Moors to buy Slaves so hee Told them that twas all one between them both for the Slaves was Jointtly Consine to both and the thing Was the same so Take the Chapts with him to Rapahanock for to lessen the *Sherloos* Complementt. Mr. Moor has Left No Ways any thing slipt in Making the Utmost Dispactt Concarning your Intrust. I have had a Slope Gon for Tobaco this forttnight and do hope to have sum onbord with sixty Hoggds. in a few days more. Mr. Moor Tells me thince [since?] tis as itt tis he hops in a shortt time to gett me My Load of Tobaco for he is a man so much Respeckted by both Gentell and Simpell thatt if tis posible to be had he will have itt and others go without itt, for sum of the Bristoll men I belive Will Wantt of being full Considerablely. Major Tayloe has Nott been hear since Concerning Slaves or Els, butt God bepraise I have butt 19 Left and do hope thay will be gone soone. . . .

88. Augustine Moore to the Owners of the *Greyhound*, 1723.[1]

Virg'a June 25th, 1723.

Gent'n, My Last was the 19th instant to which refer. Little since done. I am in hopes to make the *Greyhound* a full Shipp of tob'o, and if weather proves good I hope she will leave us abt. the Last of Next Month. what Slaves wee have left goes of Slow and dull, yett am in hopes to gett Clear of them before the Ship Sailes.

Gov. Spotswood has sent in his Sloop to my Landing abt. 20 tonn of Iron to frtt. to Bristoll, he made an offer to shipp in the *Greyhound* what she would take in, which by Consent of Capt. Holden wee have agreed to discharge our ballace and take as much Iron as is Sufficient for the Shipp, the price is 7/6 per Tonn, which is 2/6 more than he has given to any of the Londoners this year. I thott this may be agreeable since its brott to the Shipp Side and no trouble therewith and the Iron very handy, and there can be (now) noe danger in Stowing tob'o in our ground tear, otherwise the guiney ballace woud prove injurious to the tob'o. I shant inlarge, but shall Use my indeav'rs for the dispatch of your Shipp, and am with Sincere respects.

89. Concerning an Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1723-1724.[1]

Extract of a Letter Dated in Virginia 25 June 1723

I Cant but think myselfe Obliged to lett you know that the Assembly here have passed a Law which Is to Take place next April, laying

[88] [1] Jefferies MSS., p. 75.

[89] [1] C. O. 5: 1319, p. 265. On May 30, 1723, the governor informed the council that he understood that the Burgesses were planning to lay a duty upon slaves. For

40/ per head Duty on Negroes.[2] This I presume the African Company will Oppose, and Not knowing but the Seperate Traders might Likewise Join In such Opposition made Me think this Notice the more Necessary.

They sett forth In their Law Abundance of good Uses the Money raised by these Impositions have been putt to, but If they would Likewise sett forth how much the Burgesses have Made Use of to pay themselves in Money they would find the Summ amount to Near or Upwards of £4000 for three Sessions of Assembly last past which Must Surely be thought very Ridiculous, nay this very Assembly, to pay themselves In Money have Broke Into a fund (as I think) appropriated for Bounties to those that Manufactured hemp and Tarr, so that If this Law passes the Money which will Arrise thereby must for a long time go to supply those funds which the Burgesses have Broke Into, for no reason that I know of, but because they think Money better pay than Tobacco.

To Mr. Richard Harris

[*Journal of the Board of Trade.*][3]

1723, November 19, WHITEHALL.

Mr. Lansdale, Mr. Hayes and Mr. Tryon, Three of the Directors of the Royal African Compy. attending, as they had been desir'd as also Mr. Peter Le Heup, Agent for the Colony of Virginia, Mr. Carey, Mr. Byrd, and Mr. Perry,[4] in relation to an Act pass'd in Vir-

their information he sent his Majesty's instructions of Sept. 27, 1717, relating to the passage of acts "affecting the Trade and Shipping of Great Brittain", with the request that the council transmit them to the House of Burgesses (*Ex. Jour. of Col. Va.,* IV. 40). Richard Harris, to whom this letter was written, was a separate trader frequently called to testify before the Board of Trade. In a letter of Sept. 23, 1723, he puts forward a Virginia argument against the act here under consideration. C. O. 5: 1319, p. 255.

[2] See *Jour. of Burgesses,* 1712-1726, pp. 379-384, 395; Hening, IV. 118. The governor's assent to the act was given June 20. DuBois, who describes this act as imposing a "prohibitive" duty, writes of it as the beginning of a series designed to "check the slave trade", a purpose certainly not hinted at by the writer of this letter (*Slave Trade,* pp. 12-13, 213). The duty was lower than that in operation between 1710 and 1718, which was scarcely "prohibitive".

[3] C. O. 391: 32, pp. 214-217; *B. T. Jour.,* 1722/3-1728, p. 50. Those opposed to the act just passed lost no time in making their objections known. On Aug. 28 the Court of Assistants of the African Company directed the secretary to ask for a hearing before the Board of Trade (T 70: 124; C. O. 5: 1319, p. 251). On Nov. 12 the board, after reading a letter on the subject from Mr. Lynn of the company, set a date for a hearing and requested the attendance of Lynn, Harris, and Le Heup. C. O. 391: 32, pp. 204-205; *B. T. Jour.,* 1722/3-1728, pp. 47-48, 55.

[4] Micajah Perry the younger. Peter Le Heup (or Leheup) was agent for Virginia and later for Barbados; Miles Carey was a Bristol merchant with extensive Virginia trade. William Bryd, jr., at the time of his father's death in 1704, had returned to Virginia after a prolonged sojourn in England. Here he took over not only the management of the extensive Virginia property accumulated by William Byrd the elder, but also his father's public offices. About 1715 he returned to England, and in 1720 he was asked by Virginia to act as its London agent. Byrd's business training had been received in the office of Perry and Lane, who were thoroughly conversant with Virginia conditions. He had already appeared before the Board of Trade, and had also served as a member of the Virginia council. J. S. Bassett, *Writings of William Byrd,* p. xliv ff.

ginia, the last Session there, Entituled an Act to lay a Duty on Liquors and Slaves, the said Act was read, And their Lordsps after some Discourse with them thereupon, desir'd to know what Objections the said Company had thereto, Whereupon Mr. Tryon acquainted their Lordps in behalf of the Company, that they apprehended the Duties laid by this Act wou'd tend greatly to the Discouragement of the British Trade, but chiefly to the Slave Trade. That he cou'd not conceive this Act cou'd be in any ways beneficial even to the Colony of Virginia, as it had pass'd the Assembly but by a Majority of One or Two at most. That as no Negro cou'd be landed before the Duty laid by this Act was paid, he thought it a great Hardship, Since it frequently happen'd that in 300 Negroes imported 40 or 50 were not worth 5£ per Head, and that therefore he thought it wou'd have been more advisable to have laid this Duty on the Gross Sale, In answer to which Mr. Le Heup said, that as there had formerly been Acts pass'd which laid a Duty of 5£ per Head on Negroes, which was levied in like manner as prescrib'd by this Act, And as there had been no Objections made thereto, he cou'd not imagine there cou'd be any Reason to complain of the present Duty, which does not amount to half that Sum, And as the Colony of Virginia had expended most of their Money in promoting the Manufacture of Naval Stores upon the Incouragement of the Act of Parliament lately pass'd here Entituled An Act giving further Encouragement for the Importation of Naval Stores and for other purposes therein mention'd, it wou'd be very hard not to allow them leave to raise Mony after this way to supply their Deficiencies, and therefore he desir'd their Lordsps wou'd please to recommend this Act to His Maj'ty for His Royal Confirmation; Their Lord'ps then acquainted the said Company, that if they had any further objections to make thereto, they were ready to receive them. These Gentlemen being withdrawn, Order'd that the said Act be sent to Mr. West for his Opinion thereupon in point of Law.[5]

The Memorial of Divers Merchants, Trading to Africa and Virginia Humbly offer'd to the Right Honble. the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.[6]

Your Memorialists being Informed that there hath been lately an Act passed in Virginia and now lying before your Lordships for laying a Duty of forty Shillings per head to be paid by the Importer on all Negroes brought to that Colony after March next.

Your said Memorialists therefore in Duty to their Country as well as to this Honourable Board do Humbly pray leave to lay before

[5] Alured Popple to West, C. O. 5: 1365, p. 258; *B. T. Jour.*, 1722/3-1728, p. 50.
[6] C. O. 5: 1319, p. 130.

your Lordships the great Mischeif that this Law if Confirmed here, will not only Occasion to the Trade and Navigation of great Brittain, but will greatly Tend also to the Lessening of the Revenue arising from the Importation of Tobacco into this Kingdom.

By the Experience of all times it's Manifest that high Dutys or Impositions on any Commodity or Merchandize Naturally becomes a great Discouragement thereto and Lessens the Importation thereof.

Lessening or otherwise Discourageing the Importation of Negroes by the Dearness thereof into any of our Collonies, doth Consequently lessen the raising or Increasing its productions which in Virginia is Chiefly Tobacco.

The Less the Quantity of Tobacco raised, the Less our Navigation must needs be to Fetch it to Markett, and as the said Quantity Imported becomes less, so Consequently the Customs on the same and the Revenue arising thereby must be greatly dim[in]ished in proportion thereto.

The Less of any Commodity comes to Markett the Dearer 'twill always be, so as such Comodity by reason thereof may be in Danger of falling into the hands of our Rivall Neighbours, who can sell the same cheaper at foreign Marketts then we do, and nothing hath hitherto preserved our Tobacco Trade to us in the Marketts abroad, but the Cheapness thereof, and by our being able to undersell all other our Rivalls in that Trade.

Your Memorialists further Represent that this duty is laid in the most Burthensome manner possible, being on the Importer, who is obliged to pay the said Duty without any hopes of advantage in Respect thereto, on the Sale of his Negroes, forasmuch as they must be sold on their first Arrivall for whatever the planter will give for them, or else the Charge of keeping them will quickly eat out their Value, without any regard being had by the Buyer to any Duty or Imposition paid by the Importer.

Which Duty if taken in respect to the Navigation will appear to amount to between four and five pounds per Tonn on all Brittish Ships employed in carrying Negroes to Virginia, but if taken in respect to the Value of the Cargoes of Goods sent in them to purchase their Respective Loadings, then this Duty will appear to be above forty per Cent on their said Cargoes, most of wch consists almost wholy of our Woollen and other Brittish Manufactures, as may appear by the sev'll Instances underneath, wch will be in Effect a prohibition of the Negroe Trade to Virginia, as hath been the Case already in respect to Maryland, by reason of this Duty having been layd there,[7]

[7] Since June, 1708, Maryland had collected a duty of 20*s.* a head on imported negroes; in 1717 an additional duty of 20*s.* was added. See *ante,* no. 21, n. 2.

and wch was the Case formerly in Virginia when a high Duty was then in being.

There is no Instance of any other Nation suffering their Colonies to lay what Duties they please on the Trade of their Mother Countrys, nor was ever a Duty so high as this in Question, ever Attempted to be laid on us by any Nation in Amity with us on any Branch of our Trade or Navigation, much less is it to be endured from our Colonies for whose preservation and in whose Protection this Nation hath been at so great Expences in the late Warrs and at all other times.

But if our Colonies are thus Suffer'd or but Connived at, in laying their Impositions on any one Branch of our Trade, 'twill scarce end there, but 'twill become a president for them (and one Colony will also take Example by another) to go on laying their dutys from one thing to another, 'till they have Loaded all Trade in generall, for wch there will never be wanting specious pretences for their so doing, It being an easy thing to perswade an Assembly to lay any Duty wch may Affect England only or any body but themselves.

The Legislature in order to Encourage the Exporting of all Goods as well as our own Manufactures having by Divers Acts of Parliament not only granted Drawbacks of the Customs paid Inward, but having taken off all Dutys on the Exports of Goods outwards, 'tis humbly hoped your Lordships will never suffer our Colonies to Load our Trade afresh in this manner, with such Unsupportable Duties as this on Negroes would be if Confirmed here.

The Affrican Trade having been for divers Years past under great Discouragements by the many and great Losses sustained by Pirates whereby the Premiums for Assurance are become higher then during the late Warr, besides many other great and Necessary Charges the Adventurers are lyable to, they cannot therefore support the Load of any new duties or Expences whatever be they never so small.

'Tis true any Colony m[a]y very Lawfully lay a Duty among themselves not Injurious to the Trade of their Mother Country, and this on Negroes might have been so to, If instead of forty Shillings per head to be paid by the Importer, this Duty had been but two Shillings and Six pence payable on all Negroes in possession of the planters, in which case perhaps that Method would produce much more Money If 'tis wanted then the Duty now in Question, thô your Memorialists are Informed there is no occasion for this duty in regard the Publick Treasury in Virginia hath sufficient in Cash to supply the Uses which this Act is pretended to be for.

Your Memorialists humbly pray leave further to represent that this Duty will undoubtedly tend to the great discouragemt. of the Improving and Importing Hemp and all other Navall Stores from that Colony into this Kingdom, by making the Hands dear and scarce,

wch are so Necessary for raising the same and wch otherwise seems to be in a very Prosperous Method of Succeeding.

In Short this act is Calculated for preventing the Increase of the Growth of Tobacco and to discourage all small Freeholders who have but few hands, from Furnishing themselves with more, that being the Interest of the great Planters who have passed this Law, so as thereby the Less Tobacco being made by the former, that which is made by the Latter who are well furnished with Hands would sell so much the Dearer at Markett, But sure that can never be the Interest of Great Brittain and the Navigation belonging thereto.

But this Act being made in Direct Contradiction to, and Contrary to the meaning of his Majesties Order in Councill of 31 July 1717,[8] Whereby all Governours in America are directly forbid in Express words to pass any Act which may any ways Affect the Trade and shiping of this Kingdom, and whereas by the Preamble of the said Act, the reasons sett forth for passing the same are if duely Considered both Weak and Frivolous.

For these and many other Reasons Your Memorialists therefore Do Humbly hope Your Lordships will not think fitt that this Act ought to be Confirmed here.

JNO. COLMORE
RD. HARRIS
FRAN'S CHAMBERLAYNE
ROBERT CARY [9]

A Computation under Different distinctions in what manner and proportion the Duty of forty Shillings per head on Negroes to be imported into Virginia after March next will affect the Negroe Trade in that Colony.[10]

A Ship of one hundred Tonns usually carrys two hundred Negroes, the duty whereof being forty Shillings per head is four hundred Pounds which amounts to four pounds per Tonn on the Tunnage of the Ship.

The Cargoe for purchasing two hundred Calabarr Negroes being one of the sorts usually carried to Virginia commonly amounts to about one Thousand Pounds the Duty of Forty Shillings per head to be paid on the said Negroes being four hundred Pounds is an Imposition of forty per Cent on the said Cargoe.

[8] *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 721.

[9] Endorsed: "Recd Read Dec. 5th 1723." This memorial was presented to the board by Harris and Chamberlain, who were told that no action would be taken until there had been further hearings. On Dec. 10 West reported to the board that the bill under consideration imposed a duty of 40*s.* on every negro imported into Virginia, leaving it to the board to decide whether this imposed a burden on the African trade. C. O. 391: 32, pp. 235-236; 5: 1319, p. 285.

[10] C. O. 5: 1319, p. 132. This was probably submitted to the board in connection with the memorial which precedes it. *B. T. Jour.*, 1722/3-1728, pp. 62, 64-66.

But if taken in respect to the Gross sales of a Ships Loading of Negroes inclusive of Freight, Assurance, Commission and all other Charges this Duty of forty shillings per head does amount to fourteen per Cent on the whole according to the sales of the last ships Negroes sold in Virginia wch being reduced to Sterling came out at fifteen Pounds five Shillings per head.

Or if this duty be taken on the Sales of the Neagroes after deducting from the said fifteen Pounds five Shillings, the Charges of Assurance, Commission and Contingencys thereon wch come to Twenty Seven Pounds per Cent, and wch are always first paid, then this duty of forty Shillings per head does amount to Twenty four per Cent on the remainder or thereabout being Eleven Pounds five Shillings and so in proportion to the whole Adventure including Freight and all proffitts thereon.

But in Case a Man was to hire a Ship and pay the Usuall Freight being about seven Pounds per head, and also this duty of forty shillings per head, and deducting the same there remains but two Pounds five Shillings clear of charges for each Negroe, wch Cost from five to Six pounds per head, and often much more on the Coast of Affrica besides Mortality in the Voyage.

So as this duty being taken every way or any way does appear to be an unreasonable and an insupportable Burthen on the Negroe Trade to Virginia and is in a manner a prohibition thereof.

And 'Tis not long since we have been enabled to gett ridd of the great oppression the Sweeds were laying upon us in respect to Pitch and Tarr, by our Importing those two Comoditys from our own Colonies, the Success whereof depending upon the Number of Hands, If we make them dear there will quickly be an end of the great Benefitt thereby to this Kingdom.[11]

To The Right Honble. The Lords Commrs. of Trade and Plantations. The Humble Petition of The Merchants of the City of Bristol Trading to Affrica.[12]

Sheweth, That since the Trade to Affrica have been free and open, it have been very much Enlarged and Improv'd, and the Several Plantations have been better supplied with Negroes to the great advantage of the Trade and Revenue of this Kingdom.

That The Assembly of Virginia have lately made a Law for Laying a Duty of Forty Shillings per Head on all Negroes to be Imported there after March next, to be paid by the Importer, which if Confirmed here, will much prejudice the Affrica Trade and consequently the Importation of Tobacco, and the Navigation of this Kingdom.

[11] Endorsed: "Recd Read Dec. 5, 1723."
[12] C. O. 5: 1319, p. 140.

This Duty if [it] shou'd take place being in Effect a Prohibition of Negroes into that Colony, as hath been fully set forth in the Computation laid before Yo'r Lordships by the Merchants of London.

Yo'r Petitioners Therefore humbly pray Yo'r Lordships will Discountenance such proceedings and not suffer a Law so pernicious to the Trade of this Kingdom, to be Confirmed, as likewise to prevent the like Practice in any other of the Colonies abroad. . . .

Jas. Hilhouse	Charles Scandrett
Jno. Parkin	Chr. Shuter
Graffin Prankard	P. Day
John Norman	John Price
Geor. Writehead	John Rich
Isaac Knight	John Vechell
James Jeanes	James Day
Ro. Addison	Noblet Ruddock
Jos. Jeffries	Phill Harris
John Scandrett	Isaac Hobhouse
John Scandrett Junr.	Wm. Challoner [13]

The Right Honble. the Lords Commissrs. for Trade and Plantacions, The Humble Memorial of Several Merchants of London Trading to Virginia and others,[14]

Sheweth, That there is a Bill lately passed in Virginia for laying a Duty upon Liquors and forty shillings per head upon Slaves which your Mem'lsts hope will meet with his Maj'ties Royall Approbation and humbly offer the following reasons for it which Yo'r Mem'lsts believe will answer all objections to it.

That the Colony of Virginia is in very great want of new Supplys having laid out all the funds they had before raised in Matters very much conducing to the Honour and Safety of that Government and particularly large Summs in Settling two new frontier Countrys in Virginia for bringing up Navall Stores and by having also by an Act of Assembly proposed severall Considerable Rewards for the Cultivating Navall Stores in Virginia which still subsist.

That this is no New Duty for that for twenty years togeather they have raised their funds in Virginia in this manner and particularly by the two last Bills of the same Nature (Sometime since Expired) have raised five pounds a head upon Negroes which Duty of five pounds a head was not objected to, nor has (that we know of) been of any bad Consequence to any Trade whatsoever.

[13] Endorsed: "Recd. Decem. 18, 1723 Read Jany 17th 1723/4."

[14] C. O. 5: 1319, p. 142. The new counties referred to below were Spotsylvania and Brunswick.

That this Duty of forty Shillings per head being so much less than the other and not large, in proportion to the Vallue Negroes sell for there, will not discourage the Purchasers nor the Importation therefore of them, the Virginians being always ready to buy Slaves when they have money.

That this Duty therefore will not be any prejudice to the Traders in this Commodity (as they may perhaps mistake it) by reason it is the Purchaser in this Case as in all others that pays the Duty where it is not Excessive.

That this Duty being entirely drawn back upon the Reexportation or upon Slaves that dye within a certain time it will not prejudice our navigation.

That in Maryland which is under a Lord Proprietor the same Duty of forty shillings per head is raised on Negroes and that the Trade of Virginia being Exactly of the same Nature as Marylands (which is not the case of other Colonys) It would therefore seem hard they should not meet with the same Indulgence.

That Tobacco the staple Commodity of Virginia is so heavily taxed here and there already as that it cannot possibly bear a further Duty.

Wherefore Yo'r Mem'lsts humbly hope this Bill may meet with Yo'r Lordships Concurrence and his Maj'ties Assent.

Chris. Smyth	Henry Dee	Wm. Hunt
Phill. Perry	Robt. Willimott	Humphrey Bell
John Hyde	Jona. Scarth	Samll. Haswell
Sam Hyde	Micajah Perry	Arthr. Dee
Ed Randolph	John Maynard	W. Quare [15]

[*Journal of the Board of Trade.*][16]

Janry. 17, 1723/4, Whitehall.

Mr. Chamberlaine, Mr. Morris, Mr. Harris, Mr. Carey, Capt. Bouchaur and Mr. Merriweather in behalf of themselves and others, Merchants of London and Bristol, attending according to appointment as also Mr. Le Heup Agent for Virginia Mr. Perry, Mr. Byrd and Mr. Bradley in relation to an Act pass'd at Virginia in 1723 entitul'd an Act for laying a duty on Liquors and Slaves. The several Letters and Memorials mentioned in the Minutes of 12th Novr. 5th Dec. last and 7th of this month were again read and considered, And

[15] Endorsed: "Received Jan'ry 9th Read Do 1723/4."

[16] C. O. 391: 33, pp. 11-19; *B. T. Jour.*, 1722/3-1728, pp. 64-66. After the reading of the Bristol memorial on Jan. 7 Mr. Le Heup, Mr. Carey, Mr. Harris, and as many of the Bristol merchants as possible were asked to attend the board meeting to consider the act. When they appeared on Jan. 10 they asked a postponement of the hearing as Mr. Byrd, best able to speak on the Virginia trade, was not present. C. O. 391: 33, pp. 1-2, 10-11.

a Letter from Mr. Lynn, Secry to the Royal African Company being read, in relation to the said Company's Intentions not to appear any more concerning the said Act, Mr. Morris in behalf of the African Traders, represented to their Lordships that he conceiv'd the Duty laid by this Act upon the importation of Negroes did very much affect the Trade and Shipping of Great Britain, being to be paid by the Importer. And considering that the prime Cost of Negroes upon the coast of Africa was 4, 5, or 6£ per Head the duty of 40 shgs. added to their prime Cost of £4 a Head would amount to 50 per cent, at £5 prime Cost to 40 percent at £6 prime Cost to £33. 6. 8. and so on in the like proportion. That he took this Duty to be so great a Burthen upon Trade that it amounted to a Prohibition.

Mr. Merriweather in behalf of the Bristol Merchants confirmed what Mr. Morris had said before.

Mr. Harris, who also appeared against the Act then observed upon the London Merchants Memorial in behalf of the Act, mentioned in the Minutes of the 9th inst. *viz.* That he thought it very great Hardship that the Merchants in Great Britain should be obliged to pay Duties to support their Funds there. And he thought that the Duties at present laid upon the Importation of Negroes was a greater Discouragement to the Planter and Cultivators there, than the Rewards proposed by the Assembly could be an encouragement. That since the duty of 40 shill. a head on Negroes had been established in Maryland he had not heard of any one British Ship that had been sent there with Negroes.

Mr. Carey who also appeared against the said Act, further observed upon what the said Merchants represented in their Memorial in relation to the Funds of that Colony being exhausted and to its being recited in the preamble of the aforesaid Act the Want the said Colony is in for Arms and Ammunition. That he had received certain Information from thence, that the old Treasurer had transferred to the New One Seven Thousand Pounds in Money, and that they had Twelve Hundred small arms always ready, and that he had lately shipt by order from Virginia an Armourer to take care of them.

Mr. Le Heup Agent for the Colony desired their Lordsps wou'd be pleas'd to report the said Act as fit for His Maje'tys Royal Confirmation because as the Colony had given £10 per Ton on Hemp as an encouragement for the planting and improving of Naval Stores, they had no other way to raise the said mony than by laying a duty on the importation of Negroes. That he did not conceive this duty could in any way affect the Trade and Shipping of Great Britain, because it must be the purchaser in the end that pays the duty. That this was no new duty and consequently, ought not to be complain'd of, since there had been Three Acts pass'd in Virginia that had con-

tinued in Force for eight Years from 1710 to 1718 which laid a Duty of £5 per Head on the Importation of Negroes.[17] That there never had been any Opposition made to the said Acts and that considering the said Duty was much greater than [that] at present complained of and that there were more Negroes imported into Virginia in those years when the Duties were so much higher than at any time before or since, he could not conceive with what Reason either the London or Bristol Merchants cou'd complain of the Act in question. He further offer'd as a proof of the Increase of the Importation of Negroes in the above said term of years that the Duty collected upon that Account amounted to upwards of £15,000.

Mr. Byrd then said that tho' the Importer pays down the Duty he is sufficiently reimbursed by the Buyer because what he pays down is that Country Mony and what he receives is Sterling which Country Mony is at 10 or 15 pr Ct. Discount, so that he could not see that the Merchant had any Reason to complain.

Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Harris then said in behalf of the Merchants who appear'd against the said Act, That they shou'd have no further Objection to it, provided it cou'd be made to appear that the Duty was to be paid by the planter—and Mr. Merriweather acquainted their Lordships in answer to what Mr. Leheup had said in relation to the Number of Negroes imported at the time that the Duties were high, that he believ'd at present there were about 15 or 1600 Negroes imported Yearly into Virginia by the Bristol and London Merchants, That the Bristol Merchants annually sent about 800. And Mr. Harris said the Merchants of London sent thither as many. He further said that an annual supply of 1500 Negroes was wanted in Virginia which was not contradicted by the Agent or the Gentlemen who appeared in behalf of the Act.

And Mr. Carey said that he believ'd if the Act was confirm'd and even supposing the Duty (as had been alleg'd) was to be paid by the Buyer it would chiefly tend to the Ruin of the Poorer planters because they cou'd not then be able to buy a sufficient Number of Negroes to cultivate their Plantations. And that as to the Two New Counties, for the Improvement of which the King had been Graciously pleased to remit the payment of any Quit Rents for Seven Years, he was so fully persuaded that the confirming of this Act wou'd be a great Hindrance to the planting the same that he having a considerable Quantity of Land there, which required many Negroes to cultivate the same, he shou'd not buy one if the said Act was confirmed.

[17] Of the duty acts between 1710 and 1718 to which Le Heup here refers Hening gives but two, those of October, 1710, and October, 1712. Hening, III. 482, IV. 30.

Mr. Harris then observed to the Board that there had been an Instruction sent to the Governor of Virginia, not to pass any Act which might affect the Trade or Shipping of Great Britain and referr'd it to their Lordsps, how far the said Act might interfere therewith.

To the Right Honoble. the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantation.

The Humble Petition of the Mayor Aldermen and Merchants of the ancient and loyall Corporation and port of Liverpoole in the County of Lancaster, Traders to Guinea, Virginia and other his Maj'ties forreign Plantations,[18]

Shews, That Your petitioners are inform'd that the Governour Councill and Assembly of Virginia have by an Act of Assembly or Law made in Virginia laid a Duty of fourty Shillings a Head on all Negroes imported into their province, which hath been transmitted thence for his Maj'ties Approbation, and which seems very much to prejudice the Trade of this port and indeed trade in generall and greatly discourageing to your petitioners.

Your petitioners therefore most humbly pray your Honours Consideration of the premisses and that you will please to Recommend in your Report to his Maj'tie that the same may not be Confirm'd by his Maj'tie, or that your petitioners may receive such other releife as to his Maj'ties Wisdom shall seem meet.

And Your petitioners shall ever pray etc.

Jam. Gibbon	James Perceivall	Wm. Webster
John Pemberton	Wm. Tatlock	John Seacome
Saml. Ogden	Joseph Clegg	Tho. Tillingham
Ja. Halsall	Dan Danvers	Bryan Blundell
Geo. Norton	Samuel Anejier	Richd. Gillary
Wm. Marsden	Tho. Cockshutt	Robt. Hornby
Hen. Stratford	John Scarbrick May.	Wm. Rolling
Edw. Trafford	Edw. Ratehouse	Jno. Goodwin
Tho. Steers	Richd. Norris	Wm. Hurnwall
John Pemberton Jun.	Josia Poole	Tho. Kendrick

[18] C. O. 5: 1319, p. 315.

[*The Board of Trade to the King.*][19]

VIRGINIA

To the King's most Excell. Ma'ty

May it please your Majesty, Having lately had under Our Consideration An Act pass'd in your Majesty's Colony of Virginia in 1723 Entitul'd An Act for laying a Duty on Liquors and Slaves, We have had the Opinion of Mr. West one of your Majesty's Counsel thereupon, and have likewise been attended by sev'l Merchants of London Bristol and Liverpool trading to Virginia in Negroes who complain against the said Act as laying a heavy Duty on the Trade and Shipping of Great Britain, We have also been attended by the Agent for the said Colony and several others in Behalf of the said Act, Upon which Occasion We humbly beg leave to represent to your Ma'ty that it appears to Us that there was formerly a Duty of five Pounds per Head laid on all Negroes imported into Virginia by three several Acts which continued in Force for eight Years from 1710 to 1718, And tho' We do not find that any considerable Objections were made at that time to the said Acts yet we must observe that by the Price the Negroes then bore, and by the smallness of the Number that was imported in those Years in Proportion to what have been imported since those Acts expir'd, and the Numbers that are necessarily wanted annually in that Colony this Duty must have been a great Hindrance to the Negroe Trade as well as a Burthen upon the poorer Planters; And tho' the Duty laid by this Act is much less than the former, We are apprehensive the same must be attended with some ill Consequences at this time, and will discourage the planting and cultivating Naval Stores especially in the two new Counties where great Numbers of Negroes will be wanting, and where your Majesty has been graciously pleas'd to remit the Payment of any Quit Rent for seven Years to encourage the settling and planting the same.

For these Reasons and considering this Duty is laid on the Importer by which the Trade of Great Britain will be affected, and there being no Clause inserted therein (pursuant to your Majesty's Instructions) to suspend its taking Effect till your Majesty's Pleasure shall be known thereupon, and that it does not appear to Us that the Colony has any immediate Occasion of Supplies We do not apprehend it can receive any Damage by the Repeal of the aforesaid Act since the Assembly may have time to pass a new Law not liable to the said Objections to raise the necessary Supplies for which this Act

[19] C. O. 5: 1365, pp. 269-271. On Jan. 22, 1724, after hearing the petition from Liverpool merchants, the board ordered that this representation be prepared. *B. T. Jour.*, 1722/3-1728, p. 67.

was design'd; Wherefore We humbly lay this Act before your Majesty for your Disallowance.

Which is most humbly submitted

WHITEHALL	J. CHETWYND	J. HOBART
Jany. 29, 1723/4.	P. DOCMINIQUE	T. PELHAM
	R. PLUMER	

[*Minutes of the Privy Council.*][20]

At the Councill Chamber WHITEHALL
the 21st Day of Febry. 1723/4.

Present: The Lords of his Maj'tys most Honoble. Privy Councill.

Upon reading this Day at the Board a Representation from the Lords Commissrs. of Trade and Plantations Dated the 29th of last Month for his Majesty's Disallowance of An Act, Past in the Colony of Virginia in 1723 Intitled, "An Act for Laying a Duty on Liquors and Slaves", It is thereupon Ordered in Councill, that the said Representation and Act, Be, and they are here by Referred, to a Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's most Honoble. Privy Councill to Consider thereof, and Report their Opinion thereupon, to his Majesty at this Board. A true Copy.

TEMPLE STANYAN.

[*Minutes of a Committee of the Privy Council.*][21]

At the Councill Chamber WHITEHALL
the 17th day of Aprill 1724.

Present: Lord President, Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Viscot. Townshend, Lord Bp. of London, Lord Carteret, Mr. Walpole Master of the Rolls.

By a Committee of the Lords of His Majestys Most Honourable Privy Councill.

In Obedience to an order in Councill of the 21th of February last, Referring to this Committee a Representation from the Lords Commissrs. of Trade and Plantations, relating to Yo'r Majestys' Disallowance of an Act passed in the Colony of Virginia in 1723, intituled, "An Act for laying a Duty on Liquors and Slaves", Their Lordships this day took the same into Consideration, and do find that Three Acts of the like Kind were formerly past in that Colony Lay-

[20] C. O. 5: 1319, p. 325; see *Acts P. C. C.*, III. 63-64.
[21] *Leg. Jour. of Council*, III. 1563; *Acts P. C. C.*, III. 64. Endorsed: "Report of the Committee of Council on the Act Laying a Duty on Liquor's and Slaves 1724."

ing a Duty of 5 *li* per Head on all Negroes imported there which Duty Continued from the Years 1710 to 1718; and tho' no Considerable objections were made at that time to the said Acts, yet it appears that by the price the Negroes then bore and by the Smallness of the Number that were imported in those Years, in proportion to what have been imported since those Acts Expired, and the Numbers that are necessarily wanted annually in that Colony, this Duty must have been a great hindrance to the Negro Trade as well as a Burthen upon the Poorer Planters; And although the Duty laid by this Act is much less than the former; The same must be attended with ill Consequences at this time, and Discourage the Planting and Cultivating Naval Stores, especially in the Two New Counties where great Numbers of Negroes will be wanting, and where Your Majesty hath been pleased to Remitt the Payment of any Quitt Rent for Seven Years, to Encourage the Settling and Planting the Same.

And it further appears: That this Act Lays the Duty on the Importer; whereby the Trade of Great Britain will be affected, and there is no Clause inserted therein (pursuant to Yo'r Majestys Instructions) to Suspend its taking effect, till Your Majestys Pleasure shall be known,

For which Reasons, and that there does not appear any immediate Occasion for the said Supplies, and that no Damage can arise from Repealing the said Act, Since the Assembly may have time to pass another Law to raise the necessary Supplies for which this Act was designed nor lyable to the said Objections Their Lordships Do agree humbly to offer their opinion to Yo'r Majesty that the said Act ought to be repealed and made Null and Void; and in regard the Governor of the said Colony hath acted Contrary to Your Majesty's Instructions by not inserting a Clause to prevent its taking effect till Your Maj'tys Pleasure should be known thereupon: Their Lordships are further of opinion that yo'r Majestys Pleasure should be Signifyed to him, That he do not on any pretence whatsoever presume to Give his assent to any Act of this kind for the future without inserting such a Clause as is before mentioned.

[*Order in Council.*] [22]

At the Court at St. James's
the 30th day of Aprill 1724.

Present: The King's most Excellent Majesty in Councill

Whereas by Commission under the Great Seale of Great Britain, the Governor, Councill and Assembly of his Majesty's Colony of Virginia in America, Are Authorized and Impowered to Make, Con-

[22] C. O. 5: 1319, pp. 329-330; 5: 1365, p. 272; see *Acts P. C. C.*, III. 64.

stitute and Ordain Laws, Statutes and Ordinances for the Publick Peace, Welfare and good Government of the said Colony—Which Laws Statutes and Ordinances are to be, as near as conveniently may be, agreable, to the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom, And are to be Transmitted to his Majesty for his Royall Approbation or Disallowance. And Whereas in Pursuance of the said Powers, An Act was Past in the said Colony of Virginia in 1723 And hath been transmitted, Intitled as follows *Vizt.* An Act for Laying a Duty on Liquors and Slaves Which Act (together with a Representation from the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations thereupon) having been Considered by a Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's most Honoble. Privy Councill. Their Lordships this day Reported Severall Objections against the Confirmation of the said Act: His Majesty taking the Same into Consideration, Is Pleased, with the Advice of his Privy Councill to Declare his Disallowance of the said Act. And pursuant to his Royall Pleasure thereupon the said Act is hereby Repealed, Declared Void and of none Effect—And his Majesty is hereby further Pleased to Declare and Order, that the Governor or Commander in Chief of his said Colony of Virginia, Do not on any Pretence whatever Presume for the future to Give his Assent to any Act of this Kind without inserting a Clause therein, Suspending the execution thereof till his Majesty's Pleasure shall be known concerning the Same:[23]

90. Account of Piracies on the Virginia Coast, 1724.[1]

An Account of the Piracies committed by the Spaniards on the Coast of Virginia in the Month of June 1724.

Capt. John Jones of the Ship *John and Mary* of Virginia bound from Guinea and having on board 175 Negros,[2] on the 5th of June was at Anchor about 2 Leagues distance from Cape-Charles in Virginia, when a Ship bearing British Colours bore down upon him, he believing it to be some Vessel bound to Virginia, and not at all apprehensive of any Pirate (having but the Night before spoke with Capt. Yeo of His Majesty's Ship *Enterprize,* who assured him there were none on the Coast,) did not offer to make Sail, but was surprized to find himself attack'd with a Command to strike his Colours and come on board in his Boat, and at the same time to see about

[23] Signed: "A true Copy. Jas. Vernon." On May 19, 1724, the board wrote to Governor Drysdale that the act laying a duty on liquors and slaves, "being in their Lordps opinion detrimental to the trade of Great Britain", had been repealed (C. O. 5: 1365, p. 275; *B. T. Jour.*, 1722/3-1728, p. 93). The repeal of the act was proclaimed in Virginia Oct. 27, 1724. Hening, IV. 118; *Ex. Jour. of Col. Va.,* IV. 75, 449.

[90] [1] *Boston Gazette,* July 13, 1724.

[2] The deposition of Capt. John Jones as to the facts of his capture may be found in C. O. 5: 1319, p. 415.

70 Small Arms presented at his Ship, and a threatning to fire into her if he did not immediately repair on board.

At his going on board in his Boat, he with four of his Men were immediately secured, he was carry'd into the Great Cabbin, to a Person call'd the Captain, who order'd about 14 Men, most Spaniards, to take possession of the *John and Mary,* to get her under Sail, and to follow him: They stood to the Northward with an easy Sail, and about 11 in the forenoon the same day met the Brigt. *Prudent-Hannah* of Boston bound for Virginia, The Spanish Ship gave chase to her, and coming up with her commanded the Master (Thomas Mousell) to come on board, he came in his Boat with only his Cabbin-boy, and his Boat was immediately sent back with six Spaniards to take possession of his Brigantine. That night the same Brigt. was order'd away with these 6 Spaniards to some of the Spanish Ports in the West-Indies, but to which is not known.

The two Captains, Jones and Mousell, were ordered to lie that night in the same Cabbin with the Spanish Captain, and Capt. Jones speaking Spanish, took the liberty to ask, on what account he had taken his Ship, he was given to understand, that he had a Commission from the Governour of Cuba, which the Spanish Captain told him he would let him see before they parted, but he was not so good as his word.

On the 6th of June the Spaniard with his Prize standing off E.N.E. from the Capes of Virginia, about 8 Leagues, made a Sail, which proved to be the Ship *Godolphin* of Topsham, bound for Rappahannock River in Virginia, The Spaniard hoisted an English Ensign, and put out a Pendant and an Union Jack, and stood off to intercept that Ship, and under these Colours fired a Great Gun for the *Godolphin* to bring too, which she did, and then the Master (Theodore Bane) being commanded off in his Boat the Spaniards with the same Boat took possession of his Ship.

The three Captive Masters continued on board the Spanish Ship, till Monday the 8th of June in the Morning, during which time, they received the following Information from several English and Irish Men of that Ships Crew *viz.* That the said Ship did belong to the Governour or Vice Roy of Cuba, that she is called the *St. Francis de la Vela,* that the Capt. is Don Benito, or according to the common Appellation given him by his Crew, Signior Don Benito, that he is a Knight of one of the Spanish Orders, that the Ship is a Bristol built Galley, first taken by the Sallee Rovers, retaken from them by a Spanish Man of War, sold at Cales by some Merchants, and by them Fraighted to the Spanish West-Indies, and that she was now fitted out at Port-Princess in Cuba, and hired to Benito by the Governour for a certain Sum of Money, which Benito is to get where he can, but

that the better to enable him to do it, that Governour has given him a Commission as a Guarde de Coaste. The Crew consists of about 60 Spaniards, including the Negros and Molattos, 14 English, and 18 French; among the English is one Rich. Holland an Irishman, who goes under the Name of the English Captain, and has a great sway on board, he was formerly at St. Augustines, and concerned in the taking sundry Vessels on the Virginia Coast, after the last Cessation of Arms: Benj. Evans formerly Mate of a New England Ship, is their Mate or Pilot, and very frankly told Capt. Mousell that his Brigantine was such a Vessel as they wanted to make a Privateer of; there are also John Smith and John Moore, Irishmen, who were of the Pirate Taylor's Crew, at his taking the *Cassandra* in the East-Indies. The next [rest?] of the English on board, and 15 of the French are said to be press'd men.

Capt. Jones by his free and ingenious behaviour, had got so much into the favour of the English and French, that they had promised his Ship should be released without being plundered, but the Spaniards outvoting them, his Scriptore and all his Chests were broke open, about *l.* 350 Sterling in Gold Dust, 1000 Gallons of Rum, about *l.* 200 worth of the Remains of his Guinea Cargo, together with 38 of his choicest Slaves, all Men, were taken away and carried on board this Spanish Ship, and he believes had not this Piratical Crew been frighten'd with the appearance of a Sail in the Offing, he had not escaped so well, but that fight [fright?] having put them in a great fear, they sent the Captains Mousell and Bane with the whole Crew of the latter, and the Cabbin boy of the former, on board Jone's Ship, and so left him to proceed to Virginia on the 8th of June about noon, but they carry'd Capt. Bane's Ship and Cargo off with them.[3]

Capt. Jones's loss is computed at near *l.* 1600, Capt. Banes's Ship and Cargo about *l.* 3000 and Capt. Mousell's Brigantine about *l.* 1200 with her Cargo.

Smith the Pilot of the Spaniards told Capt. Mousell that in this Cruize they had taken two New England Brigantines, commanded by Capts. Macarty and Burrington, but when he was asked what was become of the Men, he answered, that was not a proper Question;

[3] "London, Sept. 22. By the last Ship that came from Virginia there is Advice, that the *Godolphin* of Topsham, Capt. Bare, was arriv'd there. She was one of the Ships formerly mention'd to have been taken off the Capes of Virginia, in June last, by a Spanish Pirate, and plunder'd of all they had that was valuable. The Spaniards kept the Ship several Days and when they let her go, they put 20 Negroes on board; Part of the 36 Slaves they had taken on the 5th of June out of the *John and Mary*, Captain Jones, bound from Guinea to Virginia, and they made Capt. Bare sign a formal Bill of Lading for the said Negroes, and consigned them to Captain Martin, or Captain Jones. They stiled themselves in the said Bill of Lading, Lords of the High Seas." *Boston News Letter*, Dec. 17, 1724.

he also said they were to share all their Prizes at the Grand Camanus or Samanus.[4]

91. Petition of Samuel Jacob, 1726.[1]

[January 29, 1725/6.]

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of Samuel Jacob and several other Merchants of the Citty of Bristol whose Names are underwritten

Humbly Sheweth, That your Petitioners are Owners of the Ship *Commerce* of Bristol, and that having sent her to the Coast of Africa, to purchase Negroes, the Master of her, was order'd to proceed with them to Virginia, and there to sell them. That the said Ship arrived in York River about the 30th April 1724. And That upon Landing of the Slaves, your Petitioners Agent Mr. Augustine Moor, was Compell'd by the Naval Officer to pay Forty Shillings Current Mony [2] Duty for every Slave, (a particular Account of which is hereinto annexed given upon Oath before hugh Drisdale Esqr. your Majesty's Lieutenant Governour of the Collony of Virginia etc.) under pretence of an Act of Assembly having passed, by which the said Duty was laid on Slaves etc. Which Act of Assembly instead of meeting with your Majesty's Royal Approbation was by your Majesty in Council on the 30th April 1724 Declared void and of none effect; Whereupon your Petitioners directed their Agent in Virginia to Demand the repayment of the Sums thus Collected under Colour of Law, But hitherto have been unable to obtain it, the Treasurer of the said Collony, obstinately refuseing to repay the same.

We therefore most humbly pray your Majesty will be Graciously pleased, to give such Directions thereupon for our Relief, as your Majesty in your great Wisdom shall seem meet. And we shall forever Pray etc. [3]

Samuel Jacob	Isaac Knight	John Jacob
R. Addison	Joseph Thomas	Jno. Tate

[4] "On July 13, 4 Spaniards of this group were tried for piracy and sentenced to death" (*Boston Gazette*, July 20, 1724). The Grand Cumanas are south of Cuba.

[91] [1] C. O. 5: 1319, p. 547.

[2] The premium on sterling varied from twenty-five to thirty per cent. Virginia's circulating medium was Spanish silver, or tobacco notes, which were resorted to for lack of such silver. She issued no paper money until 1755. W. Z. Ripley, *Financial History of Virginia*, p. 154.

[3] This petition was referred by the Privy Council to the Board of Trade, on Jan. 29, 1726, with the affidavit of Augustine Moore (*Acts P. C. C.*, III. 123). The board took up the matter Feb. 24, "Mr. George Sargeant attending as he had been desir'd as also Mr. Leheup Agent for Virginia, in relation to the Order in Council of the 29th Janury last, referring the Board a Petition from sevl. Merchants of Bristol, complaining of a Duty being paid upon Negroes to the Naval Officer at Virginia mention'd in the Minutes of the 18th Inst. Their Lordships after some Discourse with these Gentlemen thereupon gave Directions for sending a Copy thereof to Major Drysdale, Lieut. Governor

92. Journal of the Board of Trade, 1726.[1]

[Apr. 29, 1726.]

Mr. Perry, a Virginia Mercht., being sworn acquainted their Lordships that by his Accounts, that province is very plentifully supplied with Negroes, and that there has been but very few of the Company's Ships at Virginia since he has been concerned in Trade, which is about three or four years.

Mr. Bradley,[2] being sworn, acquainted their Lordships, that he has been in the Trade to Virginia above 20 Years, and that the province has been well supplied with Negroes by the separate Traders. That the Labour of a Negroe produces about 15 *ll.* annual Duty to the Crown. That he believes Negroes are cheaper now than they were formerly; but admits that there was formerly a Duty of 5 per Cent. laid on Negroes which made them dearer.

93. The Board of Trade to Lieutenant Governor Hugh Drysdale, 1726.[1]

Whitehall, June 30, 1726.

. . . We send you inclosed a copy of a petition from some merchants of Bristol praying to be reimbursed some Duties they have paid in Virginia for Negroes imported there after the Act for laying a Duty on Liquors and Slaves had been repealed here, upon which occasion We desire you will let us know what Money has been collected by virtue of that Act and how the same has been applied.

We have no accounts in our Office from Virginia of the number of Negroes that have been annually imported there either by the African

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of Virginia, And that he desir'd to give their Lordships an Account how the Money already collected has been applied" (C. O. 391: 35, pp. 31, 36; *B. T. Jour.*, 1722/3-1728, pp. 219-220). On June 30, 1726, the board asked for an account of the money collected under the act of 1723. This request the Virginia council considered on Oct. 18, and ordered John Holloway, treasurer, to make the report requested. *Ex. Jour. of Col. Va.*, IV. 116.

[92] [1] C. O. 391: 35, pp. 170-171; *B. T. Jour.*, 1722/3-1728, p. 254. The evidence here presented was taken during an extended investigation of the African trade, conducted by the Board of Trade throughout the spring of 1726. *Ibid.*, pp. 232-271; C. O. 391: 35, pp. 87-110, 143-158.

[2] Bradley had appeared before the Board of Trade in 1724, when that body was considering the Virginia duty on slaves (*B. T. Jour.*, p. 64). It was in his employ that Captain Snelgrave visited Virginia in 1713. William Snelgrave, *New Account of Guinea* (1734), introduction.

[93] [1] C. O. 5: 1365, pp. 288-290. Drysdale was lieutenant governor from Sept. 27, 1722, to July 22, 1726. His sympathies in the controversy over the duties on negroes were apparently with the Virginians. On May 12, 1726, he wrote to the assembly: "You laid a Duty last Session on Liquors and Slaves imported as had been done by former Assemblies with very good Effect to make those Assemblies more Easy to the Country by Lessening the Levy per poll But the interferring interest of the Affrican Company has deprived us of that Advantage and has obtained a Repeal of that Law." *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1712-1726, p. 400; *Va. Hist. Reg.*, IV. 68.

Company or by the seperate Traders since the year 1718 and therefor We desire that you will send Us by the first opportunity as perfect an Account as you can get of the negroes imported yearly since that time distinguishing those imported by the African Comp. from those imported by others. . . . And we desire for the future a regular Accot. of the same may be annually sent to us.

94. Concerning an Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1728-1729.

William Gooch to the Board of Trade.[1]

My Lords, . . . I am now to make some observations on the Laws herewith sent, and shal begin with those which are not to take place untill they receive his Majesty's approbation.

And the first is, an Act for laying a Duty on Slaves imported and appointing a Treasurer.[2] By it a Duty of 40 *s.* an Head is laid on all Slaves imported into this Colony for sale to be paid by the Importer, with the usual clauses for the regular Collecting and Paying that Duty; and for drawing back the whole upon the exportation within three moneths. This Duty is to commence upon his Majesty's assent to the Act being publickly notified in this Dominion, and thence to continue for three years and no longer. The money arising from it is to be accounted for by a Treasurer, and disposed of to such Publick uses as the Governor, Council and Burgesses shall agree upon. I must observe to your Lordships that though the particular Services for which this money is intended are not express'd in the Act, yet there is a constant Charge wch annually arises for the prosecution of Criminals, for recompensing the Owners of Slaves condemn'd for capital offences, for discharging the Sallarys of many publick officers, and for keeping the capitol and other publick Buildings in repair;

[94] [1] C. O. 5: 1321, f. 79. Endorsed: "Letter from Major Gooch Lt. Go'r of Virginia to the Board without Date. recd. with his Dated Of July 18th, 1728. Recd. 30 July 1728." The reports of the naval officers, covering the period from Sept. 29, 1727, to Apr. 25, 1728, and distinguishing between negroes imported by the separate traders and those by the African Company, were received with this letter (*ibid.*, pp. 153-158). William Gooch was lieutenant governor from Oct. 13, 1727, to June, 1740, and again, this time as Sir William, from July, 1741, to June 20, 1749.

[2] Of this act Hening gives the title only, placing it in the spring of 1727, though it was approved Mar. 30, 1728 (Hening, IV. 182). A curious record in the *Journal of the Burgesses* suggests that the council rather than the Burgesses was desirous of placing the duty upon incoming negroes: Mar. 28, 1728, "A Motion being made That this House would come to a Resolution not to present the Bill which hath passed this House and the Council, For laying a Duty upon Slaves, in regard that the Council had been pleased to refuse to agree to the passing a Bill For lessening the Levy by the Poll, which was the true design of laying the duties by which the present Revenue in the hands of the Treasurer of Virginia hath been raised. Order'd, That the sd Motion be taken into consideration to morrow." No further mention of the motion appears. In commenting upon it the editor suggests that since the members of the council were large slave-holders it is easily conceivable that they were not unconscious that the revenue bill would increase the value of their property (*Jour. of Burgesses,* 1727-1740, pp. xvii, 49). For the progress of the bill through the House of Burgesses see *ibid.,* pp. 33-39, 52.

which cannot be supported without such a Duty as is here proposed, nor can anything of importance be undertaken for the benefit of the Publick without such a reserv'd Fund, seeing a Poll-Tax in Tobacco has been found grievous to the People, and through the incertainty of its value of very little encouragement to People to engage in the publick Service. But besides, 'tis the common topick among the People that while the like or a greater Duty on Negroes subsists and has continued for a long time in Maryland a Proprietary Government, it is hard that They who are under his Majesty's immediate Government should be restrained from the same means of securing and improving their Country; and from these considerations moved the Assembly to attempt the re-enacting a Law which had been formerly disapprov'd, in hopes, that its conformity now to the King's Instructions, and the necessity of a Fund for the publick service, will induce his Majesty to give it his Royal Sanction, for the short time it is to continue. The only objection, I think, that can be brought against this Law is, the private Interest of the Importer: but when it is considered that the price of Negroes will always be advanced in proportion to the Duty, they can't be sufferers by it. And the money will be taken out of their pockets, who are the advocates for it. If therefore your Lordships have no other Exception to this Law, I hope the united desires of all the People of this Colony will obtain your Lordship's favourable Representation of it to his Majesty.

. . .

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty in Councill.

The humble Petition of the several Merchants of Liverpoole Trading to the Coast of Africa and Yo'r Majestys Plantations [3]

Sheweth, That an Act was past by the generall assembly of yo'r Majestys Colony of Virginia on the 30th of March 1728, Entituled an Act for laying a Duty on Slaves Imported, and for appointing a Treasurer, by which Act a Duty of forty shillings a head is laid and imposed on all Negroes imported into the said Colony to be paid by the Importers thereof which Duty is by the said Act applyed for lessening the Levy by the Poll, and Defraying any Publick charge whatever. That this Act is lately transmitted home in order to be laid before your Majesty for your Royal consideration. That Yo'r Petitioners humbly apprehend and represent the said Act to be contrary to yo'r Majesty's Instructions given to your Governor of Virginia and to express orders and Determinations made by Yo'r

[3] C. O. 5: 1321, pp. 143-144. The merchants of London and Bristol also petitioned against this measure (*ibid.*, pp. 127-128, 135). The names of the Bristol petitioners are not given; those for London are: Joseph Lowe, William Hunt, Edward Hankin, Edwin Sommers, Nutt and Baker, Samuel Bonham, Daniel Alford, Thomas Truman, Humphrey Morrice, William Gerrish, Samuel Travers, Richard Harris, and James Kirwan.

Majestys Royall Predecessors in Councill, as it lays a Duty on the British merchant to support the Expences of the Government of the Plantations and is prejudicial to the Trade of Great Britain which has been always discountenanced, and by a late order in Councill expressly forbid. Your Petitioners also humbly represent, that the laying this Duty on Negroes imported is unreasonable in it self, greatly Prejudicial to Yo'r Petitioners and the Negroe Trade in general (on which together with the Plantation Trade this Port entirely depends) highly Injurious to the true Interest of the Plantations and in the consequences of it destructive not only to the whole Plantation Trade, but to the Trade and Navigation of these Kingdoms.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly pray Your Majesty that they may be heard in what they have to offer against the said Act and that Yo'r Majesty will thereupon be Graciously pleased to Disallow of and Repeale the same and strictly Enjoyn Yo'r Governor of Virginia not to pass any Act of the like nature for the future.

And Yo'r Petitioners shall ever Pray etc.

JOHN HUGHES May'r

GEO. NORTON	RICHD. GILDART
THOS. SEEL	WM. MARLDEN
JAMES PERCIVALL	GEO. FYRER
JNO. BOSTOCK	THES. COORE
WM. EDWARDSON	EDW. RATCHDALE
SAML. OGDEN	SYLST. MOORECROFT
JA. KESMAN	HUM TRAFFORD
MATT. NICHOLSON	EDWD. KENYON
THOS. COCKSHUTT	JOHN HUGHES
JA. PARR	JAMES CLINTON
JOHN HARDMAN	OWEN PRICHARD
JA. HALSALL	RO. ARMITAGE
JOHN PEMBERTON	SHIGT. WOODWARD
EDWD. TRAFFORD	WM. CROSBIE
FOSTER CUNLEFF	RA. WILLIAMSON
JOHN EARLE	THO. TARLETON
WM. BECKETT	BRYAN BLUNDELL
HEN. PIPPARD	JOHN SCAR[B]RICK

[*Francis Fane to the Board of Trade.*][4]

To the Right Honourable The Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

My Lords, In Obedience to Your Lordships Commands Signified to me by Mr. Popples Letter of the 8th of Octobr. I have perused and Considered an Act Lately pass'd in Virginia Entituled an Act for Laying a Duty on Slaves Imported and for appointing a Treasurer; And I beg Leave to Observe to Your Lordshipps that the first Act of this kind which met with an Opposition from the Merchants of Great Britain was pass'd in the Year 1723 and Laid the same duty of 40 *s.* a head upon all Negroes imported into Virginia.

That Act I find underwent a Long Consideration and upon the 29th Janry. 1723/4 Your Lordshipps made a Report thereon to His Maj'ty Stating some former Acts Laying a Duty of 5 *l.* per head from 1710 to 1718 which the Merchants did not Complain of thinking the Colony of Virginia would soon find the Ill Effects of such an Act which they did, for from the Year 1718 to 1723 no Act was passed Laying a Duty on the Importation of Negroes.

And Your Lordshipps are of Opinion that though the Duty laid by the said Act in 1723 was much Less than the former, Yett the same must be Attended with Ill Consequences and would discourage the planting and Cultivating Naval Stores Especial in the Two new Countries where great Numbers of Negroes would be wanting and where His Majesty had thought fit to remitt the payment of any Quitt Rents for Seven Years to Encourage the Settling and Planting the Same.

For which reasons and Considering the said Duty was laid on the Importer by which the Trade of Great Britain would be affected, Your Lordships reported the said Act was proper to be repealed and that the Assembly might pass a new Law not Liable to the said Objections to raise the necessary Supplies for which the Said Act was designed.

The Said Act with the Report of Your Lordshipps being referred to a Committee of Councill the 17th April 1724 They made their Report Stating the Facts in the same manner with Your Lordships and giving their Opinion thereon in the same words with this Addition that His Maj'tys pleasure should be signified to the Governour of Virginia that he did not on any pretence whatever presume to give his Assent to any Acts of that kind for the future without Incerting a

[4] C. O. 5: 1321, p. 108, f. 217; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fourteenth Rept.*, pt. X., *Dartmouth Papers*, II. 5; summarized in *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XVI. 85-87. The petitions called forth by the act of 1728 were referred to the Board of Trade in September (*Acts P. C. C.*, III. 64, 201-202; C. O. 5: 1321, pp. 125, 133, 141). Francis Fane acted as counsel to the board.

Clause to Suspend its taking Effect till his Majesties pleasure should be known thereon, pursuant to which Report 30th of April 1724 by Order in Councill of this Date his Majesty declared His disallowance of the Said Act and repealed the same and further ordered the Governour of Virginia not to presume for the future on any pretence whatever to Assent to any Act of this kind without incerting such a Clause as above mentioned.

I find by the Governor of Virginias Instruction he is particularly required not to pass any Bill wherein the Trade or Shipping of this Kingdom is any ways Affected unless a Clause be incerted therein Suspending the Execution thereof untill His Majestys pleasure be received thereon.

I must acquaint Your Lordshipps that there is a Clause in this Act Suspending the Execution of it till His Maj'ts pleasure is known; But I humbly apprehend for the following reasons that this Act is not fit to be passed into Law.

1st In regard to the great prejudice Virginia itself may sustain thereby for as this Colony cannot Subsist or be improved without the planters are furnished with large and constant supplies of Negroes and at the Easiest Rates so it cannot be supposed that the Merchants will so readily and freely Import them while they are clogged with Duties which raise the Value of them and discourage their sending a sufficient Number to the Colony or at least disable them from settling at such Easy rates as they might otherwise do; And I am informed Experience has Shewn the fatall consequences attending a Duty on Negroes, for from 1710 to 1718 when there was a Duty on them the Number of Negroes Imported into Virginia during these 8 years was very inconsiderable and those few Sold at Excessive prices, So that Laying a Duty on Negroes can only tend to make them Scarcer and Dearer the Two things that for the good of our Trade and for the Benefit of Virginia ought chiefly to be guarded against, since it is well known that the cheapness of Virginia Tobacco in European Marketts is the true Cause of the great Consumption thereof in Europe, And one would have therefore Expected rather to have Seen an Act allowing a premium on the importation of Negroes to have Encouraged the bringing them in than an Act laying so large a Duty to Discourage their Importation.

2dly As it affects Great Britain the Mother Country to Virginia in regard to the revenues of Great Britain and the dependancy of Virginia, That it Affects the Revenue of Great Britain is Shewn by the aforegoing reason for if Negroes will by this Act be rendred Scarcer and Dearer as I apprehend is very clear It must then of necessity follow that their Annuall Crops of Tobacco must grow Less and Less for want of a Sufficient Supply of Negroes the Number of

Hoggsheads Imported hither decrease and the Revenue arising from this Head be greatly reduced. That this Act is inconsistent with the dependancy of Virginia on Great Britain I take to be clear from considering that these Negroes are Purchased by the British Merchants that they are bought on the Coast of Africa in Exchange of Our own Manifacturies Imported from Great Britain to the Coast of Africa for that purpose and therefore for Virginia to lay a Duty on Negroes so purchased and brought to them is the same thing as Laying a Duty on the Importation of British Manifactures for the Obstructing the Importation of Negroes is in Effect the Same as if they Obstructed the Importation of British Manifacturies.[5]

December the 10th 1728

[*Journal of the Board of Trade.*][6]

October 14, 1729, Whitehall.

Mr. Leheup and Mr. Drummond being withdrawn, Directions were given for preparing the Draughts of Letters to the Governors of His Maj'ts several Colonies in America, where Acts have been pass'd laying Duties on Negroes imported there, recommending to them to procure Acts to be pass'd in their several Governments whereby other Duties may be substituted in Lieu of those on Negroes imported, in as much as the said Duties on Negroes do in some measure enhance the price of labour and consequently the price of several commodities produc'd in the Plantations, wherein our neighbours rival us in foreign markets.

95. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1732.[1]

An Act for laying a Duty upon Slaves, to be paid by the Buyers. May it please your most excellent Majesty,

I. We your majesty's most dutiful and loial subjects, the representatives of your people in your colony and dominion of Virginia, now met in a general assembly, taking into our serious consideration,

[5] After extended consideration the act was repealed and an Order in Council to that effect issued Aug. 18, 1729. See C. O. 5: 1322, p. 53, and 391: 38, pp. 134-136, 240-241, 261; *B. T. Jour.*, 1728/9-1734, pp. 33-35.

[6] C. O. 391: 38, p. 261; *B. T. Jour.*, 1728/9-1734, p. 68. The representation which recommended the repeal of the Virginia act had been ordered by the board May 22, 1729 (C. O. 391: 38, p. 134). The Order in Council which repealed it (Aug. 18, 1729) was read at a meeting of the board on Sept. 23, 1729. *B. T. Jour.*, 1728/9-1734, p. 62.

[95] [1] Hening, IV. 317-322. The House of Burgesses, after receiving from Governor Gooch directions as to how to frame an acceptable bill, drew up one conforming to his suggestions which was presented May 31, 1731, and received the governor's assent July 1, 1732 (*Jour. of Burgesses*, 1727-1740, pp. xxiii, 131, 165). The two changes introduced in the bill were, the levying of the duty upon the buyer, and the making it an ad valorem not a specific duty. In October, 1733, suit was brought against Augustine Moore for failing to report negroes that had been anchored in Back River about twelve o'clock

the exigencies of your government here, and that the duty laid upon liquors will not be sufficient to defray the necessary expences thereof; do humbly represent to your majesty, that no other duty can be laid upon our import or export, without oppressing your subjects, than a duty upon slaves imported, to be paid by the buyers, agreeable to your majesty's instruction to your lieutenant-governour: We therefore beseech your majesty, that it may be enacted,

II. And be it enacted, by the Lieutenant Governor, Council, and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this act, there shall be levied and paid to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors, for all slaves imported or brought into this colony and dominion, for sale, either by land or water, from any port or place whatsoever, by the buyer or purchaser, after the rate of five pounds per cent. on the amount of each respective purchase, within forty days next after such bargain or purchase, made; to and for the uses, intents, and purposes herein after mentioned, and to and for no other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever: And if any buyer or purchaser of any slave or slaves, chargeable with the said duty, by this act, shall fail or neglect to pay the same, within forty days after any such bargain or purchase, for such slave or slaves, as shall be then living, and to give a just and true account of the slaves by him purchased, and for how much, to the collector of the said duty, nearest the place where such buyer or purchaser inhabits, or where the vessel, importing such slaves, shall lie at the time of the sale, every such person, so failing or neglecting, shall forfeit and pay, five pounds current money, for every slave so concealed, or for which the said duty shall not be paid, according to the directions of this act, within the time aforesaid: And every collector, upon receipt of the said duty by this act imposed, is hereby enjoined and required to give a receipt under his hand, for the money by him received, expressing the number of slaves for which the same was paid, and the time of paiment thereof to the person paying the same.

III. And for a direction to the said collectors, in receiving the said duty in current money, where the contract shall be made for sterling, Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That when any bargain or contract shall be made, for any slave or slaves, in sterling money, there shall be answered and paid to the collector of the said duty, for the difference of money, after the rate of twenty pounds per cent. upon the amount of the purchase in sterling money, over and above the said duty of five per cent. by this act imposed, and no more.

of July 1, the duty act having passed at or near four o'clock. The negroes were not entered until July 5, but judgment was rendered the defendant on the plea that anchoring in the river constituted importation. Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, I. 85-86.

IV. And be it further enacted, That when any person shall sell any slave or slaves for tobacco, or any other commodity, and not for sterling, or current money, the seller, at the time of sale, shall set a value upon such slave or slaves, so sold, in current money, according to which valuation the buyer or purchaser shall be chargeable with, and pay to the said collector or other person impowered to receive the same, the said duty of five pounds per cent.

V. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That if any person or persons, after the passing of this act, shall sell any slave or slaves for which the said duty is paiable by virtue thereof, to any person not being an inhabitant of this colony, such person or persons so selling, shall, at the time of the sale, receive the said duty, and account for, and pay the same to the collector of the said duty, nearest the place where the seller inhabits, or where the vessel importing such slaves shall lie at the time of the sale; upon pain of forfeiting, for every slave so sold, the sum of five pounds current money.

VI. Provided also, That no duty shall be paid or required of the buyer or purchaser of any slave born in this colony, or imported or brought into the same before the passing of this act, or for which the said duty shall have been once paid.

VII. [For slaves exported within a year after their importation, the duty shall be returned.]

VIII. But forasmuch, as it is very easy to convey slaves into the province of North Carolina, and to bring them back again, and thereby to evade the paiment of the duty aforesaid:

IX. Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That no drawback shall be allowed for any slaves carried or exported by land or water, into the said province of North Carolina: And when any person shall make such oath as aforesaid, in order to entitle himself to the drawback, he shall likewise swear, that the slaves intended to be exported, shall not be carried into the said province.

X. And to the end, the number of slaves sold, and the persons purchasing the same, and whether the duty by this act imposed, has been duly answered and paid, may be more certainly known and discovered:

XI. Be it further enacted, That all and every person and persons, to whom after the passing of this act any slaves shall be consigned, or by whom any slaves shall be sold and disposed of, for which the buyer or purchaser shall be chargeable with the paiment of the said duty, by virtue of this act, do and shall, within three months after any slave shall be imported or brought into this colony, by land or water, transmit to the next collector of the duties by this act imposed, a list or manifest, in writing, of the number of slaves by him

sold, to whom, and for how much; and therein shall distinguish and express at what time such slaves were sold, and the place of abode of the buyers, respectively, and how many slaves, if any, remain unsold; and if any slave shall remain unsold after the expiration of the said three months, in that case, such list or manifest as aforesaid, shall be transmitted as aforesaid, to the said collector, within twenty days after the said remaining slaves shall be all sold: And every buyer or purchaser, liable to the paiment of the duty on slaves, by virtue of this act, shall, if thereunto required by any collector of the said duty, at any time after the expiration of forty days from the time of such bargain or purchase, at the usual place of such buyer or purchaser's abode or residence, produce and shew to the said collector, such receipt as is herein before directed to be given, upon paiment of the said duties, to manifest the paiment thereof; and if such buyer or purchaser shall fail to produce such receipt, such failure shall be taken for a conviction, that the duty, for which no receipt shall be produced, hath not been duly answered and paid; and such buyer or purchaser, shall be liable to the forfeitures and penalties by this act inflicted, for concealing purchased slaves, or not paying the duty within the time herein before limited and appointed for paiment thereof.

XII. And be it further enacted, That if any buyer or purchaser of any slave or slaves, chargeable with the paiment of the duty by this act imposed, shall have imported into this colony, any sum or sums of money, and made such proof, and obtained such certificate, as in and by an act of this present session of assembly, intituled, An Act for laying a duty on Liquors, is mentioned and directed, upon producing such certificate to the collector of the said duty, such collector is hereby authorised and required, to make an abatement or allowance of fifteen per cent. in the paiment of the duty for any slave or slaves bought or purchased by the importer thereof; and upon paiment of the said duty, the collector thereof shall endorse on such certificate the sum by him received.

XIII. [The penalties incurred under this law shall be divided between the informer and the governor.]

XIV. [The governor is to appoint collectors.]

XV. And be it further enacted, That all and every sum and sums of money raised, or to be raised, by virtue of this act, shall be constantly accounted for by the collector or collectors thereof, upon oath, and paid to John Holloway, esq. treasurer, or to the treasurer of Virginia, for the time being: And the said John Holloway (and in case of his death, or disability, the treasurer for the time being, who shall be appointed in the same manner as is directed and prescribed by one act made in the twelfth year of the reign of the late king George the first, intituled, An Act for appointing a Treasurer);

shall give security in the sum of one thousand pounds sterling; and shall have all the powers and authorities, in the execution of his office, and the same salary for receiving the duty imposed by this act, as in and by the said last mentioned act are given and allowed: And the said John Holloway, and the treasurer for the time being, shall account for the duties aforesaid, to the governor, council, and burgesses of the general assembly, upon oath.

XVI. And the said duty is hereby appropriated, and shall be applied for the lessening the levy by the poll, and to and for such other use and uses, as the general assembly, from time to time, shall direct and appoint.

XVII. And this act shall continue and be in force, for four years next after the passing thereof, and no longer.[2]

96. Colonel William Byrd to the Earl of Egmont, 1736.[1]

Virginia, July 12, 1736.

. . . Your Lord'ps opinion concerning Rum and Negros is certainly very just, and your excludeing both of them from Your Colony of Georgia will be very happy. . . .

I wish my Lord we coud be blesst with the same Prohibition. They import so many Negros hither, that I fear this Colony will some time or other be confirmd by the Name of New Guinea. I am sensible of many bad consequences of multiplying these Ethiopians amongst us. They blow up the pride, and ruin the Industry of our White People, who seing a Rank of poor Creatures below them, detest work for fear it shoud make them look like Slaves. Then that poverty which will ever attend upon Idleness, disposes them as much to pilfer as it dos the Portuguese, who account it much more like a Gentleman to steal, than to dirty their hands with Labour of any kind.

Another unhappy Effect of Many Negros is the necessity of being severe. Numbers make them insolent, and then foul Means must do what fair will not. We have however nothing like the Inhumanity here that is practiced in the Islands, and God forbid we ever shoud. But these base Tempers require to be rid with a tort Rein, or they will be apt to throw their Rider. Yet even this is terrible to a good

[2] In August, 1734, this act was renewed for another period of four years, which would carry it to July, 1740: "Whereas the act of this general assembly, made at the last session, intituled, An Act for laying a Duty upon Slaves, to be paid by the Buyers, hath been found very easy to the subjects of this colony, and no ways burthensome to the traders in slaves: To the end therefore that a competent revenue may be raised, for preventing or lessening a poll tax" (Hening, IV. 394). By frequent renewals the measure was carried to July, 1751. It seems then to have lapsed until February, 1752, when it was revived, and by repeated re-enactment continued until all importation into Virginia was forbidden.

[96] [1] *American Historical Review*, I. 88-89; Bassett, *Writings of Byrd*, p. lxxxv. The Earl of Egmont was the first president of the Trustees of Georgia. See *post*, no. 393.

naturd Man, who must submit to be either a Fool or a Fury. And this will be more our unhappy case, the more Negros are increast amongst us.

But these private mischeifs are nothing if compard to the publick danger. We have already at least 10,000 Men of these descendants of Ham fit to bear Arms,[2] and their Numbers increase every day as well by birth as Importation. And in case there shoud arise a Man of desperate courage amongst us, exasperated by a desperate fortune, he might with more advantage than Cataline kindle a Servile War. Such a man might be dreadfully mischeivous before any opposition could be formd against him, and tinge our Rivers as wide as they are with blood, besides the Calamity which woud be brought upon us by such an Attempt, it woud cost our Mother Country many a fair Million to make us as profitable as we are at present.

It were therefore worth the consideration of a British Parliament, My Lord, to put an end to this unchristian Traffick of makeing Merchandize of Our Fellow Creatures. At least the farther Importation of them in Our Colonys shoud be prohibited lest they prove as troublesome and dangerous everywhere, as they have been lately in Jamaica, where besides a vast expence of Mony, they have cost the lives of many of his Majesty's Subjects. We have mountains in Virginia too, to which they may retire as safely, and do as much mischeif as they do in Jamaica. All these matters duly considerd, I wonder the Legislature will Indulge a few ravenous Traders to the danger of the Publick safety, and such Traders as woud freely sell their Fathers, their Elder Brothers, and even the Wives of their bosomes, if they coud black their faces and get anything by them. . . .

97. Journal of the House of Burgesses, 1736.[1]

August 18, 1736.

Mr. Carter reported, That the Committee, to whom it is referred to prepare and draw up a State of the Duty upon Slaves, and the several Paiments that have been made, with the Amount thereof, had had under their Consideration, such Accounts of that Duty for the Years 1732, 1733, and 1734, as have hitherto been returned into the Treasury; and having discovered diverse fraudulent Concealments of that Duty, had agreed upon a Report; which he read in his Place: And afterwards delivered the same in at the Table, where it was again read, as follows:

[2] In 1730 Governor Gooch had reported to the Board of Trade that there were 30,000 negroes in Virginia in a population of 114,000. C. O. 5: 1322.

[97] [1] *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1727-1740, p. 259.

That it appears to the Committee, That considerable Numbers of Slaves have been imported into this Colony, from the West-Indies, and other His Majesty's Plantations in America, consigned to the Masters of Vessels importing the same; or to Merchants, Strangers or Passengers, on board such Vessels, who have sold the Slaves to them respectively consigned; and then departed this Colony, without rendering any Accounts of the Sales, or paying any Duty for such Slaves.

That others have been consigned to, and imported by, diverse Inhabitants of this Colony; and in their Accounts delivered to the Naval Officers, are said to be kept by the Importers, for their own Use; but nevertheless, have been actually sold, and no Accounts of the Sales rendered, nor Duty paid.

That the Method of accounting for the said Duty, as hitherto practiced, is irregular and defective, and has occasioned Concealments to a considerable Value, by Persons who have bought Slaves, but never paid the Duty; which will more fully appear, when your Committee shall be enabled to perfect their Inquiries by the Accounts of the Sales not yet delivered in, or laid before the House.

And that to prevent the lessening of Public Revenue, by such Practices for the future, it will be necessary to prepare, and bring in a Bill, for the better and more effectual Collecting the Duty upon Slaves, to be paid by the Buyers; and for preventing Frauds.

Ordered, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill, for the better and more effectual Collecting the Duty upon Slaves, to be paid by the Buyers; and that the said Committee do prepare, and bring in the same.[2]

98. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1736.[1]

An Act for laying a Duty upon Liquors imported by Land; and better securing the Duty upon Slaves; and for other purposes therein mentioned.

VII. Be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That from henceforth, the buyer of any slave or slaves, imported or brought into this colony, as aforesaid, shall pay the said duty down, or secure the same to be paid, within forty days after such purchase, to the collector: And if such slave or slaves, for which the duty has been paid, shall happen to die within forty days, limited in the said former act; upon oath thereof made before any justice of the peace, such buyer shall draw back the whole duty, and the collectors thereof are hereby required to repay the same.

[2] The bill was introduced and first read on Sept. 7, 1736, and received the assent of the governor Sept. 23. *Ibid.*, pp. 290, 315.

[98] [1] Hening, IV. 471-474.

VIII. [One collector only in each district is empowered to receive the duty.]

IX. And to the end, the said buyers of slaves, chargeable with the duties, may be more speedily known, Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That all and every person and persons to whom any slaves shall be consigned, for sale, shall, within two months after the arrival of the ship importing the same, deliver to the collector of the duties on slaves, in the district where the same shall be imported, a true manifest or account of the slaves by him sold, the name and place of abode of every person buying the same, the respective prices at which each slave was sold, and how many of the said slaves, if any, remain then unsold: And if any slave or slaves shall remain unsold, after the expiration of the said two months; in that case, the like manifest or account shall be transmitted to the collector, within twenty days after the remaining slaves shall be all sold; and shall, on the last mentioned manifest make oath before some justice of the peace: Which oath the said justice is hereby impowered and required to administer: That the manifests by him delivered or transmitted to the collector do contain a true account of all the slaves sold by him or them out of such ship, including as well the slaves allowed to the masters and officers as privileged slaves, if he sold the same, as those properly belonging to the owners of such ship, or vessel: And every master of a ship or vessel importing slaves, shall, before his clearing, deliver the like manifest, upon oath, of all the priviledged slaves imported, to whom sold, and at what price; and the collector shall within ten days next after the said respective manifests are returned to him, deliver to the treasurer of the said duty, for the time being, a true account of all the persons who have purchased slaves, and have not (within the said forty days after such purchase) satisfied and paid the duties paiable for the same; and so from time to time, after the expiration of the said forty days; and such return duly made, shall entitle the collector to his salary for the duty, out of the forfeitures, or any former paiment, when the same shall be recovered, in the manner herein after mentioned.

X. And for the better recovery of the duties aforesaid, which have heretofore or hereafter shall become due and paiable, it shall and may be lawful for the treasurer of the said duty, for the time being, to commence and prosecute any action or information, *qui tam,* in the general court, for recovery of any penalty inflicted by the said former act, altho' the same shall not amount to ten pounds sterling; and no act or time of limitation shall be pleaded, or judged to be a bar to any such action.

XI. And whereas, divers persons to whom slaves imported have been consigned, as well as the importers of slaves, taking advantage

of certain words in the said former act, have taken and chosen for themselves certain slaves, and have returned the same in their accounts of sales to the collectors of the said duties, as kept for their own use, and therefore have refused to pay the duty for the same, when the said act, or any thing therein contained, is not capable of any such construction: Therefore, for the recovery of such duties as have heretofore been defrauded by the said pretences, and for preventing the like abuses for the future,

XII. Be it further enacted, That all and every person and persons who heretofore have withheld the said duties upon such pretences, as aforesaid, and shall not pay the same to some collector thereof, within two months after the passing of this act, shall forfeit and pay the penalties in the said former act inflicted; and all and every person and persons hereafter failing to pay the said duties, upon the like pretences, shall be also liable to the same penalties: To be recovered, as in this act directed. . . .

XVI. And whereas it appears, that some collectors of the duties upon liquors and slaves, do sometimes delay to account with the treasurer half-yearly, for the duties by them received, whereby losses may be occasioned to that revenue, Be it further enacted, That such collectors be and are hereby required to account with the treasurer every half year; (to wit,) on the twenty-fifth day of April, and the twenty fifth day of October, every year, or within fifteen days afterwards, upon pain of forfeiting one half of their commissions; to be deducted out of their accounts, by the treasurer; and to be by him carried to the credit of the public treasury.

99. Instructions to the Earl of Albemarle, 1737.[1]

November 9th, 1737.

. . .

And in order to the better Execution of the Laws and Statutes abovementioned, upon the first Notice of the Arrival of any ship or ships within the Limits of any Port of or belonging to your Govern-

[99] [1] C. O. 5: 1366, pp. 237-238. The second Earl of Albemarle was governor in chief of Virginia from Sept. 6, 1737, to Dec. 23, 1754. A draft of Albemarle's commission, drawn up Sept. 28, 1737, contained the following clauses: "Whereas Acts have been passed in some of Our Plantations in America for laying Duties on the Importation and Exportation of Negroes to the great discouragement of the Merchants trading thither from the Coast of Africa. . . .

"It is Our Will and Pleasure that you do not give your Assent to or pass any Act imposing Duties upon Negroes Imported in Our said Colony under your Government payable by the Importer, or upon any Slaves Exported that have not been sold in Our said Colony and continued there for the space of twelve Months. . . .

"And We do further expressly command and require you to give unto us and to our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, an Account every half year of what number of negroes Our said Colony is Supplied with, that is what number by the African Company and what by the Seperate Traders, and at what Rates sold." *Ibid.*

ment which have or are suspected to have on Board any Negroes Goods or Commodities of the Growth Produce or Manufacture of the East Indies, Madagascar, or any other parts or Places beyond the Cape of Bona Esperanza, within the Limits of Trade granted to the United East India Company, pursuant to the aforementioned Act of the Ninth and Tenth of King William; You shall immediately cause the Officers of Our Customs in your Governement (and any other Officer or Persons in Aid of them) to go on Board such ship or ships and to Visit the same and to Examine the Masters or other Commanders, the Officers and Sailors on Board such ship or ships and their Charter-parties, Invoyces, Cocquets and other Credentials Testimonials or Documents, and if they find . . . that there are on Board any such Goods, Commodities or Negroes as is above mentioned, that they do give Notice to the Master or other person having then the command of such Ship or Ships forthwith to depart out of the Limits of your Government, without giving them any Relief Support Aid or Assistance altho it should be pretended, that such Ship or Ships were or the same really should be in distress, want, disability, danger, of sinking, or for or upon any other reason or pretence whatsoever. And that you Our Governor or Commander in Chief do by no means suffer any Goods, Merchandize or Negroes from on Board such Ship or Ships to be landed or brought on Shore upon any Account or Excuse whatsoever. And it is Our further Will and Pleasure that if any such Ship or Ships being Foreign having on Board any such Goods, Merchandize, or Negroes do not upon Notice given to the Master or other person having the Command thereof as soon as conveniently may be, depart out of the Limits of your Government, and from the Coasts thereof, without landing selling or Bartering any of the said Goods or Negroes, You Our Governor or the Commander in Chief for the time being, shall cause the said Ship or Ships and Goods and Negroes to be seized and proceeded against according to Law. But if such Ship or Ships having such Goods or Negroes on Board and Ent'ring into any Port or Place or coming upon any of the Coasts or Shoars of Our said Colony under your Government, do belong to our subjects and do break Bulk, or sell Barter, Exchange or otherwise dispose of the said Goods or Negroes or any part thereof contrary to Law, you are, to take care that such Ship or Ships, with the Guns, Tackle, Apparel and Furniture thereof, and all Goods and Merchandize Laden thereupon, and the proceed and effects of the same be immediately seized, and that the Laws in such case made and provided be put in Execution with the greatest care, diligence and application. But if any ship belonging to the Subjects of any Foreign State or Potentate, having on Board any Negroes or East India Commodities shall be actually bound to some

Place or Port in the West Indies belonging to any Foreign Prince or State from some European Port and such ship shall happen to be driven in by necessity and be in real distress, the same may be supply'd with what is absolutely necessary for her relief. But you shall not take, have or receive, nor permit or suffer any person to take, have or receive any Negroes [2] or other the said East India Commodities in payment or satisfaction for such relief. That if any Officer of our Customs or other Officer employed by you Our Governor or Commander in Chief in Visiting searching or seizing such Ship or Ships, Goods, Merchandize or Negroes be corrupt, negligent or remiss in the discharge of his Duty therein, We do hereby require you to suspend him from the Execution of his said Office. . . .

100. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1738.[1]

An Act, for amending and further continuing an Act intituled, an Act, for laying a Duty upon Slaves.

I. Whereas, the duty upon slaves imported, as the same is laid, by one act of assembly made in the fifth and sixth years of his majesty's reign, intituled, An Act, for laying a Duty upon Slaves, to be paid by the Buyers; which said act was continued by one other act, made in the eighth year of his majesty's reign hath been found, by experience, to be an easy expedient for raising a revenue towards the lessening of a poll tax, always grievous to the people of this colony and is no ways burthensome to the traders in slaves. And whereas, the method of collecting the said duty upon slaves, prescribed by the said first recited act; and by one other act, made in the tenth year of his majesty's reign, intituled, An Act for laying a Duty upon Liquors imported by Land: and better securing the Duty upon Slaves; and for other purposes therein mentioned; hath proved very inconvenient, and given great opportunities for frauds: Therefore, for amending and further continuing the said first recited act:

II. Be it enacted, by the Lieutenant-Governor, Council and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that every importer of slaves into this colony, either by land or water, for sale, if such importer shall sell the same himself; or if such slaves shall be consigned to any other person, than the person or persons who shall take upon him or them, the sale and disposal of such slaves, shall be, and he, and they, are hereby appointed collector and collectors of the said duty, upon the slaves so imported and sold by him, or them, respectively. And upon

[2] While the returns from the naval officers in the years immediately preceding this fail to show negro importation from Madagascar, reference to the reports for the years 1718-1727 discloses a surprising amount of such importation.

[100] [1] Hening, V. 28-31. See *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1727-1740, pp. 333-386, *passim*.

all other slaves, in case such importation shall be by water, that shall be imported in the same ship or vessel, belonging to the master, or other officer, commonly called privileged slaves: And every buyer or purchaser of any slave or slaves so imported, shall, upon the sale and delivery of such slave or slaves, pay down the duty, mentioned in the said first recited act, to such collector or collectors; or give his promisory note, for paiment of the same, within forty days after the time of such sale and delivery. And in case any slave or slaves, for which the duty shall be so paid, or secured to be paid, as aforesaid, shall happen to die, within the said forty days, and the buyer or purchaser shall make oath thereof, before some justice of the peace, it shall and may be lawful for the said collector or collectors; and he and they are hereby impowered and directed, upon producing and delivering a certificate of such oath to him or them, to refund and pay back to the buyer or purchaser, the said duty, if the same shall have been paid; or deliver up the promisory note given, for the payment thereof, as the case may be. And if any importer of slaves, or other person or persons taking upon him or them the sale and disposal of slaves, as aforesaid, shall neglect or refuse to receive the said duty; or take notes for the paiment thereof, as herein before is mentioned; every such person and persons shall be and is, and are hereby made chargeable with the paiment of the said duty, in the same manner, as the buyer or purchaser is made chargeable by the said first recited act, or by this act.

III. Provided always, That if any importer of slaves, or other person or persons, taking upon him or them, the sale and disposal of slaves so imported, shall not be an inhabitant or inhabitants of this colony; in such case, the buyers and purchasers of any slave and slaves so imported, shall pay the duty aforesaid, to the naval officer of the district where the ship or vessel, in case the same shall be imported by water: And if such slaves shall be imported by land, then to the naval officer who shall live nearest to the place where such slaves shall be sold, in the manner prescribed by the first recited act, and the said act made in the tenth year of his majesty's reign; and such naval officer is hereby appointed collector of the said duty accordingly.

IV. [Collectors shall account for the duties, and receive the salary of six pounds in the hundred.] And such collector or collectors, if he or they have had the sale and disposal of any slave or slaves, shall, at the time of such accounting, deliver to the treasurer of the duties upon liquors and slaves, upon oath, a true manifest or account of all the slaves by him or them sold, the name and place of abode of every person buying the same, the respective prices at which each slave was sold, and how many of the said slaves, if any, remain then

unsold; and also, a true account of the names of such buyers who have paid the duty, and the sums received from each person respectively, together with a list of such persons, if any, whose promisory notes shall be then due and unpaid; and shall then deliver to the treasurer all such notes as shall be then due, and payable; and shall have and receive the same salary upon such notes, as if the money was actually paid into the treasury: [Penalty for unpaid notes may be sued for.]

V. Provided always, That it shall and may be lawful for the treasurer to compound the said penalty, either before or after action brought.

VI. And be it further enacted, That so much of one clause of the said first recited act of assembly, that imposes a penalty of five pounds upon every buyer of a slave, who shall not pay the duty, and give an account of the slave or slaves by him purchased, to the collector of the said duty according to the directions of the said act; except as to such buyers who shall purchase any slave or slaves of any person not being an inhabitant of this colony, be, and is hereby repealed: but the same, as to such last mentioned buyers, shall be still in force. And the said first recited act of assembly, made in the fifth and sixth years of his majesty's reign, and the said act made in the tenth year of his majesty's reign, so far as the same concerns the said duty upon slaves, for so much of the said acts as are not repealed or altered by this act, shall continue, and be in force, from and after the first day of July, which shall be in the year of our lord, one thousand seven hundred and forty, for and during the term of four years from thence next following, and no longer: And that so much of the said acts as are contrary to any thing contained in this act, shall be, and is hereby repealed, and made void.[2]

101. Minutes of the House of Burgesses, 1744.[1]

October 18, 1744.

Mr. Ludwell moved for Leave to bring in a Bill, for reviving and continuing the Act, intituled, An Act, for laying an additional Duty

[2] In 1740 an act "for laying an additional Duty upon Slaves, to be paid by the Buyer, for encouraging persons to enlist in his Majesty's service: And for preventing desertion", laid an additional duty of five per cent. on the amount of each purchase of slaves, which brought the total duty to ten per cent. This was to remain in force till July 1, 1744 (Hening, V. 92-94; *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1727-1740, pp. 416-434). In 1738 a special committee of the assembly had reported that the arrears in the payments of the duty on imported slaves between Apr. 25, 1736, and Oct. 25, 1738, amounted to £1399 8 *s*. *Ibid*., p. 384.

[101] [1] *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1742-1749, p. 139. For the consideration of the duty acts in 1742, see pp. 15-69. The act here referred to had lapsed July 1, 1744. A second attempt to restore the duty to ten per cent. was made in 1748, when in the course of renewing the act for laying a duty upon slaves, which had now been in existence since 1732, a motion was made that the committee framing the bill have power to receive a clause laying an additional five per cent. duty. The motion was lost. *Ibid*., pp. 275, 309, 319, 322-323.

upon Slaves, to be paid by the Buyers; and for encouraging Persons to inlist in His Majesty's Service, and for preventing Desertion; for so much thereof as relates to the laying an additional Duty upon Slaves, to be paid by the Buyer: And the Question being put thereon? It passed in the Negative.

102. Francis Jerdone to William Buchanan, 1750.[1]

May 26, 1750.

. . . What would you think of an African concern of a small vessel yearly to this place. I believe Capt. Archb'd Crawford would suit you for that business very well. I would be content to stand a small share on condition that I had the sales thereof, and I can see no reason why we may not expect the same success other people have, which to be sure is encouraging, else so many would not drive at it. There is not the least fear of selling here, for there is in general as many Purchasers as there is slaves imported, and the pay is always better than for any other commodity and without something of this sort I must be under the necessity of leaving this town, for my expenses are too great for my present wages. . . .
Per the *Sally*

103. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1754.[1]

An Act for the encouragement and protection of the settlers upon the waters of the Mississippi.

III. Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, there shall be levied and paid to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors, for all slaves imported or brought into this colony and dominion for sale, either by land or water, from any part or place whatsoever, by the buyer or purchaser, after the rate of five per centum, on the amount of each respective purchase, over and above the duty already laid upon slaves imported as aforesaid;[2] which said additional duty shall be paid, col-

[102] [1] *William and Mary Coll. Quar.*, XI. 157. Francis Jerdone came to Yorktown, Va., about 1746. Here he acted as factor for William Buchanan and William Hamilton, London merchants. That he accumulated considerable property in slaves is evidenced by his will made on July 10, 1770. *Ibid.*, XI. 7.

[103] [1] Hening, VI. 417-420, February, 1754. A comment made by the editor of the *Journals* in reference to the passage of "an act for reviving the duty upon slaves, to be paid by the buyer, for the term therein mentioned", applies to much of the legislation regarding the duties on importation of slaves after 1750: "The fight over its passage arose from the fact that in enhancing the price of slaves the law would, it was seen, increase the difficulty experienced by men of small means in securing laborers for their farms. It was thus, to an extent, a fight between the rich and the poor." *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1752-1758, p. xiv.

[2] On Feb. 27, 1752, the five per cent. duty to be paid by the buyer, which had lapsed July 31, 1751, was revived for four years: "whereas the public debts contracted

lected and accounted for, in such manner and form, and according to such rules, and under such penalties and forfeitures, as are mentioned, prescribed, and appointed, for the paying, collecting and accounting for the duty already raised and imposed upon slaves imported, by the several acts of Assembly now in force, and made for that purpose; and that every article, rule and clause contained in the said acts, concerning the paying, collecting and accounting for the said former duty shall be used, exercised, and put in practice, for paying, collecting and accounting for the said duty hereby imposed, as if the same articles, rules, and clauses were inserted in this act.[3] . . .

104. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1755.[1]

An Act to explain an act, intituled, An act for raising the sum of twenty thousand pounds, for the protection of his majesty's subjects,

for his majesty's service, during the late war with France, and also for rebuilding the Capitol, are yet unpaid, and cannot be discharged without the aid of the duty laid by the aforesaid act, which hath, by experience, been found easy to the people here, and no ways burthensome to the traders in slaves" (Hening, VI. 217-221; *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1752-1758, pp. 16-97, *passim*). On Nov. 15, 1753, the committee on trade was instructed to bring in a bill continuing this act, which would expire Feb. 27, 1756. The continuing act received the assent of the governor on Dec. 19 (*ibid.*, pp. 124, 131-135, 170). A study of the lists of arrivals in Virginia (*post*, no. 134) may give some notion of the effect of these duties; see also no. 105, n. 4.

[2] On May 10, 1754, Dinwiddie wrote to James Abercomby: "I now send You Copy of the Printed Journal of last Assembly; read seriously the Act for encouraging and (the) Protection of the Settlers upon the Waters of the Mississippi. You will observe several Things in it inconstitutional and derogatory to the prerogative of the Crown, particularly that Part wch gives the Power of the application of th Money by a Committee therein named, among whom are some of the Council, contrary to their Consent or Approbat'n." In February, 1754, an appropriation of £10,000 (to be raised by a tax on the importation of slaves, on wheel carriages, and on licenses for ordinaries) was made for the defense of such settlers (Va. Hist. Soc., *Collections: Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, I. 156). This act was renewed in May, 1755, to continue from Feb. 14, 1757, to Feb. 14, 1760 (Hening, VI. 468-470). It was again renewed in February, 1759, to continue for five years, which extended it to Feb. 14, 1765 (*ibid.*, VII. 282; *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1758-1761, pp. 65, 95), and in May, 1763, for another five years, which carried it to February, 1770. Hening, VII. 639-640.

[104] [1] Hening, VI. 466. The term for which this act was passed was three years but apparently it continued in force until its repeal in May, 1760 (*ibid.*, VII. 363). "An examination of the various measures of taxation resorted to in the progress of the war discloses an interesting example of the laying of a protective tariff under the guise of a measure designed to increase revenue, and an example of the selfishness fostered by such a system. In May, 1755, an additional duty of ten per cent. was laid on slaves imported into the Colony. The duties already imposed on them amounted to about ten per cent. All these duties were renewed in 1757, to continue for seven years. The rate was so heavy as to cause a marked falling off in the number of slaves imported, but the price of those in the Colony advanced, of course, to the extent of the duty imposed, with the result of increasing the wealth of the large land-holders and slave-holders and of rendering it more difficult for the small farmers to extend their operations. Earnest efforts were made by the latter to break the monopoly thus created, but it was not until 1760 that these efforts were crowned with success. In the May session of that year, the provision to take off the ten per cent. additional tax was attached as a rider to the bill for raising troops for the Cherokee Expedition. To the last those who profited by the duty fought for its retention" (*Jour. of Burgesses*, 1758-1761, p. xvi). The act of repeal read, "inasmuch as the same prevents the importation of slaves and thereby lessens the fund arising from the duties upon slaves" (Hening, VII. 363). See *Dinwiddie Records*, II. 86, for a discussion of the use to which the money was to be put.

against the insults and encroachments of the French; and for other purposes therein mentioned.

X. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, there shall be levied and paid to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors, for all slaves imported, or brought into this colony and dominion for sale, either by land or water, from any part or place whatsoever, by the buyer, or purchaser, after the rate of ten per centum, on the amount of each respective purchase, over and above the several duties already laid on slaves, imported as aforesaid, by an act, or acts of Assembly, now subsisting, and also over and above the duty laid by an act, intituled, An act for the encouragement and protection of the settlers upon the waters of the Mississippi; made in the twenty-seventh year of his present majesty's reign, and continued this present session of Assembly, for the further term of three years, which said additional duty, shall be paid, collected, and accounted for in such manner and form, and according to such rules, and under such penalties and forfeitures as are mentioned, prescribed, and appointed for the paying, collecting, and accounting for the duties already raised and imposed upon slaves imported, by the several acts of Assembly now in force; and that every article, rule, and clause, contained in the said acts, concerning the paying, collecting and accounting for the said former duties, shall be used, exercised, and put in practice, for paying, collecting, and accounting for the said duty hereby imposed, as if the same articles, rules, and clauses were inserted in this act.

105. Peter Fontaine to Moses Fontaine, 1757.[1]

March the 30th, 1757.

Dear Brother Moses: . . . Like Adam we are all apt to shift off the blame from ourselves and lay it upon others, how justly in our case you may judge. The negroes are enslaved by the negroes themselves before they are purchased by the masters of the ships who bring them here. It is to be sure at our choice whether we buy them or not, so this then is our crime, folly, or whatever you will please to call it. But, our Assembly, foreseeing the ill consequences of importing such numbers amongst us, hath often attempted to lay a duty upon them which would amount to a prohibition, such as ten or twenty pounds a head,[2] but no Governor dare pass such a law, having in-

[105] [1] James Fontaine, *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, pp. 351-352. On Mar. 2, 1756, Peter Fontaine had written, "The other evil you mention, our intestine enemies, our slaves, increase daily. . . . When our mother country shall vouchsafe to consider us a part of herself, she may perhaps not suffer such multitudes to be brought from Africa to pleasure a company, and overrun a dutiful colony" (*ibid.*, pp. 347-348). The Reverend Peter Fontaine, rector of Westover parish, died in July, 1757.

[2] No attempt of this sort seems ever to have advanced far enough to become a matter of record. Not since 1728 had a specific duty, large or small, been introduced in the legislature. The ten per cent. duty proposed in 1748 was, as has been noted, defeated in the House of Burgesses before it was so much as incorporated in a bill.

structions to the contrary from the Board of Trade at home, By this means they are forced upon us, whether we will or will not. This plainly shows the African Company hath the advantage of the colonies, and may do as it pleases with the Ministry.[3]

Indeed, since we have been exhausted of our little stock of cash by the war, the importation has stopped; our poverty then is our best security. There is no more picking for their ravenous jaws upon bare bones, but should we begin to thrive they will be at the same again. All our taxes are now laid upon slaves and on Shippers of tobacco, which they wink at while we are in danger of being torn from them, but we durst not do it in time of peace, it being looked upon as the highest presumption to lay any burden upon trade.[4] This is our part of the grievance, but to live in Virginia without slaves is morally impossible. Before our troubles you could not hire a servant or slave for love or money, so that unless robust enough to cut wood, to go to mill, to work at the hoe, etc. you must starve, or board in some family where they both fleece and half starve you. There is no set price upon corn, wheat and provisions, so they take advantage of the necessities of strangers, who are thus obliged to purchase some slaves and land. This of course draws us all into the original sin and curse of the country of purchasing slaves, and this is the reason we have no merchants, traders, or artificers of any sort but what become planters in a short time.

A common laborer, white or black, if you can be so much favored as to hire one, is a shilling sterling or fifteen pence currency per day; a bungling carpenter two shillings or two shillings and six pence per day; besides diet and lodging. That is, for a lazy fellow to get wood and water, £19, 16. 3. current per annum; add to this seven or eight pounds more and you have a slave for life. . . .

106. Minutes of the House of Burgesses, 1759.[1]

March 15, 1759.

Mr. Charles Carter, from the Committee of Propositions and Grievances, reported, That the Committee had had under their Con-

[3] It is to be remembered that the Royal African Company ceased to exist in 1752, and only a committee of merchants maintained an organization. The new, regulated company, could do no trading in its corporate capacity. See this work, II. 474-485.

[4] When this was written three statutes imposed duties on incoming negroes: the original act placing a five per cent. duty on them; the act first passed in 1754 for the protection of Mississippi settlers (*ante*, no. 103), which imposed a second five per cent. duty; and the act of May, 1755, to prevent French encroachments, which laid a further ten per cent. upon imports (*ante*, no. 104). The existence of this twenty per cent. imposition in 1757 tells nothing of the effect of such a duty in normal times. The years 1756-1760 were years of active war upon the seas. The commerce in slaves was of necessity checked and many slave cargoes captured. In addition, Virginia's tobacco crop of 1756 was a poor one, as was that of 1758 also. See May 15, 1756, Francis Jerdone to Messrs. Alex. Speirs and Hugh Brown, *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.*, XVI. 126-129; Oct. 5, 1758, William Allason to his brother, *Richmond College Historical Papers*, II. 122.

[106] [1] *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1758-1761, pp. 95, 112.

sideration divers Propositions, from Several Counties, to them referred, and had come to several Resolutions thereupon. . . . Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That that Part of the Petition from the County of King George, praying that the Duty on Slaves may be lessened is reasonable.[2] . . .

March 30, 1759.

A Motion was made for Leave to bring in a Bill To oblige the Importers of Slaves, for their own Use, to pay a Duty; and the Question being put thereupon, It passed in the Negative.[3]

107. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1759.[1]

An Act to oblige the persons bringing slaves into this colony from Maryland, Carolina, and the West-Indies, for their own use, to pay a duty.

I. Whereas great numbers of negro and other slaves, imported to the provinces of Maryland, North-Carolina, and other places in America, have been there brought by the inhabitants of this colony, and from thence transported hither, whereby not only the payment of the duties on slaves has been evaded, but the duties imposed by the laws of those countries have been born by our people; for prevention whereof, Be it enacted, by the Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this act, there shall be paid to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors, for all slaves imported or brought into this colony and dominion from Maryland, North-Carolina, or any other place in America, by the owner or importer thereof, after the rate of twenty per centum on the amount of each respective purchase, really and bona fide made, by such owner or importer, in such province or other place in America; to be applied towards discharging the publick debts of this colony, and to such other publick uses as the general assembly shall from time to time direct.[2] . . .

[2] The colony had placed an additional ten per cent. duty on slaves in 1757, to take effect July 9, 1758, and to be in effect seven years, though it was actually repealed in March, 1761, as being "found very inconvenient" (Hening, VII. 81, ch. 1, sect. 22, and 383, ch. 1, sect. 6). In spite of the favorable report of the committee the House rejected as much of the petition as requested that the duty on slaves be lessened. *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1758-1761, p. 96.

[3] The same motion was carried on Nov. 8, 1759, and a bill framed. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-146.

[107] [1] Hening, VII, 338; see *Leg. Jour. of Council*, III. 1228 On Dec. 1, 1759, Francis Fauquier, lieutenant governor, wrote to the Board of Trade, "The Assembly broke upon the 21st Novr. after having passed . . . an Act to prevent Frauds on Negro duties". In the same session a bill was introduced to amend the duties on negroes and one to lessen them. The former was sent to the council on Nov. 15 but was not passed; the latter never reached the council. *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1758-1761, pp. 141-152, *passim*, and 282.

[2] This was to be effective until Apr. 20, 1767. In the autumn of 1766 it was renewed for another three years and two years later it was again extended for three years. Hening, VIII. 191-192, 336-337; *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1765-1769, pp. 39, 42, 46, 47, 52; *Jour. of Council*, III. 1356.

108. Lieutenant Governor Fauquier to the Board of Trade, 1760.[1]

W'msburgh, June 2d, 1760.

My Lords, . . . At the end of the supply Bill the House of Burgesses added a Clause to encrease the duty arising by the importation of slaves, by reducing it to ten per cent instead of twenty, which was the method I most approved in the late Act relative thereto of which I wrote yr Lord'pps a full account in my letter of the 17th of Decembr. by the *Deliverance,* Capt. Whyte, who I hope, is safely arrived, tho' we have not heard of her. She carried the Box of public papers and Acts.

The incertitude of the proceedings of the General Assembly of this Colony, has struck me on many occasions and seems to be so inherent in the nature of the Members, as to be characteristic of the People. This Act was passed this Session in the lower House, but by a single voice, on account of this Clause; and it is apprehended will occasion a Battle in the next Session whenever the assembly meets again; for the contest on this occasion is between the old Settlers, who have bred great quantity of Slaves, and would make a Monopoly of them by a duty which they hoped would amount to a prohibition; and the rising Generation who want Slaves, and don't care to pay the Monopolists for them at the price they have lately bore, which was exceedingly high.

These reasons your Lord'pps may guess are not urged in the arguments on either side; but, I believe are the true foundation of the Squabble. . . .

109. Lieutenant Governor Fauquier to the Board of Trade, 1760.[1]

W'msburgh, Septr. 1, 1760.

My Lords, . . . The Box of public papers and Acts, among which was the Negro Act, was ship'd on board the *Deliverance* Captn. White who was lost on the Coast of France, the Duplicate of those acts went by the *Jacob and Johanna,* Captn. Clarkson, who sailed the latter end of May, who I hope is safely arrived and that your Lord'pps are in possession of the Acts of that session.

I am truly sensible that a Governor or Commander in Chief is not to ask the advice of the Council assigned him by His Maj'ty, whether he shall obey the Instructions of His Maj'ty; but in regard to this Act, it was attended with some particular circumstances, which in-

[108] [1] *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1758-1761, pp. 284-285.
[109] [1] *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1758-1761, p. 288.

duced me to take that step, from which I thought I ought not afterwards to recede. The Act did not lay any new duty; if it had, I should most certainly have refused it without taking advice upon it; but it only provided against a Fraud daily practiced to avoid a duty, originally laid and by other subsequent Acts continued long before I arrived in the Colony. But the Act, in express terms (which could not be avoided, to give it its intended force and effect) contradicted the Instruction; in this situation and under these circumstances I applyed to the Council for their advice what I should do? who, all but one, were unanimous that the sense and spirit was by no means broke in upon, as no new duty was imposed by the Act; as your Lord'pps will find by their reasons inserted in the minutes of the Council and by a Duplicate I sent as soon as I heard of the loss of the *Deliverance*. I have been unfortunate, for duplicates of all these papers, were sent by the *New York* Packet which was taken by the French and Ransomed; but the papers were all thrown overboard and lost; however there is now an end of this affair, as in the next Session, this Act was repealed and the duty lowered from twenty to ten per cent, to answer the same purpose as was intended by the former Act; *vizt.* to encrease the money coming into the Treasury from the said duty. . . .

110. Act repealing a Duty on Slaves, 1761.[1]

An Act for recruiting and further continuing the regiment in the service of this colony, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

VI. And whereas by an act of the general assembly made in the thirtieth year of the reign of his late majesty king George the second, entitled, An Act for granting an aid to his majesty, for the better protection of this colony, and for other purposes therein mentioned, an additional duty of ten per centum was imposed on all slaves imported or brought into this colony for sale, either by land or water, from any port or place whatsoever, from and after the ninth day of July one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, during the term of seven years, to be paid by the buyer or purchasers thereof on the amount of each respective purchase, over and above the several duties laid on slaves imported as aforesaid by any act or acts of assembly then subsisting, which said additional duty of ten per centum hath been found very inconvenient: Be it therefore further enacted by the

[110] [1] Hening, VII. 381-383; *ante*, no. 106, n. 2. Even with this decrease in the duty it seemed too high to some Virginians: Mar. 12, 1761, "Resolved, That the Petition of sundry Inhabitants of the Northern Neck, praying that the Duty on Slaves of Twenty per Cent. may be reduced to Five per Cent. be rejected". *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1758-1761, p. 211.

authority aforesaid, That so much of the said in part recited act of assembly, and every article and clause thereof as relates to the imposing, collecting and paying, the said additional duty on slaves, be, and the same are hereby, repealed and made void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.[2]

March, 1761.

111. Lieutenant Governor Fauquier to the Board of Trade, 1763.[1]

Answers to enquiries sent to me by the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantation Affairs by their Lordships' most obedient Servant Francis Fauquier.

January 30, 1763.

Revenue, 6 *d.* poll on every person not a mariner imported into the colony. Laid by Act of Assembly 32 Car II. to support of government and contingent charges. By 25 Geo. II. duty of £5 per cent on all Slaves imported upon the price for which they are sold and continued by several subsequent acts and applied to the discharging of the debt contracted in the former war and for rebuilding the Capitol.

27 Geo. 2d lays an additional duty of £5 per cent to enable the Treasurer to repay the sum of £10,000 which by this act he was empowered to borrow. This is also continued by several subsequent acts and is now in force and it is applied toward defraying the expenses of the last war. . . .

112. Jerman Baker to Duncan Rose, 1764.[1]

February 15, 1764.

The African Trade to Virginia must soon be at an end, for the people will not soon pay for the Negroes they have already bought for observe, I don't call these Negroes paid for when purchasers

[2] On Sept. 15, 1761, Fauquier wrote to the Board of Trade: "It may be necessary for me to explain the motive for the last Clause of the Chapter 1st intituled: 'An act for the Recruiting and further continuing the Regiments in the service of this Colony, and for other purposes therein mentioned'. In the year 1755 there was an Act for laying an additional duty of ten per cent on the importation of Negroes to be paid by the Buyer; in the year 1758 this Act was continued in force for a longer time, than the act of 1755 provided for; when they determined to take off this additional duty, they by mistake repealed the Act of 1755 which laid the duty but was expired, instead of the Act of 1758 which continued it, so that this Clause became necessary, and was thought not an improper Rider to a money Bill." *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1758-1761, pp. 296-297.

[111] [1] Harvard University, Widener Library, Sparks MSS., no. 43, vol. IV., pp. 67, 71. In May, 1763, an act was passed to amend the acts laying duty on slaves. *Jour. of Burgesses*, 1761-1765, pp. 181-196, *passim*.

[112] [1] *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.*, XII. 242. Jerman Baker was clerk of the meeting in which Chesterfield County decided on non-importation. Duncan Rose was a London merchant.

have a Load of protested Bills to take up, which is a grievance I am afraid will bear Harder upon them than the paper currency does upon the grumbling merchants in London.[2] . . .

113. Negroes sold in Virginia, 1765.

[*Captain Charles Thomas to Lieutenant Governor Fauquier.*] [1]

Norfolk July 26th, 1765.

Sir, I am informed by Mr. Thomas Newton that it is represented to you by some in the Northern Government, that I Clandestinly or by force carried off several free men from the Coast of Africa at the time I was there in his Vessel. It gives me much concern that I should be accused of an Action that I shoud Condemn in another, and that I did bring off one man which I believe might be free born I readily own, and I at the same time I took him on Board was really to serve the Person without advantage to my Owner. One Blackney of the Brigantine *Catherina* from the Island St. Thomas's had a man left on Board him as a pawn, and as he was going off the Coast before I could leave it which was about the first of May I gave him two Slaves for him, and as he pretended to be one of great Credit I did not in the least doubt but the Person who left him as a pledge for Goods received woud redeem him before I left the Coast, and that I did use my utmost Endeavours to get him of my hands is a real truth, but whether I was imposed on by the Captain, or that his friends wanted to get clear of him I am yet ignorant off. Being in great distress for want of Provisions from the ill Treatment I received from some of the Natives who took from me sundry Merchandize and coud get nothing from them I made my Case known to King Peter who sent his son young Peter, second King of that Country on Board to see further into the particulars I had informed

[2] The writer expresses the hope that a bounty on hemp will turn the planters from tobacco, and Virginia may again enjoy the "halcyon days she knew 20 Years ago, when they lived in peace and plenty and feared a Debt in England as the worst of calamitys". Debts received much attention in the correspondence of Virginia merchants and British principals during the next few years. See letters of William Allason to various English merchants (*post,* no. 134, n. 55, and *Richmond Coll. Hist. Papers,* II. 126-128, 131, 135, 138-141). Of the Virginia currency Allason wrote to his brother in 1763: "What few [dollars] there is circulating this way is sold currently for 6/8 Virginia Cur'y tho by the Laws of the Colony they are not to pass for more than 5/9 and even at the high price they are picked up by those who are either Traveling to Maryland or Pennsylvania or have payment to make there" (*ibid.,* p. 128). To Robert Bogle, London, he wrote: "Our Exchange seems to be falling for instead of 62½ wch was current Bills now bought a 60 pct and tis imagined they'll be much lower against April General Court" (*ibid.,* p. 129). The letters of Richard Corbin also cast some light on the troubles of this period. He attributes the difficulties of the planters to their own extravagances, caused in part at least by excessive issues of paper money. *Va. Mag. of Hist.,* XXX. 82.

[1] Gertrude Kimball, *Correspondence of the Colonial Governors of Rhode Island* (1903), II. 369. This letter is an enclosure in that to Governor Ward of Aug. 8, 1765.

off, he voluntary left one of his Friends on board as a Security for his promise that he woud either Compel them to make Satisfaction or bring as many as he coud get and deliver them up as Spoilers of their Country; accordingly on or about the 27th April 1763 he brought off three men tyed and delivered them according to their Custom as Slaves and he together with Robert Gray, (who both before and after) I had Considerable dealings with put them in Irons. from [that] time to June 3d I traded without being molested, my Boat being every day a shore and often myself in her, and Endeavoured to get them redeemed as my Officers can Testifie were they here, but so far from getting clear of them that the Natives abused them every time they came to trade. This Sir is a faithful account of the whole Affair and that I was justifyable as it is commonly practised, other Vessels having the Natives on Board on the same footing.

To The Honble. Francis Fauquier Esqr.

[*Thomas Newton and Company to Lieutenant Governor Fauquier.*][2]

NORFOLK July 27th, 1765.

Sir, Your favour of the 22d. Instant I recd., also Mr. Ward's Letter and Mr. Owin Morris's Deposition setting forth that Capt: Charles Thomas brought from the Coast of Guinea several free Negroes, Capt: Thomas sailed from Virginia in Sloop belonging to Messrs. Sparling Bolding and self, sometime in November Seventeen hundred and sixty two, he arrived here with his Slaves in October 1763, soon after went up James river and there sold them, which is all we know of the matter. Capt: Thomas is in Town shall desire him to inform your Honour more fully of the Charge against him, we shall be very sorry that any person or Persons should suffer by his disconduct.

[*Lieutenant Governor Fauquier to Governor Samuel Ward.*][3]

W'MSBURGH, Augst. 8th, 1765.

Sir, Soon after the Receipt of your Letter, some affairs of this Colony required that I should call a full Council; at that board your Letter and the Deposition of Mr. Morris were read and considered. Some of the Members said that they knew Captain Thomas, who had been long in the Employ of Mr. Newton of Norfolk and that he was a Man who had always bore a very fair Character, and they were persuaded if I would lay the whole Affair before Mr. Newton that

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 371; see p. 232, n. 62.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 368-369.

he would make enquiry into it, and that from the Knowledge they had of that Gentlemans Integrity, I might safely depend on what Information he should give me. I accordingly sent your Letter and other papers to Mr. Newton: his, and Captain Thomas's Answers to them, and my Letter sent with them, I have inclosed to you for your full Satisfaction, as to what has been transacted in this matter: and shall only observe upon them, that to me there appears an air of Truth and Candor throughout Captn. Thomas's Narrative, which is descriptive of the Character given him by some Gentlemen of the Council. I do not perceive that I can go any further in this Business on the footing it now stands; for tho' Mr. Morris's Information may be a ground work for a prosecution it must fall for want of Evidence. If you think his Answer not satisfactory you may be assured I shall readily give you all the assistance I can legally do, to bring this Affair into daylight, It being a Duty I owe to his Majesty and consequently to all his Subjects.

To Saml: Ward Esqr.

114. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1766.[1]

An act for laying an additional duty upon slaves imported into this colony.

I. May it please your most excellent majesty, we your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the representatives of your people in your colony and dominion of Virginia, now met in general assembly, taking into our serious consideration the exigencies of your government here, do humbly represent to your majesty that no other duty can be laid upon our import or export without oppressing your subjects, than an additional duty upon slaves imported or brought into this colony, to be paid by the buyers, agreeable to your royal instructions to your lieutenant-governor: We therefore humbly beseech your majesty that it may be enacted; And be it enacted by the Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,

[114] [1] Hening, VIII. 237-238. The act of 1752, renewed in 1759 and to expire on Apr. 20, 1767, was brought forward on Nov. 27, 1766, but was defeated in the House of Burgesses on Dec. 1. Three days later a substitute bill was presented, to continue and amend the act reviving a duty on slaves (*Jour. of Burgesses*, 1765-1769, pp. 39-75, *passim*; Hening, VIII. 190). In January, 1766, the *Gentleman's Magazine* (p. 45) thus referred to the slave trade: "Petitions have been presented from the principal merchants etc. of Bristol, York, Liverpoole, and other trading places, complaining of the hardships they labour under by the great decay of trade to the American colonies, and to the coast of Africa." Despite the English protests Mr. Henry Lee presented to the house on Mar. 28, 1767, the act here printed, which was promptly passed by both houses of the assembly with a direction to the committee of correspondence to direct the Virginia agent to use his endeavors to procure his Majesty's assent to the bill. This is the act which was disallowed on Aug. 12, 1768. *Acts P. C. C.*, V. 164-165.

That from and after the passing of this act there shall be levied and paid to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors, for all slaves imported or brought into this colony for sale, either by land or water from any port or place whatsoever, by the buyer or purchaser, after the rate of ten per centum on the amount of each respective purchase over and above the several duties already laid upon slaves imported or brought into this colony, as aforesaid, by any act or acts of assembly now subsisting in this colony. . . .

II. And be it further enacted, That the said duty is hereby appropriated, and shall be applied for the lessening the levy by the poll, and to and for such other use and uses as the general assembly from time to time shall direct and appoint.

III. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That the execution of this act shall be suspended until his majesty's approbation thereof shall be obtained, and that from and after obtaining the same, this act shall continue and be in force for and during the term of seven years, and no longer.[2]

115. Concerning Acts for laying Duties on Slaves, 1770-1772.

[*Petition of the Merchants of Liverpool, 1770.*][1]

To the Right Honorable and Honorable the Lords of Trade and Plantations

The Humble petition of the Merchants of Liverpool trading to Africa, and the Colonies whose names are subscribed, *Sheweth,* That your Petitioners are informed that the Assembly of Virginia have lately passed an Act to lay an additional duty of 5 per cent on all Negroes imported there from Africa.[2]

That your Petitioners are fully satisfied that that Act passed with no general view to the Public good but to the Private Emolument

[2] Since this was to be suspended until the king's consent had been given, it is probable that the act of 1769 providing for an additional duty of ten per cent. was merely a reiteration of this measure (Hening, VIII. 337-338). On Nov. 11, 1769, the Burgesses resolved that the duty act which was to expire Apr. 20, 1770, ought to be renewed, as well as the act laying a duty on slaves brought in from other colonies. Two bills were introduced and referred to committee to be welded into one, which was done and the resulting measure returned to the Burgesses (*Jour. of Burgesses*, 1766-1769, pp. 249, 263, 275, 289, 302, 352, 353; Hening, VIII. 336-337). An act to take effect Feb. 14, 1770, and to be in force till Oct. 25, 1771, was also passed in this session, laying a five per cent. duty for the "better support of contingent charges of government". *Ibid.*, pp. 342-348.

[115] [1] Sparks MSS., no. 43, vol. IV., p. 85. The members of Parliament from Bristol were instructed on Feb. 6, 1770, to oppose a Virginia duty act laying a ten per cent. duty ("Calendar of the Records of the Merchant Venturers", II. 177). On Nov. 23, 1770, the Board of Trade sent a representation to the king on two Virginia acts. *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XVII. 217.

[2] This probably refers to the act laying a five per cent. duty which was passed in 1769, to go into effect after Feb. 14, 1770. Hening, VIII. 342-348.

only of the Law makers whose Estates (the most considerable in that Country) would rise in value for the present in proportion as the number of Negroes is diminished which must inevitably be the case was this Bill to pass into a Law.

That there is now and has been for several years past a Duty of ten per cent upon all Slaves imported into the Colony of Virginia which though nominally paid by the purchaser of such slaves is in reality a Tax on the Merchant Importer and of course a great discouragement to this valuable branch of Commerce.

That it is needless to inform your Lordship of what vast consequence the Trade to Africa is to the Merchants and Manufacturers of this Kingdom and with respect to Virginia or any other of the adjacent Colonies on the Continent of North America nothing can be more manifest than that the cultivation of Tobacco Corn and Hemp must encrease in proportion to the number of hands employed for that purpose the two former of which Commodities are purchased principally by foreigners and are a real source of wealth both to this Kingdom and the Colonies.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly hope for your Lordships countenance and support in preventing the sinister views of Selfish men from interfering with and opposing the general good.[3]

[*Richard Jackson to the Board of Trade, 1770.*][4]

July 18th, 1770.

An act for laying additional Duty upon Slaves imported into this Colony. As this Act does not extend to felons transported from Great Britain I see no objection to it in point of Law, yet it rests with Your Lordships to determine how far it may be expedient in point of Commercial policy to approve so high a Duty on the importation of a considerable article of British Commerce. It is true the Duty is payable by the purchaser but this Provision is well known to be a mere delusion as all such Duties must in the end be paid by the Purchaser but being paid by the purchaser raise the price and thereby may probably lessen the demand. This too is an additional Duty and therefore the more burthensome but on the other hand perhaps the increase of Negroes by importation in a Country where the present Stock rather increases by procreation may perhaps be not improperly checked especially at a time when there is a new vent

[3] Signed by 56 persons; endorsed, "Recd. July 7th Read July 10th, 1770".
[4] Sparks MSS., no. 43, vol. IV., p. 84.

opened (the ceded Island)[5] which it is of so much importance should be speedily and plentifully supplied.[6]

[*Lord Dunmore to the Earl of Hillsborough, 1772.*][7]

WILLIAMSBURG 1st May 1772.

My Lord, The Acts of Assembly, Journals etc. are not yet ready for Sending, but I transmit to your Lordship an Address of the house of Burgesses, in their last Sitting, to his Majesty praying that the legislature of this Colony may not be restrained from passing a law which, as it appears to me, is evidently calculated for the good of this Country, and, with it, the interest of Great Britain. I hope your Lordship will present the said Address, and endeavour to dispose His Majesty to acquiesce in the desire of a Country whose loyalty and affection have been allway Conspicuous, and whose importance to the Mother Country, gives them a title to expect to be considered before those trading people in England, whose particular interest it may be to oppose this request.

The people of this Colony are very anxious for an Act to lay an additional duty upon the importation of Slaves, in order to restrain the introduction of people, the Number of whom, already in the Colony, gives them Just cause to apprehend the most dangerous Consequence therefrom, and therefore makes it necessary that they should fall upon means, not only of preventing their increase, but, also of lessening their number, and the interest of the Country would Manifestly require the total expulsion of them.

At present the Negroes are double the Number of white people in this Colony,[8] which, by the natural increase, and the great addition of new imported ones every year, is Sufficient to allarm not only

[5] The reference is probably to Grenada, since its demand for labor greatly surpassed that of the other ceded islands, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

[6] A year later (July 5, 1771) William Allason wrote to Thomas B. Martin: "No negroes of any kind offering for sale, by which it has not been in my power to execute your order" (*Richmond Coll. Hist. Papers,* II. 146). We know that Virginia was still considered a possible market, for in April, 1771, the Vernons of Newport had directed Capt. John Duncan to deliver his cargo of 71 negroes to Col. John Thornton at Rappahannock (this work, III. 248). The decline in the amount of the trade was not peculiar to Virginia: "By various Accounts from the Coast of Africa, and the West Indies we are informed that the Slave Trade is so fallen off that it is imagined some very extraordinary Event cannot be far distant in Favour of a wretched Race of Individuals whose Complexion have, for Centuries exposed them to all the Severities and Indignities of Servitude, that alone terminate with their Lives." *Va. Gazette,* Sept. 17, 1771.

[7] C. O. 5: 1350, f. 91; see Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fourteenth Report,* pt. X., *Dartmouth Papers,* II. 113. The Earl of Dunmore was governor in chief of Virginia from July, 1771, to June, 1775.

[8] This was in all probability a highly exaggerated estimate of the number of negroes in Virginia. One statement for 1770 gives 187,606 negroes in a total population of 447,008 (Greene and Harrington, *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790,* 1932, p. 141). For estimates at various dates see Gray, *Agriculture in the Southern United States,* II. 1025.

this Colony, but all the Colonies of America; but Supposing that, by unremitted observance of their conduct, a rigorous exertion of the Laws relating to them, and the most examplary punishment of all the refractory (a lamentable necessity for a Country to be under) they might so far Suceed as ever to prevent any insurrection from being Contrived among them, yet in case of a War (which may probably often happen) with Spain, or indeed any other power, that might make an attack upon this Colony, the people, with great reason, tremble at the facility that an enemy would find in procuring such a body of men; attached by no tye to their Masters or to the Country, on the contrary it is natural to Suppose their Condition must inspire them with an aversion to both, and therefore are ready to join the first that would encourage them to revenge themselves; by which means a Conquest of this Country would inevitably be effected in a very Short time; it cannot therefore but be a Matter of the greatest concern, to find proper means of averting a Calamity so alarming.

DUNMORE.

[*Address of the House of Burgesses to the King, 1772.*][9]

To the King's most excellent Majesty, The humble Address of the House of Burgesses of Virginia.

Most Gracious Sovereign, We your Majesty's dutiful and loyal Subjects the Burgesses of Virginia, now met in General Assembly, beg Leave with all Humility to approach your Royal Presence.

The many Instances of your Majesty's benevolent Intentions and most gracious Disposition to promote the Prosperity and Happiness of your Subjects in the Colonies, encourage us to look up to the Throne, and implore your Majesty's paternal Assistance in averting a Calamity of a most alarming Nature.

The Importation of Slaves into the Colonies from the Coast of Africa hath long been considered as a Trade of great Inhumanity, and, under its present Encouragement, we have too much reason to fear will endanger the very Existence of your Majesty's American Dominions.

We are sensible that some of your Majesty's Subjects in Great Britain may reap Emoluments from this Sort of Traffick, but when we consider that it greatly retards the Settlement of the Colonies with more useful Inhabitants, and may in Time, have the most

[9] C. O. 5: 1350, f. 95. Signed, "Payton Randolph, Speaker". This is the address drawn up by Benjamin Harrison, Archibald Cary, Edmund Pendleton, R. H. Lee, R. C. Nicholas, and Richard Bland and adopted April 1 (*Jour. of Burgesses*, 1770-1772, pp. 257, 283-284). The assembly also passed an act laying a duty of £5 per head on imported slaves. See *post*, no. 118.

destructive Influence, we presume to hope that the Interest of a few will be disregarded when placed in Competition with the Security and Happiness of such Numbers of your Majesty's dutiful and loyal Subjects.

Deeply impressed with these Sentiments, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to remove all those Restraints on your Majesty's Governors of this Colony which inhibit their assenting to such Laws, as might check so very pernicious a Commerce.

Your Majesty's ancient Colony and Dominion of Virginia hath at all Times and upon every Occasion been entirely devoted to your Majesty's sacred Person and Government, and we cannot forego this Opportunity of renewing those Assurances of the truest Loyalty and warmest Affection, which we have so often, with the greatest Sincerity, given to the Best of Kings, whose Wisdom and Goodness we esteem the surest Pledges of the Happiness of all his people.[10]

In the Earl of Dunmores
of the 1st May 1772.

[*Order in Council.*][11]

[Orders in accordance with a Committee report of 6 Dec., agreeing with a Board of Trade representation of 23 Nov., referred to them on 26 Nov., about two Virginia acts of Dec., 1769, (a) for laying an additional duty upon slaves imported into this colony, and (b) for the better support of the contingent charges of government.

The Board of Trade represented that by these two acts, the first of which has a suspending clause,] Additional Duties are Imposed upon the Importation of Negroes to the Amount of fifteen per Cent. upon every purchase (payable by the purchaser) over and above all other Duties upon Slaves imported, laid by former Laws now in force; And that these Duties which amount in the whole to twenty five per Cent. upon every purchase must have the effect and are they apprehend, intended to operate as an entire prohibition to the importation of Slaves into Virginia; [that the strongest reasons had been given for disallowing an act of 1728 for laying a duty on slaves imported into Virginia (*cf. Acts of the Privy Council,* III, pp, 64-5) :] that in the Year 1731 it was thought fit to allow the Governors of Your Majestys Colonies, to consent to Laws laying moderate Duties upon Negroes imported, provided such Duties were paid by the purchaser, and not by the Importer, and they humbly apprehend that

[10] On Dec. 19 an order of a committee of the Council referred this address to the Board of Trade, where it was read Jan. 25, 1773. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fourteenth Report,* pt. X., *Dartmouth Papers,* II. 113, 131.

[11] *Acts P. C. C.,* V. 286-288.

it was under the Sanction of that permission, that Laws in the Colony of Virginia, subsequent to that period, laying Duties of ten per Cent. upon Negroes Imported have been suffered to pass, and therefore both from principle and experience the said Lords Commissioners might well entertain a Doubt of the propriety of the policy, on which that permission was grounded, and are able to show that the Distinction made between Duties paid by the Importer and the purchaser is fallacious, and that in fact the operation of either mode is the same; Yet they should not have suffered that Doubt and opinion to have now opposed themselves to a practice, that has without Complaint from the Merchants of this Kingdom universally prevailled in all Colonies which Import Slaves, had those Duties in the present Case, been confined within the Limits of Moderation; But when the privilege of laying moderate Duties payable by the purchaser is extended so far, as to have the effect of a prohibition, the objections made to the practice in the Year 1729 do stand forth in their full force and extent; For which Reason and for as much as the Merchants of Bristol Liverpool and Lancaster trading to Affrica, have both by their Representatives and by Memorials stated to the said Lords Commissioners the prejudice which these Laws will be of to the Trade and Commerce of those ports, it becomes their Duty, agreeing with them in opinion humbly to propose, that the first mentioned of these Laws may be disallowed; permitting the other which is made to continue only to October 1771, and has also reference to other matters which will require a different consideration, to expire by it's own Limitation; And that Your Majesty's Governor may be Instructed that he do not for the future give his assent without Your Majesty's permission first obtained to any Law, by which the Duties of ten per Cent. upon Slaves imported into that Colony imposed by former Laws shall be increased.

[On 4 Dec. the Committee ordered the instruction to be prepared (P.R.). It forbade the continuation of the act of Nov., 1769, and the enacting of any measure) by which the Importation of Slaves shall be in any respect prohibited or obstructed.

[Reference to the Committee, and by them on 19 Dec. [1772] to the Board of Trade, of a letter from Lord Dunmore to Lord Hillsborough, with an] Address of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, humbly beseeching His Majesty to remove all restraints upon His Majesty's Governors of that Colony, which inhibit their assenting to such Laws as might check the Importation of Slaves into the Colonies from the Coast of Africa, The Importation of such Slaves having long been considered as a Trade of great Inhumanity and under its present Encouragement, they have too much reason to fear will endanger the very Existence of His Majesty's American Dominions.

116. The Virginia Association of 1770.[1]

The Association entered into last Friday the 22d instant, by the Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses and the Body of Merchants, assembled in this city. . . .

Fourthly, That we will not import or bring into the colony or cause to be imported or brought into the colony, either by sea or land, any slaves, or make sale of any upon commission, or purchase any slave or slaves that may be imported by others, after the 1st day of November next, unless the same have been twelve months upon the continent. . . .

Signed in Williamsburg, this 22d of June, 1770.[2]

117. Thomas Jett to Captain Thomas Ward, 1770.[1]

July 5, 1770.

Mr. Hunter is now with me and at last has given me the commission account of Champe, Ward and Hunter, for the Slaves sold by them, wch acct. you have now enclosed, the Ball. thereof in your favour £826. 6. 6 besides Interest, you have also Inclosed the several accts. of Disbursements and expenses ch'd by him, one third of which you are debited for as well as the loss in the sundry Tob'o shiped by the return of the Guinea ships, all which he insists upon being right. The Commn. acct. for sales of the slaves consigned Messrs. Ward and Hunter he cannot yet make out but promises to do it.[2] . . .

[116] [1] *Va. Hist. Reg.*, III. 19-20; *Massachusetts Gazette and News Letter*, July 26, 1770. This of course preceded the address of the House of Burgesses of 1772 (*ante*, no. 115). For importation during the years immediately preceding the Association see *post*, no. 134 and notes.

[2] This closely resembles the non-importation agreement of the preceding year. The governor on May 17, 1769, had dissolved the Burgesses, whereupon the "late representatives" met at the house of Anthony Hay, elected Peyton Randolph moderator, and agreed, "Fifthly, That they will not import any Slaves or purchase any imported, after the First day of November next, until the said Acts of Parliament are repealed" (*Jour. of Burgesses*, 1766-1769, pp. xxxix-xli). Even before the agreement went into effect Virginia importation had declined: "Our trade here is very dull for want of Currency and consequently want of Payments. Our produce you know will seldom command money but [at] a considerable loss. The assotiators here are not so numerous as with you the merchants being chiefly Factors, who imports Goods as formerly no notice taken of it." William Allason to William Gregory, Oct. 20, 1769, *Richmond Coll. Hist. Papers*, II. 142.

[117] [1] *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.*, XXI. 88. Thomas Jett had been factor in Leeds, Westmoreland County, for John Morton Jordan, a merchant of King George County. *Ibid.*, XVII. 20.

[2] On July 24, 1769, Jett wrote to John Backhouse, a Liverpool merchant, "Mr. Hunter is now with me but can't furnish the accounts of the Guinea concern till some time next month". On Sept. 1 he added: "Mr. Hunter has not yet made any settlement relative to Capt. Ward's Guinea concerns. Assure Capt. Ward that he will do all he can to render him service in that disagreeable partnership." On July 5, 1770, he again wrote to Backhouse: "Inclosed you have Copy of our Acct. Cur't the credit therein of £30. 10. 0 for Int. on Hodges protest you will please acct. with Capt. Quinney for, Mr. James Hunter is now with me, and has made out his acct. of the African Commn. with Cap. Ward." *Ibid.*, XVII. 21, XXI. 85.

118. Act for laying a Duty on Slaves, 1772.[1]

An act for continuing and amending several acts, and reviving one act, for laying duties upon slaves imported.

I. Whereas an act of assembly, made in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of his late majesty king George the second, intituled An act for reviving the duty upon slaves to be paid by the buyers, for the term therein mentioned; and one other act of assembly, made in the thirty-third year of his said late majesty's reign intituled An act to oblige persons bringing slaves into this colony from Maryland, Carolina, and the West-Indies, for their own use, to pay a duty; which several acts have, from time to time, been continued by several other acts, will expire on the twentieth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three, and it is found expedient and necessary that the said acts should be further continued and amended: And whereas an additional duty of five per cent. was laid on all slaves imported into this colony, by an act passed in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of his late majesty king George the second, intituled An act for the encouragement of the settlers upon the waters of the Mississippi, which duty was continued for five years, by an act passed in the third year of the reign of his present majesty, and was afterwards revived by an act, passed in the tenth year of his present majesty, intituled An act for the better support of the contingent charges of government, which expired on the twenty-fifth of October last, and it is necessary that the same should be revived: Be it therefore enacted, by the Governor, Council, and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority of the same, That so much of the said act, intituled An act for the better support of the contingent charges of government, as relates to the imposing, collecting, and accounting for, the said additional duty of five per cent. upon slaves shall be revived, and that it shall continue and be in force, from and after the twentieth of April next, for and during the space of six years, and from thence to the end of the next session of assembly.

II. And whereas it is represented to this present general assembly, that many frauds have been committed by some importers of slaves into this colony, who do not enter them with the proper officers at all, and by others who make sham and pretended sales of slaves, by exposing them at public auction, in large numbers, the importer or owner still retaining the real property, and afterwards disposing of such slaves at advanced prices, whereby the country, in some instances, is totally deprived of the duty, and, in others, the said duty is greatly lessened: For remedy whereof, Be it enacted, by the Gov-

[118] [1] Hening, VIII. 530-532.

ernor, Council, and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority of the same, That from and after the tenth day of June next, every owner or importer of any slave or slaves, from any country or place whatever, either by land, or water, shall, within the time prescribed by law, for reporting at the customhouse the cargo of any ship or vessel, and within the time prescribed by the said last mentioned act, for delivering to the county court clerks a list of all slaves imported or brought from any part of America, deliver in, upon oath, to the naval officer of each district, or to the county court clerks respectively, as the case may be, a true and perfect list or manifest of all slaves by him or her imported; and if any owner or importer shall fail so to do, he or she shall forfeit and pay the sum of twenty pounds for every slave so secreted, or of which such owner or importer shall fail to give in such list or manifest, to be recovered with full costs, by action of debt, by the informer, for his own use, in any court of record within this dominion. And every naval officer, and county court clerk, shall, within two months after such list or manifest is delivered to him, transmit an exact copy thereof to the treasurer of this colony for the time being; and every officer or clerk failing herein, shall forfeit and pay the sum of ten pounds, to be recovered with costs of suit by the said treasurer, in his own name, but for the use of the public, by action of debt in any court of record.

III. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That for every slave imported into this colony from Maryland, Carolina, and the West-Indies, or any other part of America, except such as are excepted by the said act, there shall, from and after the said tenth day of June next, be paid to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs, and successors, in lieu of the twenty per cent. ad valorem, a duty of five pounds by the head, to be collected and paid to the treasurer of this colony for the time being, and by him accounted for in the same manner as by the said recited acts is directed.

IV. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That so much of the said recited acts of assembly, and every clause and article thereof as is not altered by this act, together with this act, shall continue and be in force from and after the twentieth day of April, which shall be in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three, for and during the term of five years, and from thence to the end of the next session of general assembly.

V. [The duties to be paid to Robert Carter Nicholas, treasurer.][2]

[2] "[Three Virginia acts of April, 1772 . . . (b) for continuing and amending several acts and reviving one act for laying duties upon slaves imported; and (c) to compel ships importing convicts, servants or slaves infected with the goal fever or

119. Notices of Sales, 1772.[1]

June 4, 1772.

Two Hundred very likely African Slaves will be sold at Petersburg, on Thursday the 11th of this Instant (June). The Terms of Payment will be made known on the Day of Sale. Tobacco at the Cash Price, and Merchants Notes payable in Williamsburg, will be received; and five per Cent. will be discounted for ready Money. Hugh M'Mekin, Ninian Menzies, John Walker and Co.

N. B. The Slaves are all remarkably healthy, and none of them exceed twenty five years of Age.

July 9, 1772.

Just arrived from Africa, the Snow *Nancy*, James E. Colly Commander, with about two Hundred and fifty fine healthy Windward and Gold Coast Slaves, the Sale of which will begin at Osborne's, on James River, on Wednesday the 29th Instant (July) and continue until all are sold. Merchants Notes, payable at the General Courts in Williamsburg, will be received in Payment. John Lawrence, William Call and Co.

July 30, 1772.

Just arrived from Africa, the Snow *Thomas*, Thomas Lewis, with two Hundred fine healthy Slaves; the Sale of which will begin at Osborne's, on James River, on Thursday the 13th of August, and continue until all are sold. Burnley and Braikenridge.

N. B. We propose to give Credit where good Security is given.

Aug. 20, 1772.

Just arrived from Africa, the Ship *Union*, Charles Pole Commander, with about two Hundred and eighty fine healthy Gold Coast Slaves, the Sale of which will begin at Osborne's, on James River, on Wednesday the 26th of this Instant (August) and continue until all are sold. Merchants Notes payable in Williamsburg, at the General Courts, will be received in Payment. John Lawrence, William Call and Co.

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small pox to perform quarantine—are disallowed, on the Committee report of 5 April, agreeing with a Board of Trade representation referred to them on 26 March:] . . .

"[The second act revives and continues part of an expired act of 10 George III, which laid an additional duty of 5% on the purchase of slaves imported, although the Governor had been instructed not to assent to any such act for the future. . . .]"

The third act was disallowed because it would act as a total prohibition of the importation of convicts. *Acts P. C. C.*, V. 362-363.

[119] [1] *Va. Gazette*, June 4, July 9, 16, 30, Aug. 6, 13, 20, Sept. 24, Oct. 1, 22, 1772. For other notices of sales see *post*, no. 134, notes.

Sept. 24, 1772.[2]

Just arrived from Africa, the Ship *Prince of Wales,* James Bivins Commander, with about Four Hundred fine healthy Slaves: the Sale of which will begin at Bermuda Hundred, on Thursday the 8th of October, and continue until all are sold. JOHN WAYLES, RICHARD RANDOLPH.

120. ROBERT PLEASANTS TO ANTHONY BENEZET, 1774.[1]

VIRGINIA, 2d mo. 22d, 1774.

Dear friend. . . . I think the Phisition has handled the subject of Slavery in a masterly manner, altho I suppose he may have very little reason to expect to share with his antagonist the thanks of the Affrican Company, but let that be as it may, he will receive what I expect will be more agreeable to him, the approbation of Judicious sencible men. I highly approved and sincerely wish the several petitions to the King and Parliament may have the desired effect, but I fear there is not virtue and resolution sufficient to forgo or withstand a present (tho false and imaginary) interest in the continuation of a wicked and destructive Trade. I have sent one of the papers containing the address and advice to those Mercht., to the Printer, and doubt not they will shortly appear in our *Gazette* and as it seems the attempts of our Assembly to prohibit the further Importation of Slaves by an imposition of high Dutys, has been frustrated (as I find is the case in N. york) does thou not think that Acts of the Colonys making all free after a certain term of Servitude like other foreigners taking place at a future period so as that all concerned in the Trade might have notice of such law, would not be (when accompanied with pertinent reasons) more effectually to put an end to it, and be more likely to be approved by the King and Council than a prohibition by Duties for I have been told our Governor (and its not unlikely others also) has instructions to pass no such laws. I just drop this hint for thy consideration. . . .

121. RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO SLAVE TRADE, 1774.[1]

[June, 1774.]

At a General Meeting of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of Prince George's County, Virginia, the following Resolves were proposed and unanimously agreed to. . . .

[2] On May 27 and June 3, 1773, the following notice appeared in the *Gazette*: "A Small Cargo of Choice Gold Coast Slaves, well assorted and healthy, also a fine Fellow who understands the Sailmaking Business, will be sold at Alexandria, on the Potowmack River, on Wednesday the 9th of June, for Cash, or good Bills. BALDWIN MATTHEWS BUCKNER."

[120] [1] *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.*, second ser., I. 109. Pleasants, a Virginia Quaker, was the president of the Virginia Abolition Society. *Ibid.*, I. 168.

[121] [1] Peter Force, *American Archives*, fourth ser., I. 493-494, 686, 687; *Va. Gazette*, June 30, 1774.

Resolved, That the African Trade is injurious to this Colony, obstructs the population of it by freemen, prevents manufacturers and other useful emigrants from Europe from settling amongst us, and occasions an annual increase of the balance of trade against this Colony. . . .

[August 1, 1774.]

At a very full Meeting of Delegates from the different Counties in the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, begun in Williamsburg the first day of August, in the year of our Lord 1774, and continued by several adjournments to Saturday, the 6th of the same month, the following Association was unanimously resolved upon and agreed to: . . .

2d. We will neither ourselves import, nor purchase any slave or slaves imported by any other person, after the first day of November next, either from Africa, the West Indies, or any other place.[2]

122. Proceedings of the Committee of Correspondence, 1775.[1]

Committee Chamber, Norfolk, March 6, 1775.

Trusting to your sure resentment against the enemies of your Country, we, the Committee, elected by ballot for the Borough of Norfolk, hold up for your just indignation Mr. John Brown, Merchant, of this place. We are fully sensible of the great caution with which publick censure should be inflicted, and, at all times, are heartily disposed to accomplish the great design of the Association by the gentle methods of reason and persuasion. But an unhappy proneness to unmanly equivocation, which has so much distinguished Mr. Brown, and for which he has, in more than one instance, been censured by the voice of the people, added to the present manifest discovery of his secret and most direct attempt to defeat the measures of the Congress, in the case now before us, and of some very

[2] Sept. 7, 1774, Allason to Andrew Sproule, a Norfolk merchant: "The demand for negroes this way never was worse than at present, for not only money but Tobacco and every other produce of the Country comes in very slowly" (*Richmond Coll. Hist. Papers*, II. 156). On Sept. 5, the Virginia delegates to the Continental Congress presented a "Summary View of the Rights of British America" which contained the words: "For the most trifling reasons, and sometimes for no conceivable reason at all, his majesty has rejected laws of the most salutary tendency. The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in those colonies, where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to exclude all further importations from Africa; yet our repeated attempts to effect this by prohibitions and by imposing duties which might amount to a prohibition have been hitherto defeated by his majesty's negative: Thus preferring the immediate advantages of a few African [British, in later copy] corsairs to the lasting interests of the American states, and to the rights of human nature deeply wounded by this infamous practice." *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed. Ford), I. 440.

[122] [1] Force, *Am. Arch.*, fourth ser., II. 33-34.

unjustifiable steps taken to conceal his disingenuous conduct, hath precluded us from the milder methods we would wish to adopt, and compelled us to give the publick the following narration: On Thursday, the 2d of March, this Committee were informed of the arrival of The Brig *Fanny,* Captain Watson, with a number of Slaves for Mr. Brown; and, upon inquiry, it appeared that they were shipped from Jamaica as his property, and on his account; that he had taken great pains to conceal their arrival from the knowledge of the Committee; and that the shipper of the Slaves, Mr. Brown's correspondents, and the Captain of the Vessel, were all fully apprized of the Continental prohibition against that article. These circumstances induced a suspicion that Mr. Brown had given orders for the Slaves himself, which he positively denied, asserting that he had expressly forbidden his correspondents to send any, as being contrary to the Association, for the truth of which he appealed to his own letter-book. The Secretary being desired, at the request of Mr. Brown, to attend him to inspect the orders said to have been given, reported that he had had some slight and hasty glances at letters written between the middle of December and beginning of January, and was sorry to say he had seen one directed to Mr. Henderson, and another to Mr. Livingston, both of the date of December, and a third to Messrs. Campbells, of the first of January, all containing positive and particular orders for remittances to be made him in Slaves; at the same time hinting the necessity of secrecy, as it is an article, he writes, he could not avowedly deal in. The Secretary also reported, that he had seen a postscript, written a few days after the determination of this Committee, directing the return of a Slave imported from Antigua, in which postscript Mr. Brown writes his correspondent to send him no more than two Negro lads, as it would be dangerous to sell them here. But his orders to his other correspondents appear to have been so positive that they were complied with, notwithstanding his friend writes him that good Slaves would sell to more advantage in Jamaica than in Virginia. From the whole of this transaction, therefore, we, the Committee for Norfolk Borough, do give it as our unanimous opinion, that the said John Brown has wilfully and perversely violated the Continental Association, to which he had, with his own hand, subscribed obedience; and that agreeable to the Eleventh Article we are bound "forthwith to publish the truth of the case, to the end that all such foes to the rights of British America may be publickly known, and universally

contemned, as the enemies of American Liberty, and that every person may henceforth break off all dealings with him."

MATTHEW PHRIPP, Chairman.

JAMES TAYLOR	JOHN BOUSH
JOHN HUTCHINGS	JAMES HOLT
JOHN LAWRENCE	NIEL JAMIESON
JOSEPH HUTCHINGS	ROBERT TAYLOR
THOMAS NEWTON, JR.	THOMAS CLAIBORNE
THOMAS RITSON	SAMUEL INGLIS

Extract from the Minutes.

WILLIAM DAVIES, Secretary.

123. ACT FOR PREVENTING THE FURTHER IMPORTATION OF SLAVES, 1778.[1]

WILLIAMSBURG, October, 1778.

I. For preventing the farther importation of slaves into this Commonwealth, Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That from and after the passing of this act no slave or slaves shall hereafter be imported into this commonwealth by sea or land, nor shall any slaves so imported be sold or bought by any person whatsoever.

II. Every person hereafter importing slaves into this commonwealth contrary to this act shall forfeit and pay the sum of one thousand pounds for every slave so imported, and every person selling or buying any such slaves shall in like manner forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred pounds for every slave so sold or bought, one moiety of which forfeitures shall be to the use of the commonwealth, and the other moiety to him or them that will sue for the same, to be recovered by action of debt or information in any court of record.

III. And be it farther enacted, That every slave imported into this commonwealth, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, shall, upon such importation become free.

IV. Provided always, That this act shall not be construed to extend to those who may incline to remove from any of the United States, and become citizens of this, provided, that within ten days after their removal into the same they take the following oath before some magistrate of this commonwealth: "I, A. B. do swear, that my

[123] [1] Hening, IX. 471-472; see *Jour. of the Senate*, 1778, pp. 8-10; *Jour. of the House of Delegates*, pp. 19-23. The vigorous protest against the slave trade incorporated in the constitution adopted by Virginia is to be found in Hening, IX. 112-113. The part taken by the state in the debate over the slave trade in the Constitutional Convention is reviewed by Alton B. Parker in "The Foundations in Virginia", *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.*, second ser., I. 10.

removal to the state of Virginia was with no intention to evade the act for preventing the farther importation of slaves within this commonwealth, nor have I brought with me, or will cause to be brought, any slaves, with an intent of selling them, nor have any of the slaves now in my possession been imported from Africa, or any of the West India islands, since the first day of November, 1778. So help me God." Or to travellers and others, making a transient stay in this commonwealth, bringing slaves with them for necessary attendance, and carrying them out again.[2]

V. Provided also, and be it farther enacted, That this act shall not be construed to extend to persons claiming slaves by descent, devise, or marriage, or to any citizens of this commonwealth being now the actual owners and proprietors of slaves residing or being in any of the United States and removing such slaves into this commonwealth.

VI. And it is farther enacted, That so much of an act of assembly made in the year 1753, intituled "An act for the better government of servants and slaves", as comes within the purview of this act, shall be, and the same is hereby repealed.[3]

124. Thomas Newton to Governor James Monroe, 1801.[1]

February 4, 1801.

Mr. Wm. Pennock, agent for the Navy, has just informed me that Capt. Baron, of the *Chesapeake* Frigate, has sent in here a vessel belonging to one of the N. England Governments, which had a cargo of slaves on board bound to the Havanna from Guinea. About 30 slaves are now on board the prize; the remainder were taken on board the Frigate, for the vessel was short of provisions and too thick stowed to proceed with the whole of them. Capt. Baron's humanity

[2] Such exceptions were certain to raise difficult questions in administering the law. See *Cal. Va. St. P.*, VIII. 255-256.

[3] In 1793 Virginia took a further step: "And be it further enacted, That in case any slave shall be brought or come into this state from Africa or the West India islands, directly or indirectly, upon information thereof given to any justice of the peace, it shall be his duty to cause such slave to be apprehended immediately and transported out of this commonwealth, and the expense attending such transportation, shall be paid by the person importing such slave, recoverable in the name of the justice directing such slave to be transported, by warrant before a single magistrate" (*Statutes at Large of Virginia*, new ser., I. 239). The procedure by which slaves were to be apprehended and sent from the state was stated in some detail in an act passed in 1801 (*ibid.*, II. 301). In the years that followed 1793 the interest shifted from the trade to the question of emancipation. The object of Judge Tucker when he sent his queries to Jeremy Belknap of Massachusetts was to remove the obstacles to emancipation. Importation into the state he obviously believed to be ended and the share of Virginians in the trade to other colonies was considered too small to demand attention. Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, first ser., IV. 191-211.

[124] [1] *Cal. Va. St. P.*, IX. 197-198. Most of the material relating to the nineteenth century illustrates difficulties in no sense peculiar to Virginia but rather related to her history in some incidental manner.

is much applauded in doing it, as it has probably saved the lives of so many human beings. The vessel is moored at Craney Island, and none will be permitted to land. I shall be obliged to your Excellency for instructions how I am to act on this subject, as it is a new case. Mr. Pennock has wrote to the Secretary of the Navy on the subject, but as our Laws prohibit the importation, and the Law of Congress directs the capture of vessels trading to Guinea, I am at a loss how to act. . . .

About 30 slaves are bro't in.[2]
25 Do. on bd. *Chesapeake* Frigate.

125. Philip Norborne Nicholas to Governor James Monroe, 1801.[1]

February 11, 1801.

Your favor of yesterday with its inclosures I duly received, and have considered with much attention the subject upon which you request my opinion.

By an Act of Congress passed on 22d of March, 1794, entitled "An Act to prohibit the carrying on the slave trade from the United States to any foreign place or country", after a clause prohibiting the slave trade to be carried on by any citizens or residents of the United States to any foreign country, it enacts, "and if any ship or vessel shall be so fitted out as aforesaid for the said purposes, or shall be caused to sail so as aforesaid, every such ship or vessel, her tackle, furniture, apparel and other appurtenances shall be forfeited to the United States, and shall be liable to be seized, prosecuted and condemned in any of the Circuit Courts, or District Court, whence the said ship or vessel may be found and seized." [2] This act although it provides for the forfeiture of the vessel etc. in case it is contravened, is silent as to the disposition of any slaves that may be found on board any vessel engaged in this illicit trade. The Act of Virginia Assembly which passed upon the subject of the importation of free negroes and mulattoes into this Commonwealth on the 10th of Dec., 1793, in the 4th Sec. declares, "That in case any slave shall be brought or come into this State from Africa or the West India Islands, directly or indirectly, upon information thereof given to any Justice of the Peace, it shall be his duty to cause such slave to be apprehended immediately, and transported out of this

[2] On Aug. 28, 1802, Newton wrote: "If there are any condemned negroes to be transported, there is an opportunity to sell about 30 to a place from which there will be no danger of their returning to Virginia." *Cal. Va. St. P.*, IX. 318.

[125] [1] *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200.
[2] *Statutes at Large of Virginia*, I. 347-349.

Commonwealth, and the expence attending such transportation shall be paid by the person importing such slave, recoverable in the name of the Justice directing such slave to be transported by warrant before a single Magistrate.[3] It is clear from this clause of the Act of Assembly, that persons of the description therein mentioned, were intended by the Legislature to be entirely excluded from the State limits, since it makes it the duty of the Magistracy to cause such slaves to be apprehended immediately and transported out of the Commonwealth.

The Act of Congress does not conflict with this Act in its provisions since it is silent as to the disposition of negroes on board of vessels engaged in this traffic. I am aware that it may be said that the power to try such vessels in the Courts of the United States, necessarily gives the power to bring such vessels and their cargoes into any port of the United States. I am also aware that the laws of the Union when constitutionally made, are paramount to the State laws, and that where there is a conflict, the latter must yield to the former. I cannot, however, think that a State law can be repealed and nullified by an Act of Congress by a side Wind or new implication. The provisions of the Act of Congress ought to be express, and if such act can exist and be reconciled with the State law, I do not think that the State law will be construed to be repealed.

As I see nothing in the Act of Congress interfering with the act of our Assembly, I suppose the latter is still in force.

If it be so there can be no doubt that the negroes which are mentioned in Col. Newton's letter, and which are stated to come from Africa, are excluded by our laws from this State.

126. Case of the *Sally*, 1801.[1]

The Secretary of the Treasury, to whom was referred the petition of Elias De Butts, William Combs, and others, praying compensation for damages sustained by the seizure and detention of a vessel and cargo, libelled on suspicion of being engaged in the slave trade, and afterwards acquitted and restored to them, respectfully submits the following report:

The Schooner *Sally*, of Norfolk, sixty tons burthen, and with a crew of six or seven men, arrived in the river Patuxent in the month of November, 1801, without any papers whatever on board, the master, Elias De Butts, having, as was stated by the crew, ordered

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

[126] [1] *American State Papers, Commerce and Navigation*, I. 726. This is signed by Albert Gallatin. An American vessel, the *Richmond*, which sailed to St. Helena, "from thence to Mozambique, on the coast of Africa, with a design of proceeding afterwards with a cargo of slaves to the Havannah", may have had a Virginia connection, but the editor knows of no proof that such was the case. Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, I. 26.

her to that port, and proceeded himself to Baltimore. Under those circumstances, the collector of Nottingham took possession of the vessel on the seventeenth of November, and caused the cargo to be landed. On the 27th of the same month Captain De Butts made his appearance, and produced the papers of the vessel. By these it appeared that she was the property of William Combs, of Norfolk, and that she had cleared on the 10th of October from Charleston, S. C. for Cape de Verd Islands. From distress of weather on the voyage, and having sprung a leak, she had put in to the Chesapeake. The cargo consisted of 20 hhds. of tobacco, 6 do. of rum, 20 bbls. flour, 36 do. bread, 25 kegs crackers, 34 pair oars, 937 feet inch plank, 241 feet scantling, 54 pair hand cuffs, and sundry chains, bolts, staples, and long bars, a small box glass beads, and 37 shaken hogsheads. The three last articles were omitted in the manifest. The collector, under all the circumstances of the case, inferred that the vessel was intended for the slave trade, and applied to the treasury for instructions. After consulting the attorney general, it was decided that the vessel should be libelled, under the acts prohibiting the slave trade; and the grounds on which that decision was made will appear from the following extracts of letters from the Secretary of the Treasury to the collector of Nottingham, and to the Comptroller of the Treasury, both under date of 30th November, 1801. The letter to the Collector was as followeth:

Upon a full view of the circumstances stated in your letter, and of those which appear on a comparative view of the actual cargo, and that entered in the manifest of the Schooner *Sally*, late from Charleston, the presumptive evidence that she was intended for the slave trade is such as to make it the duty of the Executive to have a prosecution instituted, leaving it to the ordinary course of law to decide whether the equipment of the vessel was actually for that purpose or not.

The reasons which induce that determination are, that certain parts of the cargo, *viz.* hand-cuffs, etc. could be intended only for the slave trade; that other parts of the cargo were essentially necessary for the same object, *viz.* principally the scantling and planks for partition; and the 35 shaken hogsheads to be filled with the necessary water for the return voyage; that the cargo itself, though not, if considered alone, a subject of suspicion, affords corroborating proof of intention, inasmuch as it was precisely such as was calculated for the trade, *viz.* rum, tobacco, beads, and provisions, and that those parts of the cargo, which, from their nature, were most likely to disclose the object, *viz.* the hand-cuffs, shaken hogsheads, and beads, were omitted in the manifest. To these may be added the conduct of the captain, when forced by stress of weather into the Chesapeake, *viz.* passing by Norfolk, where the vessel belongs, ordering her to as private a place as he could devise, and going himself to Baltimore with the vessel's papers.

The district attorney will receive instructions to institute the proper suits, and, until you shall hear from him, you will be pleased to detain the vessel and

cargo, taking, however, such steps as may be essentially necessary for the preservation of both.

The manifest, clearance, etc. are forwarded to the district attorney. The temporary register remains with the captain. A circumstance, though not necessarily connected with the intended prosecution, appears rather mysterious. The vessel belongs to a Mr. Combs, of Norfolk; Captain De Butts, who seems to have acted for him, chartered the vessel, as he says, for himself and two other persons in New York or Charleston. Neither his authority from the owner, nor the charter party, nor any articles of agreement between the co-partners for the voyage, are produced; it seems that, if every thing was fair, and the object of the voyage innocent, those papers would have been exhibited in proof thereof. . . .

The vessel and cargo were accordingly libelled by the district attorney of Maryland; but no other proofs appearing on trial, they were acquitted by the district judge, on the 7th of January following; and on the 11th of the same month the collector was served with the order for restoring, which was accordingly complied with. The appeal filed by the district attorney did not prevent the restoration of the vessel and cargo, and was intended merely to settle a point of law, *viz.* whether such prosecutions should, as admiralty suits, be decided by the court or be tried by a jury. The question has been decided, contrary to the opinion of the district attorney, in favor of the jurisdiction of the court without the intervention of a jury.

Subsequent to the restoration of the vessel and cargo to Captain De Butts, the owner, William Combs, who is one of the petitioners, came to Nottingham in pursuit of his vessel, which he stated to have been kept by the captain contrary to his wish, and the intended voyage to Africa to have commenced without his knowledge. He executed, on the 26th Jan. 1802, an instrument of writing, exonerating the custom house officers from any damages that might arise in consequence of the seizure of the vessel; and he made, at the same time, an affidavit, stating, amongst other things, that when Captain De Butts took the command of his vessel, in March 1801, no handcuffs, chains, bolts, bars or locks, were on board, and that he verily believed those articles to have been taken on board at Charleston, on her intended voyage for Africa. This was intended to rebut the assertion that those suspicious articles were merely iron ballast which had been on board previous to Captain De Butts taking command of the vessel.

Mr. Combs failed in his attempt to regain possession of the schooner. Captain De Butts took her to Baltimore, where, having signed accounts for wages to the seamen, she was libelled by them, and sold on that account. That was altogether a proceeding of the parties, and how the matter was settled between the owner and the captain is not known.

In estimating the damages actually arising from the seizure and subsequent proceedings, it will be recollected that the detention of the vessel, from the 17th November to the end of that month, was solely owing to the conduct of the captain in going to Baltimore, and carrying the papers with him. From the first day of December, 1801, to the 11th day of January following, a period of 42 days, the vessel and cargo were detained by reason of the seizure and prosecution instituted by order of Government; and to that extent injury and actual damages have been sustained by the parties.

Whether they are entitled to remuneration on that account, is a question which must depend on the evidence on which the seizure was made. That point did not, and could not, come before the court. The decree merely states that it appears to the court that the schooner was not fitted, equipped, etc. for the purpose of carrying on a trade and traffic in slaves; but not, as is stated in the petition, that there appeared no evidence to justify the seizure. All the facts as they were at the time stated, and on which Government proceeded, appear in this report, and will be found more at large in the correspondence and papers hereto annexed.

From these, a correct opinion on the question of compensation by government may be formed. But it is proper to add, that, if the proceedings were instituted on erroneous or insufficient grounds, there was not at least any wish to oppress the parties. For, by the absence of the captain on the arrival of the vessel, and consequent omission to make report and entry, within the time limited by law, there being distilled spirits on board, a forfeiture of the rum, and two penalties, of five hundred and one thousand dollars, had unquestionably been incurred: for neither of which was any prosecution instituted. The vessel and cargo having been libelled for what was considered the greater offence, it was thought that the loss of the whole property, in case of condemnation, would be a sufficient punishment for all the offences, and that, in case of acquittal, which presupposed innocence of being concerned in the slave trade, it would be oppressive to add a rigid recovery of the other penalties to the injury caused by the unavoidable detention of the vessel and cargo.

127. Fontaine Maury to Governor James Monroe, 1802.[1]

August 12, 1802, New York.

Some little time ago three French ships of war arrived at this port from Gaudaloupe, via Carthagena, where they touched with the view to sell or otherwise dispose of a number of renegade negroes they

[127] [1] *Cal. Va. St. P.*, IX. 317-318.

have on board, but the Spanish Government not permitting them to be landed, they proceeded hither and dispatched a vessel to General Le Clerc for further instructions as to the mode of disposing of them, which they daily expect to receive. The number of these unfortunate half-starved wretches, already arrived and momentarily expected in the other ships of war, amount to 1500, and the best information I can collect, after having been at due pains to procure it, I have little doubt but they will attempt to dispose of them along the Southern coast in a clandestine manner. They have in many instances offered them for sale in this city, in open violation of the laws. Sixty of them have been taken sick and thrown into the Marine Hospital, and daily additions may well be expected to that number.

Although this information may not in every respect be correct, yet I believe it so, and in consequence of the extreme agitation of the public mind I have deemed it expedient to impart it to you, with a view that you may make such use of it as you may think necessary and proper to guard against a measure which must highly endanger the peace and tranquility of the State you represent and those south of it.

I have written to the Secretary of State and to Governor Mirar and Genl. Moultrie and Col. Wade Hampton have communicated with Governors of the Carolinas and Georgia on the subject.

128. Colonel William Davies to Governor James Monroe, 1802.[1]

Collectors Office, Norfolk
August 24th, 1802.

Captain Drummond, entered at this office just arrived from Charleston and reports that on his passage two days ago spoke a French frigate from Cape Francois full of negroes, off Cape Hatteras and appeared to be steering for the Capes of Virginia, and that there was a report at Charleston when he left it (which was confirmed by Capt. Cowper a passenger from Charleston lately arrived from Cape Francois) it was the determination of the French Government there to transport from St Domingo such of the Blacks as had borne arms against the French. As the arrival of these people might possibly be a subject of executive regulation, I have thought it my duty to make this communication to you. . . .

[128] [1] *Cal. Va. St. P.*, IX. 318; MSS. Va. State Library. Endorsed: "Wm. Davies on the subject of Negroes on board the French ships of War from St. Domingo, 1802 Aug. 24th His Excellency James Monro Esquire, Governor of Virginia, Rich."

129. Act to amend the several Laws concerning Slaves, 1806.[1]

January 25, 1806.

1. Be it enacted by the general assembly, That if any slave or slaves shall hereafter be brought into this commonwealth, and shall either be kept therein one whole year, or so long at different times as shall amount to one year, or shall be sold or hired within this commonwealth, in every such case, the owner shall forfeit all right to such slave or slaves, which right shall absolutely vest in the overseers of the poor of any county or corporation, who shall apprehend, or shall attempt to apprehend such forfeited slave or slaves within their jurisdiction, in trust for the benefit of the poor of such county or corporation. . . .[2]

5. . . . if the jury shall find that the said slave or slaves were brought into this commonwealth, and have remained therein, contrary to the provisions of this act, the court shall make an order, directing him, her or them to be delivered to the overseers of the poor, to be by them sold for cash and applied as herein directed. . . .

8. Every person hereafter bringing into this commonwealth any slave or slaves, contrary to this act, shall forfeit and pay the sum of four hundred dollars for every slave so brought in; and every person selling, buying or hiring any such slave or slaves, knowing the same to have been brought in contrary to the provisions of this act, shall forfeit and pay the sum of four hundred dollars for every slave so bought, sold or hired; which forfeitures shall accrue to the use of the commonwealth, to be recovered by action of debt or information, in which the defendant shall be held to special bail; judgment shall be rendered without regard to any exception for want of form, and an attorney's fee of twenty dollars shall be taxed in the bill of costs. . . .

130. Negroes imported into Virginia, 1699-1708.

A list of all Ships and Vessells that have come from the Coast of Africa by the way of Barbados And Imported Negroes into Her Maj'ts Colony and Dominion of Virginia from the 24th day of June 1699 to the 12th day of October 1708.[1]

Time of Importation	Ship's Name	Of what Place	Master's Name	Negroes imported by	
				The Company	Separate Traders
Sept. 1, 1701	*Neptune*	London	Henry Forty		79
Dec. 27, 1701	*Expectation*	Bristoll	Wm. Levercombe		67
Apr. 24, 1702	*Ann Bonaventure*	London	Fra: Martyn		90
					236

[Notes to nos. 129 and 130 on p. 173.]

A List of all Ships and Vessells that have come directly from The Coast of Africa and Imported Negroes into Her Maj'ties Colony and Dominion of Virginia from the 24th day of June 1699 to the 12th day of October 1708.[2]

Time of Importation	Ship's Name	Of what Place	Master's Name	Negroes imported by	
				The Company	Separate Traders
July 8, 1700	*Nicholson*	London	Joseph Munday [3]		229
July 9, 1701	*Two brothers*	London	Roger Gray		60
July 10, 1701	*Shrewsbury* Gally	London	Jona. Gladiman		154
July 28, 1701	*African* Gally	London	James Westmore		57
Sept. 1, 1701	*Warner*	London	Jno. Jarman		184
Sept. 2, 1701	*Nicholson*	London	Joseph Munday		262
May 27, 1702	*Mary*	London	Ambrose Smith		143
Aug. 5, 1702	*Callibar Merch't*	London	Ph: Gadsdon		181
June 4, 1703	*Angola* frigat [4]	London	Thomas Arnold	92	
Sept. 1, 1703	*Ann*	Bristoll	Hump: Howard		64
Aug. 7, 1704	*Ann* Gally	London	Nicho. Gellibrand		81
Aug. 8, 1704	*Mermaid*	London	James French		229
Sept. 1, 1704	*William*	London	Wm. Martyn		110
Sept. 4, 1704	*Postillion* [5]	London	John Tozer	76	
Oct. 20, 1704	*Eagle* Gally	London	Wm. Snelgrave [6]		229
Oct. 21, 1704	*Codrington*	London	Francis Squerrel		262
June 29, 1705	*Dorothy* [7]	London	Edward Tomas	75	
July 9, 1705	*London* Gally [8]	London	John Bickford		240
July 9, 1705	*Jno. Bonaventure*	London	Anthony Ford		420
July 24, 1705	*Constant Abigal*	London	Jno. Vanburgh		148
Aug. 26, 1705	*Wm. and Mary*	London	Wm. Bell		90
Aug. 13, 1705	*Thomas and John* [9]	London	Robert Ransom		292
Aug. 20, 1705	*Claron* Frigat	London	Thomas Smith		109
Aug. 21, 1705	*Angola* Frigatt	London	Thomas Arnol[d]	214	
Aug. 27, 1705	*Phoenix* Sloop [10]	London	Tho: Durham	51	
Apr. 19, 1706	*William*	London	Jno. Collingwood		120
May 13, 1706	*Neptune*	London	Wm. Thurticle		243
June 3, 1706	*Eagle* Gally	London	Wm. Snelgrave		300
Sept. 18, 1706	*Waking Lyon*	Bristoll	Arnol Wimtell		154
Sept. 24, 1706	*African* Gally	Bristoll	Francis Bond		196
June 13, 1707	*Dolphyn*	London	Nevinson Taylor		175
Aug. 21, 1707	*Ann* Gally	London	Alexander Miller		209
[*illegible*]		Bristoll	Wm. Love		158
Aug. 29, 1707	*Bridgwater*	London	Wm. Cooke	171	
May 19, 1708	*Eagle* Gally	London	Wm. Snelgrave		296
May 24, 1708	*Jno and Constant*	London	Saml. Parker		297
				679	5692 [11]

[129] [1] *Va. Statutes*, new ser., III. 251-253.

[2] The intervening sections deal with the procedure of magistrates in bringing action against the owners of slaves thus brought in.

[130] [1] C. O. 5: 1316, 151, p. 51. See *ante*, no. 20.

[2] C. O. 5: 1316, 151i, p. 52.

[3] "Capt. Joseph Moonday who came lately from Guiney and brought into Yorke River about 230 negroes, and I heard they were sold from 28 *l.* to 35 *l.* per head; the greatest price that has been known. There were as many buyers as negros, and I think that, if 2000 were imported, there would be substantial buyers for them. They expect several ships from Guiny with negros, but I am afraid that no more will come" (Nicholson to the Board of Trade, Aug. 1, 1700, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1700, p. 452). For the

[*Notes to no. 130*—continued:]

adventures of another Captain Monday see *ante,* no. 15.

[4] Items relating to these and other voyages of the vessels here listed are to be found in T 70: 282. On Sept. 7 and Oct. 15, 1703, the master, Thomas Arnold, drew bills of £95 and £113, on the Royal African Company, credited to the *Angola.* In a list of protested bills of exchange for negroes sold by Mr. Henry Fielding, from the first voyage of the *Angola,* the Virginia names are: Edward Mathews £33, Constance Jones £18 and £19, Thomas Powell £38, George Ridley £4 and £28, John Robinson £3, Thomas Wellborn £18, John Bernard £1, John Stubbs £3, John Podgitt £5, Thomas Reede £25. The English merchants drawn upon are John Hyde, Richard Lee, Robert Dunckley, Francis Lee, Arthur Bailey, Richard Franklin, Robert Bristol and Company, and Micajah Perry and Company. Over ninety bills drawn on Perry and Lane or on Micajah Perry alone are listed in T 70: 282, as well as eighty Virginia drawers of bills. For this material the editor is indebted to Professor Curtis Nettles of the University of Wisconsin.

[5] A bill of exchange for £220 was drawn by the master of the *Postillion* to be placed to the account of that ship on Oct. 4, 1704. The "Ballance for Sales of Negroes per the *Postillion* sold by Henry Fielding" is represented by seven bills of exchange: Richard Anderson £45, drawn on Perry and Company, £25, on Robert Wise; G. Corbin £22, on A. Bailey; William Lyne (?) £18, on Thomas Wharton; Edward Berkeley £35, Richard Littlepage £110, and Thomas Butts £110, all on Perry and Company. The dates of these bills extend from Jan. 1, 1705, to July 3, 1706. T 70: 282.

[6] This was probably the author of *A New Account of Guinea.* He writes of a later voyage in which he was in the employ of Messrs. Bradley, Virginia merchants.

[7] On July 21, 1705, Edward Tomlin (Tomas?) drew a bill of £59 on the African Company for value received from Gavin Corbin, to pay the wages of the seamen of the *Dorothy.* On July 11 he had drawn on the company for £310. Eleven bills of 1705 and 1706, "balance" of the *Dorothy's* account, include: Robert Peyton £26, Thomas Richeson £17, Christopher Carlton £26, Temothes Kallendar £15, John Collier £20, John Slater £20, Charles Collier £27, John Ellis £15, William Erbanck £23, William Collins £26, Anthony Murray £16. T 70: 282.

[8] "Power of Attorney from Mr. John Denew of London, merchant to Mr. Humphrey Brooke, of London, physician to sue etc. Mr. Miles Cary and Mr. William Churchill, of Virginia, or their heirs on account of debts in any wise appearing whether the same be upon account of a cargo of negroes sent and consigned to them in 1705 on board of the ship *London* Galley, or otherwise however. (Recorded in York Co., 21 Jan., 1716.)" *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.,* XXVI. 287.

[9] See *ante,* no. 74, n. 4. On Dec. 24, 1705, Governor Nott reported to the Board of Trade that Jonathan Yates, carpenter of the *Thomas and John,* had complained that Captain Ransom had beaten one of the seamen on board so severely as to cause his death. The surgeon on board however ascribed the death to fever. *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1704-1705, p. 740.

[10] In September Thomas Durham (Durban?) drew upon the African Company for £466, "expenses of the *Phoenix*". The records of the African Company contain for the years 1705-1706 a list of nine protested bills, amounting to £269, "on account of Negroes sold by Hen. Fielding". T 70: 282.

[11] In the letter which accompanied this list Jennings, president of the Council, gave 5928 as the importation of the separate traders. On Jan. 23, 1708, they reported to the Board of Trade that they had sent to Virginia 2734 negroes between 1704 and 1707 (*B. T. Jour.,* 1704-1709, p. 454). In 1710, during one of the recurrent struggles over granting to the African Company its former monopoly of the trade, the anonymous author of *A True State of the Present Differences between the Royal African Company and the Separate Traders* (London, 1710, p. 35) wrote: "If we enquire into Virginia which is so precious a Jewel in the British Crown, we shall find upwards of Fifteen Thousand Negroes in that Colony also: and I defy the African Company to prove that ever they have imported so many as two thousand into that particular Province, since they have been a Joint-Body." For 1709 the customs record shows that the *Prosperous* carried 125 negroes to Virginia, the *Leopard* 201. These cargoes belonged to separate traders. C. O. 388: 13, p. 104.

A List Of All Ships and Vessels that have Imported Slaves into the District off Potomack river. Togather with the number of Slaves imported, of those dead, and not sold within 40 days, and of those drawn back for Exportation from the 10th of Xber, 1710 To the 10th of Xber, 1718.

Ships and Vessels Names	Of what place	M's Names	No. of Slaves		Slaves Dead	Slaves Drawn back	From whence
			Negroes	Indians			
		John Howson		1			
Cruizer	London	Geo. Griffin	84				Guinea
Hanh. Maria	"	Christ'r Fell	1				Amboy
		Tho. Whitledge and John Peck	2				Maryland
		Thos. Manning	1				"
Sarah Sloop	Virginia	X'r Conway	32		1		Barbadoes
George Gall.[2]	Glasgow	Davd. Buckling	21			2	"
Martha	Lyme	Jno. Wallis	15				"
Winifred Sloop	Virginia	Step. Chilton	3				"
		Jno. Wright	1				Maryland
		Fyall	2				"
		R. Alexander	1				Barbadoes and James River
Isabella	Grenock	Abr. Hastie	1				Barbadoes
		Rd Foley	1				Maryland
Potomack Slp.	N. England	Jer. Owen	1				N. England
		Dan. McCarty	8			8	Maryland
			174	1	1	10	

VIRGINIA SOUTH POTOMACK District Jany. 15 1718/9.
THOMAS LEE Recd. Nav Off'r.

[131] [1] C. O. 5: 1320, R 3, pp. 11, 13, 15, 19. These lists, sent by Spotswood to the Board of Trade, were received and read June 28, 1726 (for the report for 1712 see *post*, no. 132). Since many of the entries are undated they cannot be arranged in chronological order, and are therefore given under the separate Virginia districts. Later reports are thrown into one chronological list. These lists were probably made out in compliance with an order of May 28, 1702, and later dates: "Ordered that all the Navall officers of all and every the Districts within this Colony make up their Accompts of the Impositions on Liquors and Serv'ts and Slaves for all Ships entred or that shall be entred by them to the 24th day of June Next and make oath to the same before Mr. Treasurer as ussuall." *Ex. Jour. of Col. Va.*, II. 246.

[2] May 30, 1717, "The *George* of Glascow has about 190 slaves bound to Barbadoes or Virginia" (T 70: 6, p. 52). The bulk of this cargo had evidently been discharged in Barbados.

A List of all Ships and Vessells that have Imported Slaves into the District of York River together with the Number of Slaves Imported from the Tenth day of December 1710 to the Tenth day of December 1718.[3]

Ships and Vess'ls Names	Of what place	Masters Names	Number of Slaves		Slaves dead in time	Slaves drawn back	From whence
			Negroes	Indians			
Londo Mercht.	London	William Cant	1				London
Fryall	N. England	Nathl. Gerrish	16		1		Barbados
Digges Frigot	London	Edwd. Whitaker	1				London
Imported for William Rogers			1				
Sea Flower	London	James Deark	2				Fyall
Brought in by Capt. Fred Jones				2			No. Carolina
Lane Frances	Virginia	Robt. Minge	2				Barbados
Annah and Sarah	Bristoll	Arthur Lone	136		6		"
Mary	London	George Winter	109		7	6	"
Duke Cambridge	London	John Martin	28				"
Princess Ann	Bristoll	Peter Saxby	1				Bristoll
Elizabeth			1				Barbados
Anne Gally	London	Richd. Swanley	111		7		Guinea
Betty	Virginia	John Perrin	1				So. Carolina
Shallop belonging to Grace Watkins			3				Maryland
Oak	Liverpoole	Robt. Robinson	2				Barbados
Duke Cambridge	London	John Martin	152		12		"
Grayhound	Bristoll	Hen. Forrest	64		1		"
Shallop *George*	alias	a Long boat	3				Maryland
Sloop *Robert*	Barbados	Samuel Ring	1				Maryland
Three Sisters	Liverpool	John Hughes	109		4		Cabocorst Castle
Snow *Rebecca*	Bristoll	David Rees	135		6		Africa
Parnel Gally	"	Benj. Phipps	106				New Callabar
Sloop *Rachell*	Jamaica	Samuel Fox	43		3		Jamaica
Mary	London	Geo. Winter	6		1		Barbados

[3] The report for York River is signed by Burwell; that for Rappahannock by Christopher Robinson; that for the Upper James by Lightfoot.

Emra	Nevis	Benj. Fox	2				Nevis
Richd. and Alice	Virginia	Thos. Ballard	1				Barbados
Bewdley	London	Thos. Dansie	2				"
Mary Anne	Philade.	Edward Hardy	1				Philadelpha.
Duke Cambridge	London	William Keeling	147		14	11	Barbados
Sconer *Little bety*	Antigua	Peter Wather	5				Antigua
Maidstone	Bristoll	James Peace	111		1		Barbados
Ellin	Liverpool	Thomas Jackson	29		1		"
Oak	"	Robt. Robinson	24		3		"
Baylor	Bristoll	George Lilburne	66		3		"
Bootle	Liverpool	Robert Bootle	83		3	40	Bandy
Pink *Sarah*	Dublin	Thos. Nicholson	1				Barbados
Romsey Gally	Bristoll	Charles Porter	126		5		Bonny
Berkley Gally	"	Francis Putts	143		2		New Callabar
Higginson	London	John Mitchill	166		11		Old Callabar
Peterborough	Bristoll	James Edwards	93		6		Barbados
Robert and Jane	Antigua	John Bennett	96		1	1	Antigua
Mary	London	George Winter	82		3		Barbados
Parnel Gally	Bristoll	John Morrist	142		2		"
Grayhound	"	Henry Forrest	183		5		Bonny
Snow *Deligence*	Philadela.	James Peartree	58		3		Jamaica
Ferrand Gally	London	John Hodgson	61		5		Old Callabar
Brought in by Goodrich Lightfoot			1				
			2657	2	116	58	

A List Of all Ships and Vessells that have Imported Slaves into Rappahannock District together wth the Number of Slaves Imported of those Dead [and] not [sold] within forty days of those Drawn back for Exportation. From the 10th day of Decembr. 1710 to the 10th day of Decembr. 1718.

Ships and Vessels Names	Of w'h Place	Masters Names	Number of Slaves		Slaves Dead	Slaves Drawn Back	From w'h Place
			Negroes	Indians			
Mary and Eliz	London	Nathaniel Davis	113		22		Gambia
by land		by Jno. Smith	1				No. Carolina
Small Boat	Maryland	Paule ——	3				Maryland
Swift	Wt. haven	Albert Kilpatrick	1				Barbados
Content	Leverpoole	Wm. Evered	12				"
Industry	Bermuda	Jno. Smith	2				Providence
Content	Leverpoole	Wm. Evered	2				Barbados
Isbell	Greenock	Jno. Park	1				"
Two Brothers	Urbanna	Robt. Galbreath	1				Jamaica
Small Boat	Maryland	Jno. Orme	2				Maryland
Expectation	Bristoll	Frank Cobbett	3				Barbados
Charfield	"	Wm. Roberts	156		6		Gambia
Susanna	Rappahannock	Tho. Dearing	7		4		Barbados
Mary	Bristoll	Matt. Doye	1				Bristoll
Henry Gally	"	Henry Smith	99		7		Gambia
Employe	Leverpoole	Jno. Cowper	65		7		"
Princes Ann	Bristoll	Jno. Rogers	20		2		Barbados
Bensworth	"	Niehl Gardner	50		2		Gambia
Content	Leverpool	Wm. Evered	32		2		Barbados
Charfield	Bristoll	David Moore	72		12		Gambia
Bridgett	Urbanna	Peter N. Elligood	1		1		Barbados
Smith Gally	Bristoll	Jno. Darracott	30				"
Love	Bermuda	Saml. Saltus	1				Bermuda
			675		65		

A List Of all Vessels that have Imported Slaves into the Upper District of James River, together with the Number of Slaves Imported and of those dead and not sold within 40 days, and of those drawn back for Exportation from the 10 day December 1710 to the 10 day December 1718.

Vessels Names	Of what place	Masters Names	Number of Slaves		Slaves Dead	Slaves Exp'd	from what Place
			Negroes	Indians			
1711		Robert Mumford		4			So. Carolina
		Wm. Mayer		4			"
		Robt. Hix		10			"
		Unwin and Jones		7			"
		Coleman and Thweet		11			"
		Jno. Eavans		3			"
1712		Jones and Clay		12			"
1713		Jno. Anderson		8			"
1714		Thos. Breay		1			No. Carolina
Industry	Plymo.	Jos. Howell	2				Barbadoes
1715 *Charles*	Nevis	Jno. Solly	1				Nevis
Elizabeth	New England	Jno. Steel	3				Barbadoes
		Jos. Thrift		1			So. Carolina
1716 *Duke Cornwall*	Plymo.	Willm. Butcher	9				Barbadoes
		Arthur Kavanaugh		1			So. Carolina
1717 *Mary*	Barbados	Petter Barnes	15				Barbadoes
Henrico and Mary	Virginia	James Cocke	3				"
Elizabeth	Bermuda	Thos. Bell	2				Barbadoes
George	Virga.	Thos. Holinghurst	1				St. X'sttophers
Dragon	New York	Jno. Lawrence	6				New York
Avarila	London	[*illegible*]	1				London
Baltimore	"	Wm. Dowell	50		1		Barbadoes
1718 *Postillion*	Barbadoes	Wm. Lock	21				"
		David Crawly		4			So. Carolina
Henrico	Virga.	James Cocke	8				Barbadoes
Eagle	"	Willm. Clark	42		6		Cherolyon
Thomas	New England	Thos. Mousell	2		2		Barbadoes
			166	66	9		

A List of all Ships and Vessells that have Imported Slaves into the Lower District of James River, Together wth the Number of Slaves Imported, of those dead and not Sold within 40 days and of those drawne back for Exportation. From the 10th of December 1710 to the 10th of December 1718.

When Imported	Ships and Vessels Names	Of what place	Mast'rs Names	No. of Slaves		Slaves		From whence Imported
				Negr's	Ind'ns	Dead	Drawn Back	
Jan. 9, 1710	Sloop *Blackcock*	New York	Jno. Cooper	2				New York
May 13, June 30, 1711	Ship *Reserve*	Man of War	Capt. Mathw. Tate	8				Barbadoes
July 13, 1713	Sloop *Sea Flower*	Boston	Nathl. Owen	9				Antigua
Nov. 13, 1714	" *Catherine*	Virginia	Wm. Mosely	3				Barbadoes
May 10, 1715	" *Robert*	"	Wm. Downes	3				"
June 17 "	" *Morant*	So. Carolina	Alex. Watson	36				So. Carolina
" 18 "	" *Jane and Mary*	Virginia	Thoms. Brabb	4				Barbadoes
Aug. 10 "	" *May Flower*	New England	Jno. Tucker	1				Boston
" 29 "	" *Mary*	New York	Andw. Meade	5				New York
Sept. 9 "	" "	Barbadoes	Jno. Jennings	88				Barbadoes
" 23 "	" *William*	Virginia	Jno. Chaple	2				So. Carolina
Oct. 31 "	" *Dolphin*	"	Hy. Nicholson	1				St. Christophers
Nov. 2 "	" *Dragon*	Bermuda	Thoms. Eve	1				Bermuda
" 4 "	" *William*	Virginia	Richd. Dwelle	11				Barbadoes
" 7 "	" *Neptune*	Nevis	Thoms. Nelins	4				Nevis
Dec. 14 "	" *Endeavour*	New England	Samll. Epes	1				Boston
May 25, 1716	" *Elizabeth*	Boston	Wm. Fleet	3				"
" 11 "	" *Philipie*	Barbadoes	Wm. Goffrey	77		2	1	Barbadoes
Aug. 15 "	" *Robert*	Virginia	Wm. Pitt	7				"
" 31 "	" *Swallow*	New York	Wm. White	2				New York
Sept. 12 "	Brig. *Pegancreek*	Virginia	Nich. Beguton	3		1		Barbadoes
Nov. 8 "	Ship *Mary*	Bristoll	Francis Westbee	27		8		"
Dec. 15 "	Sloop "	Virginia	Wm. Mosely	1		1		"
" 18 "	" *Neptune*	"	Jams. Angush	1				"
" 26 "	" *Endeavour*	Boston	Samll. Bosworth	1				Boston
Jan. 10 [1717]	Ship *Friendship*	Lieth	Walt. Fleeth	1				North Briton
Apr. 29 "	Sloop *Nightingale*	Boston	John Fripp	6		1		Barbadoes
May 2 "	Brig. *Hannah*	Bristol	Morgan Morgan	6		1		"
" 7 "	Snow *Fortune*	Britain	Josp. Alkins	2				"

"	20	"	Sloop *Robert*	Virginia	Jno. ——	4		1	"
June	3	"	" *Sarah and Mary*	"	Jas. Thompson	1		1	"
"	10	"	" *Suffolk*	"	Hen. Dowdale	35		2	"
"	11	"	Skooner *Marlbrogh*	Boston	Jona. Route	1			Boston
July	9	"	Sloop *Robt. and Jas.*	Philadelphia	Jno. White	8		2	Barbadoes
"	"	"	Ship *Eliz. and Ann*	Liverpool	Edwd. Sanford	12			"
"	17	"	Sloop *Good Success*	New England	Davd. Vaughn	3			"
Aug.	2	"	" *Dulton Ann*	Maryland	Robt. Dulton	6		1	"
"	16	"	" *Hannah and Mary*	Philadelphia	Samll. Hogsflesh	24		1	1 "
"	31	"	Ship *Molly*	London	Jno. Colvils	2			"
Sept.	9	"	Sloop *Robt.*	Virginia	Richd. Mewley	5		1	"
"	25	"	" *Dolphin*	"	Adam Kirkwood	1			"
Oct.	17	"	" *May Flower*	Bermuda	John Dorrell	3		1	"
"	"	"	" *Rachell*	Jamaica	Saml. Fox	1			York River
"	"	"			Capt. Finch	7		1	1 Nevis
Nov.	6	"	" *Phillipia*	Barbadoes	George Tucker	3		2	Barbadoes
"	17	"	" *Phillis*	"	Gresenhm. Salter	3		1	"
"	28	"	" *Jno.*	Virginia	Wm. Mosely	1			"
Mar.	3,	1718	" *Resolution*	New Engld.	Jos. Carver	3			Boston
			Lyme man of war	Britain	Capt. Ellis Brand	2			Britain
			From No. Carolina		John Bowland	1			No. Carolina
Apr.	23	"	Sloop *Robert*	Virginia	Richd. Mosely	16		2	1 Barbadoes
"	25	"	Skooner *George*	Jamaica	Thoms. Fry	1			Jamaica
May	6	"	*Clayton Gallup*	Liverpool	Edwd. Tarlton	30		5	Barbadoes
"	10	"	Sloop *John*	Virginia	Xphir Gardner	6			"
"	19	"	" *Neptune*	"	John Chapell	18		1	10 "
June	15	"	Ship *Sheppard*	London	Thoms. Wood-ward	21			11 "
"	19	"	" *Nightingale*	Bristoll	Jos. Merritt	157		7	2 "
July	9	"	Sloop *Content*	Bermuda	Jno. Argent	2			1 Bermuda
"	23	"	" *Robert*	Virginia	Richd. Mosely	3			Maryland
Aug.	28	"	" *William*	"	Wm. Wastcoat	1			Barbadoes
Sept.	6	"	" *Neptune*	"	John Tucker	35		4	"
Oct.	18	"	" *Sarah and Mary*	"	Jno. Rudock	2			"
Nov.	11	"	" *Jno.*	"	Heny. Dowdale	3			"
"	23	"	Sloop *Robert*	"	Richd. Mosely	6			"
			from So. Carolina by John Ghorin Indians			0	3		So. Carolina
						732[743]	3	40	35

132. Negroes imported into Virginia, 1712.[1]

An Account of Negro Slaves imported from Africa into the Colony of Virginia in the year 1712.

Ships Names	Of what place	M'rs Names	From whence	Numb'r of slaves imported	By whom	District where sold and when	At what Price
Mary and Elizabeth	London	Nath. Davis	Gambia	113	Separate Traders	Rappahannock Nov. 1712	From 20 *ls.* to 28 a head

[132] [1] C. O. 5: 1316, O 141, p. 402. On Oct 26, 1711, by circular letter, the Board of Trade asked the number of negroes imported into Virginia, and on July 26, 1712, Spotswood replied that there had been no negroes imported from Africa since his arrival in Virginia, "nor like to be while the price of tobacco is so low, and the country so much in debt. There have been a few brought from Barbados and are generally such as have been first entered there, of which I doubt not your Lord'ps have accounts from thence." On Feb. 11, 1713, he sent to the board the list here given, writing: "I have also sent an account of the negroes imported from the coast of Africa, being but a small number in one ship last Fall; and there's no great reason to expect many more while the price of tobacco continues so low, and the country by that means so poor" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1712-1714, pp. 16, 137, 139; *B. T. Jour.*, 1709-1714, p. 304; Sainsbury Trans., VIII. 322, 372, 400). The reply of the board to this letter predicted a speedy increase in the price of tobacco once the French trade was opened up. Relief and restoration of prosperity in the colony was delayed by a drought in 1714 which seriously damaged the tobacco crop, but by 1718 Spotswood reported a flourishing plantation. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1712-1714, p. 206; *Va. Hist. Reg.*, IV. 10.

133. Negroes imported into Virginia, 1718-1727.[1]

An Accot. of Negroes imported into the District of York River from the 25th of March 1718 to the 25th of March 1727 from the Coast of Africa.

Time of Importation	Ships Names	Of what place	Master Names	No. imported by African Comp'a	No. imported by Separate Traders	From what place
May 26, 1718	*Bootle*	Liverpool	Robt. Bootle		84	Sierralone
June 9	*Romsey* Galley	Bristol	Cha. Porter		125	Calabar
" 10	*Higginson*	London	John Mitchell[2]		169	Gold coast
" 23	*Peterborough*	Bristol	Ja. Edwards		93	Calabar
" 26	*Berkley*	"	Fra. Pitts		143	"
July 23	*Parnell* Galley	"	Ira. Morris		142	"
Aug. 11	*Greyhound*	"	Henry Forrdel		182	"
" 18	*Terrand*	London	Jno. Hodgson		61	Gold coast
May 18, 1719	*Prince Eugene*	Bristol	James Goodall		340	Madagascar
" 18	*Violet*	"	Stanly Harison		128	Guinea
June 28	*Africa*	"	Saml. Griffith		84	"
" 30	*Anne and Sarah*	"	Wm. Bretton		159	Calabar
July 4	*Mayflower*	London	Wm. Horsey		104	Gold coast
" 9	*Little John*	Virginia	Geo. Selburn		53	Calabar
" 25	*Berkley*	Bristol	Fra. Pitts		183	"
Aug. 18	*Sierralone*	"	R. Harris		103	"
" 21	*Moorhampton*	"	Jno. Maddox		61	Bonny
Sept. 1	*Greyhound*	"	Henry Forrdel		170	Calabar
" 8	*Colston*	"	Hugh Vaughn		123	"
Oct. 27	*Noblett*	"	Robt. Wetherby		146	Angola
Apr. 20, 1720	*Calabar*	"	Thos. Kennedy		156	Calabar
May 11	*Commerce*	"	David Moor		130	"
" 31	*Berkley*	"	Fra. Pitts		160	"

[133] [1] C. O. 5: 1320, R 55, pp. 331, 333, 335, 337, 339. A letter from Robert Carter to the Board of Trade June 29, 1727, contained the list of importations from 1718 to Lady Day, 1727, with the statement that since then upwards of 1200 had been received and that more were expected daily, but that none were from the African Company. Sainsbury Trans., IX. 329.

[2] For a later voyage which Captain Mitchell was to take to Virginia see *ante*, no. 83.

[3] "Philadelphia, August 3 [1721]. We hear, that there are Three Ships arrived in Virginia, the ***Eugene, Henrietta,*** and ***Gascoign,*** who

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Time of Importation	Ships Names	Of what place	Master Names	No. imported by African Comp'a	No. imported by Separate Traders	From what place
June 1	*Betty*	Bristol	Geo. Stretton		82	Calabar
July 7	*Tiverton*	"	Endas Sutherland		210	"
Aug. 4	*Hunter*	"	Jno. Maddox		55	"
" 16	*Mayflower*	London	Wm. Horsey		109	Gold coast
Apr. 6, 1721	*Greyhound*	Bristol	Hen. Forrdel		222	Calabar
" 24	*Margaret*	London	Jas. Capills		160	Goldcoast
May 9	*Swift*	"	Matt. Dick		153	Calabar
" 15	*Gascoigne*[3]	Bristol	Thos. Bryan		133	Madagascar
June 21	*Prince Eugene*	"	Evan Morgan		103	"
" 26	*Rebecca* Snow	"	Timo. Tyzack		59	"
" 26	*Sarah* Galley[4]	London	Jno. Bulcock	233		Gold coast

have been Slaving on the Coast of Madagascar, and are returned from thence very rich. The Pyrates on the Coast of Madagascar, who lie in wait for the East India Men, have forced from them what Provisions and Men they thought fit, but in return have made them some valuable Presents of Money, etc. The *Eugene* is seized in Virginia, and the Capt. sent on board the Man of War there, in Order to be carried home for his Tryal, not for any Dealings with the Pyrates, but for having on Board East India Goods. The two others are clear'd" (*Boston Gazette*, Aug. 21, 1721). Spotswood's account of this incident differs somewhat: "While I was employed on the Frontiers of this Government, Information was given to the Capt's of his Maj't's Ships of War on this Station, that certain Masters of Ships, lately arrived here from Madagascar, had there traded with Pyrats and Supplied them wth Arms and other Stores of War, upon which Sundry of the Comm'rs nominated by his Majesty for tryal of Pyracys in this Colony convened, and in conjunction wth the Capt's of the Men of War issued their warrants for bringing before them three of the Commanders of those Madagascar Ships, *viz*t: Richard Herbert of the *Henrietta*, of London; Chalonce Williams, of the *Gascoign* Galley, of Bristoll, and Jos. Stratton, of the *Prince Eugene*, of the same Port. The Evidence against the two former not Swearing convincing enough, the Comm'rs thought fitt to discharge them, but there appearing stronger proof ag'st the latter, they were of opinion that he ought to be sent home to Great Britain, to take his Tryal as an Accessary to Piracy, and that Application should be made for my warrant for sending him home in the —— Man of War, and in the meantime committed him to Capt. Wharwood's Custody. . . ." Spotswood made haste to return but found when he arrived that Captain Wharwood had already sailed, taking his prisoner but without the papers concerning the case. Spotswood to Secretary Craggs, July 28, 1721, Va. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, II. 351.

[4] In April, 1721, the *Sarah*, with 250 slaves, sailed from Cape Coast Castle for Virginia (T 70: 7, pp. 18-19). Though the shipments of the company to Virginia were small, the records show that some attention was given to this colony. On Dec. 12, 1712, the Committee of Accounts reported Mr. Robert Richardson as qualified to serve the company as chief merchant at any of its Guinea settlements, "he understanding Negroes proper for Virginia and Mary Land where he says he resided three years and travelled through most parts of those countreys". He was appointed to the Gambia factory early in January (T 70: 90, pp. 78, 84). Throughout 1721 committee reports frequently contain the item: "If too late for Virginia then send to Jamaica" (T 70: 123; see also T 70: 7, p. 26). On Dec. 16, 1721, and Jan. 4, 1722, enquiry was made as to how far the Virginia agents, Willis and Chiswell, were complying with their contract to make returns for the negro cargoes on the *Otter* and the *Sarah*. These were to be in pitch, tar, staves, planks, or any other lumber available (T 70: 123). In 1723 Spotswood had a contract for 400 slaves, part of whom were to be sent him from Gambia by the *Dove*. T 70: 7, pp. 63, 77, T 70: 91, pp. 205, 208, 215. T 70: 124, Feb. 21, 22, Mar. 2, Apr. 23, 1723.

"	27	*Henrietta*	London	Wm. Loyd		130	Madagascar
"		*Commerce*	Bristol	David Moor		124	Calabar
Aug.	15	*Otter*[5]	London	Thos. Foster	194		Gambia
Oct.	17	*Baylor* Sloop[6]	Virginia	Wm. Verney		117	"
"	30	*Mayflower*	London	Wm. Horsey		108	Gold coast
June	5, 1722	*Greyhound*	Bristol	Henry Forral		166	Calabar
July	18	*Happy Adam*	"	Henry Arthur		73	"
May	27, 1723	*Greyhound*	"	Edwd. Holdane		174	"
July	26	*Swift*	London	Matthew Dick		290	Angola
May	7, 1724	*Commerce*	Bristol	Henry James		231	Callabar
June	11	*John and Mary*	Virginia	John Jones		135	Windward coast
Sept.	22	*Little Stephen*	Bristol	Edwd. Little		98	Callabar
May	18, 1725	*Commerce*	"	Henry James		278	"
"	31	*Despatch*	"	Wm. Barry		170	"
June	8	*Providence*	Virginia	Egerton Cuttler		161	Windward coast
Apr.	28, 1726	*Betty*	Bristol	Jno. Bradshaw		144	Callabar
"	30	*Chester* Galley	"	Richd. Bacon		144	"
June	6	*Commerce*	"	Robt. Elton		143	"
"	10	*Norman* Galley	"	Jno. Bartlett		120	"
July	1	*Swift*	London	Matt. Dick		154	Gold coast
"	15	*Providence*	Virginia	Egerton Cutler		141	Windward coast
"	19	*Malonsbury*	Bristol	Thos Davis		135	Callabar
Sept.	3	*Speedwell*	"	Jno. Oven		196	"
Oct.	4	*Molley* Galley	London	Peter Hannah		163	Windward coast
"	10	*Greyhound*	Bristol	Edwd. Holden		205	Callabar
					427	8145	
						427	
						8572[7]	

[5] In the record of vessels sent out by the company the item for Mar. 14, 1721, is, "*Otter* Burth'n 170 Tun Saild Dec. 25th from Ireland Capt. Tho: Forster, Went to Cork to take in provisions from thence to Maderas for Wine, so to Gambia, thence with 240 Negros for Virginia. Cargo 470. 19. 10." On Apr. 25, 1722, the Virginia factors of the company, Willis and Chiswell, sent bills of exchange amounting to £605, on account of the cargo of the *Otter*. About the same time the *Sherbro* was to be dispatched for Sierra Leone for "wood and teeth if possible, if not 240 slaves for Virginia". That she might arrive in Virginia in the "proper season", she was to sail from the West Coast by the middle of June. Since the name of this vessel does not appear in the list of arriving vessels it may be that she obtained her cargo of wood and teeth. T 70: 123, pp. 17-18, T 70: 91, p. 133.

[6] "Our Merchants have Advice that the Ship *Baylor*, Capt. Verney, having been Slaving on the Coast of Guinea, and thence set Sail for Virginia, turn'd Pirate, the Negroes being thrown overboard. The said Ship was afterwards taken by a Dutch Cruizer, after a fight of four Hours." *Boston News Letter*, May 9, 1723.

[7] The number reported by the separate traders should be 8185 and the total 8612, rather than the sums here given. The report for York River is signed by William Robertson; that for the Upper James by Lightfoot; that for the Lower James by Wilson Cary; that for Rappahannock by Robert Carter, jr.

A General List of all Negro's imported from the Coast of Africa into the Upper District of James river from the 25th of August 1718 to the 25 Aprill 1727.

Entered	Vessels Names	Mast'rs Names	Where and when built	Owners Names	Of what place	African Company	Separate traders
Sept. 29, 1718	*Eagle*	Wm. Clarke	Virga. 1717	Henry Harrison	Virga.		42

An Accot. of all Negroes imported from the Coast of Africa into the Lowr. District of James Riv'r from the 25th Apll. 1718 to the 25th of Aprill 1727.

Time of Entry	Ships Names	Masters Names	Of what Place	Quan'ty Negroes
June 19, 1718	*Nightingale*	Joseph Merrit	Bristoll	One hund. fifty seven
Sept. 30, 1719	*Charlott*	Branson Oulson	London	Ninety four

An Accot. of Negroes Imported into the District of Rappahannock River from the 25th of March 1718 to the 25th of March 1727 from the Coast of Africa.[8]

Time of Importation	Ships Names	Of what place	Masters Names	No. imported by African Comp'a	No. imported by Separate Traders	From what place
Apr. 28, 1718	*Imploy*	Liverpool	Jno. Cooper		65	Guinea
May 31	*Henry* Galley	Bristol	Henry Smith		99	"
Aug. 13	*Bentsworth*	Bristol	Nichs. Gardener		48	"
Sept. 5	*Crutchfield*	Bristol	Robt. Bymer		76	"
Oct. 16, 1719	*Imploy* Snow	Liverpool	Jno. Cooper		94	"
May 17, 1720	*Mercury*	London	Geo. Christiall		466	Madagascar
Aug. 17, 1721	*Calabar Merch't*	Bristol	Thos. Kennedy		224	Africa
May 24, 1723	*Shirley* Galley	Bristol	Jno. Scanderet		230	"
May 31, 1725	*Illustrious* Galley	Bristol	Jno. Murphy		172	Bande
Apr. 29, 1726	*Despatch* Briga.	Bristol	Wm. Barry		180	Old Calabar
May 19	*Jno. and Betty*	Liverpool	Wm. Denton		90	Calabar
July 20	*Content*	Liverpool	Jno. Moreton		145	Gold Coast
Sept. 6	*Illustrious* Galley	Bristol	Anseln Bennett		189	Bonney
Apr. 24, 1727	*Benedicta* Briga.	Bristol	Jno. Roberts		108	Bermuda
					2186	

[8] Endorsed: "Rappahannock River, List of Negroes imported from Africa to Ladyday, 1727." From the Lower District of the James and that of South Potomac the report was, "No Negroes imported" (C. O. 5: 1320, R 55, p. 339). It is to be observed that the next document begins the record in April, 1727, with an entry in the Lower James district but from the West Indies, not from Africa.

134. Negroes imported into Virginia, 1727-1769.[1]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
[1727] Apr. 12	*Friendship*, Va.	Peter Norly Alligood	50	Plantation, 1725	W'msBurgh, Oct. 19, 1725	Nath. Newton	5	Jamaica	Lower James
June 20	*Samuel*, Va.	Christopher Gardener	40	" 1722	W'msburgh, Oct. 26, 1722	Samuel Baush	3	"	" "
July 10	*America*, B. of Bristol	Thomas Marshall	108	Connecticut, 1716	Bristol, May 3, 1720	R. Langher and Co.	133	Bristol[2]	Rappahannock[3]
" 17	*Jno. and Betty* of Liverpool	William Denton	78	Leverpoole, 1723	Leverp'l, Dec. 4, 1723	Jno. Pemberton and Co.	140	Leverpool	"
" 29	*Sherly* Gally of Bristoll	William Kennedy	80	Bristole, 1715	Bristol, Aug. 20, 1718	R't Veadham and Co.	219	Bristol	"
Sept. 11	*Rose*, Snow of Liverpool	James Christian		Leverpoole, 1726	Liverp'l, Aug. 3, 1726	Jas. Christian and Co.	125	Liverpool	
Nov. 14	*Resolution*, Bermuda	Danl. Gibbs	15	Berm'a, 1724	Ber'a, Mar. 6, 1724	Daniell Gibbs	1 Man	Turks Islands	York River
[1728] Mar. 16	*Cassels*, Bristol	David Mountgomery	80	New England, 1724	Brist., Oct. 23, 1725	Samuel Jacob	24	Affrica	York River[4]

[134] [1] C. O. 5: 1443. The lists which follow are rearrangements of the Naval Officers' Lists, which were sent home from time to time. The number of guns and men and the description of the vessels have been omitted and the lists from the different districts have been consolidated in chronological order. The form of the headings, the dates, and certain abbreviations has been changed, but the attempt has been made to retain the original spelling of proper names. Up to this point importations from Africa alone have been given; throughout no. 134 those from the West Indies are included.

[2] Unhappily, not the source of the cargo but the port from which the vessel originally embarked is here given.

[3] Lists from the Rappahannock district were signed by Robert Carter, jr., naval officer; those from the Lower District of the James by Wilson Cary; from York River, William Robertson; after 1730 Charles Carter signs the Rappahannock list.

[4] The report made by William Robertson to the Board of Trade, of the negroes imported into the York River district from the coast of Africa, gives this as the *Castle*, galley, with 211 negroes from Calabar, which is probably correct (C. O. 5: 1321, f. 157). Thomas Lee, naval officer of South Potomac, and Robert Carter, jr., reported no negroes from Africa between Sept. 29, 1727, and Apr. 25, 1728. There were no African negroes imported into the James River district for this same period. *Ibid.*, ff. 153, 155, 158.

[1729][5]									
Mar. 10	*William*	James Eaton	90	Virginia, 1715	Liverpool, Feb. 20, 1720	Thos. Seel	3	Hampton	York River
" "	*Olive branch*	David Burch	40	Bermuda, 1722	Pensylv'a, June 3, 1728	John White	1	Barbados	" "
[1731]									
Mar. 9	*Molly*, Virginia	Alexander Hamilton	20	Plant'n, 1726	W'msburgh, Oct. 20, 1728	Andrew Mead	10	Jamaica	Lower District of James River
Apr. 14	*Providence* Dublin	Joseph Taylor	35	Rings End, 1725	Whitehaven, Nov. 6, 1725	Robt. Dolloway and Co.	1	Whitehaven and Barbadoes	Rappahannock
June 23	*Three Sisters*	Edwd. Hubbard	90	New England, 1730	New England, 9'br. 11, 1730	Tephamia Eade	2	Antigua	York River
July 1	*Jamaica*, Bristol	Thos. Qurk					130		
" 31	*Abington*	Jno. Westcott	40	Newbury, 1728	Virga., Apr. 19, 1731	William Dalton	19	Barbadoes	Rappahannock[6] York River
Dec. 2	*Haswell*	Christ'r Brooks	150	London, 1729	London, Jan. 22, 1729	Samuel Haswell	6	London and Barbadoes	Rappahannock
[1732]									
Mar. 6	*Molly*, Virga.	Alexdr. Hamilton	20	Plan., 1726	W'msburgh, Oct. 2, 1728	Andrew Mead	8	Jamaica	Lower James
Apr. 22	*Drednought*	Jas. Whitechurch	80	New England, 1724	Bristol, Feb. 21, 1729	Henry Dampier[7]	226	New Callabar	York River
" 25	*St. Michael*	Thomas Sneal	80	Virginia, 1729	Virga., Feb. 9, 1729	John Ellegood	19	Barbadoes	" "
May 10	*Stanton*	Richard Williams	80	" 1727	Bristol, 7'br 2, 1728	John Lewis	8	Madeira and Barbadoes	" "
June 6	*Leverpoole Mercht.*	Matt. Golding	80	Leverpool, 1724	Leverp'l, 9'br 29, 1724	Foster Cunliefe[8]	160	Gambia	" "
" 10	*Abington*	Jno. Westcott	40	N. England, 1728	Virga., Apr. 19, 1731	William Dalton	14	Madiera and Barbadoes	" "

[5] The list of arrivals for 1728 does not include the *Benedicta*, Captain Raymond, which left the Gambia River for Virginia about May 5, 1728 (T 70: 7, p. 137), and that for 1729 makes no mention of the *Katherine*, Capt. William Atkinson, sent from Boston in December, 1728. See this work, III. 37.

[6] This item comes from C. O. 5: 1323, f. 81, a report of negroes imported from the coast of Africa between Apr. 25 and Oct. 25, 1731, by private traders and by the African Company. The one vessel reported by Carter belonged to a private trader. The Virginian who wrote on Aug. 27, 1731, "I am told a Guinea man is expected Dayly", had long to wait if this list is complete. *Va. Hist. Reg.*, IV. 85.

[7] Henry Dampier was sheriff of Bristol in 1737 and 1751 and mayor in 1755. John Latimer, *Annals of Bristol: Eighteenth Century*, p. 473.

[8] Foster Cunliffe, who traded heavily in Virginia and Maryland tobacco, was a more important figure in the South Carolina slave trade than in that of Virginia. See *post*, no. 164.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
June 14	*William and Betty*	Jno. Whitlow	75	Maryland, 1728	Maryl'd, Mar. 26, 1729	John Goodwin	140	Gambia	York River
" 26	*Blackmoor*	William Bond	90	New England, 1723	Bristol, Apr. 15, 1730	James Laroche	260	Angola in Africa	" "
" 29	*Content*	Charles Adlam	120	New England, 1725	N. England, Jan. 11, 1725	Thomas Chamberlayne	201	Bonny in Africa	" "
July 1	*Jamaica*, Bristol	Thos. Qurk	70	Bristol, 1725	Bristol, Apr. 5, 1729	Will. Gordon[9]	130	Coast of Africa	Rappahannock
" 5	*Indian Queen*[10]	George Perry	120	Bristol, 1714	Bristol, Dec. 12, 1720	Richard Langher	236	Bonny in Africa	York River
Aug. 30	*John and Mary*	Francis Gains	25	Virginia, 1729	Virga., Aug. 8, 1729	John Perrin	3	Barbadoes	" "
Nov. 21 [1733]	Sl. *Sussannah* Virga.	John Merridith	30	Plan., 1730	W'msburgh, June 19, 1731	David Mead	12	St. Christopher	Lower James
Feb. 3	Sl. *Hampton*, Va.	William Brough	20	" 1729	W'msburgh, May 25, 1732	Samuel Barron	18	Barbadoes	" "
" 19	Sl. *Molly*, Va.	George Hull	20	" 1726	W'msburgh, Oct. 2, 1728	David Mead	19	Jamaica	" "
Apr. 2	B. *Jonathan* Liverpo'l	Joseph Harrison	65	" 1728	Jamaica, June 3, 1731	Bryan Blundell[11]	39	"	" "
" 3	S. *Jacob and Ann*, Va.	Daniel Pugh	30	" 1731	W'msburgh, Mar. 30, 1731	Daniel Pugh	31	"	" "

[9] James Laroche was sheriff of Bristol in 1734 and mayor in 1750; his son, Sir James, was a member of Parliament between 1772 and 1779 and in 1789 was a member of the Bristol committee created to oppose the abolition of the slave trade. "Mr. Chamberlayne", named among the principal Bristol tobacco traders in 1730 and 1740, had lived in Virginia. In 1785 William Gordon was enumerated among those Bristol merchants who, from small beginnings, had accumulated fortunes. Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*, pp. 463, 473, 477.

[10] In September, 1732, William Byrd spent the night at Tuckahoe, where he had some conversation with a Mrs. Fleming: "Put some Questions to her about the bad distemper that raged then in the Country. I mean the Bloody Flux, that was brought us in the Negro-Ship consigned to Colo. Braxton." This probably refers to one of the vessels arriving in the summer of 1731. Bassett, *Writings of William Byrd*, p. 341.

[11] A Liverpool merchant. See this work, II. 468, 492.

" 5	S. *Providence* Va.	Thomas Newton	25	" 1732	W'msburgh, Nov. 14, 1732	George Newton	17	"	" "
" 10	S. *Wm. and Jno.* Va.	John Brett	30	" 1728	W'msburgh, Feb. 14, 1728	John Nicholson	1	"	" "
" 27	*Elenora*	Thos. Powell	70	R. Island, 1725	Bristol, July 2, 1729	James Laroach	160	St. Christopher and Calabar	York River
May 28	*Goldfinch*	Abel Thomas	100	Bristol, 1716	Bristol, 8'br 29, 1726	Henry Dampier	260	Callabar	" "
June 7	*John* Galley Bristol	John Wilson	80	British, 1715	Bristol, Jan. 2, 1729	Charles Scandnet and Co.	227	Barbadoes	Rappahannock
" 8	*Bridget*	Will'm Clark	70	New England, 1724	Bristol, Dec. 19, 1728	Henry Dampier	182	Angola and Barbadoes	York River
" 19	*Jamaica* Galley Bristol	John Hitchings	90	British, 1725	Bristol, Oct. 12, 1732	Will'm Gordon and Co.	194	Guinea	Rappahannock
" 25	*Charming Ann*	Lan. Mason	25	N. Engl'd, 1726	N. Engl'd, July 3, 1731	Adam Muir	9	Barbadoes	York River
Sept. 1	Sl. *Bumper,* Boston	Saml. Moore [12]	25	Plan., 1726	Boston, Dec. 8, 1732	Samuel Moore	56	Guinea	Lower James
Oct. 6	*Indian Queen*	George Perry	120	Bristol, 1714	Bristol, Dec. 12, 1720	Walter Langher	280	Affrica	York River
Dec. 6	*Abingdon*	John Westcott	40	N. England, 1728	Virga., Apr. 19, 1731	John Perrin	1	Barbadoes	" "
[1734] Jan. 5	Sl. *Industry* Jama.	Archibald Cockburne	30	Plantation, 1730	Pt. Royal, Aug. 11, 1733	Wm. Thompson	3	Jamaica	Lower James
" 20	*Charming Becky* of Boston	Thomas Snow	15	Pensilvania, 1732	Boston, Jan. 21, 1733	John Cozens	1 Woman	Boston	Accomack
Feb. 2	Sl. *Providence* Virga.	Wm. Wishart	20	Plantation, 1732	W'msburg, Feb. 26, 1732	John Holt	5	Jamaica	Lower James
" 16	Sl. *Amity,* Glascow	George Blair	56	" 1729	Pt. Glascow, May 28, 1731	Richd. Oswald	23	"	" "
" 23	Sl. *Priscilla,* Va.	Charles Sinnot	25	" 1733	W'msburg, Apr. 21, 1733	David Mead	18	"	" "
Mar. 8	Sl. *Industry,* Va.	Edwd. Pugh	32	" 1733	W'msburg, Dec. 3, 1733	Edwd. Pugh	10	Barbadoes	" "

[12] For some account of Captain Moore's voyage see this work, III. 41-42.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Mar. 29	*King Fisher*, Va.	John Farr	30	Plantation, 1719	W'msburg, Aug. 31, 1733	Saml. Riddick	12	Barbadoes	Lower James
Apr. 9	*Sussa.*, Va.	John Meredith	30	" 1730	W'msburg, June 13, 1731	Andrew Mead	4	Jamaica	" "
" 24	*Pye*, Snow	Charles Adlam	100	Bristol, 1733	Bristol, Sept. 11, 1733	Thomas Chamberlayne and Co.	41	"	Upper "
" 26	*Saunders*, Va.	Cornelius Calvert	50	Plant'n, 1732	W'msburg, Nov. 15, 1732	Cornelius Calvert	4	Antigua	Lower "
May 2	Sl. *Warwick*	John Darrell	20	Bermuda, 1730	Bermuda, Mar. 10, 1730	John Darrell and Co.	18	Barbados	Upper "
" 11	*Phoenix*, Va.	Alexander Murray	20	Plant'n, 1730	W'msburg, Jan. 11, 1730	John Tucker	1	"	Lower "
" 14	*Industry*, Va.	John Brown	70	" "	W'msburg, Oct. 21, 1730	John Hutchings	27	Jamaica	" "
" "	*Lively*, Snow, Bristol	James Seabon	80	" 1727	Bristol, Oct. 22, 1731	Edward Heylin	199	Guinea	" "
June 3	Brigt. *Henry and Benja'm*	Thomas Friend	70	Virginia, 1733	W'msburg, Dec. 21, 1733	Benjamin Harrison	13	Barbados	Upper "
" 6	*Ann and Eliza* Virga.	Peter Norly Elligood	100	Plant'n, 1731	W'msburg, Nov. 15, 1732	John Saunders	23	"	Lower "
" 13	*Glasgow*, St. Christ'rs	George Grear	110	" 1733	Annapolis, Oct. 9, 1733	John Erwing	12	St. Christopher	" "
" 15	*New Tryal* Barb'ds	Stephen Thompson	30	" 1728	Barb'ds, Feb. 11, 1731	Saml. Rylance	9	Barbadoes	" "
" 17	*Molly*, Barb'ds	Archibald Wager	30	" 1727	Barb'ds, Feb. 11, 1731	Walter Cadwell	30	"	" "
" "	*Industry*, Va.	Edward Pugh	32	" 1733	W'msburg, Dec. 3, 1733	Edward Pugh	29	"	" "
" 19	*Hampton* of Va.	William Brough	20	" 1729	W'msburg, May 25, 1732	Samuel Barron	29	"	" "

"	"	*King George* of Va.	William Ballentine	40	" 1727	W'msburg Nov. 27, 1733	Saml. Skinner	5	St. Christophers	" "
"	22	Ship *Jno. and Robert*	John Hendrick	80	New England, 1727	London, Nov. 23, 1727	John Hendrick and Co.	6	Antigua	Upper "
"	26	*William*	Richd. Woolford	30	Virginia, 1733	Virginia, Mar. 20, 1733	Tho. Webley	3	St. Christophers	York River
July	24	*Thomas*	Henry Smith	50	New York, 1723	Liverpool, Mar. 3, 1732	Robert Dixon	100	Africa	" "
Aug.	1	*Bridget* Gally	Wil. Clark	70	New England, 1724	Bristol, Dec. 19, 1728	Henry Dampier	225	Angola, Africa	" "
"	5	*Aurora*	Timo. Tucker	100	Bristol, 1727	Bristol, Aug. 12, 1727	Thos. Chamberlayne	180	Africa	" "
"	20	*Fortune*, Barb'd	John Boys	50	Plant'n, 1731	Barbadoes, Oct. 10, 1732	John Boys	85	Gambo	Lower James
"	"	*Liverpool Mercht.*, Liverpool	Matt. Goulding	80	Liverpool, 1724	Liverpool, Nov. 19, 1724	Foster Cundliff	156	Coast of Africa	South Potomack
"	26	Brigt. *Fortune*	John Boys	50	New England, 1731	Barbados, Oct. 10, 1732	John Boys	85	Lower James	Upper James
Sept.	30	*Sussa* of Va.	George Hull	32	Plant'n, 1730	W'msburg, July 4, 1732	David Mead	1	Barbados	Lower "
Oct.	5	*Pr'c Wm.* of Va.	Joseph Ivy	50	" "	W'msburg, Feb. 24, 1730	Anthony Walk	1	St. Christophers	" "
"	8	*Norfolk* of Va.	Henry Millers	100	" 1731	W'msburg, Oct. 23, 1731	Samuel Boush	4	Barbadoes	" "
"	12	*Experim't* of Va.	Lawrence Peper	40	" 1734	W'msburg, June 13, 1734	Lawrence Peper	2	Philadelphia	" "
"	22	*Eliza. and Abigal*, Bost'n	William Divers	20	" 1721	Piscat'ua, Aug. 24, 1732	Pierre Long	2	Boston	" "
"	"	*Antelope*	Thos. Chandler	100	Shoreham, 1724	London, Aug. 26, 1724	Richd. Harris	286	Angola	York River
"	23	*Wm.* of Va.	William Parsons	30	Plant'n, 1731	W'msburg, May 12, 1731	William Parsons	1	Barbadoes	Lower James
Nov.	13	*Hampton*, Va.	William Brough	20	" 1729	W'msburg, May 25, 1732	Samuel Barron	2	"	" "

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Dec. 2	*Ann and Fra'c* Va.	Thomas Snail	100	Plant'n, 1731	W'msburg, Nov. 15, 1732	John Saunders	1	Barbadoes	Lower James
" 10	*Charming Ann* Va.	John Nicholson	45	" 1732	W'msburg, Mar. 21, 1732	Nathl. Newton	2	"	" "
" 16	*Mary* of Berm'a	Nathl. Bascomb	35	" "	Berm'd, Oct. 7, 1732	Peter Pruden	1	"	" "
" 23	*Boyd,* St Xtop'rs	John Lambeth	50	" 1734	W'msburg, July 22, 1734	Alexdr. Campbell	1	Antigua	" "
" 24	*Speedwell* Barb'd	William Richardson	40	" 1733	Barb'ds, Oct. 23, 1733	John Denny	7	Barb'does	" "
[1735][13] Jan. 13	*Nester,* Piscat'y	Joseph Bayley	35	" 1733	Portsm'th, Apr. 16, 1733	Joshua Peirce	1	New Hampshire	" "
Feb. 21	*Lyon* of Jamai'a	Randolph Sharman	20	" 1730	Port Royal, July 4, 1732	Benj. Haime	6	Boston	" "
" 24	*Sussa.* of Va.	George Hull	45	" 1730	W'msburg, July 24, 1732	David Mead	18	Jamaica	" "
Apr. 4	*George*	Edwd. Tarry	100	Philadel. 1724	Bristol, Nov. 8, 1728	Rich'd Henvill	284	Callabar old	York River
" 8	*Indian Queen*	Geo. Perry	120	Bristol, 1714	Bristol, Dec. 12, 1720	Walter Langher	172	Bonny, Africa	" "
" 15	*Bodmin*	Richd. Body	50	N. Eng'd, 1728	Bristol, Apr. 6, 1731	James Laroche	210	Bristol	" "
May 28	*Jenny,* Bristol	Edw. Bryan	50	Planta., 1726	Bristol, July 17, 1728	Walter Jenkins and Co.	245	Gambia	Rappahannock
June 18	*Doddington*	Jas. Copland	80	N. Engl'd, 1731	Liverpool, Dec. 4, 1733	Thos. Kendall	167	Gold Coast, Africa	York River

[13] The items for the Lower District of the James River and for the York River through June 18 come from C. O. 5: 1443; those for the Rappahannock and for the York River after June 18, from C. O. 5: 1444; the remainder of the items, from C. O. 5: 1446. The naval officers are Wilson Cary for the Lower James, Lewis Burwell for the Upper James, A. Churchill, Rappahannock, and William Robertson, York River.

" 27	*Oliver* of Va.	William Mowat	35	Plant., 1733	W'msburg, Apr. 1733	Alex'r McKenzie	2	Antigua	Lower James
July 8	*Susanna* of Va.	George Hull	30	" 1730	W'burg, July 1732	David Mead	3	Jamaica	" "
" 14	*Ann*, Brist.	Phil. Protheroe	126	British, 1724	Bristol, Aug. 29, 1729	Will. Gordon and Co.	222	Guinea	Rappahannock
" 18	*Speedwell*	William Richardson				John Denny and Co.	8	Lower James	Upper James
" 22	*Lively*	Francis Cullam				Thos. Ball and Co.	139	Liverpool by way of Guinea	" "
" "	*Saunders* of Va.	Corn's Calvert	30	Plant., 1732	W'burg, Nov. 1732	Corn's Calvert	2	Barbados	Lower "
" 28	*Brice*	Wm. Sanders	130	Bristol, 1734	Bristol, Nov. 29, 1734	Jas. Laroche	414	Angola	York River
Aug. 6	*Sarah and Ann* of Berm.	Jno. Adderly	25	Plant., 1732	Berm., Aug. 1732	Thos. Joell	3	Antigua	Lower James
" 11	*Henry* of Berm.	John Todd	25	" 1729	Berm., Jan. 1732	Edw. Todd	23	Bermuda	" "
" 14	*Pretty Betsey*	Jno. Boys	60	N. Engl., 1733	London, Mar. 1734	John Boys and Co.	155	Guinea	Upper "
Sept. 17	*Industry* of Va.	John Westcott	32	Plant., 1733	W'burg, Dec. 1733	Edw. Pugh	4	Barbados	Lower "
" 24	*Ann* of Va.	Simon Hancock	30	" 1732	W'burg, Apr. 1732	John Phripp	12	Berm.	" "
Oct. 11	*Hampton* of Va.	John Tucker	20	" 1729	W'burg, May 1732	Samuel Barron	5	Barbados	" "
" 30	*Providence* of Va.	Alex'r Bayns	20	" 1733	W'burg, Nov. 1733	James Ivy	4	Jamaica	" "
Nov. 17	*Success* of Va.	William Davis	35	" "	W'burg, July 1735	John Pugh	3	"	" "
Dec. 24	*Ann*	James Dickinson	30	Berm., 1730	Berm., Sept. 1730	Col. Francis Jones and Co.	10	Berm.	Upper "
[1736][14] Jan. 12	*Bermuda Merchant*	Giles Corbusier	45	Plant., 1735	Berm., Sept. 1735	Giles Corbusier	6	St. Christoph.	Lower James

[14] The items for York River and the Rappahannock districts come from C. O. 5: 1444; those for South Potomac from C. O. 5: 1445; the remainder from no. 1446. The naval officers for the James are the same as in 1735; for the South Potomac, Henry Lee; for the Rappahannock, A. Churchill; for York River, James Pride.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Feb. 2	*Neptune*	Seth Harvey	25	Plant., 1734	Berm., Oct. 1734	John Harvey	1	Berm.	Lower James
Apr. 5	*Pr. of Orange*	Japhet Bird	80	Bristol, 1730	Bristol, Sept. 3, 1735	Edw. Hylin	251	Brist. and Calabar	York River
" 22	*Hatley*	Ralph Barres	160	London, 1717	Lond., Nov. 11, 1717	Geo. Hatley	6	London	" "
May 5	*Thomas*	Hen. Smith	50	N. York, 1723	Leverpool, Mar. 3, 1732	Robt. Dixon	137	Gambia	" "
" 8	*Domingo*	Will. Williams	40	Plant., 1731	St. Christp., June 1733	Will. Williams	2	St. Christoph.	Lower James
" 10	*Saunders*	Corn's Calvert	30	" 1732	W'burg, Nov. 1732	Corn's Calvert	3	Barbad.	" "
" 19	*Liverp. Mercht.*	Matt Goulding	80	Liverpool, 1724	Liverpool, Nov. 19, 1724	Foster Cunliff	193	Africa	South Potomack
" 20	*Saunders*	Edw. Archer	25	Plant., 1735	W'burg, Feb. 1735	Edw. Archer	1	Antigua	Lower James
" 21	*Aurora*	Tim. Tucker	100	British, 1727	Bristol, Aug. 1727	Thos. Chamberlain	160	Bonny	" "
" 22	*Reb'a and Batchelor*	Will. Robinson	151	Berma., 1734	Bermuda, Dec. 4, 1734	Jno. Robinson	1	Bermuda	York River
" 26	*Hampton*	John Tucker	20	Plant., 1729	W'burg, May 1732	Saml. Barron	3	Barbad.	Lower James
June 7	*Providence*	Joseph Ivy	24	" 1732	W'burg, Feb. 1732	John Holt	2	Jamaica	" "
" 10	*Prince William*	Will. Hayes	70	Leverp., 1726	Leverp. Oct. 10, 1733	Robt. Dixon	166	Gambia	York River
" 14	*Alice*, Liverpool	Thos. Hamilton	60	British, 1717	Liverpool, Jan. 23, 1733	Thom. Seel	90	Guinea	Rappahannock
" 28	*Antelope*, Liverpool	James Hurst	120	" 1724	Liverp, Aug. 22, 1735	Henry Birch and Co.	229	Barbadoes and Guinea	"
" "	*St. George*	Julius Caesar Parke	150	Plant., 1730	London, Dec. 1735	Joseph Beezley	2	Barbados	Lower James

July	2	*Betty*, Snow	James Phelps	90	Bristol, 1730	Bristol, Nov. 25, 1730	Abraham Hooke [15]	400	Affrica	York River
"	5	*Pretty Betsey*	John Boys	60	Plant., 1733	London, Mar. 1734	John Boys	135	Gambo	Lower James
"	11	*Stannage*	Thom. Hill	80	Liverpool, 1732	Liv., May 1732	Thos. Hill and Co.	180	Gamboa	Upper James
"	12	*Pretty Betsey*	John Boys	60	N. Engl., 1733	London, Mar. 1734	John Boys and Co.	135	Lower James	" "
"	19	*Abingdon*	Jno. Westcott	40	New England, 1728	Va., Apr. 19, 1731	John Perrin	2	Medeira and Barbadoes	York River
Aug.	6	*Withers* Galley	William Muff	100	Bristol, 1731	Bristol, Aug. 13, 1731	Jno. Brickdale [16]	275	Affrica	" "
"	11	*Swallow*	John Cott	60	" 1729	Bristol, Oct. 1, 1729	John Beecher	196	"	" "
"	13	*Ann and Fran's*	William Connor	100	Plant., 1731	W'burg, Nov. 1732	John Ellegood	3	Barbad.	Lower James
"	28	*Indian Queen*	John Blanning	120	Brit., 1714	Bristo., Dec. 12, 1720	Walt. Langher and Co.	201	Guinea	Rappahannock
Oct.	9	*Industry*	John Westcott				Ja. Ward	6	Barbados	Hampton
"	22	*Unity*	Charles White				Charles White	1	Span. Town	"
"	23	*Ann*	Phil. Prodero	90	Bristol, 1729	Bristol, Aug. 29, 1729	Humphrey Metton	310	Bonny	York River
Nov.	1	*Tryall*	John Dickinson				John Dickinson	1	Jamaica	Hampton
"	4	*Ann*	James "	30	Berm., 1730	Berm., Sept. 1730	Francis Jones and Co. of Bermuda	3	Berm.	Upper James
"	5	*Saunders*	John Thomas				John Sears	4	Bermuda	Hampton

[15] Abraham Hooke was sheriff of Bristol in 1706 and master of the Society of Merchant Venturers in 1712. Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*, pp. 534, 537.

[16] John Brickdale is among the Bristol merchants who advanced from poverty to considerable wealth, being worth at his death £100,000 (*ibid.*, p. 462). "The Ship *Withers* is just arriv'd from the Coast of Africa, with near 300 choice Slaves, which are to be put to Sale at York this day, and to continue there 'til Saturday next: And at West Point on Monday, the 16th Instant, and there to continue 'til they are all sold, by G. BRAXTON." *Va. Gazette*, Aug. 9, 1736.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Nov. 8	*John and Mary*	Richd. Tillidge	25	Virginia, 1729	Virginia, Aug. 8, 1729	John Perrin	1	Barbadoes	York River
" "	*John*	Hezekiah Ober				John Fourell	2	Montserat	Hampton
" 12	*Increase*	Will. Darrell	25	Berm., 1735	Berm., Apr. 1736	Will. Riddell and Co. of B.	1	Barbad.	Upper James
" 13	*Elizabeth*	Rob. Robinson				Fra's Jones	2	Bermuda	Hampton
" 19	*Brunswick*	Will. Shippard	55	Char. Town, 1734	Ch. Town, Mar. 1734	Thom. Jennor and Co. of C. T.	1	Boston	Upper James
" 26	*Henr. and Benj.*	Thos. Friend	70	Virg., 1733	W'msburg, Dec. 1733	Benj. Harrison of V.	1	Jamaica	" "
" "	*Charming Ann*	John Browne				Nath. Tatem	1	Antigua	Hampton
" 30	*Mary and Elizabeth*	Bristow Brown				Nath. Bascomb	2	"	"
[1737][37] Feb. 4	*Clotilda*, Wt. haven	Elihu Bouch	25	Brit., 1726	W'haven, Dec. 30, 1727	John Gate and Co.	7	W'haven and Barbadoes	Rappahannock
" 17	*Priscilla*	Chas. Sinnott	25	Plant'n, 1733	Virg., Apr. 21, 1733	David Meade	1	Jamaica	Hampton
Mar. 8	*Phoenix*	Joel Hutchinson	30	" 1730	Virg., Jan. 11, 1730	John Tucker	2	St. Christoph.	"
Apr. 6	*Saunders*	John Thomas	25	" 1735	Virg., Feb. 11, 1735	Edw. Archer	3	Anguilla	"
" 21	*Mary and Elizabeth*	Bristow Brown	20	" 1730	Berm., Oct. 26, 1730	Nath. Bascomb	4	Bermuda	"
May 2	*Sarah*	John Tucker	25	" 1732	Virg., Dec. 7, 1736	John Tucker and Co.	5	Barbadoes	"
" "	*William*, Wt-haven	Jas. Taylor	45	Brit., 1730	Wthaven, Oct. 9, 1736	Jas. Taylor and Co.	2	"	Rappahannock

[37] C. O. 5: 1444, 1445, and 1446. From this point the district of the Lower James is usually designated as the Hampton district. The naval officers are the same as in the preceding year.

" 10	*Elizabeth*	Robt. Robinson	35	Plant., 1736	Berm., Oct. 5, 1736	Fra's Jones	2	Bermuda	Hampton
" 12	*Anne*	Will. McNary	30	" 1732	Virg., Apr. 18, 1732	John Phripp	3	Jamaica	"
" 13	*Saunders*	Corn. Calvert	30	" "	Virg., Nov. 15, 1732	Corn. Calvert	1	Barbadoes	"
" 28	*Eliz. and Margaret*	Will. Wishart	14	" 1735	Virg., Dec. 4, 1735	Edw. Pugh	7	Antigua	"
" "	*Molly*	Anthon. Moseley	15	" "	Virg., Feb. 17, 1735	Ant. Walke	2	Barbadoes	"
" 30	*Neptune*, London	Thos. Boyd	150	" 1735	New Engl'd, Jan. 5, 1735	Richard Boydcot and Co.	20	Antigua	Rappahannock
June 6	*Frances*	Mason Miller	50	" 1736	Virg., Sept. 22, 1736	Sam. Bough	36	St. Christoph'r	Hampton
" 7	*Phoenix*	Habijah Savage	20	" 1733	Virg., Feb. 7, 1736	Habijah Savage	4	Jamaica	"
" 15	*Alice*, Liverpool	Egerton Cutter	60	Brit., 1717	Liv., Jan. 23, 1733	Thom. Seele	124	Gambia	Rappahannock
	Johnson[18]	Jas. Gildart	120	Maryland, 1727	Maryland, July 15, 1727	Richd. Gildart	495	Angola	York River
	Hobhouse[19]	John Bartlett	150	Bristol, 1716	Bristol, July 30, 1736	Mich. Beedier	310	Affrica	" "
" 30	*Liverpool Mercht.*	James Bootle	80	Liverpool, 1724	Liverpool, Nov. 19, 1733	Foster Cunliff	190	Coast of Africa	South Potomack
July 4	Brig *Thomas*	Henry Smith	50	New York, 1723	Liverpool, Mar. 9, 1732	Johnson Gildart	97	" " "	" "
" "	*Brice*[20]	Abm. Sanders	130	Bristol, 1734	Brist., Nov. 29, 1734	Jas. Laroche	409	Angola	York River
" 21	*Greyhound* Bristol	Edw. Holdon	160	Brit., 1736	Brist., Nov. 15, 1736	Isaac Hobhouse and Co.	232	Bristol and Guinea	Rappahannock

[18] Notices in the *Va. Gazette*, Apr. 8 and 22, 1737, announced the arrival of this vessel with 490 "choice young Slaves", consigned to Thomas Nelson. On the 29th the *Gazette* contained the following item: "Cleared. Apr. 23. Ship *Johnson*, of Leverpoole, James Gildart, Master, for Maryland, with 260 Slaves and some returned Goods."

[19] The *Va. Gazette* of June 10, 1737, contained notice of the arrival of an unnamed vessel with 330 negroes consigned to "Col. Moore". This may have been the *Hobhouse*, referred to by name in the issue of June 17.

[20] The *Brice* also carried "214 Scrivillos [small tusks], 44 Teeth, 7 Weight Mallageta Pepper", an unusual cargo for Virginia. *Ibid.*, July 15, 1737.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
July 23	*Abingdon*	Jno. Westcott	40	New England, 1728	Virginia, Apr. 19, 1731	John Perrin	4	Madeira and Barbadoes	York River
Aug. 1	*Antigua Merchant*	Arthur Payne	100	N. Engl., 1730	Boston, May 1730	Arthur Payne and Co. of London	11	Lower James[21]	Upper James
" 30	*Stannage*	Thos. Hill	80	Liverpool, 1732	Liverp., June 1732	Thos. Hill and Co., Liv.	183	Liv. by way of Gamba	" "
Nov. 8	*Rebecca and Freelove*	John Brett	40	Plant., 1735	Virg., Oct. 11, 1735	Willm. Hunter	1	Barbados	Hampton
" 12	*Anne*	James Dickinson	50	Berm., 1737	Berm., Oct. 28, 1737	Jas. Dickinson and Co.	4	Bermuda	"
Dec. 1	*Pembrooke*	St. George Tucker	50	" 1734	Berm., Mar. 5, 1735	Joseph Stowe	1	"	"
" "	*Tryall*	Tobias Lear	25	Plan., 1728	N. Hampsh., Feb. 17, 1728	Will. Adams	1	Boston	"
" 3	*Glasgow*	James Bulkley	110	" 1733	Boston, Dec. 18, 1733	Alex. Potterfield	24	St. Christoph'r	"
[1738][22] Jan. 28	*Sarah*	Joshua Thomas	80	" 1732	Boston, July 4, 1732	Jac. Wendall	1	Boston	"
Feb. 23	*Merrimack*	John Robinson	40	" 1732	Boston, Jan. 26, 1736	John Nelson	1	"	"
Mar. 24	*Susannah*	Thom. Nil[?]	30	" "	Virg., July 4, 1732	David Meade	1	Jamaica	"
Apr. 6	*Frances*	Benj. Butterfield	35	" 1728	Berm., Nov. 5, 1728	Nath. Butterfield	1	Bermuda	Lower James
" 14	*Bridget*[23]	Robt. Quirke	70	N. England, 1724	Boston, Nov. 13, 1724	James Day	190	Affrica	York River

[21] This vessel had come from London by way of Antigua. *Va. Gazette*, Aug. 19, 1737.

[22] C. O. 5: 1444, 1446.

[23] "Williamsburg. This Week a Ship arriv'd in York River from Guinea, with upwards of 200 Negroes, which are consigned to Col. Braxton" (*Va. Gazette*, Apr. 14, 1738). The vessel meant was probably the *Bridget*, the arrival of which was reported by name in the next issue of the *Gazette*.

May 16	*Unity*	James Corbet	60	Brit., 1728	Dumfries, Sept. 16, 1737	James Corbett	81	St. Christoph'rs	Lower James
" 22	*Phoenix*	Thom. Newton	50	Plant., 1733	Barb., May 10, 1737	Sam. Salmon	33	Barbados	" "
June 9	*Aimy*	Habijah Savage	60	" 1737	Maryl., Nov. 24, 1737	Fra'c Hutchins	16	"	" "
" 12	*Frederica*	John Goodwin	30	" 1736	Philad., Aug. 3, 1736	Robt. Ellis	67	Georgia	" "
" 26	*St. Michael*	Joel Hutchinson	50	" 1738	Virg., Apr. 17, 1738	John Elligood	1	Barbados	" "
July 3	*Walpole*[24]	Ric. Joynson	90	Leverpoole, 1718	Lev., Aug. 1737	Ric. Gildart and Co., Liv.	180	Liv. by way of Guinea	Upper James
" 13	*Wm. and Betty*	James Moore	60	Plant., 1734	Virg., Feb. 11, 1734	James Brown	1	Jamaica	Lower "
" 24	*Industry*	Wm. Hancock	20	" 1737	Virg., Nov. 7, 1737	Simon Hancock	2	Barbados	" "
" "	*Alice,* Liverpool	Egerton Cutter	60				121	Gambia	Rappahannock
" 27	*Molly*	Jno. Thompson	35	Virginia, 1734	Virginia, Feb. 11, 1736	Fran's Willis	3	Barbadoes	York River
Aug. 5	*Faulcon*[25]	Halden Young	100	Shoreham, 1725	London, Feb. 3, 1734	James Pearse	348	Angola	" "
" 12	*Nancy*	Sam. Johnston	35	Pensilvan'a, 1736	Philad., Nov. 1736	Will. Davidson and Co. of Irel'd	1	Barbad.	Upper James
Sept. 8	*Glasgow*	James Bulkley	110	Plant., 1733	Boston, Oct. 18, 1733	Alex Potterfield	21	St. Christoph'r	Lower James
Oct. 20	*Ann*	James Dickinson	50	" 1737	Bermd., Oct. 28, 1737	Sam. Barrons	3	Bermuda	Hampton
" 25	*Three Friends*	John Farr	40	" 1734	Boston, Apr. 26, 1735	Wm. Drummond	9	Antigua	"
" 26	*Grampus*	John Brigges	45	Virginia, 1737	Virginia, Dec. 14, 1737	John Lewis	1	N. England	York River

[24] The cargo of the *Walpole*, which included six tons of redwood as well as the negroes, was consigned to "Sec'y Carter". *Va. Gazette*, Aug. 11, 1738.

[25] The *Faulcon* brought ivory as well as negroes (*Va. Gazette*, Aug. 25, 1738). An item in the *Gazette* of Aug. 4 may refer to this vessel: "There is a Ship arrived from Guinea, with about 300 Negroes consign'd to Col. Moore." The *Gazette* of July 28 mentions the Hon. Thomas Lee as the consignee of a "Negro Ship lately arriv'd at Hampton, and gone up to Potomack".

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Nov. 6	*Ruby*	Paul Ruynter	30	Plant., 1730	Berm., Sept. 12, 1730	Richd. Leycraft	5	Bermuda	Hampton
" "	*St. Michael*	Joel Hutchinson	50	" 1738	Virg., Apr. 17, 1738	John Ellegood	5	Barbados	"
" 13	*Thistle*	John Wilson	160	" 1726	Pt. Glas., Feb. 29, 1731	Colin Dunloppa	1	Philadelph'a	"
Dec. 12	*Exeter*	Nehem. Dun-come[can]	20	N. Providence, 1733	Chas. Tn., Mar. 1734	Jno. and Edw. Atkins of S. Carolina	7	S. Carolina	Upper James
" 24	*Race Horse*	John Odiorne	55	Plant., 1738	N. Hamp., Dec. 7, 1738	John Rindge	1	Boston	Hampton
" 26	*Nassaw*	Jno. Miller	50	N. Engl., 1731	Boston, Aug. 1731	Thom. Jonnice and Co. of Chas. Town	2	"	Upper James
[1739][26] Feb. 19	*Hopewell*[27]	Jno. Armstrong	25	New England, 1733	N. England, Jan. 29, 1738	Robt. Gibbs	1	Rhode Island	York River
May 3	*Jane*	Edw. Rooke	30	Plant., 1738	Virg., Oct. 16, 1738	John Snead	10	Antigua	Hampton
" 4	*Ruby*	Wm. Tarrant	25	" 1737	Virg., June 15, 1737	John Tucker	2	Barbados	"
" 21	*Boyde*	Jno. Lambeth	50	" 1734	Virg., July 22, 1734	John Lambeth	1	St. Christoph'r	"
" 28	*Cross* Gally[28]	Jos. Pitman	100	Bristol, 1731	Bristol, Aug. 11, 1738	John Crosse	266	Affrica	York River

[26] C. O. 5: 1444, 1445, 1446.

[27] Notice of the arrival of this sloop is to be found in the *Gazette*, Mar. 9. In a summary of imports from Dec. 25, 1738, to Mar. 25, 1739, this one negro is the only one mentioned. *Va. Gazette*, May 18, 1739.

[28] "The *Crosse*-Galley, Capt. Joseph Pitman, Master, lately arrived from Africa, with a choice Cargo of Slaves. The Sale whereof will begin on Monday the 4th Instant, at West-Point, And as soon as discharg'd, will prepare to receive a Freight for Bristol. . . . HARMER and KING." *Ibid.*, June 1, 15, 1739.

" 31	*Anna*[29]	James Strachan	140	Thames, 1730	London, Mar. 1736	Jno. Hanbury of London	380	Guinea	Upper James
June 5	*Black Prince*[30]	Jno. Sipson [Simpson]	75	New England, 1735	London, Apr. 28, 1738	Will. Gorrish	112	Affrica	York River
" 18[31]	*Robert*	Sam. Rogers	28	Plant., 1735	Virg., Mar. 14, 1736	Robt. Cooke	2	Barbados	Hampton
" 25	*Margarett*	Thos. Williamson	30	" 1738	Virg., Feb. 24, 1738	Thoms. Williamson	1	"	"
" 29	*Dove*[32]	Wm. Corrin	50	Leverpoole, 1718	Lev., Feb. 1730	Foster Cunliffe of Lev.	106	Gamboa	Upper James
July 3	*Betty*	Jno. Winter	170	Brit., 1723	[*Illegible*], May 5, 1738	Capn. James Peirce	273	Guinea	Rappahannock
" 10	*Vine*	Egerton Cutter	65	" 1729	Liv., Jan. 12, 1738	Thom. Seele and Co.	156	Liv. and Gambia	"
" 11	*Martha and Mary*	Saml. Cooper	35	Plant'n, 1734	Berm., May 8, 1734	Nich. Hinson	11	Barbadoes	Hampton
" 14	*Eagle*	Ric. Jenings	30	" 1737	Berm., June 9, 1737	Will. Riddle	15	Antigua	"
" 20	*St. Michael*	Jno. Nicholson	50	" 1738	Virg., Apr. 17, 1738	John Ellegood	1	Barb.	"
" 22	*Anne*	Will. Ivy	30	" "	Virg., Feb. 17, 1738	James Ivy	7	Jamaica	"
" 23	*Robert and John*	John Cooke	40	" "	Virg., Sept. 11, 1738	Robt. Cooke	1	Madeira and Barb.	"

[29] The cargo of the *Anne* was consigned to Isham and Richard Randolph (*ibid.*, June 8, Aug. 10, 1739). Of the terms on which Virginia consignees sold slaves we know little. Col. William Byrd, in a letter to Mr. Andrews of Rotterdam concerning the migration of Palatines, wrote: "This [eight per cent.] is the Allowance Our Negro Sellers have, which Sell for more than Double these People will, and consequently afford twice the Profet." *Am. Hist. Rev.*, I. 90.

[30] "That the *Black Prince*, Capt. John Simpson, of London, is lately arrived from the Gold Coast, with a Cargo of choice Slaves, the Sale of which began at York Town on the 7th Instant, and is to continue there till the whole Cargo is disposed of. She is intended to take in Tobacco at Seven Pounds per Ton, for London. THOMAS and WILLIAM NELSON." On June 29 the master of the *Black Prince* advertised for tobacco; then added: "I find it has been industriously reported for many Years, that Ships which come from Guinea here with Slaves, are never after in a Condition to take in Tobacco, which is very absurd and ungenerous, and a great Discouragement to bring Negros here: But I cannot think any Man, who has any Notion of a Ship, can ever imagine anyone will venture his Life and Fortune to Sea in a Vessel that is not Seaworthy. However, to clear up all Doubts of that kind, if any Gentleman has a Mind to ship any Tobacco on board me, I will cause a Survey to be made of my Vessel by whom they shall desire, and her Condition shall be reported accordingly. . . . JOHN SIBSON [SIMPSON]." *Va. Gazette*, June 8, 22, 29, 1739.

[31] The *Gazette*, Aug. 24, 1739, adds one entry, that of the *John and Mary*, Rich. Tillidge, which entered from Madeira and Barbados on June 14. with one negro.

[32] The *Gazette* of July 6 and Dec. 14, 1739, announced the arrival of 106 negroes consigned to John Carter.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Aug. 7	*Prince of Orange*	Japhet Bird	80	Bristol, 1730	Bristol, Sept. 3, 1735	Edward Heylin	200	Africa	York River
" 14	*Molly*	Jno. Northcott	45	Plant., 1733	Virg., June, 1734	Theo's Pugh	4	Barb.	Hampton
" 16	*Liverpool Merchant.*	Matt. Goulding	80	Leverpool	Leverpool, Nov. 29, 1729	Foster Cunliff	130	Africa	South Potomack
Sept. 8	*Sea Nymph*	Thom. Ashington	120	N. Englands Letters for Comm.		Will. Whitaker	1	Maryland	York River
Oct. 15	*Hannah*	Joshua Baker	25	Plant., 1736	Virg., Apr. 23, 1737	Alexr. McKenzie	1	"	Hampton
" 29	*Rebecca and Freelove*	John Brett	40	" 1735	Virg., Oct. 1735	Wm. Hunter	11	Jamaica	"
Nov. 8	*Little Molly*	Henr. Miller	25	" 1738	Virg., Nov. 22, 1738	Sam. Boush	1	"	"
" 24	*Mary*	Benja. James	50	" 1739	Berm., Mar. 1739	Fran. Jones	7	Bermuda	"
" 26	*Mary*	Israel Brownlow	30	" 1738	Berm., Mar. 1738	Israel Brownlow	8	"	"
[1740][23] Jan. 14	*Bredah*	Wm. Pitman	40	" 1736	Berm., Dec. 1736	Jerem. Burch	4	S. Carolina	"
" 19	*Breda*	Wm. Pitman	40	Bermuda, 1736	Berm., Dec. 1736	Jeremiah Burch of Bermuda	4	Lower James	Upper James
" 21	*Anne and Mary*	Chas. Sinnot	60	Plant., 1734	Virg., Oct. 1738	David Mead	3	Jamaica	Hampton
Mar. 3	*Charity*	George Gibbs	30	" 1739	Berm., Jan. 1739	George Gibbs	1	Bermuda	"
" 17	*St. Michael*	Isaiah Nicholass	50	" 1738	Virg., Apr. 1738	John Ellegood	1	Barbados	"
" 31	*James and Margaret*	Edw. Gastelon	40	Free br. cond.	Antigua, Oct. 1730	James Mcdowell	5	St. Christoph'rs	"

[23] C. O. 5: 1444, 1445, 1446.

Apr. 14	*Little Molly*	Henr. Miller	25	Virg., 1738	Virg., Nov. 1738	Sam. Boush	2	Barbadoes	"
" "	*Mary*	Is'r Brownlow	30	Berm., 1738	Berm., Mar. 1738	Is'r Brownlow	1	Bermuda	"
" 17	*Anne*	Geo. Walker	50	N. Eng., "	N. Eng., Mar. 1739	Jas. Stockley	32	St. Christoph'r	"
" 19	*Ann and Francis*	Andr. Nicholass	100	Virg., 1731	Virg., Nov. 1732	John Ellegood	3	Barbad.	"
" 26	*Caledonia*	Geo. Moncrieff	115	N. Eng., 1738	N. Eng., Mar. 1738	George Moncrieff	20	Antigua	"
" 29	*Catherine*	Alex. Murray	25	Virg., 1738	Virg., Oct. 1738	Theophilus Pugh	4	Barbad.	"
May 2	Snow *Bridgett* Liverpool	James Carrel	50	Leverpool, 1738/9	Leverpool, Mar. 18, 1739	Henry Pepper and Co.	53	Africa	South Potomack
" 13	*Cornwall*	Jos. Richards	140	Bristol, 1719	Bristol, Aug. 22, 1737	Jas. Laroache	284	Barbadoes	York River
" 22	*Molly*	Jno. Northcott	45	N. Eng., 1733	Virg., June 1734	Theophilus Pugh	16	"	Hampton
June 4	*Marlborgh*	Jno. Blaning	100	Bristol, 1711	Brist., Apr. 21, 1711	Jno. Brickdale	260	Calabar	York River
" 9	*Pugh*	Christoph. Gardner	25	Virg., 1737	Virg., Dec. 1737	Theophilus Pugh	8	Barbad.	Hampton
" 13	*Tryal*	Hugh Brown	50	Brit., 1729	Irwin, Jan. 1730	Robert Brown	16	St. Christoph'r	"
" 18	*Saunders*	Corn. Calvert	40	Virg., 1739	Virg., Mar. 1739	Cornelius Calvert	1	Antigua	"
" 21	*Anne*	Oliv'r Leycroft	30	Berm., 1730	St. Christ., Feb. 1738	Richd. Rowland	31	St. Christoph'r	"
" 24	*Crusier*	Wright Westcott	20	" "	Barb., July 1730	Bart. Newton	2	Barbad.	"
July 11	*Boyde*	Jno. Lambeth	50	Virg., 1734	Virg., July 1734	Alex. Campbell	6	Jamaica	"
" 28	*Williams*	Jona. Lambert	100	Bristol, 1735	Bristol, Oct. 2, 1738	John King	230	Guinea	York River
Aug. 4	*Charming Sally*	Jno. Maxwell	50	Plant., 1736	St. Christ., Mar. 1739	Andr. Lessley	36	St. Christoph'r	Hampton
" 10	*Swan*	Joseph Doggett	40	N. Engl., 1739	Boston, Jan. 1739	Sam. Doggett and Co., Marshfield	1	Boston	Upper James

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Aug. 10	*Little Molly*	George Cabonis	40	Virg., 1737	W'msburg, Dec. 1737	Nath. and Benj. Harrison of Virg.	1	Barbad.	Upper James
" 11	*Chesterfield*	William Woods	87	New England, 1738	Bristol, Nov. 16, 1739	Isaac Hobhouse	186	St. Christophr.	York River
" 16	*Vine*	James Murrey	30	Virg., 1739	Virg., Oct. 1739	Will. Hix	4	Antigua	Hampton
" 20	*Dove*	John Lee	50	Liverpool, 1718	Liverp., Feb. 1730	Foster Cunliffe of Liv.	62	Guinea	Upper James
Sept. 1	*Anne and Mary*	Charles Sinnot	60	N. Eng., 1734	Virg., Mar. 1740	David Mead	7	Jamaica	Hampton
" 11	*Fanny*	Wm. Furmidge	25	Plant., 1736	St. Christ., Aug. 1739	Clemens Chapman	2	St. Christoph'r	"
" "	*Catherine*	Alex. Murray	25	" 1732	Virg., Oct. 1738	Theophilus Pugh	15	Barbad.	"
" 12	*Palmtree*	Will'm Rice	100	Bristol, 1737	Brist., Nov. 21, 1737	Jas. Laroche	120	Bonny	York River
" 13	*Mary Anne*	John Cutter	80	Plant., 1738	Boston, Apr. 1739	John Boutin	70	Affrica	Hampton
" 24	*Gambia Merchant*	Eger't Cutter	90	Brit., 1729	Liv., Mar. 4, 1739	Thom. Seele and Co.	139	Gambia	Rappahannock
" 29	*William*	Wm. Conner	25	Virg., 1740	Virg., May 1740	Wm. Crawford	7	Jamaica	Hampton
Oct. 10	*Anne*	Oliv'r Leycroft	30	Plant., 1730	St. Chr., Feb 1738	Richd. Rowland	2	St. Christoph.	"
" 13	*Lucy*	Thos. Goodman	40	Virgin., 1739	W'msburg, Apr. 1739	Benj. Harrison of Virg.	3	Jamaica	Upper James
" 17	*Adventure*	Alex. Bayne	35	" "	Virg., Dec. 1739	Saml. Smith	6	"	Hampton
Nov. 20 [1741][24]	*Speedwell*	Nehem'h Duncome	18	N. Providence, 1740	N. Prov., June 1740	Benj. Bullock of N. Prov.	2	N. Prov.	James River
Apr. 13	*Endeavour*	Jam's Hawkins	30	Plant., 1733	Boston, Apr. 1733	Jabez Sweet	2	St. Christoph'r	Hampton

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" 17	*Anne*	Wilson Newton	35	Virg., 1740	Virg., June 1740	Thom. Webley	3	" "	"
" 24	*Anne*	Joel Hutchinson	30	" 1738	Virg., Feb. 1738	James Ivy	2	Nevis	"
" 28	*Eleanor*	Jno. Thompson	30	Plant., 1737	Virg., Sept. 1740	John Thompson	10	Antigua	"
May 2	*Shear Water*	John Bradick	45	" 1739	N. Lond., Feb. 1739	Patrick Robinson	1	N. London	"
" 11	*Catherine*	Alex. Murray	25	Virg., 1732	Virg., Oct. 1738	Alex. Murray	2	Barbad.	"
" 14	*Griffin*	Joshua Dixon	40	Brit., 1740	W'haven, Jan. 20, 1738	Edw. Tubman and Co.	12	"	Rappahannock
June 3	*Roy'l Ranger*	Soloman Frith	45	Berm., 1740	Berm., Nov. 1740	Nath. Bascome	3	"	Hampton
" "	*Friendly Society*	Fr. Dickinson	80	" "	Berm., Nov. 1740	Thom. Tucker	26	"	"
" 26	*Joseph*	John Ingham	40	Plant., 1740	Berm., Nov. 1740	John Butterfield	1	Bermuda	"
" 30	*Nancy*	Jno. Malcome	70	Bristol, 1729	Bristol, Feb. 1729	Sam. Jacob and Co., Bristol	182	Affrica	Upper James
July 6	*Martha and Susanna*	Thom. Greatbeach	26	Plant., 1739	Berm., Mar. 1740	Hubbard Outerbridge	15	Antigua	Hampton
" 7	*Pugh*	Christoph.Gardner	25	" 1737	Virg., Dec. 1737	Theo. Pugh	3	"	"
" 9	*Seaflower*	John Edwards	50	Philadelphia, 1734	Bristol, Aug. 13, 1740	James Laroche	169	Africa	York River
" 10	*Cape Coast*	Wm. Smith	60	Boston, 1733	Liverpool, May 27, 1737	Foster Cunliffe	130	"	South Potomack
" 11	*Jane and Elizabeth*	Thos. Seward	35	Plant., 1738	Barb., May 1741	Codrington Carrington	2	Barb.	Hampton
" 27	*Polly*	Joseph Ivy	35	" "	Virg., Feb. 1738	James Ivy	18	St. Christoph.	"
Aug. 1	*Grand Master*	Thos. Hall	30	" 1734	St. Christ., Feb. 1740	James Varchild	10	" "	"
" 3	*Endeavour*	John Cooke	35	" 1737	Berm., Oct. 1737	John Pitt	18	Barbad.	"
" 17	*St. Michael*	Henr. Miller	50	" 1738	Virg., Apr. 1738	Joel Hutchinson	7	"	"
Sept. 1	*Oliver*	James Payne	140	" 1735	London, June 1739	John Douglas	10	Antigua	"

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Sept. 2	*Dragon*	Constant. Hughs	15	Plant., 1738	Philad., Mar. 1738	Will. Grant	1	Philad.	Hampton
" 3	*Susanna*	Mason Miller	30	" 1740	W'msburgh, Feb. 27, 1740	Thom. Plummer and Co.	3	Barbadoes	Rappahannock
" 22	*Fanny*	Henr. Darrell	30	Bermud., 1741	Berm., Sept. 1741	Henr. Darrell and Co. of Berm.	1	Berm.	Upper James
" 30	*Molly*[35]	George Perry	70	N. Engl., 1737	Bristol, Feb. 1737	Jno. Crosse and Co., Brist.	206	Africa	" "
Oct. 16	*Jno. and Mary*	Richd. Tillidge	65	Virginia, 1736	Virg., Jan. 11, 1736	John Perrin	27	Barbadoes	York River
" 17	*Saunders*	Jonathan Calvert	40	Plant., 1739	Virg., Mar. 1740	Corn. Calvert	1	"	Lower James (Hampton)
" 20	*Sarah and Hannah*	Thos. Friend	35	Virg., 1741	W'msburg, Apr. 1741	Benj. Harrison of V.	10	Antigua	Upper James
" 20	*Industry*	Reo'd Malbone	70	Plant., 1740	Virg., Oct. 1740	John Hutchings	41[36]	Barbad.	Hampton
" 24	*Mary*	Sam. Smith	30	" 1738	Berm., Mar. 1739	Israel Brownlow	3	Bermuda	"
" "	*Joseph*	Will. Pitt	40	" 1740	Berm., Nov. 1740	John Butterfield	1	"	"
" 28	*Sarah and Elizabeth*	Wm. Wainwright	15	Bermuda, 1740	Berm., Oct. 8, 1740	Joseph Stowe	1	"	York River
Nov. 3	*Elizabeth*	Will. Higgs	30	Plant., 1739	Berm., Nov. 1739	Will. Higgs	2	"	Hampton
" 10	*Margt. and Mary*	John Millet	20	" 1741	Philad., Nov. 1741	Isaac Whitlock	1	Philad.	"
" 19	*Mary*	John Thibon	25	" 1739	Antigua, Oct. 1741	Will. King	2	Antigua	"

[35] "Williamsburg, Octo. 2 . . . This Week arriv'd in James River, the Snow *Molly* of Bristol, from Africa, with near 200 Slaves, consign'd to Col. John Allen, and Major Theophilus Pugh." *Boston News Letter*, Nov. 5, 1741.

[36] Given in another list as 33.

" 24	*Diamont*	John Sears	35	"	"	Berm., May 1739	Fra's Jones	1	Bermuda	"
" 28	*Anne*	Chas. Griffin	30	"	1738	Virg., Feb. 1738	James Ivy	2	"	"
Dec. 3	*Pugh*	Adam Dixon	25	"	1737	Virg., Dec. 1737	Theo. Pugh	1	Barbad.	"
" 4	*Elizabeth*	Will. Godfrey	50	"	1740	Berm., Oct. 1740	Fra's Jones	4	Bermuda	"
" "	*Elizabeth*	Wm. Godfrey	50	"	"	Berm., Oct. 1740	Francis Jones and Co.	2	Hampton	Rappahannock
" 14	*Anne and Mary*	John Irwin	60	"	1734	Virg., Mar. 1740	David Meade	10	Barbad.	Hampton
" 16	*Delight*	Jeremiah Wells	20	Berm.,	1741	Berm., Nov. 1741	Thom. Gilbert and Co., Bermuda	1	Berm.	Upper James
" 28	*Endeavour*	Will. Morrice	35	Plant'r,	1737	Berm., Oct. 1737	Soloman Joell	1	Barbad.	Hampton
" 29	*Robert and John*	Benj. Boswell	40	"	1728	Virg., Sept. 1738	Robt. Cooke	2	"	"
" 30	*Molly*	Joseph Darrel	45	"	1739	Berm., Oct. 1739	Joseph Darrel	1	Berm.	"
" "	*Industry*	Joseph Dill	40	"	1740	Berm., Sept. 1740	Solom. Joel	1	"	"
[1742][37] Jan. 4	*Industry*	Joseph Dill	40	Bermuda,	1740	Berm., Sept. 27, 1740	William Morris	1	Hampton	York River
" 21	*Two Brothers*	Daniel Collins	40	Plant.,	1736	Boston, Nov. 1740	Edw. Sheaff	1	Boston	Hampton
Mar. 9	*Pugh*	Adam Dixon	25	"	1737	Virg., Dec. 1737	Theoph. Pugh	6	Barbad.	"
" 25	*Two Sisters*	Chas. Sinnot	50	"	1741	Virg., Dec. 1741	Andrew Mead	34	"	"
" "	" "	Sam. Conyars	50	"	"	Virg., Dec. 1741	David Meade	34	"	"
Apr. 2	*Nonpareil*	John Watkins	70	"	"	Berm., Feb. 1741	Henr. Tucker	1	Bermuda	"
" 3	*Dragon*	Phil. Stevens	15	"	1738	Philad., Oct. 1741	Cont. Hughes	1	Philadelph.	"
May 12	*Sea Horse*	John Williams	50	"	1740	Boston, May 1740	Josiah Quinny and Co.	5	St. Christoph.	"

[37] C. O. 5: 1444, 1446.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
May 17	*Industry*	Reo'd Malborn	70	Plant., 1740	Virg., Oct. 1740	John Hutchings	1	Barbados	Hampton
" 20	*Mary*	John Thibon	25	N. Eng., 1739	Antigua, Oct. 1741	Will. King of Va. and Co.	3	Antigua	"
June 1	*Betty*	Isaac Revel	100	Virg., 1737	Virg., Oct. 1741	Spalding and Liderdale	6	Barbad.	"
" 7	*Anne and Mary*	John Irwin	60	N. Eng., 1734	Virg., Mar. 1740	Andr. and David Meade	6	St. Christop.	"
" 9	*Robert and John*	Benj. Boswell	40	Virg., 1738	Virg., Sep. 1738	Robt. Cooke of Virg.	1	Barbad.	"
July 6	*Amoretta*	John Crode	85	New England, 1726	Bristol, Dec. 4, 1739	Isaac Hobhouse	195	Africa	York River
" 13	*James*, Gally	Halden Young	140	London, 1720	London, Sept. 26, 1741	James Pearse	450	"	" "
" 19	*Vernon*	Henry Forrest	50	New England, 1739	Bristol, Oct. 15, 1741	Isaac Hobhouse	140	"	" "
" 24	*Sheppard*	Manr. Power	120	Brit., 1727	Brist., Sept. 23, 1741	James Day and Co.	320	Bristol	Rappahannock
" 28	*Sarah and Hannah*	Thos. Friend	35	Virg., 1741	W'msburg, Apr. 1741	Benj. Harrison of Virg.	1 woman	Barbad.	Upper James
" 29	*Vernon*	John Brown	96	Boston, 1741	Boston, Oct. 1741	Andr. Buchanan and Co., Glasg.	17	"	Hampton
Aug. 4	*Clyde*	John McCunn	70	New Engl., 1735	Greenock, Oct. 1737	John Wadross and Co., Glasg.	2	Antigua	"
" 5	*Vernon*	Jno. Brown					17 Negro Women	Lower Dist.	Upper James
" 9	*Breda*	Will. Young	40	Berm., 1736	Berm., Dec. 1736	Jerem. Birch of Birmingham	1	Bermuda	Hampton
" 12	*Clyde*	Jno. McCun	70	N. Engl., 1735	Greenock, Oct. 1737	Jno. Anderson and Co. of Greenock	2	Lower Dist.	Upper James

" 14	*Guy*	John Shurwin	80	Virg., 1742	Virg., Apr. 1742	John Hutchings of V.	3	Barbad.	Hampton
Sept. 6	*Molly*	Josh. Baker	35	N. Eng., 1741	Virg., May 1742	Alex. Hamilton of Virg.	14	"	"
" 7	*George*	Edward Lovey	100	Bristol, 1737	Brist., July 2, 1737	Samuel Jacob	310	Africa	York
" 15	*George*	Edw. Lovey	100	" "	Bristol, July 1737	Sam. Jacob of Brist.	282	York River	Upper James
Oct. 16	*Kitty and Nora*	Wm. Robertson	100	N. Engl., 1737	W'msburg, Aug. 1738	Jno. Lidderdale and Co., Virg.	3	Barbad.	" "
" 22	*Mary*	John Thibon	25	" 1739	Antigua, Oct. 1741	James Thibon of Antigua and Co.	2	Antigua	Hampton
Nov. 8	*Deborah*	Adam Montgomery	15	" 1742	Boston, Sept. 1742	Adam Montgomery	1	Rhode Island	"
" 29	*Nonpariel*	Danl. Gilbert	70	Berm., 1741	Berm., Feb. 1741	Henry Tucker and Co. of Berm.	1	Berm.	"
" 30	*Friendship*	Henr. Jennings	20	" 1742	Berm., May 1742	Henr. Jennings and Co. of Berm.	1	"	"
Dec. 4	*Charming Molly*	Nath. Butterfield	50	Plant., 1741	Berm., Dec. 1741	Nath. Butterfield and Co. of Berm.	1	"	"
" 10	*Elizabeth*	Benj. Gilbert	50	Berm., 1740	Berm., Oct. 1740	Robt. Robertson of Berm'a	1	"	"
" 20	*Molly*	Joseph Darrell	45	" 1739	Berm., Oct. 1739	John Harvey and Co. of Berm.	1	"	"
" 21	*Endeavour*	James Stitson	24	N. Hamps., 1724	N. Hamp., Dec. 1736	Ric. Salter of N. Hampsh.	1	Boston	"
" 23	*Endeavour*	" "	"	N. Engl., 1734	N. Hamp., Dec. 1736	Ric. Salter of N. Castle	1	Lower District	Upper James
" 23	*Esther*	Robt. Savage	50	Berm., 1742	Berm., Dec. 1742	Thos. Parsons and Co., Berm.	2	" "	"
" 28	*Robert*	Tho. Wood	15	Plant., 1742	Berm., Dec. 1742	James Congers and Co. of Virg.	5	Berm.	Hampton
[1743] Mar. 3	*Speedwell*	John Miers	15	Philad., 1737	Philad., Aug. 1739	Chas. Dingee of Philad.	1	Philad.	"

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Mar. 10	*Royall Rangers*	Wm. Appleby	40	N. Providence, 1732	Berm., June 1742	Wm. and Mary Burrass	2	Bermud	Hampton
May 7	*Industry*	James Godfrey	70	Virg., 1740	Virg., Oct. 1740	John Hutchings of Virga	6	Barbad.	"
" 18	*Sea Flower*	Danl. Freeman	35	N. Engl., 1738	Boston, July 1738	Benj. Curtis and Co.	1	Boston	
" 23	*John and William*	John Gass	15	Philad., 1742	Philad., Nov. 1742	John Gass and Co., Philad.	1	Philad.	"
" "	*Sanders*	Jona. Calvert	50	Virg., 1742	Virg., Mar. 1742	Corn. Calvert of Virg.	3	Barbad.	"
" "	*Broomfield*	Joseph Sharp	55	Foreign built and Condemned May 8, 1742		John Crosse	164	Africa	York River
" "	*Kitty and Nora*	Wm. Robertson	100	N. Engl., 1737	W'msburg, Aug. 1738	Jno. Lidderdale and Co. of V.	3	Antigua	Upper James
" "	*Nancy*	Jno. Malcolme	70	Bristol, 1729	Bristol, Feb. 1729	Sam. Jacob and Co.	213	Guinea	" "
June 11	*Henrys*, Gally	Joseph Tuttle	120	" 1716	Brist., Aug. 2, 1737	Henr. Dampier	298	Africa	York River
" 13	*Goldfinch*	Walter Spurrier	100	" 1718	Brist., Sept. 18, 1740	James Day	200	"	" "
" "	*Williamsburg*	John Tate	100	" 1735	Brist., Oct. 2, 1738	John King	300	"	" "
" "	*Griffin*	Jas. Dixon	40	Brit., 1727	W'haven, Jan. 20, 1738	Joshua Dixon and Co.	4	Barbadoes	Rappahannock
" 23	*Williamsburg*	John Tate	100	Bristol, 1735	Brist., Oct. 1738	John King and Co., Brist.	150	York River	Upper James
" 27	*Phoenix*	Richd. Baker	80	Virginia, 1741	Virginia, Apr. 1741	Robt. Tucker of Virg.	2	Barbad.	Hampton
" "	*Sarah and Hannah*	Anth. Allen	35	" 1741	Virginia, May 1743	James Murray and Co. of Barbad.	2	"	"
July 18	*Windsor Castle*	Thos. Bell	25	N. England, 1742	Berm., Mar. 1743	John Pigot of Berm.	2	Berm.	"

" 20	*Industry*	James Godfrey	70	Virg., 1740	Virg., Oct. 1740	John Hutchings of Virg.	10	Barbad.	"
" 25	*Molly*	Joshua Baker	35	N. Engl., 1741	Virg., May 1742	Alex. Hamilton of Virg.	7	"	"
" 30	*Little Betty*	Richd. Gilbert	20	Virginia, 1736	Antigua, July 2, 1743	Thom. Kenyon	13	Antigua	York River
Aug. 8	*Content*	Will. Moody	40	" 1735	St. Christph., Mar. 1742	Chas. Day and Co. of St. Christ.	6	St. Christoph.	Hampton
" 13	*Young David*	Thom. Webster	40	Connecticut, 1741	Barbadoes, July 11, 1743	David Minuite	13	Barbadoes	York River
" 22	*William*	Chas. Griffin	25	Virg., 1740	Virg., May 1740	Wright Westcott	2	Berm.	Hampton
" 29	*Sanders*	Jona Calvert	50	" 1742	Virg., Mar. 1742	Corn. Calvert of Virg.	3	Barbad.	"
Sept. 1	*Sparrow*	John Prentis	50	Connecticut, 1739	Barbad., Nov. 1742	Thom. Walcott and Co.	2	"	"
" 7	*Vernon*	Henry Forrest	60	New England, 1739	Bristol, Oct. 15, 1741	Isaac Hobhouse	145	Africa	York River
" 24	*Elizabeth*	Rich. Ross	20	Berm., 1739	Tortola, Aug. 1742	John Bradford of Spa. Tn.	6	Spanish Town	Hampton
Oct. 6	*Cape May*	Richd. Smith	20	N. Jersey, 1743	Burlington, Sept. 1743	Ric. Smith and Co. of Cape May	1	Philadelph.	"
" 11	*Industry*	Reo'd Malbone	70	Virg., 1740	Virg., Oct. 1740	John Hutchings of Virg.	2	Barbad.	"
" 29	*Betty*	Will. Soper	100	" 1737	Virg., Oct. 1741	John Lidderdale of Virg.	1	"	"
Nov. 25	*Speedwell*	Sam. Curle	10	Philad., 1740	Phil., Sept. 1742	John Blakley of Phil.	2	Philad.	
Dec. 5	*Diamond*	Rich. Somersall	30	Berm., 1743	Berm., May 1743	Henr. Corbusier of Berm.	3	St. Christoph.	
" 9	*Joseph*	Will. Wainwright	40	" 1740	Berm., Nov. 1740	John Butterfield of Berm.	1	Berm.	Hampton
" 15	*Sarah*	John Hayles	45	New England, 1740	Virginia, June 29, 1741	John Harmer	2	Barbadoes	York River
" 22	*Industry*	Joseph Dill	40	Berm., 1740	Berm., Sept. 1740	John Argent and Co.	2	"	Hampton

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
[1744]									
Jan. 27	*James*	Thom. Mollynex	50	British, 1718	Liverpool, Dec. 1740	James Clinton	2	Barbadoes	Hampton
Feb. 25	*Endeavour*	John Gibb	25	N. Engl., 1740	Rhode Is., Sept. 1742	Nathan Nathans and Co.	3	Rhode Is.	"
Apr. 23	*Nansem'd* [?] Fregat	David Meredith	30	" 1737	Virg., Apr. 1742	Theo's Pugh of Virgin.	1	Barbad.	"
May 3	*Industry*	Reo'd Malbone	70	Virg., 1740	Virg., Oct. 1740	John Hutchings of Virg.	10	"	"
" 14	*Joseph*	Will'm Wainwright	40	Berm., 1740	Berm., Nov. 1740	John Butterfield	8	Antigua	"
" 16	*Fredericksburgh*	Jas. Monkhause	10	Plant., 1743	W'msburgh, July 8, 1743	Wm. Gale	6	Barbadoes	Rappahannock
" 21	*Peggy*	John Brett	60	Virg., 1743	Virg., Jan. 1743	Arch'd Taylor and Co. of Virg.	9	"	Hampton
" 29	*Barbados* Packet	Will'm Morris	100	" "	Barb., Mar. 1743	Barsell and Newton of Barb.	2	Antigua	"
June 4	*Amoretta*	Isaac Revel	85	N. Engl., 1726	Bristol, Dec. 1739	Joseph Iles and Co. of Brist.	165	Guinea via Barbad.	Upper James
July 2	*Molly*	Joshua Baker	35	" 1741	Virginia, May 1742	Alex. Hamilton of Virg.	5	Barbad.	Hampton
" 9	*Nonparrell*	Nath. Payne	20	Berm., 1739	Span. Town, June 1744	Chas. White of Spa. Town	14	Span. Tn.	"
" 11	*Bold Defiance*	Robert Nicholls	35	N. Engl., 1743	Boston, Sept. 1743	John Johnson of St. Chris.	72	St. Christoph.	"
Aug. 1	*Industry*	Reo'd Malbone	70	Virg., 1740	Virg., Oct. 1740	John Hutchings of Virg.	1	Barbad.	"
" 3	*Anne*	John Cooke	70	" 1742	Jamaica, Jan. 1742	John Cooke	2	Jamaica	"
" 10	*Peggy*	John Brett	60	" 1743	Virg., Jan. 1743	Arch. Taylor of V.	16	Barb.	"
" 11	*Cambridge*	Geo. Newton	64	" "	Virg., Mar. 1743	John Yaxley of V.	3	St. Christoph.	"

" 20	*Nesbitt*	Philip Hall	50	N. Engl., 1741	Antigua, Sept. 1743	John Chalmers of Antigua	4	Antigua	"
" 21	*Nansem'd* Frigot	David Meredith	30	" 1737	Virg., Apr. 1742	Theo. Pugh of Virg.	1	Barb.	"
" 24	*Sea Flower*	Robt. McKenny	30	Berm., 1743	Berm., June 1743	Thom. Hunt and Co. of Berm.	1	Montserrat	"
Sept. 5	*Two Brothers*	William Orchard	60	N. Engl., 1732	London, Mar. 1742	Will. Orchard and Co. of Lond.	15	Barbadoes	"
" 12	*Molly*	Thom. Crary	25	Condemned a prize at Antigua, Oct. 1743		Ralph Sampson	2	Antigua	York River
" 25	*Thomas*	David Wilson	50	Brit., 1735	Liv., June 16, 1741	Thos. Seel and Co.	114	Gambia	Rappahannock
" 29	*Bobby*	Paul Loyall	75	Virg., 1744	Virg., Apr. 1744	Robt. Tucker of V.	1	Barbad.	Hampton
Oct. 8	*Sheppard*	John Brown	120	Bristol, 1727	Bristol, Sept. 23, 1741	Abel Grant	207	Africa	York River
" 25	*Honest Industry*	Saml. Landon	15	N. York, 1742	Philad., Oct. 1744	Sam. Hazard of Philad.	2	Philadelph.	Hampton
Nov. 1	*May Flower*	Solom. Eden	20	Virg., 1743	Virg., Oct. 1743	John Hutchings of Va.	3	Bermuda	"
" 30	*Deborah*	Saml. Brown	35	Berm., "	Berm., Oct. 1743	Nath. Bascombe and Co. of V.	1	"	"
Dec. 24	*Peggy*	John Brett	60	Virg., "	Virg., Jan. 1743	Arch. Taylor and Co., Virg.	1	St. Eustatia	"
" "	*Esther*	Robt. Savage	50	Berm., 1742	Berm., Dec. 1742	Thom. Parsons and Co. of Berm.	1	Bermuda	"
[1745][28] Feb. 27	*Endeavour*	John Dickenson	40	" 1743	Berm., Aug. 1743	Fra's Jones and Co., Berm.	50	St. Christoph.	"
Apr. 15	*Peggy*	Wm. Robertson	60	Virg., 1743	Virg., Jan. 1743	Arch. Taylor and Co. of V.	3	Barbadoes	"
May 9	*May Flower*	Solo'm Eden	20	" "	Virg., Oct. 1743	John Hutchings of V.	2	"	"
" 17	*Polly*	Joseph Ivy	40	" 1744	Virg., May 1744	James and Jos. Ivy of V.	2	Antigua	"

[28] C. O. 5: 1444, 1445.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
May 25	*Bobby*	Paul Loyall	75	Virg., 1744	Virg., Apr. 1744	Robt. Tucker of V.	1	Barbad.	Hampton
June 11	*Fanny*	Max'm Calvert	70	" 1743	Virg., Feb. 1742	John Blackbourne and Co.	2	St. Christoph.	"
July 23	*Peggy*	Wm. Robertson	60	" 1743	Virg., Apr. 1745	Arch. Taylor and Co. of Virg.	30	Barbad.	"
" 25	*Elizabeth*	John Gibbs	40	Berm., 1744	Berm., Jan. 1744	Robt. Brown and Co. of Berm.	2	Berm.	"
Aug. 6	*Broomfield*	Joseph Sharp	55	Prize cond. at	Bristol, May 18, 1742	Walter King	187	Africa	York River
" 8	*Race Horse*	James Hawkins	30	Virg., 1742	Antigua, Feb. 1744	Andr. and Wm. Lislie of Ant.	5	Antigua	Hampton
" 16	*Orphan* of Tehoa	John Evarard	50	N. Engl., 1744	N. Hampsh., May 1744	John and Saml. Wintworth, N. Hamps.	12	Barbad.	"
" 24	*Ranger*	Ths. Elsworthy	50	" " 1740	Bristol, July 19, 1744	John Thompson	185	Africa	York River
" 29	*Mercury*	Will. Bacon	100	Brit., 1744	Liv., Dec. 3, 1744	Thom. Backhouse and Co.	140	Gambia	Rappahannock
Sept. 2	*Bobby*	Paul Loyall	75	Virg., "	Virg., Apr. 1744	Robt. Tucker of Virg.	3	Barbad.	Hampton
" 5	*Betsy*	Pat'k Lynch	15	Berm., 1742	Barb., Nov. 1743	Dominick Lynch of Barb.	19	"	"
Dec. 4	*Bobby*	Paul Loyall	75	Virg., 1744	Virg., Apr. 1744	Robt. Tucker of Virg.	11	"	"
[1746] Feb. 11	*Betty*	Wm. Moseley	40	" 1744	Virg., Apr. 1744	Sam Boush and John Tucker of V.	16	"	"
Apr. 1	*Peggy*	Will'm Robertson	60	" 1743	Virg., Apr. 1743	Arch'd Taylor and Co. of Va.	36	"	"

" 17	*Bobby*	Paul Loyall	75	" 1744	Virg., Apr. 1744	Robert Tucker	15	"	"
May 5	*Mercury*	John Goutskill	90	Plant., 1745	W'msburg, Apr. 24, 1745	Champ. and Co.	53	"	Rappahannock
" 8	*Betty*	Lem'l Willoughby	40	Virg., 1745	W'msburg, Nov. 1745	John Hood of V.	5	"	"
" 19	*Industry*	Trim'r Tatem	70	" 1740	W'msburg, Oct. 1740	John Hutchings of V.	55	"	"
June 9	*Peggy*	Corn. Calvert	60	" 1743	W'msburg, Apr. 1745	Arch. Taylor of Virg.	11	"	"
" 25	*Elizabeth*	Owen Loyd	60	N. Engl., 1743	St. Christp., Oct. 1745	Owen Loyd and Co. of St. Chr.	24	St. Christoph.	Hampton
" 27	*Cunliffe*	Jno. Johnson	220	Virginia, 1742	Liverpl., Aug. 15, 1743	Foster Cunliffe of Liverpool	90	Barbadoes	York River
July 3	*Betty*	Will. Moseley	40	" 1744	Virg., Apr. 1744	Will. Ivy and Co. of V.	13	"	Hampton
" 25	*Bobby*	Paul Loyall	75	" "	Virg., Apr. 1744	Robt. Tucker of Virg.	11	"	"
" "	*Jolly Batchellor*	Jas. Newbold	40	Berm., 1744	Berm., Apr. 1745	Henr. Corbusier of Berm.	3	"	"
Aug. 2	*Gildart*	Richard Holme	90	Planta., 1731	Maryland, Dec. 31, 1731	Richd. Gildart and Co.	200	York	Rappahannock
" 6	*Joseph*	Will. Cox	40	" 1740	Maryland, Nov. 1740	John Butterfield of Berm.	1	Antigua	"
" 10	*Eltham*	James Pool	30	Virginia	Willms Burg, Mar. 24, 1739	Charles Seabrook	99	York River	Accomack
" 16	*Industry*	Trim'n Tatem	70	" 1740	Barb., July 1746	John Hutchings of V.	3	Barbad.	Hampton
" 21	*Gildart*	Ric. Holme	140	Maryland, 1731	Maryd., Dec. 17, 1731	Ric. Gildart, Liverpool	250	Gambia	York River
" 22	*Ann*						1	Turks Island	Hampton
" 27	*Peggy*	Corn. Calvert	60	" 1743	Virg., Apr. 1745	Arch. Taylor of Va.	1	Barbad.	"
" 28	*Two Brothers*	Will'm Jones	90	Boston, 1744	Boston, Dec. 24, 1744	Wm. Wancey, Brist.	254	Bonny	York River
Sept. 16	*Planter*	Thos. Foulks	70	Maryland, 1740	Liverp., Nov. 17, 1741	Ric. Gildart, Liverp.	226	Africa	" "

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
Sept. 17	*John and Elizabeth*	Nath. Adams	30	Prize	Boston, Jan. 1745	Henr. Barnes of Boston	2	Antigua	Hampton
" 20	*Johnny*	Will. Loyall	140	Virg., 1746	Virg., Apr. 1746	Robt. Tucker and Co. of Virg.	8	Barbad.	"
[1747][39] Feb. 27	*Rawleigh*	Edw. Bishop	180	" 1746	Virg., Dec. 1746	John Hutchings of V.	20	"	"
Mar. 21	*Delights Exchange*	Henr. Todd	40	Berm., 1745	Berm., Dec. 1745	Solo'n Joel of Berm.	2	Anguilla	"
[1749][40] Apr. 10	*Bobby*	John Loyall	75	Virg., 1744	Virg., Apr. 1744	Robt. Tucker of V.	6	Jamaica	"
" 14	*Industry*	Matth. Miller	60	" 1746	Virg., Nov. 1746	John Hutchings	6	Barbad.	"
" 19	*Batcheler*	Henr. Hodge	38	N. Engl., 1746	Anguilla, Apr. 1749	Alex. Wilson of Anguilla	1	Anguilla	"
May 2	*St. Andrew*	Wm. McLincock	70	Virg., 1748	Virg., Apr. 1748	Andr. Sprowle of Virg.	31	Antigua	"
" 5	*Salley*	Parteen Haire	40	" "	Virg., Aug. 1748	Robt. Tucker of Virg.	3	Barbad.	"
" 15	*Fanny*	James Haire	60	" 1747	Virg., Sept. 1747	Wilson Newton and Co. of V.	8	"	"
" 23	*Ann*	Mason Miller	196	" 1748	Virg., Jan. 1748	Goodrich Bush and Co. of V.	18	"	"
" "	*William*	Jno. Simmons	100	New England, 1734	Liverp., May 31, 1745	Robt. Hallhead	350	Africa	York River
June 26	*Susanna*	Edw. Tryer	40	New England, 1742	N. Eng., Nov. 19, 1742	Saml. Willis, Barbadoes	200	Barbadoes	" "
" 29	*Harry*	Chas. Tucker	75	Virg., 1746	Virg., Feb. 1748	Chas. Tucker of V.	155	"	Hampton

[39] C. O. 5: 1446.
[40] C. O. 5: 1444, 1446,

July 3	"	" "	"	" "	Wmsburg, Feb. 1746	Chas. Tucker and Co. of Va.	150	Lower District	Upper James
" 19	"	" "	"	" "	Wmsburg, Feb. 1746	Chas. Tucker and Co. of Va.	40	" "	" "
" 7	*John and Mary*	Ant'n Allan	100	" "	Wmsburg, Oct. 21, 1746	John Perrin, Va.	16	Barbadoes	York River
" "	*Industry*	Matth. Miller	60	" "	Virg., Nov. 1746	John Hutchings	1	"	Hampton
Aug. 2	*Eliz. and Mary*	Benj. Minors	50	Berm., 1745	Berm., Apr. 1749	Fran. Guichard and Co., St. Kitts	1	St Kitts	"
" 9	*Levant*	Wm. Miller	200	Bristol, 1740	Brist., Jan. 22, 1740	James Laroche, Brist.	252	Africa	York River
" 14	*Amoretta*	Sam. Timberman	50	N. Engl., 1734	Brist., Oct. 1748	Joseph Ives and Co. of Brist.	185	Brist'l via Africa	Upper James
" 18	*Providence*	Thom. Langley	60	Virg., 1748	Virg., Apr. 1748	Andr. Sprowl of V.	3	Barbad.	Hampton
" 30	*Southwell*	Jno. Brackenridge	300	Spa. Prize	Brist., Nov. 1748	Nich. Becker and Co.	284	Brist. via Africa	Upper James " "
Sept. 13	*Williamsburg*	John Tate	100	Brist., 1735	Brist., Oct. 1748	John King and Co. of Brist.	335	Bristol via Africa	Hampton
" 21	*Tryall*	Abram Saunders	90	Thames, 1724	Brist., Sept. 1744	Phil. Prothero [41] and Co. of Brist.	356	Bristol via Africa	" "
Oct. 11	*Ann*	Mason Miller	96	Virg., 1748	Virg., Jan. 1748	Goodrich Bush and Co., Virg.	3	Barbados	Hampton
[1750] [42] Mar. 17	*Scarbrough*	Benj. Tucker	50	French Prize	Mountserat, Feb. 1749	Kennedy Mulkor and Co.	1	Mountserat	"
May 1	*Kingston*	Anthony Allan	80	Virginia, 1748	Virg., Apr. 4, 1748	John Perrin, Virg.	1	Barbadoes	York River

[41] John King was mayor of Bristol in 1732; a Philip Protheroe served on the Bristol committee opposed to the abolition of the slave trade in 1787. Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*, pp. 535, 477.

[42] C. O. 5: 1444, 1445. In "A Computation of Negroes required for the use of the American Plantations", of 1750, occurs the following: "As no Gold Coast Slaves are required for North America, we distinguish the following Seperately:

Virginia and Maryland	for 14 Years past even Including the Refus'd Negroes sent there from Barbadoes have not annually amounted to	300. "

C. O. 388: 45, B. T. Commercial, ser. I., b. 7.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
May 17	*Beckey*	Rich. Baker	160	French Prize	London, Dec. 1749	Robt. Dinwiddie and Co.	2	St. Kitts	Upper James
June 7	*Olive*	John West	45	Maryland, 1749	Maryland, Jan. 31, 1749	Richd. Jackson and Co.	50	Barbados	South Potomac
July 7	*Charming Betty*	Jno. Skinner	130	Virg., 1747	W'msburg, July 1747	James Laroch and Co.	280	Bristol via Africa	Upper James
" 16	*Betty*	Sam. Willoughby	75	" 1746	Barb., Mar. 1749	Sam. Bedford and Co., Barbados	19	Barbad.	Hampton
" 20	*Joanna*	Corn. Calvert	145	" 1748	Virg., Mar. 1748	Robt. Tucker of Virg.	48	"	"
" 24	*John and Martha*	Wm. Clutsam	140	French Prize	Bristol, Oct. 1746	Jas. Williams of Brist.	17	Mountserrat	"
" 30	*Antigua* Packet	Dav'd Young	50	N. Engl., 1748	N. Engl., Mar. 1749	Geo. Walker and Co., Antigua	8	Antigua	"
" 30	*Johnson*	John Orr	200	Maryl'd, 1747	Maryl'd, Oct. 1747	Ric. Oswald and Co., Lond.	16	"	"
Aug. 2	*Success*	Jerm'h Cranston	40	New England, 1746	Virginia, Nov. 30, 1749	John Dalton and Co.	25	York	South Potomack
" 4	*Africa*	Alex'r Miller	90	N. Eng., 1742	Bristol, Oct. 1749	Joseph Ives and Co.	280	Bristol via Africa	Upper James
" 15	*Hope*	Jno. Clayton	60	Bristol, 1747	Bristol, Dec. 1749	John Harmer and Co.	153	Bristol via Africa	" "
[1751][42] Mar. 19	*Joseph*	Henry Jones	25	Phil., 1749	Phil., Dec. 1749	Jas. Jones, Phil'da.	31[44]	St. Kitts	Hampton
Apr. 12	*James Town*	John Mallory	40	Virgin., 1750	Virg., Nov. 1750	Edw. Champion, Travis and Co., Virg.	2	Barbad.	"
" 16	*Relief*	John Bayne	25	Berm., 1742	Virg., May 1750	Goodrich Bouch and John Cooke, Virg.	1	"	"

[42] C. O. 5: 1444, 1445, 1446.
[44] These are marked, "Legally Imported".

" "	*Providence*	Thom. Langley	60	Virg., 1748	Virg., Apr. 1750	Andr. Sprowle and Co., Virg.	1	"	"
" 19	*Antigua* Packet	David Young	50	N. Eng., "	N. Eng., Mar. 1749	Thom. Oliver and Co., Antigua	2	Antigua	"
" 22	*Industry*	Math. Miller	150	Virg., 1750	Virg., Oct. 1750	John Hutchings of V.	18	Barbad.	"
" 26	*George*	John Geran	10	Pennsva., 1750	Montseratt, Mar. 1750	George Washington, Montserrat	1	Montserrat	"
May 7	*Success*	Jerem'h Cranston	40	Hanover, 1746	So. Potomack, Nov. 30, 1749	John Dalton and Co.	16	Barbados	"
" 21	*Tryall*[45]	Abraham Saunders	90	Thames, 1724	Bristol, Sept. 24, 1744	Phil. Protheroe, Bristol	390	Africa	York River
" "	*Richard*	Jeremiah Defoy	40	Virg., 1749	Virg., Dec. 1749	Ric. Oswald and Co., London	4	Antigua	Hampton
June 7	*Anne and Susanna*	Mich. Boyes	47	" 1750	Virg., Jan. 1751	Will Robinson and Co. of Virg.	48	Barbad.	"
" 19	*Diamond*	Adam Wilson	40	New Bury, 1748	Nevis, Oct. 1750	Thom. Oglivie and Co., St. Christ.	13	St. Christoph.	"
" 22	*Jubilee*	George Snow	130	N. Engl., 1735	London, Oct. 1749	Robt. Dinwiddie and Co., London	10	Barbad.	"
" 26	*Frances*	Joel Dunn	40	" 1749	Barbad., May 1751	John Tucker of Barbad.	4	"	"
July 5	*Providence*	Saund's Calvert	90	Virg., 1749	Virg., June 1749	Robt. Minnors and Co., Virg.	3	"	"
" 17	*Phoenix*	Sam. Kelly	70	" 1748	Liverpl, Mar. 1750	Sam. Smith of Liverpool	3	"	"
" 30	*Hopewell*	Angus McDonald	36	" 1750	Virginia, Mar. 12, 1750	Wm. Ramsay and Co.	36	"	South Potomack

[45] "Last night arrived in York River the *Tryal*, Capt. Abraham Saunders, from Angola, with near 400 slaves consigned to Messrs. [Philip] Rootes and [Humphrey] Hill. 'Tis said she has buried very few, and that they are all exceedingly healthy" (*Va. Gazette*, May 16, 1751). John Blair also records the arrival of this vessel, though with no amplification. African news apparently interested him, for on Mar. 3, 1751, his diary record is: "Sad news from coast of Africa; a ship burnt, etc., and great mortality am'g the slaves of another." *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.*, VIII. 4.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
July 31	*Williamsburg*	Jno. Tate	100	Bristol, 1735	Brist., Oct. 1738	John King and Co.	295	Africa	Upper James
Aug. 9	*Norfolk*	Robt. Boyd	50	Virg., 1749	Virg., Dec. 1749	Will. Moseley and Co., Va.	1	Antigua	Hampton
" 13	*Caesar*	James Sword	230	" "	Virg., Aug. 1749	John King and Co., Bristol	5	St. Christoph.	"
Sept. 14	*Penelope*	Anthony Galter	180	N. Engl., 1749	Liverpool, Sept. 1750	James Pardoe and Co.	208	Africa	Upper James
" 21	*St. Paul*	Tublay James	80	Perth Amboy, 1742	London, Jan. 1752	Ric. Oswald and Co., London	124	"	Hampton
Oct. 11	*Fanny*	William Whitterong	40	Virginia, 1749	Virg., July 20, 1749	John Thompson, Va.	1	Barbadoes	York River
Dec. 9	*St. George*	Richd. Baker	40	Bermuda, 1751	Berm., May 8, 1751	Ric. Baker, Bermuda	6	St. Christoph'r	" "
[1752][46] Apr. 2	*Lilly*	John Thomas	160	French Prize	Bristol, Nov. 29, 1745	Christophr. Lilly, Bristol	19	"	" "
May 23	*Cumberland*	John Griffin	70	Liverp., 1739	Liv., Mar. 1, 1747	Edw. Deane, Liv.	103	Africa	" "
June 1	*Alice*, Gally	Richd. Jackson	120	N. Engl., 1751	Liverp., Sept. 3, 1751	John Kennion	260	"	" "
" 3	*Africa*	Alex'r Miller	90	" 1742	Bristol, Oct. 1749	Thom. Dean and Co.	260	Bristol via Africa	Upper James
" "	*Susanna*	Robt. Cowie	140	Spanish Prize	Bristol, Mar. 1748	Wm. Gordon and Co.	233	Bristol via Africa	" "
" 22	*Boyne*	Wm. Wilkinson	120	Dublin, 1744	Dublin, Feb. 1, 1748	Thos. Blair, Dublin	203	Africa	York River
" "	*Black Prince*	Wm. Miller	100	London, 1739	Brist., Feb. 19, 1749	Jas. Laroche, Brist.	214	"	" "
July 1	*Molly*	Isaac Wayne	150	Boston, 1750	London, July 9, 1751	Wm. Bowden, London	205	"	" "
" 7	*Phoenix*	Samuel Kelley	70	Virg., 1748	W'msburg, Sept. 1751	Samuel Smith and Co.	11	Lower James	Upper James

[46] C. O. 5: 1444, 1446.

" 9	*Ann* Galley	Alex. Robe	120	Bristol, 1729	Bristol, May 1750	John Lidderdale and Co.	240	Bristol via Africa	" "
" 29	*Hampton*	Edw. Wiltshire	110	N. Engl., 1750	Bristol, Oct. 1751	John King and Co.	273	Bristol via Africa	" "
Aug. 13	*Orrell*	Saml. Lacey	54	Liverp., 1744	Liverp., Aug. 22, 1749	Robt. Hallhead, Liverp.	8	Africa	York River
" 24	*Castleton*	Henr. Tindale	70	Lancaster, 1751	Lanc., Nov. 1751	Will. Butterfield and Co.	70	London via Africa	Upper James
Sept. 2	*Greyhound*	Jno. Davis	120	Boston, 1747	Boston, June 16, 1747	John Jones, Boston	336	Africa	York River
Oct. 5	*St. George*	Chas. Cooke	60	Plant., 1745	Liverp., Sept. 1750	Chas. Cooke and and Co. Liverpool	54	"	Hampton
" 8	*Levant*	James McMurdo	80	N. England, 1742	Brist., Oct. 6, 1750	James Laroche, Bristol	184 reported	"	York River
" 10	*Bonaccord*	Jas. Nisbet	50	Plant'n, 1752	W'msb'g, Mar. 21, 1752	James Gray and Co.	5	Antigua	Rappahannock
" 24	*Tryall*[47]	Joseph Little	90	Thames, 1742	Brist., Sept. 24, 1744	Phil. Protheroe, Brist.	182	Africa	York River
[1753][48] Jan. 13	*Expedition*	John Littledale	60	Plant'n, 1742	W'haven, Nov. 23, 1750	Edw. Tubman and Co.	19	Barbadoes	Rappahannock
" 19	*Hannah*	Jesse White	25	" 1751	R. Isl'd, June 1752	Alex. Bradeford and Co. R. Island	2	Anguilla	Hampton
[1754][49] Mar. 25 to June 24	*Luckey*, Galley	William Joell	40	" 1747	Berm'a, Jan'y 4, 1747	Richard Pitts and Co. Bermuda	3	Providence	"
	Rebecca	David Young	60	" 1753	Virginia, Apr. 24, 1753	Wilson Newton, Virginia	4	Antigua	"

[47] "Just arrived from Africa, the Ship *Tryal,* Joseph Little, Master, with a Cargo of choice healthy Slaves; the Sale of which began at York Town, on Thursday, the 26th Instant, and on Tuesday, the 31st, will begin at West Point, and continue till all are sold. JOHN ROBINSON, HUMPHREY HILL." *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar.,* XIII. 11, from *Va. Gazette,* Oct. 27, 1752.

[48] C. O. 5: 1446.

[49] The dates of arrival of these vessels are hidden by the binding of the volume. All that can be deciphered is the quarter in which they entered.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
	Providence	Arch'd McCall	50	Plant'n, 1752	Virginia, Oct. 23, 1752	Thomas Newton, Virginia	8	Barbados	Hampton
	Fanny	William Haynes	25	" "	Virginia, Dec. 12, 1752	Thomas Walke, Virginia	8	Antigua	"
May 6	*Pride*	Thomas Bedford	50	Connecticut, 1751	Barbadoes, Mar. 26, 1754	Thos. Bedford, Barbadoes	6	Barbados	York River
" "	*Charming Ann*	Richard Baker	80	Bermuda, 1748	Bermuda, Jan. 8, 1748	George Tucker, Bermuda	4	Bermuda	" "
June 24 to Sept. 29	*Nancy*	Richard Wallis	90	Virginia, 1753	Virginia, Oct. 23, 1753	Alexander Watson, Virginia	31	Barbadoes	" "
	Betsey	Will Calvert	60	Planta., 1752	Virga., Oct. 23, 1752	Corn. Calvert, Virginia	6	Montserratt	Hampton
	Rebecca	David Young	60	" 1753	Virga., Apr. 24, 1753	John Elligood and Co., Va.	15	Antigua	"
" 10	*Judith*	Jeffery Power	60	Virginia, 1749	Virga., Dec'r 13, 1749	Thomas Reynolds, Virginia	3	Barbadoes	York River
" 17 Sept. 29 to Dec. 25	*Africa*	Alex. Miller	90	N. Engl'd, 1743	Bristol, Oct. 10, 1749	Thomas Deans and Co.	240	Bristol via Africa	Upper James
	Rose	Wm. Cuthbert	50	British, 1746	Leverp'l, Sept. 6, 1751	David Patterson and Co., Liverpool	40	Barbadoes	Hampton
	Catherine and Mary	Steph'n Righton	35	Plant'n, 1752	Monst., Oct. 7, 1752	John Morson, Montserratt	3	Montserratt	"
	Lucky, Gally	Solomon Joell	40	" 1747	Berm'a, Jan. 4, 1747	Rich'd Pitts and Co., Berma.	2	Turks Island	"
	Industry	Saund's Calvert	40	" 1753	Virg'a, Sept. 25, 1754	Max Calvert, Virginia	2	Barbados	"
[1754-1755][80] Oct. 10 to Jan. 5	*Charming Ann*	Edward Godfrey	25	Bermuda, 1753	Bermuda, Feb. 7, 1754	Edward Godfrey and Co.	4	Bermuda	Upper James

[80] C. O. 5: 1447.

Dec. 25 to Mar. 25	*C-'ple*	Will. Mullins	50	Plant'n, 1750	Virginia, June 14, 1750	John Hunter, Virginia	1	Jamaica	Hampton
Jan. 5 to Apr. 5	*Betsey*	James Cocke	80	Virga., 1750	Wmsburg, Oct. 23, 1750	Richard Cocke	2	Bermuda	Upper James
Mar. 25 to June 24	*Cha. Susanna*	John Wake	100	Planta. 1733	Virginia, Oct. 25, 1753	John Wake, Virginia	54	Jamaica	Hampton
	Fanny	Francis Peart	100	" "	Apr. 17, 1753	Charles Thomas and Co., Virginia	3	Antigua	"
June 24 to Sept. 29	*Frances*	John Loyall	140	" 1752	Virga., Aug. 10, 1752	Paul Loyall and Co., Virga.	37	Barbados	"
July 24 [1756-1757]	*Duke of Cumberland*	Henry Knowles	160	Bristol, 1733	Bristol, Apr. 18, 1753	John Lidderdale and Co.	301	Africa	Upper James
Mar. 25 to Sept. 29	*Kingston*	Robt. Thompkins	35	Virginia, 1754	Virginia, May 14, 1755	John Perrin, Virginia	1	Barbadoes	York River
Apr. 26	*Charm'g Ann*	Richard Baker	80	Bermuda, 1748	Bermuda, Jan. 28, 1748	Richard Cocks and Company	2	York	Upper James
Dec. 25 to Mar. 25 [1758]	*Sarah*	John Caldwell	35	Plant'n, 1754	N. Engl'd, May 27, 1754	William Filey and Co. of N. England	4	N. England	Hampton
Mar. 25 to June 24	*Polly and Hellen*	John Calvert	60	" 1757	Virginia, Apr. 28, 1757	Max. Calvert of Virginia	8	Barbados	"
	Jamestown	Francis Peart	40	" 1750	Virginia, Nov. 5, 1750	John Tucker, Virginia	1	"	"

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
June 24 to Sept. 29	*Frances*	John Loyall	140	Plant'n, 1752	Virginia, Aug. 10, 1752	Paul Loyall and Co. Virginia	26	Antigua	Hampton
Sept. 29 to Dec. 25 [1759]	*Mars*	Thos. Bureton	140	French Prise, 1758	Liverpool, May 13, 1758	James Gildart	8	Liverpool	Rappahannock
July 5 to Oct. 10 [1759-1760][81]	*Nancy* of Virg'a	Ardis Lamont	60	Virga., 1759	W'msburg, Feb. 21, 1759	Mich. Christian and Danl. Dunton	10	St. Christophers	Accomack
Dec. 25 to Mar. 24	*Salisbury*	Thomas Martin	40	Salisbury, 1756	Boston, Sept. 19, 1758	Thomas Ivers and Co.	76	Africa	Hampton
Jan. 5 to Apr. 5	*Salisbury*	Thomas Martin	40	" "	Boston, Sept. 19, 1758	Thomas Ivers and Co.	58	Lower James	Upper James
	Industry	Chas. Small-wood					6	Barbados	Hampton
Apr. 5 to July 5	*Juba*	John Tallon	70	Liverpoole, 1750	Liverpoole, May 16, 1759	John Tallon and Co.	225	Africa	Upper James
	Eugene	William Strange	130	Virginia, 1747	Bristol, July 31, 1759	Thomas Deane and Co.	350	"	" "

[81] C. O. 5: 1448. The following item may refer to the *Juba*: "Capt. Angel spoke with a Liverpool Brig, with Slaves for Virginia, who gave an Account of Capt. Earl of this Port [Providence] on the Coast" (*Boston News Letter*, June 7, 1759). "Charlestown, July 7. On Wednesday last put in here for a supply of Water, the Ship *Black Prince*, of Bristol, Capt. William Miller Commander, from the Coast of Angola, with 500 Negroes, bound for Virginia" (*ibid.*, Aug. 2, 1759). The snow *Betsey*, Wright, bound for Virginia with 220 slaves was captured by the French in the summer of 1759. *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 1759.

July 5 to Oct. 10	*Agnes*	Robert Duthie	110	Boston, 1757	Boston, Oct. 18, 1757	John White and Co.	202	Bance Island	" "
Oct. 4 [52] [1761]	*Affrica* Packett	Robert Mawson	51	Britt., 1752	London, Apr. 3, 1760	James Wetherell London	60	Senegall	Hampton
May 8	*Industry*	Chas. Smallwood	140	Virginia, 1759	Virginia, Oct. 2, 1759	Jno. Hutchings	5	Barbados	York River
June 10	*Eadish*	Thomas Jordan	70	London, 1733	Liverpool, May 16, 1760	Wm. Davenport, Liverpool	154	Affrica	" "
" 11	*Granby*	Wm. Furlong	110	French Prize	London, Dec. 29, 1760	Andrew Pringle	37	Goree [53]	" "
Mar. 25 to June 24	*Alice,* Liverpool	James C. Murdock	130	Plant'n, 1747	Liverpool, Oct. 3, 1758	Bryan Blundell and Co.	122	Liverpool and Africa	Rappahannock
	Mary Liverpool	Daniel Kerr	90	British, 1737	Liverpool, May 10, 1757	Samuel Shaw and Co.	106 New Negroes	St. Christophers	"
	Bassa Liverpool	William Low	70	Plant., 1755	Liverpool, July 18, 1760	Chas. Cook and Co.	170	Liverpool and Africa	"
	Dove Liverpool	Hugh Williams	65	British, 1742	Liverpool, Sept. 11, 1759	Jas. Gildart and Co.	140	Liverpool and Africa	"
June 24 to Sept. 29	*William and Edward* Liverpool	William Foster [54]	30	" 1752	Liverpool, Aug. 9, 1760	Edmond Lyon and Co.	117	Liverpool and Africa	"

[52] "New York. August 25. Yesterday Captain Stag, in a Sloop, arrived here from Hampton, in Virginia, which he left last Monday, and reports, That on Thursday the 14th Instant, a French Privateer Schooner of 8 Guns and 70 Men, chased into James River, a Snow from Guinea with 200 Negroes on board, within two Miles of the Fort, but being checked by the Tide, a Pilot Boat that had been taken by the Schooner, boarded the Snow with 30 Hands, and carried her off: that the same Schooner a few Days before, had taken two Virginia Men outward bound, and killed one of their Pilots" (*Boston News Letter,* Sept. 4, 1760). The *News Letter* of Sept. 11 reports the taking of a Liverpool schooner with 200 negroes intended for Virginia. The two items probably refer to the same capture.

[53] "New York. June 15. On the 3d Inst. Capt. Chambers from Lisbon, spoke with a ship from Goree, with about 50 Slaves, bound into Virginia, who informed him, that Capt. Nicoll in a Brig belonging to New York, had been cut off on the Coast of Guinea by the Slaves." *Ibid.,* June 25, 1761.

[54] "Philadelphia, August 13. Captain Tull who arrived here last Week from Teneriffe, on the 18th ult. in Lat. 29 Long. 64, spoke with Capt. Foster, in a Brig belonging to Liverpool, bound from the Coast of Africa to South Carolina or Virginia, with 116 Slaves on board, all well." *Ibid.,* Aug. 27, 1761.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
	Peggy Liverpool	Cuthbert Davis	100	Plant., 1758	Liverpool, Sept. 10, 1760	Thomas Johnston and Co.	147	Liverpool and Africa	Rappahannock
	Hare Liverpool	George Colley	100	British, 1756	Liverpool, Mar. 26, 1759	Thos. Rumbold and Co.	258	Liverpool and Africa	"
	Nanny	James M. Dowal[McDougall]	70	" 1754	Liverpool, Feb. 6, 1761	Sam. Shaw and Co., Liverpoole	110	Senegall	Hampton
July 5 to Oct. 10	*Greyhound*	Alexander Robe	120	New Eng'd, 1747	Bristol, Sept. 9, 1760	Thomas Deane and Co.	215 Negroe Passengers 110	Africa	Upper James
[1762][55] Mar. 25 to June 24	*Nanny*	James McDougall	70	New Shoreham, 1754	Liverpoole, Feb. 26, 1761	Samuel Shaw and Co.		Lower James	" "
	Polly Liverpool	Robert Boyd	70	French prize made free Nov. 25, 1761	Liverpool, Dec. 1, 1761	Robert Landor and Co.	222	Liverpool and Africa	Rappahannock
April 7	*Little Betsey*	Benja. Hicks	25	Newport, 1761	Newport, Apr. 4, 1761	Benja. Hicks, Newport	64	Africa	York River
" 12	*Molly*	Sam. Peniston	25	Plant'n, 1762	Bermuda, Apr. 22, 1762	Sam. Peniston, Jno. and Saml. Paynters	1 Man 4 Women	Bermuda	Accomack
	Rising Sun	Jno. Easterbrook	30	" 1744	Boston, Jan. 8, 1761	Jas. Delap, Edwd. Bacon, and Andrew Gallet	10 Boys and Girls	Nantucket	"

[55] C. O. 5: 1449. The Naval officers were: Accomack, David Bowman, Rappahannock, Charles Neilson, Upper James, Lewis Burwell, York, James Pride. An undated letter from William Allason to Capt. Robert Douglas belongs to 1762: "Have no news only that our trade is very dull and no such thing as getting Payments. I believe the country never was [*illegible*] in debt to Britain than at this time. The present prospect of a crop is very [*illegible*, par]ticularly in the lower parts of the Country; occasioned by a very long drouth in the Spring, and now by an insect called the Canker worm, which destroys all the Tobacco that is young, in short by what I can learn the prospect below us is dismall. In the back parts of the Country they are tolerably well of. Our Excha. is got beyond all bounds. You'll think so when I tell you that 60 pct. is now current for Bills, occasioned some say by the many and large ommissions [emissions] of Paper money and the great number of negroes that has been imported for some years past." *Richmond Coll. Hist. Papers*, II. 124.

June 12	*Roebuck*	Thomas Gullan	100	French, 1758	Bristol, June 17, 1761	William Diaper and Co.	383 Negroe Passengers	Africa	Upper District
" 23	*William*	Joseph Cox	40	Falmouth, 1757	Portsmouth, May 26, 1758	Ebenezer Cobb and Co.	5	Boston	" "
June 24 to Sept. 29	*Panther* Liverpool	Benjamine Kempsted	50	British, 1754	Liverpool, Sept. 11, 1761	Richard Townshend and Co.	106	Liverpool and Africa	Rappahannock
	Lancaster Witch Liverpool	Henry Ross	120	French prize made free Sept. 20, 1759	Liverpool, Aug. 21, 1761	Wm. Ingram and Co.	186	Liverpool and Africa	"
	Hawke London	John Watson	90	French prize made free Sept. 5, 1760	London, Nov. 17, 1760	John Patterson and Co.	93	London and Africa	"
Aug. 6	*Duck*	William Vicker	14	Newbury, 1754	Portsmouth, Dec. 30, 1757	Benjamin Greenleaf	3	Piscataway	Upper James
Sept. 11	*Africa*	Stephen Hammond	15	Providence, 1758	Newport, Sept. 4, 1761	William Hagar and Co.	15	Amboy	" "
" 20	*Nanny*	James McDougall	70	New Shoreham, 1754	Liverpool, Feb. 26, 1761	Samuel Shaw and Co.	103	Africa	" "
Oct. 1	*Hector*	John Chilcott	200	French prize 1759	Bristol, Oct. 15, 1759	John Curtis and Co.	512	Angola	" "
" 7[56] [1763][57] Apr. 5 to July 5	*Agnes*	Robert Duthie	110	Boston, 1757	Boston, Oct. 18, 1757	John Whyte and Co.	118	Gamba	" "
	Renown	Samuel Pemberton	74	French prize, 1762	Liverpoole, Sept. 7, 1762	Thomas Birch and Co.	170	Africa	" "

[56] One cargo intended for Virginia in the autumn of 1762 failed to reach its market: "Philadelphia, Nov. 4. The Ship *King George*, Capt. Macky from Londonderry, is arrived here. On the 25th of October Capt. Macky fell in with the Ship *Phoenix* of London William Macgachan, from the Coast of Africa having on board upwards of 300 Slaves, bound to Virginia. On the 20th of October, they lost their Masts, had several feet Water in the Hold, and the Slaves and People being in great Distress for Provisions and Water, the Slaves rose, on which near 50 of them were killed, after which meeting with Capt. Mackay, the white People took to their Boats and got on board Capt. Mackay, who brought them in here." *Boston News Letter*, Nov. 18, 1762.

[57] This list does not contain the sloop mentioned in the letter of Thomas Newton, July 27, 1765, see *ante*, no. 113.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
	Little Sally	William Taylor[58]	10	Boston, 1759	Newport, Dec. 2, 1760	Thomas Tackle Taylor	60	Rhode Island	Upper James
June 14	*Elizabeth and Mary* Philadelphia	William Taylor	60	Planta., 1758	Phil., July 24, 1760	Corn'l Bradford and Co.	80	Africa	Rappahannock
June 24 to Sept. 29	*Xprishead*	William Adams	20	" 1763	Antigua, Dec. 24, 1760	Wm. Jarvis, Antigua	18	Antigua	Hampton
	Duke of York	Benja. Cooper	2[?]	Prize	St. Kitts, Aug. 15, 1761	Thos. Lambert, St. Kitts	10	St. Kitts	"
	Greyhound	Alex'r Shaw	100	Plant'n, 1758	Liverp'l, Apr. 19, 1762	Wm. Moore and Co., Liverp'l	8	Grenada	"
Sept. 26	*Jno. and Susanna*	James Mudie	80	Virginia, 1760	Virginia, Feb. 5, 1760	John Perrin, Va.	4	Antigua	York River
July 5 to Oct. 10	*Africa*	William Watkins	100	French prize, 1757	Bristol, Nov. 27, 1762	John Coghlan and Co.	259	Africa	Upper James
	Dumell	Gresham Spear	70	Virga, 1756	Boston, Oct. 8, 1762	E. Davis and Co.	80	"	" "
	Greyhound	Alexander Robe	120	New Eng'd, 1747	Bristol, Feb. 5, 1763	Thomas Dean and Co.	410 Negroe Passengers	"	" "
[1763-1764]	*Royal Charlotte*	William Taylor	35	Barkley, 1762	Newport, Mar. 2, 1762	Thomas Teackle Taylor	15	Rhode Island	" "
Oct. 10 to Jan. 5	*Pompey*	John Easton	40	Connecticut, 1762	N. London, Nov. 19, 1762	John Easton and Co.	81	Africa	" "

[58] The cargoes of the *Little Sally* and the *Royal Charlotte* (also commanded by William Taylor) were consigned by Samuel and William Vernon to Richard Adams. (For accounts of the sale of the negro cargoes and subsequent dealings with the Vernons see this work, III. 190-194, 214, 238-239, 260.) Adams's indebtedness to the Rhode Island firm continued for a number of years. "Virga. June 2d 1766. At Ten Days sight Pay Messrs Saml and Wm. Vernon and Co. One hundred and Twenty-four Pounds ten Shillings Virga. Currency and place the same to Acct. of Gent'm Yr most Obd. RICHARD ADAMS." New York Historical Society, Slavery MSS., box VI.

Mar. 25 to June 24	*Batchelor*	Ja. Eastment	40	Plan, 1758	Barbados, May 31, 1763	Jos. Niles and Co.	4	Barbados	Hampton
	John	Stepn. Seymour	30	" 1762	Berma., Nov. 8, 1762	Wm. Seymour and Co. Berma.	4	"	"
June 24 to Sept. 29	*Speedwell*	Nath. N. Mason	50	" 1762	Virg., Oct. 26, 1762	Nich. Wonycott, Va.	1	"	"
	Black Prince, London	John Watson	90	French prize made free Sept. 5, 1761	London, June 1763	John Watson and Co.	81	Africa	Rappahannock
July 5 to Oct. 10	*Hector*	John Chilcoth	200	Prize, 1759	Bristol, Oct. 15, 1759	John Curtis and Co.	480	"	Upper James
Sept. 29 to Dec. 25	*Hoope*	Fran. Peart	65	Plan., 1763	Virg., Mar. 9, 1763	Geo. Riddle and Co., Va.	9	Barbados	Hampton
	Peggy	John Calvert	50	" 1764	Virg., Aug. 9, 1764	Jno. Calvert and Co., Va.	5	Antigua	"
[1765][80] Mar. 25 to June 24	*Susanna*	John Westcott	40	" 1762	Virga., June 22, 1764	Wright Westcott and Co., Va.	10	Antigua	"
June 24 to Sept. 29	*Mary*	Danl. Caron	25	" 1763	Bermuda, Oct. 12, 1763	Wm. Riddle and Co., Berma.	2	Barbados	"
Oct. 9	*Little Archey*	Chas. Consaull	25	" 1764	Virga., Mar. 10, 1764	Arch'd Campbell and Co., Va.	8	Granada	"
" 14	*Prince of Whales*	Solomon Edey	55	" 1761	Barb., Dec. 10, 1764	Jno. Wickham and Co., Barb.	32	Barbados	"
" "	*Esther*	Seth Harvey	25	" 1762	Berm'a, Sept. 22, 1763	Thos. Joell and Co., Berm'a.	11	Nevis	"
Dec. 23	*Sally*	Thos. Hutchins	40	" 1765	Berm'a, July 3, 1765	Thos. Hutchins, Berm'a.	3	Barbados	"

[80] "New London Mch. 15. News from Barbadoes. Arrived there: A ship of 500 tons, from the Coast of Africa bound to Virginia but drove off the Coast." *Mass. Gazette and News Letter*, Mar. 28, 1765.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
[1766][60] June 25 to Sept. 29	*Dolphin*	Jno. Outerbrize	30	Plant., 1765	Berm'a, Apr. 5, 1765	John Outerbrize, Berm'a	4	Montserat	Hampton
	Bassa[61]	Richd. Clagg	70	" 1765	Leverp'l, Aug. 10, 1763	Chas. Cooke, Leverpool	108	Guinea	"
[1767] Sept. 29 to Dec. 25	*Hawke*	Wilson B. Bayley	30	" 1765	Virga., May 1, 1767	Jas. Dunlop and Co., Virga.	7	St. Kitts	"
	Blk Prince[62]	Chas. Thomas	80	" 1765	Virga., Aug. 22, 1765	Thos. Newton and Co., Virga.	40 New Negroes	Antigua	"

[60] C. O. 5: 1450. "Philadelphia, August 14. . . . Tuesday last arrived here the sloop ——, Capt. Harris, in 6 weeks, from the river Gambia on the coast of Africa, who informs us, that a strong garrison, with settlers and officers both civil and military had arrived on the coast from England, had made Senegal and Gambia into one province, by the name of Senegambia, and that the slave trade was almost spoiled by the customs and impositions of those settlers. He further informs us, that the slaves on board a brig, one Watson master, belonging to Virginia, then lying in the river, rose on the crew, and killed the master and all hands, then made for the land as fast as possible; but several vessels laying near, the crews of which retook the brig and all the slaves except 30; the masters of the vessels lying there put some hands aboard her, and she sailed for the West-Indies some time before Capt. Harris." *Mass. Gazette and News Letter*, Aug. 28, 1766.

[61] "Just arrived in James river, from Africa, The ship *Bassa*, Captain Richard Clegg, with a cargo of fine healthy Windward and Gold Coast Slaves; the sale of which will begin at Bermuda Hundred on Tuesday the 12th of August next, and continue until all are sold. July 30, 1766. Thomas Tabb, William Bolden, John Lawrence" (*Va. Gazette*, Aug. 1, 8, 15, 1766). The list here given is not complete. The *Gazette* of June 27 announced in similar terms the sale of the cargo of the *Apollo*, Capt. Elias Glover, consisting of two hundred negroes from the Windward and Gold coasts. The consignees were the same. A year later Tabb, Bolden, and Lawrence were advertising: "All persons indebted to the Subscribers for Negroes purchased out of the ships *Apollo* and *Bassa* in the year 1766 are requested to make payment immediately. Those who fail doing it before, or at the ensuing December Oyer court, may expect their accounts will be put into a lawyer's hands." *Ibid.*, Nov. 26, 1767.

[62] "Just arrived in James river from Africa, The ship *Black Prince*, Capt. Charles Thomas, with a cargo of fine Windward and Gold Coast Slaves; the sale of which will begin at Bermuda Hundred on Monday the fifteenth of September next, and continue until all are sold. Thomas Newton and Son, August 30, 1766" (*ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1766, Supl.). In a later item the number of slaves is given as 120. *Ibid.*, Sept. 12, 1766.

[1767-1768] Dec. 25 to Mar. 25	*2 Friends*	Hump. Keeble	35	" 1764	Antigua, Nov. 21, 1766	Jno. Lavicourt and Co., Antigua	9	Antigua	"
	Defyance	Roger Stewart	36	" 1767	Virga., Jan. 8, 1768	Rog. Stewart and Co., Virga.	10 New Negros	Jamaica	"
	Content	David Martin	40	" 1762	St. Kitts, Feb. 10, 1768	Wm. Priddie, St. Kitts	4	St. Kitts	"
Aug. 10	*Jubal*[63]	Joseph White	100	Prize, 1760	Boston, July 21, 1766	James Laroche and Co.	207	Angolal [Angola?]	Upper James
[1769] Jan. 25	*Clyde*	Matt. Buchan.	70	Virga., 1765	W'msburg, Feb. 1, 1768	Matt. Buchanan and Co.	2 Negro Passengers	Antigua	" "
May 16	*Amelia*[64]	Thos. Duncomb	120	Prize, 1760	Bristol, May 26, 1768	David Duncomb and Co.	234	Angolal	" "

[63] "Just arrived in James River, from Africa, The *Juba,* Joseph White master, with three hundred choice healthy Slaves, consisting of Men, Women, and Children, the Sale of which will begin at Bermuda Hundred on Monday the 29th of this instant (August) and continue until all are sold. BURNLEY and BRAKENRIDGE" (*Va. Gazette,* Aug. 11, 1768). On Sept. 8 the *Juba,* advertised her sailing to Bristol with tobacco, then added: "N. B. We have a few prime Slaves at the Hundreds yet for sale." In the *Gazette,* Mar. 23, 1769, appeared a notice concerning this cargo: "Hanover, March 22, 1769. All those planters who are indebted to the subscribers for Negroes purchased from on board the *Juba,* whose bonds are due in the April General Court, are hereby desired to be punctual in their payments, as no indulgence can be given. BURNLEY and BRAIKENRIDGE."

[64] "Just arrived in James river, from Africa, the ship *Amelia,* Thomas Duncomb master, with about 230 fine healthy Slaves, consisting of men, women, and children, the sale of which will begin at Bermuda Hundred on Tuesday the 6th of June next. May 17, 1769. JOHN WAYLES, THOMAS TABB." *Va. Gazette,* May 18, 25, June 1, 1769.

[*Negroes imported into Virginia*—continued:]

Entered	Ship and Place	Master	Tons	Built	Registered	Owners	Negroes	From	Port of Entry
June 20	*Othello*[65]	Goodman Halvorson	25	N. Eng., 1764	Newpt., Mar. 28, 1764	Willm. Vernon and Co.	90	Africa[66]	Upper James
Dec. 26	*Darby*[67]	John Allen	50	Salisb'y, 1764	Salem, Feb. 24, 1764	Jeremiah Lee	a Negro boy	Salem	" "

[65] The consignees of this cargo were Messrs. Adams and Griffin (this work, III. 238-240). John Duncan is named as captain in the accounts rendered to William Vernon; Goodman Halverson (Halverston) was one of the mates.

[66] Less importance seems to be attached to the section from which the negroes came in Virginia than was the case with the South Carolina planters. The advertisements for cargoes occasionally give the source but frequently omit it. Yet the notices of runaways indicate that negroes from various parts of Africa were carried to this market and that the planters distinguished among them clearly: "he is a young Angola Negro"; "a very Black Mundigo Negro Man"; "a Native of Madagascar"; "a Congo Negro slave"; "of the Suso country"; "New Negro Fellow . . . calls himself Bonna and says he came from a Place of that name in the Ibo Country, in Africa"; "marked in the face as the Gold Coast slaves generally are". *Va. Gazette*, Nov. 5, 1736, Apr. 21, 1738, Aug. 17, 1739, Dec. 8, 1768, Jan. 15, 1767, Aug. 13, Dec. 31, 1772.

[67] Other vessels can be added from the *Gazette* (Jan. 12, Oct. 5, 1769): the brig *Fanny*, John Oliffe, entered Jan. 4, with 25 slaves from Grenada and St. Eustatius; "Williamsburg, Oct. 5. The ship *Rae* Galley, and the brigantine *Lilly*, both from Antigua, and seized by the Collector of this district, for not entering sundry slaves imported in them are both condemned at a court of Vice Admiralty held here this day"; "To be Sold, pursuant to a decree of the Court of Vice Admiralty, at Martin's Brandon, on Tuesday the 17th instant, The ship *Rae* Galley, and brigantine *Lilly*, as they now lie at their moorings, for ready money. JOHN TYLER, Marshall."

THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

INTRODUCTION

Among the colonies here considered South Carolina alone is given detailed presentation. For the others the documents printed throw light upon one or two aspects of the trade peculiar to the colony in question or not elsewhere developed. For North Carolina the material illustrates the effort to enforce the non-importation agreement; that for Georgia displays the attitude of a group of settlers deprived of negroes; while in Louisiana one finds opportunity to study the method by which the French supplied their colonies with slave labor. The one thing common to all these colonies is that their part in the trade was that of market, not that of carrier. This should not be interpreted to mean that they did no carrying but only that their part in the transportation of negroes was insignificant as compared with that of the northern colonies or with the volume of trade which entered their ports.

As Professor J. S. Bassett observed in 1896, the story of the negro in North Carolina must be constructed from meagre and unsatisfactory materials. To an even greater extent is this true of the slave trade to North Carolina, to which no section of material is here devoted.[1] One characteristic peculiar to the North Carolina slave trade helps to account for this paucity of records. A large number of slaves were brought into the colony by land rather than by water, and for these there are no reports comparable to customs entries or naval officers' lists. Throughout her history direct importation from Africa was comparatively small. Lack of good harbors and of a central port may have contributed to bring this about. The scarcity of hard money, sometimes offered as a reason, could hardly have been an important causal factor. In none of the colonies was it customary to purchase slaves with specie. Nor may one assume a lack of desire for slaves as an explanation of the absence of direct importation. On the contrary, they were reckoned "the greatest riches in these parts", and the planter was "at great pains to lay in store of gold and silver with which to purchase negroes in the West Indies and other places".[2] It was not thought

[1] J. S. Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina* (Johns Hopkins University, *Studies*, vol. 14), p. 175.

[2] John Brickell, *The Natural History of North Carolina* (1737), pp. 45, 272, quoted by R. H. Taylor, *Slave-Holding in North Carolina*, p. 20. On Dec. 15, 1716, Rev. John Urmstone wrote from North Carolina to the secretary of the S. P. G., asking him to arrange for the purchase of three or four Guinea negroes, three men "of middle stature about 20 years old and a Girl of about 16 years. here is no living without servants, there are none to be hired of any colour and none of the black kind to be sold good for anything under 50 or 60 £". In 1717 and 1718 he again wrote, insisting that he could not remain in North Carolina without two field workers and a domestic servant. *N. C. Col. Recs.*, II. 260-261, 288, 310.

possible to settle a plantation without negroes. The insurmountable difficulty was that North Carolina, in the first half of the eighteenth century, had no commodity with which to load English vessels, and it was at this time chiefly English vessels that were bringing slaves directly from Africa. This lack of a staple acceptable to England prevented her merchants from sending vessels to the colony and also made them unwilling to grant to North Carolina planters the liberal credit which was necessary if they were to become heavy purchasers of negro cargoes. The reluctance of the English trader to extend credit may also have been increased by the turbulent history of the colony's early days. Deprived of negroes direct from Africa, the colony purchased from Virginia, paying in food and live stock, or from New England, to which she sent pitch and tar.[3] At a later period many were brought from South Carolina. To Governor Burrington's complaint that the colonists carried specie to Virginia to purchase slaves instead of paying their quit rents the assembly replied, "those who take such pains to carry Provisions to Virginia at the Charge of a great Land Carriage, do it Chiefly to lodge Money there to purchase Slaves, which are difficult to be bought any other way".[4] The slaves thus obtained were by no means satisfactory. "Great is the loss this Country has sustained in not being supply'd by vessells from Guinea with Negroes; in any part of the Province the People are able to pay for a ships load; but as none can come directly from Affrica, we are under a necessity to buy the refuse refractory and distemper'd Negroes, brought from other Governments", Burrington complained in 1733.[5]

Little can be learned of the conditions in the colony from instructions sent to the governors, which were modelled upon those sent to other places rather than on the particular situation which the governor was to meet. In instructions of Dec. 14, 1730, Governor Burrington was exhorted to encourage merchants, especially the Royal African Company, despite the fact that that company had never sent cargoes to North Carolina.[6] In 1754 Governor Arthur Dobbs was directed to assent to no duty laid upon the importer of negroes, though there is no evidence that the colony had the slightest disposition to lay any such duty. Indeed so far was the province

[3] In 1724 Thomas Amory wrote from Boston to a customer in North Carolina, "In the fall we expect negroes here directly from Guinea, a vessel having sailed from here and one from Rhode Island". W. B. Weeden, "Early African Slave-Trade in New England", *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society (new ser.), V. 114.

[4] *N. C. Col. Recs.*, III. 609. So little do we know of how and when negroes were brought into this colony that it is a surprise to find their numbers estimated as 800 in 1709, 6,000 in 1730, 19,000 in 1756, and 30,000 in 1764 (Bassett, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-188). Ballagh (*History of Slavery in Virginia*, p. 13n.) says that by 1726 North Carolina was importing 1000 negroes a year and paying better prices than were paid in Virginia or Maryland (citing De Bow, *Resources of the South*, I. 341).

[5] *N. C. Col. Recs.*, III. 430.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 115-116.

from imposing a restraining duty that the fifty-acre grant for every negro imported and held by householders remained in force when these instructions were written.[7] The report of Governor Dobbs of Jan. 1, 1755, makes it obvious that no restraining duty was needed at this time: "An Abstract of the Shipping and Tonnage and number of negroes Enter'd in North Carolina at a medium of 7 years ending the 1 Janry. 1755 . . . Negroes last year 19 . . . Negroes at a Medium 17." [8] On Apr. 12, 1772, Governor Martin wrote to Secretary Hillsborough: "I am not able to report to your Lordship with precision the number of Negroes that have been imported since my arrival here, but I think it will be found about 200." [9] At no time does the number of negroes imported seem large enough to have caused alarm.

Articulate objection to the importation of slaves makes its appearance on the eve of the Revolution. On Aug. 8, 1774, the freeholders of Rowan County voted: "That the African Trade is injurious to this Colony, obstructs the Population of it by freemen, prevents manufacturers, and other Useful Emigrants from Europe from settling among us, and occasions an annual increase of the Balance of Trade against the Colonies." This was followed three weeks later by the resolution of the Provincial Congress: "we will not import any slave or slaves, nor purchase any slave or slaves imported or brought into this province by others from any part of the world after the first day of November next." [10] Active efforts to enforce this resolution were taken during the last days of 1774 and the spring of 1775, as the following extracts from the proceedings of the safety committee at Wilmington testify:

WILMINGTON, 14th Dec. 1774.

. . . . The Committee met at 6 o'clock P.M. Mr. Hereld Blackmore, informed that he had imported since the first instant, in the Sloop *Mary* and the Brig —— five negro slaves, and craved advice how to proceed, as he had given orders for the purchasing and shipping said slaves, previous to the resolutions of the provincial Congress. The committee desired that Mr. Blackmore, would not sell, or send them out of town, but be accountable for them at the next meeting. . . .

WILMINGTON, Saturday the 17th Dec. 1774.

The Committee met according to adjournment.

Present: Cornelius Harnett, John Ancrum, Robt Hogg, John Quince, Archibald M'Lain, James Walker and John Robeson.

[7] *Ibid.*, V. 1118, 1133; Bassett, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[8] *N. C. Col. Recs.*, V. 314. For references to cargoes intended for North Carolina see *Georgia Gazette*, June 11, 1766; *S. C. Gazette*, Sept. 28, 1769.

[9] *N. C. Col. Recs.*, IX. 279. For the account of the sale of four negroes in North Carolina from a cargo belonging to Aaron Lopez of Newport see *Commerce of Rhode Island*, I. 414.

[10] *N. C. Col. Recs.*, IX. 1026, 1046.

The Committee finding upon inquiry that one of the slaves imported by Hereld Blackmore, was ordered after the publication of the resolves of the provincial convention of this province, and in contradiction thereto, and that he had at that time an opportunity to contradict the orders he had given for the other slaves, and he now confessing that he sent a copy of the provincial resolves to Granada: It is the opinion of the committee that the said slaves be re-shipped. And the committee do resolve that all slaves, imported since the first day of this instant, or which may be imported, shall be re-shipped from this province. Upon a suggestion to the committee that Mr. Arthur Mabson hath imported in his schooner from the West Indies, some slaves which are now at his plantation near this town: It is ordered that the sense of this committee relative thereto be made known to Mr. Mabson, and that Mr. Maclain write to him for that purpose, which he hath done as follows, to wit:

WILMINGTON, 17th Dec. 1774.

Sir: The committee of this town, chosen to observe the conduct of all persons touching the association of the General Congress, have resolved that all slaves imported into this river since the first day of December, instant, shall be re-shipped to the place from whence they came as soon as possible, and being informed that you have, contrary to the express letter of the said association, imported slaves from the West Indies, which you have now at your plantation, it is expected that you will give a particular account of the number thereof, and take such steps as may satisfy the committee that you intend, on your part, to adhere strictly to the regulations laid down by your representatives.

I am, Sir, your obdt. servant,

Signed ARCHIBALD M'LAIN.[11]

Mr. Mabson.

Saturday, Jan. 21st, 1775.[12]

Messrs. George and Thomas Hooper, H. Blackmore, Arthur Mabson and Peter Mallett, reported sundry negroes, imported by them since the 1st of December last.

Resolved, That notice be sent to Messrs. George and Thomas Hooper, Hinall Blackmore, Arthur Mabson, and Peter Mallett, to re-ship, by the first opportunity, the sundry negroes they have imported since the first day of December last. It being the opinion of this Committee that such importations are contrary to the resolves of the Continental Congress, and a Particular resolve of this committee. . . .

Monday, March 6th 1775.

. . . Mr. Harnett desired the opinion of the Committee respecting a Negro fellow he bought in Rhode Island (a Native of that place,) in the Month of October last, whom he designed to have brought with him to this Province, but the said Negro ran away at the time of his sailing from Rhode Island.

The question was put whether Mr. Harnett may import the said Negro from Rhode Island.

Resolved, Unanimously, That Mr. Harnett may import the said Negro from Rhode Island, and it is the opinion of this Committee that under the above cir-

[11] *N. C. Col. Recs.*, IX. pp. 1098-1099.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 1113, 1149-1151. "Wilmington, N. C. A few Slaves having been imported from the West-Indies, nearly about the middle of December, by Arthur Mabson, and Harral Blackmore, were ordered to be re-shipped by the first opportunity." *S. C. Gazette*, Apr. 3, 1775.

cumstances, such importation will not be any infringement of the Article of the Resolves of the General Congress. . . .

Monday, March 20th, 1775.[13]

. . . . Resolved, That the Importers of negroes since the 1st of December last, be called upon at the next General meeting of this Committee on the 20th of April next, to produce Bills of Loading or other sufficient proof to the Committee, that they have reshipped the said negroes agreeable to the resolve of the General Congress as directed by this Committee.

Tuesday 24th March 1775.

. . . Captain Oldfield reported two negroes shipped to his address of the Schooner *Bedford,* Capt: Benny, which were ordered to be reshipped, and was complied with by Capt: Oldfield. . . .

Thursday, April 20th, 1775.[14]

. . . . Application was then made by Mr. Cruden, in behalf of a Mr. Elliott, setting forth that he had purchased the real and personal estate of Marmaduke Jones Esq., both of this province, and praying to have leave to import some of his house servants (negro now in Jamaica) ; the articles in the above association respecting the importation of slave being read, and the subject fully debated it was determined that said servants could not be imported.

Saturday May 20, 1775.

Ordered, That the Resolve entered on the journals of this committee on the last meeting, respecting the application to the committee for liberty to Mr. Elliott to import his house servants, be rescinded.

June 20, 1775.

On motion, for leave to —— Elletson to import his house servants from Jamaica, not exceeding six in number. It was carried against the motion, by a great majority.

For the period following the Revolution the customs records of Brunswick show the entry of 290 negroes between 1783 and 1789. Of these, 128 came from the West Indies, the remainder from New York, Savannah, Virginia, and Maryland, with 52 unaccounted for. In 1786 North Carolina imposed a duty, apparently intended to be prohibitive, upon slaves whether brought in by land or water. Nevertheless, under one pretext or another, slaves were imported into the state during the time that this act remained in force.[15]

Friday, 21 November, 1788.

The Committee to whom the Petition of Henry Hill and Thomas Fitt was referred, Reported,

[13] *N. C. Col. Recs.*, IX. 1168, 1170-1171.

[14] *Ibid.*, IX. 1222, 1266, X. 24. "Messrs. Harnet and Wilkinson reported to the Committee that they had reshipped a Negro sent them from the West Indies." *S. C. Gazette*, Apr. 3, 1775.

[15] Taylor, *Slave-Holding in North Carolina*, p. 24; DuBois, *Slave Trade*, p. 229. Whether the act of 1786 was actually prohibitive or not, it was so regarded in South Carolina. The news of its passage was reported to Samuel Hopkins of Newport by a Mr. Law of South Carolina on Feb. 16, 1787, and was transmitted by Hopkins to Moses Brown of Providence on Mar. 9 (Samuel Hopkins, *Works*, I. 121). The act laid a tax of £5 on negroes between 7 and 12, and 30 and 40; £10 on those between 12 and 30. For every smuggled negro there was a fine of £100. James Iredell, *Laws of North Carolina*, pp. 577-579.

That the said Petitioners had at a Considerable expence and risque fitted out a ship to Coast off Africa for a Cargo of Slaves; That at the time the said Ship sailed the duty on imported Slaves was no more than two and a half per cent.; that after the sailing of the said ship and before her return the Law was passed increasing the duty on Slaves imported from Africa and that the Petitioners, ready to make every compensation in their power, are willing to pay double the duty which was laid on Slaves at the time they commenced the said voyage. Your Committee are therefore unanimously of the opinion that the said Petitioners on paying double the duty receivable on slaves on the first day of October, 1786, that is to say on their paying five per cent. on the original cost of the said Slaves, they be exonerated from the payment of any other or further duty on the said cargo of slaves imported from Africa some time in May or June, 1787, and that the collector of the Imports for Port Roanoke Govern himself with respect to the said Cargo of Slaves accordingly.

All which is submitted.

THOMAS PERSON, Ch'n.

The House taking this report into consideration concurred therewith.[16]

Taylor suggests that the desire for prohibition came from the western part of the state and that the commercial interests were opposed to it. If this be true the commercial interests were in the ascendancy in 1790, for the restrictive duty of 1786 was that year repealed and for four years negroes could be brought into the state without hindrance.[17] In 1794 the legal importation of negroes into North Carolina came to an end.[18]

With South Carolina the problem is not how to construct a picture of the trade in negroes from meagre and inadequate materials but rather to select from abundant details what will be most informing. Here the student of the commerce in slaves has an opportunity to observe the conduct of the trade through the eyes of an acute, inter-

[16] "Journal of the House of Commons of North Carolina", *N. C. Col. Recs.*, XXI. 82. Josiah Collins sent a vessel to Africa for slaves in 1785 but they probably were not intended for North Carolina. G. P. Collins, "Discovery of Lake Scuppernong", Southern Hist. Assn., *Publications*, VI. 24-25.

[17] DuBois, p. 229. On Nov. 18, 1790, the Honorable A. Maclaine wrote to Edward Jones: "I have also heard that you have a Bill before you for prohibiting the Importation of slaves, and that you support it with a religious enthusiasm. Considering our situation on the sea coast, and particularly in the neighborhood of Cape Fear, I should have thought it prudent to leave that Matter to Congress, who certainly will do the business Effectually at the expiration of Eighteen Years. I believe you have had no instruction on the Subject, and probably the Majority of your Constituents who either having no property, or not considering the dependence of the Town upon the country, might probably have been willing to abolish the Importation; but though I make no doubt even had your Sentiments been fully known, you would have carried your election; yet you certainly would not have had quite so great a majority as you had." *N. C. State Recs.*, XXII. 619.

[18] *N. C. Statutes*, 1794, ch. 2. The next year North Carolina tightened her restrictions by forbidding settlers from the West Indies, the Bahamas, or any of the French, Dutch, or Spanish plantations to bring negroes into the state under penalty of £100 for every negro over fifteen brought in. The animating motive was doubtless fear of the West Indian negroes, which prevailed in this country for many years after the Santo Domingo revolution. In 1806 a member of the House of Representatives described one hundred negroes from the West Indies as more dangerous than 10,000 from Africa. *Annals*, 9 Cong., 1 sess., p. 360.

ested, and informed observer, Henry Laurens, who for a time took a leading part in the importation of negroes into Charleston, and who, after he withdrew from it, still commented with discernment upon its effects in the colony. For several years it is possible from his letters to construct a day-by-day picture of the arrival and sale of negroes in Charleston, a rare opportunity in the annals of this commerce. In addition to the material provided by this correspondence, the pages of the *South Carolina Gazette* yield much supplementary matter.[19] However, these two sources are pertinent only after the first third of the eighteenth century, and for the years in which the trade developed we have only the most fragmentary information.

The history of the slave trade into this colony offers numerous contrasts with that into Virginia. That slave labor would be the labor system of Carolina was a foregone conclusion from its earliest settlement. The English were already deep in the trade and many of the early settlers, coming from the West Indies, were familiar with the potential profits from negro labor. Four of the proprietors were members of the Royal African Company.[20] Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising that immediate provision for negro labor was made and that there was here no period of dependence upon indentured service. Differences in climate and in crops also contributed to make the Carolina market for negroes an eager though a fitful one, while Virginia's demand was more sluggish and without the speculative features most characteristic of Carolina's. Here again the date of settlement accounted for some of the dissimilarity. The planter's temptation to gamble on his tobacco crop was probably greatest in the seventeenth century, when few negroes were available. By the eighteenth, long continued hard times had destroyed his faith in the unlimited possibilities of future crops, and he was far less ready to run heavily into debt than was his more hopeful Carolina neighbor. This kept Virginia's eighteenth-century demand for negroes a moderate one and helped to stabilize the price.

Provision for grants of land in return for the bringing of negroes was made in the Fundamental Constitution of Carolina:

> For the owner of every negro man or slave brought thither within the first year, 20 acres, and for every woman negro or slave 10 acres; and all men negroes

[19] The Letter-Books of Henry Laurens, drawn on for large sections of this volume, are the property of the South Carolina Historical Society and are available because of the generosity of that society; a file of the *South Carolina Gazette*, well-nigh complete, is in the possession of the Charleston Library Society.

[20] The Earl of Shaftesbury, Earl of Craven, Sir George Carteret, Sir John Colleton. Ralph Marshall and John Portman, who were with Governor Sayle, were also members of this company.

or slaves after that time and within the first five years 10 acres; and for every woman negro or slave 5 acres.[21]

Every Free-man and Free woman that transport themselves and Servants by the twenty fifth of March next, being 1667 shall have . . . . for every Woman-Servant and Slave 50 Acres, paying at most ½ *d* per acre, per annum, in lieu of all demands, to the Lords Proprietors. [22]

No room for misunderstanding is allowed by a note of May, 1670, from three of the Proprietors to Sir John Yeamans:

. . . . We find you are mistaken in our Concessions that wee have not made provision of Land for negroes for by saying that we grant 150 acres of land for every able man servant in that we mean negroes as well as Christians And the same in other proportions. . . .[23]

The first evidence of the presence of negroes in the province is in a letter from Henry Brayne to Lord Ashley, Nov. 9, 1670: "I have put on . . . provitions enough for my people which is one lusty negro man 3 cristian servants and a oversear I brought out of Virginia." Sir John Yeamans probably brought in a few not long after this.[24] A proclamation issued in Barbados on Nov. 4, 1670, provided a Carolina "friggott" for those going to Carolina and transporting servants and negroes,[25] and at least one purchase was made in the island for the new plantation:

Deare Bro'r, The shipps staying 'till now I have the oppo[r]tunity to give you an accompt. that I have prevayled wth Mr. Howell and Guy to give mee 6 mos after sight for payment of the Bills of £282 for Negroes for the Windward plant.[26]

In 1674 the Proprietors laid out a plantation south of the Ashley River, the control of which was granted to Andrew Percival, who was instructed to "begin a Trade with the Spaniards for Negroes".[27] In 1686 a report that thirteen slaves had been stolen by the Spaniards from Joseph Martin, governor of the province, is some indication

[21] William Hilton, "Voyage of Discovery", *Charleston Year Book*, 1884, p. 259; Edward McCrady, "Slavery in South Carolina", Am. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 632.

[22] "Brief Description of Carolina", B. R. Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, II. 15.

[23] Shaftesbury Papers, S. C. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, V. 164; signed by Ashley, G. Carteret, and P. Colleton.

[24] S. C. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, V. 215. Since Locke's memorandum of "Proposals and Wants", 1670, mentions Brayne's negro and no other, it may be assumed that this was the only one in the province at the time he wrote (*ibid.*, p. 248). July, 1671, Col. John Godfrey to Lord Ashley, "Sir Jo Yeamans . . . brought negroes and expects more" (*ibid.*, p. 349). At the time of his death Yeamans owned 26 negro slaves. Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, II. 271.

[25] S. C. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, V. 211.

[26] Nov. 23, 1670, Thomas Colleton to Sir Peter Colleton (S. C. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, V. 240). Richard Howell (or Fowell) and Richard Guy were Barbados planters, possessors of 405 negroes. The letter goes on to mention bills of exchange due to Sir Andrew Ricard, Henry Johnson, and Thomas Healy, of the African Company.

[27] May 23, 1674, "Instructions to Mr. Perceval", *ibid.*, p. 442.

that already there were planters with a considerable number of slaves.[28]

From this time on there is every reason to believe that the increase in the negro population was rapid, though there is little indication of its source. The Royal African Company did not turn its attention to this plantation, its efforts throughout the seventeenth century being concentrated on meeting the needs of the sugar planters. Probably the negroes were largely carried from the West Indies rather than directly from Africa, and a few at a time rather than in negro cargoes, though this is conjecture, not a statement of demonstrated fact. The chances are that the separate traders did not find their way to Carolina in great numbers until the trade was laid open by the act of 1698. By the end of the century direct commerce between Africa and Carolina was under way. In September, 1699, John and Nicholas Trott, of London, granted to "Gov. Blake and others in Carolina" power of attorney to collect from Captain William Rhett "all such sums of money, goods wares merchandise negro slaves, gold, elephants teeth wax effects and things whatsoever which the said Captain William Rhett had in his hands on account of their being part owners of the ship *Providence* burthen 150 tons whereof the said William Rhett is commander".[29]

A further and more important evidence of increasing numbers is to be found in the legislation concerning the relation between whites and blacks in 1686 and from that time throughout the decade of the nineties. After 1700 the documents which follow relate so completely the history of South Carolina's commerce in slaves that no further introductory comment is needed.[30]

One unusual feature of American history demands illustration in connection with the trade of Georgia. For fifteen years the Trustees of this colony forbade the importation or the holding of slaves though many of the planters clamored for them. Much of the Georgia material here included relates to the controversy between Trustees and planters or between groups among the planters. Many of the Scottish settlers of Darien and the Salzburgers of Ebenezer steadfastly opposed the importation of negroes; the ne'er-do-well English of Savannah as determinedly demanded it.[31] Under the per-

[28] Edward Randolph to the Board of Trade, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1699, pp. 104, 105.

[29] McCrady, *South Carolina under Proprietary Government*, p. 369, quoting, "Book Miscellaneous Records, 1694-1704", Probate Office, Charleston, S. C.

[30] Thomas Cooper, *Statutes of South Carolina*, II. 22, 52-54, 78, 118, 121, 156, VII. 343. For an account of the eighteenth-century trade see Donnan, "The Slave Trade into South Carolina before the Revolution", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII. 804-828; D. D. Wallace, *Life of Henry Laurens*, pp. 72-94; Leila Sellers, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution*, pp. 124-147.

[31] A brief review of the arguments in this controversy may be found in H. A. Scamp's "Georgia the only free Colony", *Magazine of Am. Hist.*, XXII. 280-306; see also M. A. Chandler, "Beginnings of Slavery in Georgia", *ibid.*, XIV. 342-352.

sistent pressure which was brought to bear upon the harassed Trustees and in the face of the growing illicit importation which they seemed powerless to prevent they at last gave way. After 1750, when slavery was accepted, the characteristics of the trade resembled those of South Carolina, though on a reduced scale. A number of merchants traded in both colonies. When the Charleston port was closed to slaves they carried on their business in Savannah.

Once the permission to import negroes had been given, the increase in the negro population was rapid. On July 19, 1750, William Stephens, president of the colony, said that there were 349 working negroes in the colony. In August, 1751, the Trustees estimated that there were 400; in 1753, 1065 were listed and it was stated that the list was not complete; in 1760, 3578; in 1766, 7800.[32] Importation was greatest between 1760 and 1770. This might almost be inferred from a study of the advertisements for runaways, which are frequent during the sixties. The description of the errant negro frequently reads, "speaks no English", sure indication that the missing black was a "new negro". In addition, the slaves are often described by country, Angola, Congo, Ebo, Cormantine, Foulah, another evidence that they had not been long in the colonies. The seasoned negroes were rarely distinguished thus.

Until the Revolution, indeed until 1793, the trade was unrestricted. The act of that year, of which DuBois has apparently seen only the title, has been assumed to be an act forbidding importation: "An act to prevent the importation of negroes into this state from the places herein mentioned", but it only forbade importations from the West Indies, the Bahamas, and East and West Florida; indeed the records of the next few years make it obvious that Africa was not among the places mentioned or that the law was in effect for a brief period only. Customs manifests list negroes among the imports in 1794, 1795, 1796, and 1797. In 1798 importation was finally forbidden, first by legislation, later by a constitutional provision. After October 1, 1798, any importation whether from Africa or other place outside the United States was illegal.[33]

No attempt whatever has been made in this volume to document the Florida slave trade. During the days of the Assiento occasional cargoes were landed at St. Augustine though it was never an important market.[34] At a later date Florida was a convenient refuge for runaway negroes from Georgia and South Carolina. The demands of the English governors that these be returned were usually disre-

[32] L. C. Trans., C. O. 5: 218, p. 170; Scamp, *op. cit.*, p. 305; Gray, *Hist. of Agriculture*, II. 1025.

[33] DuBois, *Slave Trade*, pp. 236, 238, 239; Watkins, *Digest*, p. 530. The statement of a suit brought in 1811 seems to imply that a cargo of negroes was offered for sale in Savannah in October, 1807. Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, II. 295.

[34] One item records the introduction of 80 negroes. Add. MSS. 25563, p. 343.

garded and in 1739 the Spanish governor at St. Augustine referred to orders from Madrid that all English negroes be given their freedom. In 1767 the trade was opened to the English, who took immediate advantage of the privilege.

LONDON, Sept. 14 1767 Capt. Savery just arrived from St. Augustine, in the brigantine *Augustine* packet, carried there 70 Negroes from Africa, the first ever imported directly from thence, into that province. He informs that Dr. Stork, and a great many other settlers, were arrived there from England, in the *Aurora,* Capt. Fuller, and that upwards of 2000 Negroes were contracted for, by the noblemen and gentlemen in Great Britain, concerned in that province, to be imported there from Africa the ensuing summer.[35]

A year later the governor of Florida wrote, "Mr. Oswald has already upon his Estate there, above a hundred Negroes".[36]

Early in the history of the settlement of Louisiana the value of negro labor was recognized and a few blacks were brought in from the West Indies. One Santo Domingo merchant attempted to meet the need by an offer to exchange one negro slave for two Indians but he cannot have inaugurated a thriving business, since there were but ten blacks in the colony when Antoine Crozat, in 1712, was given a patent for the territory, with a monopoly of its trade. This grant allowed him to carry from Guinea to the colony one cargo of negroes a year.[37] Five years later his privileges and contracts were transferred to the Company of the West, the so-called Mississippi Company, one of John Law's creations. Law's schemes were at this time rapidly taking form. By December, 1718, he had acquired the privileges of the Company of the Senegal, to which he added the next year those of the East India Company, the China Company, and the Company of Africa trading to Barbary. These, with the Company of the West, were combined in one great merger, called the Company of the Indies, to which in the following year Law added the Company of Santo Domingo and the Guinea Company.[38]

The single company which now controlled the sources of labor supply and the French markets at once undertook to satisfy the needy colonists of Louisiana. In 1718 instructions were issued to the captains of the *Aurore* and the *St. Louis* to purchase slaves in Guinea

[35] *Mass. Gazette and News Letter,* Dec. 24, 1767.

[36] Gray, *Hist. of Agriculture,* I. 113, quoting L. C. Trans., C. O. 5: 549, p. 77. The following item doubtless refers to negroes belonging to Oswald: "The same Day put into this Port [Charleston], the Snow *Charlotte* of London, James Tosh Master, having been blown off the Bar of St. Augustine, where she lost all her Anchors. She had landed about 120 Slaves there from Bance-Island; the Master was ashore with them; and the Vessel was brought in by the Mate, Mr. Joshua Fox." *S. C. Gazette,* Feb. 7, 1771.

[37] N. M. M. Surrey, *The Commerce of Louisiana,* pp. 228-231; see also L. C. Trans., Archives Nationales, Paris, Ministère des Colonies, B 29: 258. Since that portion of the African coast was controlled by the French Company of Guinea it was necessary for Crozat to obtain the license of the company in addition to the grant from the government.

[38] Charles Gayerré, *History of Louisiana,* I. 191-207.

and carry them to Louisiana. In 1719 about 500 negroes were apparently delivered, in 1721 the company landed 1312, and between that time and 1732, when the territory was surrendered to the control of the crown, the company delivered some 6000 negroes.[39]

For the delivery and allotment of these laborers most minute regulations were formulated. An agent examined the assets of the planters to make certain that the need was real and the prospect of payment good. Upon landing, the negroes were subjected to a careful physical inspection. They were then turned over to those planters to whom they had been assigned, by means of duplicate numbers given to purchasers and attached to the blacks.[40]

When the control of the colony was assumed by the crown the supervision of negro importation fell to the Ministry of the Marine, though the Company of the Indies was still the agency by which the negroes were procured. It offered to deliver negroes to Louisiana, in order to discharge the debt which it owed the crown, but this bargain, or any other, the ministry seemed unable or unwilling to conclude.[41] Many plans were suggested for the transportation of slaves and during the next few years there was much discussion of method but little actual importation. The archives of the ministry contain many proffers of cargoes but little indication that they were accepted. In 1733 Santo Domingo merchants drew up a scheme for carrying negroes from Africa to Louisiana; in 1737 a merchant of La Rochelle offered to carry blacks to this colony and to sell them below the prices prevailing in the West Indies, provided the colony would take his entire cargo.[42] Still the government took no action. In 1738 Bienville asserted that it had been eight years since negroes had been imported, that the price had risen to 1400 livres, and that the need was acute.[43] In 1741 Dalcour brought forward a project which, after long consideration, was accepted, and a cargo of 190 negroes was landed in Louisiana.[44] Despite the ready sale which the negroes met, the government did not allow itself to be committed to Governor Vaudreuil's suggestion that 300 negroes a year be provided for the next three years. Another period followed in which there was

[39] L. C. Trans., Arch. Nat., Col., C 13, 5: 33. For a brief account of the early cargoes see H. P. Dart, "The First Cargo of African Slaves for Louisiana, 1718", *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XIV. 163-171 (April, 1931).

[40] For an account of the trade see Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, pp. 232-249.

[41] When urged to send negroes the ministry replied that the settlers had not been able to pay for those they had already received.

[42] See Col., C 13, 23: 120-131; C 13, 21: 109; F 3, 242; B 65: 90 and 517; and Surrey, pp. 239-240.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

[44] Ministère de Marine, Col., B 73: 63, 98, 134, 146; B 74: 656; B 75: 169; C. 13, 28: 82. The Company of the Indies, which supplied the negroes delivered by Dalcour, surrendered its right to bounty on them, and the government exempted from duty the goods received in payment for them. *Ibid.*, A 25: 288.

much negotiation and many plans which led to nothing, though there was probably some importation.[45] In 1752 and the years which immediately followed a few negroes were brought in each year but after the outbreak of the war France could give little attention to the economic development of Louisiana. The arrival and sale of the prize negroes from the *Opal* and the *Fortune* marked the end of French effort to provide this colony with a labor supply.

The years between 1762 and 1769, the period between the end of French control and the organization of the Spanish government, were years too confused and uncertain to make stable commerce possible.[46] Negroes were doubtless carried to Louisiana from the West Indies, since in 1763 it seemed necessary to forbid to the inhabitants of Louisiana the purchase of negroes from Santo Domingo. Two years later a similar order was issued with reference to Martinique.[47] Spain, however, with the closure of this source made no effort to supply the needed labor. That the English were smuggling negroes into the colony from Jamaica is evident. The intendant, Martin de Navarro, writing of 1766, said: "If the province of Louisiana had continued to enjoy the benefit which it obtained by means of the illegal trade of the English, it would now have had twenty thousand negroes or more; and consequently, a greater production and greater wealth." [48] Other problems of organization engrossed the Spaniards and they seem never to have made any systematic effort to provide slaves for the colony. "Even yet [1785] not the slightest measure has been taken relative to the sending of slaves, which is quite opposed to the method of making the province flourish and prosper." [49]

From letters written in the West Indies it is clear that by 1787 American traders were finding their way to New Orleans with negroes, probably in small lots.[50] In 1792 Carondelet forbade the importation of slaves from Jamaica or the French islands and suggested that the Louisiana traders obtain their supplies directly from Africa. The reason given for this order was the fear that the West Indian negroes might bring seditious ideas with them into the colony,

[45] Among the many plans offered for transporting negroes to the colony an elaborate one proposed by M. Rouille, in 1747, suggested a combination of the importation of negroes and the production of tobacco on a large scale. Bibliothèque National, MSS. Français 12224, pp. 309-315.

[46] For a general discussion of the regulation of Louisiana commerce after 1763, though with no special relation to the slave trade, see A. P. Whitaker, "The Commerce of Louisiana and the Floridas at the End of the Eighteenth Century", *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, VIII. 190-203.

[47] Min. de M., Col., C 13, 43: 308; 45: 100.

[48] "Political Reflections on the Present Condition of the Province of Louisiana" (1785 c.), in J. A. Robertson's *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States*, I. 252; see also Min. de M., Col., C 9: 118.

[49] Robertson, *Louisiana*, I. 252.

[50] Briggs, *Cabot Family*, II. 473; see also pp. 477, 479.

a fear created, or at least accentuated, by the rebellion in Santo Domingo.[51]

There is no evidence that the effort to encourage direct trade with Africa met with immediate success, but in 1800 plans were afoot for African importation. The French company, Cassagne, Huguet, Raymond, and Company, was negotiating for the privilege of importing 5000 negroes into Louisiana free of duty.[52] The change of owners, which returned the colony to France, made no change in the policy of excluding West Indian slaves, obviously the most natural source of a Louisiana supply. On November 26, 1802, secret instructions were prepared for the officer intended to be sent out as captain-general of Louisiana, providing that "trade in slaves shall be made only with Africa, and no slaves shall be received in Louisiana that come from the American colonies, as this is the only means of preserving Louisiana from the moral contagion that has infected those colonies".[53]

The decree of the Spanish government against importation from the islands, now upheld by French orders, roused much opposition. Paul Alliot, in his *Historical and Political Reflections on Louisiana,* wrote:

> A decree of the Spanish government, forbidding the inhabitants of Louisiana to bring in slaves since the beginning of the troubles in San Domingo, has entirely paralysed the progress of agriculture. . . . Several merchants of Havana who have sent negroes over secretly, have sold them for three thousand francs tournois apiece. Although but newly arrived from the shores of Africa, yet they were sold at Havana only for from fifteen to eighteen hundred francs.[54]

The prohibition of importation by the United States after the purchase of Louisiana met with like objection.

> The absolute prohibition of introducing slaves, to be rigorously enforced beginning with October, has alarmed them to such a degree that they voice their disapproval and discontent loudly without the least secrecy. Truly it is impossible for Lower Louisiana to get along without slaves; and it will be very damaging to their interests if they can not obtain the hands necessary for their work, which will infallibly decline. It is not easy to adduce a reason for this conduct, unless it be purposely to weaken the colony, which was making great strides toward prosperity and wealth. The inhabitants are so angered that it is with difficulty that they will be able to be amalgamated with the rude citizens of the United States,

wrote the Marqués de Casa Calvo, May 18, 1804.[55] On the same subject Laussat wrote: "The importation of negroes there is abolished

[51] Gayarré, *Louisiana*, III. 314, 325; Robertson, I. 193.
[52] W. R. Shepherd, *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Spanish Archives*, p. 44.
[53] Robertson, *Louisiana*, I. 373.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 113.
[55] *Ibid.*, II. 190. The act of Mar. 26, 1804, erecting Louisiana into two territories, forbade the importation of negroes from territory outside the United States.

point blank. The present inhabitants of Lower Louisiana could not have been attacked in a more vulnerable spot." [56] Officials from the United States added further evidence as to the state of mind of the inhabitants in the newly acquired territory:

> No subject seems to be so interesting to the minds of the inhabitants of all that part of the Country which I have visited as that of the importation of brute negroes from Africa. This permission would go further with them, and better reconcile them to the government of the United States than any other privilege that could be extended to this country. They appear only to claim it for a few years, and without it they pretend that they must abandon the culture both of sugar and cotton. White laborers they say cannot be had in this unhealthy climate. [57]

The form of the prohibitory measure allowed the importation of negroes into the territory from South Carolina between 1804 and 1807, and the surplus received from that state constituted a not inconsiderable number though it was not enough to satisfy the demands of the inhabitants. Governor Claiborne, with little support from the inhabitants, was unable to enforce the policy of exclusion and the smuggling of slaves came to be a well-organized business which, developed during the early years of the nineteenth century, continued for many years after the federal prohibition of all importation into the United States, and proved itself one of the most troublesome problems in the administration of the prohibitory legislation.

DOCUMENTS

135. Case of the *Turtle*, 1697.[1]

[On condition that security be given and that execution be not meanwhile stayed, the Council admit for hearing on the first Council day in June, 1700, the Appeal] of George Peers of Barbados merchant, in behalf of himself and the rest of the Owners and Laders of the Sloop called the *Turtle* of Barbados, Robert Cunningham master, Setting forth that about the month of July 1697, The Petitioners laded on Board the said Sloop at Barbados, some sugar, Rum, Malosses and Negro Slaves, to the value of above Twelve hundred pounds, and sent her on a Trading Voyage to Charles Town in The Province of Carolina; where she arrived on the 14th of August following, That on her arrivall in the said Port, the master duly Entred the said Sloop with the Navall Officer there Mr. Jonathan

[56] *Ibid.*, II. 54-55.

[57] "Report of John Watkins", an agent sent by Governor Claiborne to visit parts of Louisiana, 1804. *Ibid.*, pp. 318-319.

[135] [1] *Acts P. C. C.*, II. 333-334. After some delay the committee agreed, on Sept. 11, 1701, to consider the appeal.

Amory,[2] who afterwards seized and proceeded against her and her Cargo, in the Court of Admiralty of Carolina, as forfeited on pretence that the master was a Scots man, and so not navigated according to the Act of navigation. That the said Court on the 27th of August last, condemned the said Sloop and Cargo as forfeited, only because the master was a Scots man borne; From which Judgement the Petitioners Correspondents would have appealed, first to the Governor and Councill there, and afterwards to His Majesty in Councill, But were refused; Wherfore humbly praying to be admitted to Appeal from the aforesaid Judgement.

136. Act for the Encouragement of the Importation of White Servants, 1698.[1]

Whereas, the great number of negroes which of late have been imported into this Collony may endanger the safety thereof if speedy care be not taken and encouragement given for the importation of white servants. . . .

III. And be it further enacted, that every owner of every plantation to which doth belong six men negro slaves above sixteen years old, shall take from the Receiver one servant, when it shall happen to be his lot to have one, and shall within three months pay the Receiver so much money for the said servant as the Receiver gave to the person from whom he received the same; and the owner of every plantation to which doth belong twelve negro men, as aforesaid, shall when it shall be his lot, take two servants as aforesaid; and every master of every plantation proportionately.[2]

137. Case of the *St. Christopher*, 1703-1704.

[*Governor Nathaniel Johnson to the Board of Trade, 1703.*][1]

To the Rt. Honble. the Lords Commissrs. for Trade and Plantations.

May it please your Lordships, In all Matters relating to the Acts of Trade and Navigation, I think my self obliged to trouble your Lordships with an Account from this place.

[2] Jonathan Amory had come to Charleston from the West Indies some time previous to 1691. As speaker of the assembly he signed the statement of grievances against the Proprietors in 1692. In 1697 he was advocate general and public treasurer in South Carolina. He died in 1699, a victim of the smallpox epidemic of that year. Gertrude E. Meredith, *The Descendants of Hugh Amory, 1605-1805*, pp. 31, 35-36.

[136] [1] Thomas Cooper, *Statutes of South Carolina*, II. 153-156, no. 167, repeated March, 1700/1.

[2] The following spring (1699) Edward Randolph reported to the Board of Trade that throughout the province, in which there were not above "1100 families", there were four negroes to one white man (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1699, p. 104). In 1703 the colony laid a duty of 10*s.* on negroes from Africa and 20*s.* on those from other places. Cooper, II. 201.

[137] [1] L. C. Trans., C. O. 5: 1291, pp. 49-60.

And therefore presume to give your Lordships the following Account, and pray your Lordships Directions and Orders for the future, having in this Case done all that I was advised I could doe by Law, excepting I had had particular Powers and Instructions in it. The Case was this.

One Daniel Johnson junr. Son of One Daniel Johnson Senr. of Bermuda, was by the Royall African Company of England, appointed Commander of the ship *Christopher*. And was Ordered by the Companys Agent from Gambia to Bermuda with Negroes. But the said Vessell being unable to proceed her voyage he made for Turks Islands [2] a place uninhabited, and there meeting with a Bermuda Vessell, he put part of his Negroes on Board her and consigned them to his Father and one Capt. Tucker, in Bermuda; And the other part he put on Board of a Carolina Vessell then with him at Turks Islands and came with them hither, and immediately sold them. And the ship *Christopher* he left with two or three hands in her at Turks Island, and Orded. them to look after her till such time as they should have Orders from his Fathr. and Capt. Tucker what to doe with her, he being obliged by the Companies agt. to follow the Directions of his Father and Capt. Tucker relating to the ship *Christopher* and other Affaires.

If this Johnson had done any fraud or injury to the African Company, I was not able to prove it. Neither had I or any person here any power from the African Company to call him or any other p[er]son to an Acct.

So that all I was advised I could do, was to oblige the said Capt. Johnson to give me an Account of his Lading, and took the Affidavits of himself and his Men relating to his Voyage, the Copyes of which I have inclosed to yo. Lordships, and to which I humbly refer your Lordships for a full Account of his said Voyage.

Of this Matter I thought my Selfe obliged to give your Lordships an Account, And to pray your Directn. therein; For though in this particular Case, I could not see any design there coud be of defrauding her Majesty, the Negros paying no Custome,[3] yet the manner of it if suffer'd to be put in practice, may be of dangerous Consequence, For by that Means persons may goe to such a Maroone place as Turks Islands, and put their Goods and Merchandizes (which it may be are brought thither in an unqualifyed Vessell) on Board of a quali-

[2] Islands of the Bahamas. At the close of the seventeenth century the inhabitants of Bermuda obtained their salt from Turks Islands and voyages there were frequent. Sir Charles Lucas, *Historical Geography of the British Colonies: West Indies*, p. 16.

[3] The negroes probably arrived in Charleston before the act of May, 1703, had gone into effect and therefore paid no custom. What Governor Johnson apparently means is, that had that act been in operation they would have escaped payment because, since they were not delivered in Carolina in the vessel on which they were shipped from Africa, they did not come under the terms of that measure.

fyd. Vessell and so import them into the Plantations, by which they may in many things utterly defeat the intent of Severall of the Acts of Trade, But I having no Man of War here to send down to Turks Islands, and to bring up the said Vessell, all that I could do was to take the best Account I could get of the Affair, and transmitt it to your Lordships, that if your Lordships think fitting you may give your Orders relating to Johnson who is gone from hence to Bermuda; And I pray your Lordships Directions what can be in any thing of the like nature for the future.

CAROLINA July the 13th 1703.[4]

The Information of William Norris late Mate of the ship the "Christopher" in the Service of the Royll. African Company of England.[5]

This Informant deposeth, that in or about the Month of February, one thousand seaven hundred and two, he sayled out of the River of Gambia, on the North Coast of Guinea, in Africa in the ship aforesaid wth Danll. Johnson Mastr. thereof, to a place calld. St. Thomas's where the said Daniell Johnson putt ashoar two barrills of Nailes, two Cask of Pewter, forty hundred weight of Teeth and four Slaves into the hands of One Mr. Smith a Mercht. there, of whom he said he received one bitt per pound[6] for the pewter and

[4] "Copy of a Letter and Information which I sent your Lordships by the Brigantеen *Joseph*, James Norman Commander, which I am informed is lost." On Oct. 10, 1703, Lieutenant Governor Bennet of the Bermudas added a second chapter to the account sent to the Lords of Trade by Governor Johnson: "On the 16th instant I received from the Royal African Companies Agent at Antegua, H. M. Order of July 26 last, relating to the securing of the goods and effects belonging to that Company, that should be brought here by one Humphry Chisull and Captain Daniel Johnson from Gamboa, which upon suspecting the Captain's mismanagement I had done before, but Chisull is still (as I suppose) att Gamboa. What I have secured I doubt will fall much short of the Companies expectation, for this Johnson had been at St. Thomas's and sold all his elephants' teeth and wax, and also at Carolina, and there disposed of several negroes, and bought a sloop in which he came hither, and was very pressing to return to Gamboa, but I refused him unless he would make up his accounts, and give good security for his faithfull proceeding on the Companies behalf, which was not complyed with before my receipt of H. M. Order, and all that I can propose to do with him is, when I see his accounts to get what I can for the Company, and then secure him till I receive their further orders, of all which I have sent a particular to the African House by same conveyance with this." *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1702-1703, p. 751; endorsed: "Recd. Dec. 14, 1703, Read June 1, 1704".

Though Governor Johnson was mistaken in thinking the *Joseph* lost, his letter sent by it apparently did not reach the Board of Trade, who received his second account Sept. 13, and read it Oct. 19, 1704 (*B. T. Jour.*, 1704-1709, p. 49). The next day William Popple, secretary to the board, acting on its instructions, wrote to the Commissioners of the Treasury for their opinion on the whole affair, in order to discover whether Johnson had violated any of the navigation laws (L. C. Trans., C. O. 5: 1291, p. 53). On the same day Popple sent to the governor or deputy governor of the Royal African Company a request for all the information the company had relating to Johnson's voyage. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[5] L. C. Trans., C. O. 5: 1291, pp. 57-59.

[6] Probably at this time the equivalent of one-eighth of a Spanish dollar, or 6½ *d.* Later one-tenth or even one-sixteenth of a dollar was sometimes thus designated.

nailes, and Sold and delivered to the Branden burgers, thirty eight hundred weight (or thereabouts) of wax, and then proposed to this Deponent and others, to take the said ship the *Christopher,* out of the Harbr. aforesaid and burn her, which he this Deponent diswaded him from, telling him that if he would buy, so much Canvas as would make a Mayn Saile the Old Main saile would make all the other sailes fitt to Carry her to any Port (she then being very fitt and able to performe her Voyage) which the Said Daniel Johnson refused to doe, and thereupon put part of the Slaves and all the Teeth that were left in the *Christopher* on board a sloop and went himself in the Sloop and put a Pilot in the *Christopher* with the Deponent who Carryed her to Turks Island, where he the said Daniell Johnson took out all the Goods on board the *Christopher,* and put some into the Sloop aforesd. and the rest into another Sloop, with the Deponent bound to Bermuda, he going (as he said) to Carolina, leaving the *Christopher* under the care of the Pilot at Turks Island aforesaid, and taking with him part of the Slaves, thirty six hundred weight of Teeth and some great Guns, twelve Furzees, two Blunderbusses and Six Muskets with severall Gunners Stores, as tenn Barrells of powder with three Iron potts, each half full of Small shott and Balls.

And this Deponent further saith, when they arrived at Bermudas the Ninth of May one thousand seaven hundred and three, where the Master of the Sloop aforesaid delivered into the Custody of Captain Daniell Johnson Senr., as much dry Goods with thirteen Slaves as he paid sixty pounds for freight from Turks Island to Bermudas, and fourteen Guns and Cables new and old, one of wch the Deponent heard he sold for fifty Pounds, and fourteen Anchors, fourteen Cask of brass, pewter and beads, Rigging and Blocks.

And this Deponent further saith, that in the Month of June following, Daniell Johnson Master of the said ship *Christopher* came to Bermudas in the Sloop aforesaid, and after the Governr. was informed of said Daniell Johnson's proceedings, he Ordered him the said Daniell Johnson and his Father and this Deponent on the 24th of June aforesaid, to saile in the Sloop aforesaid to St. Thomas's to fetch the Teeth that he left with Mr. Smith aforementioned, which when they demanded Mr. Smith Said he had sold them, and then paid the said Daniell Johnson for them, from whence they sailed to Turks Island, where they found the ship *Christophr.* aforesaid, which ship *Christopher* the said Daniell Johnson late Commander, his Father and others unknown of this Deponent in the Month of July one thousand seaven hundred and three, sett fire to and burnt

said ship *Christopher,* taking the Cables, Anchors, Rigging and Iron work belonging to the aforesaid ship back wth them to Bermudas.

Jurat 20th Octobr. (1704).
Coram JOHN PERRY [7]

The Answer of the Royll. African Company of England, to a Letter received from the Secretary attending the Lords Commissrs. for Trade and Plantations, Enclosing a Copy of a Letter their Lops. received from Sr. Nathaniel Johnson Deputy Govr. of Carolina, Dated at Carolina the 13th July 1703.[8]

They say that in November, 1702, the French with two ships surprized and took their Fort called James Fort in the River of Gambia and pillaged the same.[9]

That Capt. Daniel Johnson whom the said Company intrusted with their Ship called the *St. Christopher* was at the same time with a considerable Cargoe trading up the River Gambia and at his return finding the Companies Fort had been plundered by the French, he Combining with one Humphry Chisnull, another of the Company's servants, run away with said ship and Cargoe with such Slaves, Teeth, and Wax, which he has traded for as aforesaid, to his Father at Bermudas, whereas they are informed he sold most of the slaves, teeth and Wax, and converted their product to his own use and afterwards burnt their ship *St. Christopher* at Turks-Island.

The said Company so soon as they heard Johnson was runn away with their ship, sent Letters to all the Islands in the West Indies, where they hoped to meet him, upon notice of which, the Governor of Bermudas Seized the said Johnson, and by her Majesties Order sent him home a Prisoner, but he made his escape in the night out of the ship that brought him to a Port in England.

Since which the Company at their great expence have seized the Said Johnson, and intended to prosecute him for his Crimes, he is now a Prisoner in the Marshalsea.

They say they never Trade to Carolina nor ever intended their shipp *St. Christopher* should be carryed thither with Slaves or any other Comoditys whatsoever.

And further to satisfy their Lordships in the Truth of the perticulars above recited, they herewith also send a Copy of an Affidavit made by one that was present with said Johnson at Bermuda and other places in the West Indies.

[7] John Perry (or Pery, as his name was more frequently spelled) was secretary to the Royal African Company.

[8] L. C. Trans., C. O. 5: 1291, pp. 54-56. This is signed "By Order of the Royll. African Company of England. JOHN PERRY Secty". See *Cal. St. P. Col.,* 1704-1705, pp. 294-295; *B. T. Jour.,* 1704-1709, p. 51. References to this affair are also to be found in T 70: 170, pp. 89-90, 92, 103, 110.

[9] Fort James had been captured by the Sieur la Roque and Captain de St. Vaudrille, of the *Mutine* and the *Hermione.* The company lost about 250 negroes in addition to 100,000 crowns ransom which it paid. H. F. Reeve, *The Gambia,* pp. 62-63.

If their Lordships will please to Send Copies of the Affidavits mentioned in Sr. Nathaniel Johnson's Letter perhaps they may give them some further light into Johnsons evill practises.[10]

African House
26th Octobr. 1704.

138. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1706-1724.[1]

Year	Negroes	Year	Negroes
1706	24	1716	67
1707	22	1717	573
1708	53	1718	529
1709	107	1719	541
1710	131	1720	601
1711	170	1721	165
1712	76	1722	323
1713	159	1723	436
1714	419	1724	604
1715	81		5081

[10] Captain Johnson's conduct was still under investigation by the company in 1706. On Apr. 12, 1706, the son requested an order to the governor of Bermuda to deliver goods belonging to himself and his father on account of the Royal African Company, "detained on pretence of his running away with the *Christopher*, lately belonging to that Company, and a like order to Edward Chester, or other Agent of the Company at Antego". "Minutes of Committee of Eight", Nov. 28, 1704, and June 26, 1705, T 70: 102; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1706-1708, p. 107.

[138] [1] McCrady, *South Carolina under Proprietary Government*, p. 723, app. 8, from the *Report of the Committee of the Commons House of Assembly of the Province of South Carolina on the State of the Paper Currency of the said Province* (London, 1737). The number of vessels is here omitted, since it is obvious that it bears no relation to the importation of negroes. How far these figures represent importation by small lots from the West Indies and how far direct trade from Africa can be surmised only after a painstaking accumulation of trifling items of evidence. Certainly both before and during this period there was some African trade. As early as 1700 Richard Oakley in a letter to the Royal African Company referred to vessels in the Gambia River from Carolina (Charles Davenant, *Works*, V. 175). In Edward Randolph's charges against Gov. John Archdale is the statement that he had seized a Carolina sloop "laden with negroes from Guinea" (*Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1701, p. 90). An entry of 1709 from the London custom-house refers to the *Loyall Johnson*, a ten-per-cent. vessel, "To Carolina, Designed 200, Carried 180", which suggests a negro cargo (C. O. 388: 13, p. 104 i). Sometime before Aug. 30, 1711, Col. William Rhett of Charleston seems to have sent out a Guinea voyage. Thomas Amory, who had been selected by the Rhetts as a future son-in-law (a position which he never held), wrote from the Azores to congratulate Colonel Rhett on the great success of his Guinea voyage and the good market to which he had come. Later in the same letter Amory pointed to the ease with which he could send slaves to Brazil, then added, "but Negroes sell as well at Carolina as at Brazell for there they never

139. Governor and Council of South Carolina to the Board of Trade, 1709.[1]

September 17, 1709.

The number of the inhabitants in this province of all sorts are computed to be 9580 souls, of which there are 1360 freemen, 900 free women, 60 white servant men, 60 white servant women, 1700 white free children, 1800 negro men slaves, 1100 negro women slaves, 500 Indian men slaves, 600 Indian women slaves, 1200 negro children slaves and 300 Indian children slaves . . . negro men slaves [are increased in the last five years] by importation 300, negro women slaves 200 . . . negro children 600.[2] . . .

Wee are allso often furnished with negros from the American Islands, chiefly from Barbados and Jamaica. . . . And the inhabitants by a yearly addition of slaves are made the more capable of improving the produce of the Colony. Notwithstanding 'tis our opinion that the value of one [our?] import is greater (if we include negros with the commodities that are consumed here) then our export by which means it comes to pass that wee are very near drained of all our silver and gold coine, nor is there any remedy to prevent this. . . .

N. Johnson
Tho. Broughton
Robt. Gibbes
Geo. Smith
Richd. Beresford

---

give above 150 c p. head at most for lusty Negroes and Boyes 40, 50 and 60 C according as they are" (Meredith, *Descendants of Hugh Amory*, p. 53). For 1718-1719 we have evidence of two African cargoes of 80 and 90 negroes respectively: the *Eagle* (*post*, no. 143) with 80; a London brigantine captured by the pirate Charles Vane, with 90 negroes bound for South Carolina (Johnson, *Pyrates*, 1724, I. 97, 142-144; *Boston News Letter*, Oct. 20, 1718); while Teach, on the coast in 1717 or 1718, captured a brigantine with 14 slaves (*Pyrates*, I. 73; for the charge against one of Teach's men see *Tyler's Quar. Magazine*, I. 38). Most of our fragmentary evidence goes to show that this list is far from complete; for example, an estimate that the sterling value of the slaves imported in 1723 equalled £20,000 (B. R. Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, II. 261). Some dealings with the Royal African Company the Carolinians must have had near the beginning of this period, for in 1708 Thomas Broughton of Charleston sent to the company his account asking that the balance due him be paid to his brother, Andrew Broughton, of London. Sept. 15, 1708, T 70: 2, p. 9.

[139] [1] *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1708-1709, pp. 466-467. This information was sent in reply to letters of May 7, 1707, and Apr. 15, 1708, from the Board of Trade (*ibid.*, 1706-1708, pp. 427-428, 430, 477-480). The editor has not come upon Carolina's reply to the circular letter sent out by the board on Apr. 15, 1708, when it was in the process of preparing its extensive report for the House of Commons. In this report the board stated that 1000 negroes a year were required by Carolina and New York together. See this work, II. 63.

[2] These figures suggest an annual importation larger than that given in the preceding list.

140. Act for governing Negroes, 1714.[1]

An additional Act to an Act entitled "An Act for the better Ordering and Governing Negroes and all other Slaves".[2] . . .

IX. And whereas, the number of negroes do extremely increase in this Province,[3] and through the afflicting providence of God, the white persons do not proportionably multiply, by reason whereof, the safety of the said Province is greatly endangered; for the prevention of which for the future,

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all negro slaves from twelve years old and upwards, imported into this part of this Province from any part of Africa,[4] shall pay such additional duties as is hereafter named, that is to say:—that every merchant or other person whatsoever, who shall, six months after the ratification of this Act, import any negro slaves as aforesaid, shall, for every such slaves, pay unto the public receiver for the time being, (within thirty days after such importation,) the sum of two pounds current money of this Province.[5] . . .

[140] [1] McCord, *Statutes,* VII. 367, no. 344.

[2] The introduction to the original act read: "Whereas, the plantations and estates of this Province cannot be well and sufficiently managed and brought into use, without the labor and service of negroes and other slaves; and forasmuch as the said negroes and other slaves brought unto the people of this Province for that purpose, are of barbarous, wild, savage natures, and such as renders them wholly unqualified to be governed by the laws, customs, and practices of this Province; but that it is absolutely necessary, that such other constitutions, laws and orders, should in this Province be made and enacted, for the good regulating and ordering of them, as may restrain the disorders, rapines and inhumanity, to which they are naturally prone and inclined; and may also tend to the safety and security of the people of this Province and their estates". *Ibid.,* p. 352.

In 1711 an additional duty had been laid on negroes in order to raise funds for an expedition against the northern Indians and to aid North Carolina. The text of this act has not been found but there is a reference to it in the act of Mar. 20, 1719 (Cooper, III. 66). This may be the act to which reference is made by Cadwallader Colden in a letter of November, 1711, written from Charleston to a Philadelphia merchant: "They have laid a Duty of 6 £ a head upon all Negroes that have been above 5 Months in any of the Plantations by an act this last assembly" (*Colden Papers,* I. 4, N. Y. Hist. Soc., *Collections,* 1917). Governor Gibbes in an address to the assembly in 1711 "recommended particularly to their attention the introduction of white immigrants on account of the large increase of negroes, who were beginning to exhibit a malicious disposition" (W. J. Rivers, *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina,* 1856, p. 251). That South Carolina was not ready to place a serious check on the importation of negroes may be conjectured from the petitions of her merchants and planters in 1711 and 1712 against granting an exclusive trade to the Royal African Company, since it had never satisfied the needs of that colony. *Journals of the House of Commons,* XVI. 550, XVII. 157; Stock, *Proceedings and Debates,* III. 250, 287.

[3] The number of negroes estimated to be in the colony at this time was 10,000. Rivers, *Hist. of S. C.,* p. 251n.

[4] The act of 1714 referred to by DuBois (p. 209), laying an additional duty on negroes from any part of America, known only by its citation in the act of Mar. 20, 1719, was possibly the act of Feb. 18, 1715, not 1714.

[5] The rate between currency, or the paper money of the province, and sterling, in 1714, was two to one (Wallace, *Life of Henry Laurens,* p. 53). A further evidence of disquietude was given by an act of June 30, 1716, to encourage the importation of white servants: "Whereas sad experience hath taught us that the small number of white inhabitants of this Province, is not sufficient to defend the same even against our Indian enemies, and whereas the numbers of slaves are daily increasing in this Province, which

141. RECORDS OF THE COURT OF VICE ADMIRALTY, 1717.[1]

Tuesday, June the 4th 1717.

The Court mett according to adjournment

And Arthur Lone the Defendant haveing put in his plea and Answer Sworne to the Same in Open Court which being admitted is as follows.

SOUTH CAROLINA. Before Nicholas Trott, Esqr. Judge of his ma'ties Court of Vice Admiralty in the province of South Carolina aforesaid Arthur Lone, Masr. or Comander of the Ship *Ludlow* Galley In behalfe of himselfe Mr. Samuel Barons and all other parties Interested and Concerned in the said Ship *Ludlow* Galley Appears and presents himselfe for and in Consideration of a Certain Libell asserted, produced and brought before you by Thos. Saunders, William Blackmore, John R——, Christian Crow, Samuel Wright, William Bovin, Henry Anderson, John Johnson, Benjamin Rowe, William Tisdell, Joseph Johnson, James Winter, William Corne, John Briggs, and Mathew Lord marriners belonging to the Said Shipp *Ludlow* Galley against him the Said Arthur Lone and for and by reason of all and Singular the matters and things therein Contained and the time Assigned to him the Said Arthur Lone to Answer the Same.

All advantages of E[*illegible*] to the Incertainties Insufficiencies and Impositions of the Libellants Said Libell now and all things hereafter Sav'd and reserv'd unto the Said Arthur Lone this Defendt. for Answer thereunto Saith That true it is that the Said Libellants were Shipt on board the *Ludlow* Galley Arthur Lone masr. the thirteenth day of September One thousand Seven hundred and sixteen as appears by an obligation under their hands and Seals bearing the same date in and by which Instrument in Writeing they Oblige themselves to proceed to Guinea with the said Ship and after her being Slav'd to proceed to one or more of the American plantations as the Said Captn. or his Successor should determine and as shall be most ad-

may likewise endanger the safety thereof, if speedy care be not taken to encourage the importation of white servants. . . . VIII. And be it further enacted That every owner of every plantation of which doth belong ten slaves, young or old, and all persons possessed of the like number of slaves, shall take from the Receiver one servant when it shall happen to be his lot to have one, and shall pay to the Receiver so much money for the said servant, as the Receiver gave to the person from whom he received the same, and the owner of every plantation to which doth belong twenty slaves, as aforesaid, shall, when it shall be his lot, take two servants, as aforesaid, and every master of every plantation proportionably for every ten slaves." This was repealed June 29, 1717 (Cooper, II. 646-649). A bounty of £25 was to be paid to those importing white servants. The duty act of the same date placed £3 on African negroes, £30 on all others, to be paid in currency.

[141] [1] MS. Records of the Court of Vice Admiralty, Charleston, S. C., vol. I.; photostatic copies are in the Library of Congress. These Records contain several cases which relate to the wages of seamen on board slavers; and one which refers to the mistreatment of seamen on board a slave vessel, vol. III., p. 45 ff., second numbering.

vantageous for the owners That the said Capta. Lone had orders from the Owners of the Said Ship in England to appear and Come to an Anchor off of the Barr of Charles Town and give Mr. Richard Splatt [Platt?] a person Imployed as agent or factor to the owners of the said Shipp Notice of his Arrival and in Case the Said Splatt was of opinion that the Country was in a Tolerable flourishing condition so as to produce Comodityes enough to make returns to England for that So Considerable a Cargoo and that Negroes bore a good price Hee was then to come over the Barr And the Said Splatt finding that it would be very much to the Interest of the Gentlemen Concerned in the Said Ship and Cargo that she should Deliver her said Cargo at this port of Charles Town and not to hazard Any other voyage after so long and dangerous a voyage performed thought it advisable to give him orders to Come into this Harbour of Charles Town and here deliver his said Cargoo of Slaves a great many of which in all probability would have dyed if he had attempted to go to any other place and as to that part of the Complainants Libell where they alledge and propound that they were to be paid Thirty Shillings Sterling money of Great Brittain per month to proceed on the said Voyage. The Said Arthur Lone doth propound to your Honour that the Said marriners were not Shiped on board the Said Ship to receive Sterling money of Great Brittain for their Wages for that it is usual and Customary for the Merchts. of Great Brittain to give the Sailors of any Ship or Ships bound for Guinea and from thence to any part of the West Indies Five and Twenty Shillings per month and no more but the Said Lone and the Owners of the said Ship *Ludlow* Galley fearing that there would be a difference in the Coin of any part or port in America and of Great Brittain and being willing that the Said Marrin'rs and Sailors might reap the fruits of their Labour gave them Five Shillings per month more than the Comon wages given for such a voyage in Consideration of which the Officers and Marrin'rs entered Severally and a part into a Bond or Obligation to performe the Said Voyage and therein and thereby agreed as is recited in the Said obligation reference being thereunto had doth and may more fully and at large appear.

The Said Severall officers and Marrin'rs on board the said Ship shall not claim any right or title to any further wages or pay untill the Said Ships Arrivall and discharge in any of our plantations than to receive only one halfe of the wages that shall be due to us or the whole if the Captn. or his Successors so pleaseth in the Current Specie of the Country and no further claim or Demand untill the Arrivall of the said Ship to this port of London. By reason of which Bond or obligation the said Lone Conceives and is advised that he is not Oblige[d] to pay them in any other Specie or in any other pro-

portion than accounting one pound Currt. money of this Colony Equall to one pound Sterling money—especially Considering that they had Five Shillings per month advanced to them above what is Customary in the like voyages and that the Owners positive Orders to him are to pay them in the Currency of the plantation where he should deliver his Cargo according to the true Intent and meaning of the Said Bond, and that if he did not in all respects oblige the Said Marriners to a performance of every Article of the said Bond he will be lyable to answer the neglect and reimburse his Owners as much as their Interests may Suffer by his not abiding by and Insisting upon the Agreement made in Great Brittain.

And as to and for and Concerning all that part of the said Libellants Said Libell whereby they sett forth that their wages are respectively due which Said wages computing from the Said thirteenth day of May do amount to the Sume of Twelve pounds Sterling money of Great Brittain to each of the said Libellants, and the Said Libellts. demanding their wages due to them for their Service on board the said Ship of the said Master or Mr. Richard Splatt they were given to understand that the said Libellants had Signed some Bond or Instrument in writing purporting amongst other things that they should receive their wages pound for pound Carolina money, which Bond or writing was never read or at least explained to the said Libellants as they alledge in their Said Libell and that in as much as the Said Libelants had not the least Intimation or notion of any Difference between the Said money of Carolina and Virginia and that the Said Libellants are advised that the Act made in the Sixth year of the reigne of her Ma'tie Queen Anne Intituled an Act for Accertaining the Rates of Foreign Coins in her Ma'ties plantations in America makes no distinction of the Currency of the Said Coin in America but settles it all at the same price.[2] The Said Lone doth propound as in this answer he hath before propounded that the Said Libellants wages are respectively due from the thirteenth day of September one thousand seven hundred Sixteen to which time the Deft. is willing to pay the same but never the less in the Current Specie of this province aforesaid and not to the thirteenth day of May One thousand Seven hundred and Seventeen as the Libellants in their Said Libell Alledge which at the rate of thirty Shillings per month Doth Amount to ten pounds ten Shillings to each of the said Libellants This Defendt. Conceiveing that the voyage was ended the day the Cargo of the Said Ship was delivered and that if there is any more wages due it is on a new Voyage and to be paid in Great Brittain That the said Libellants did Signe a Bond or Instrument in writing purporting as

[2] "An Act for ascertaining the Rates of foreign Coins in Her Majesty's Plantations in America", 6 Anne c. 30 (1707).

they in the said Libell have sett forth which is ready to be produced to your Honour and further Saith that the said Bond or Instrument of writing lay upon the Table in the great Cabbin when the Complainants Signed the said Bond and conceives that amongst So many of them that Wright good hands as appears by their signing the Said Bond they could by no means have Signed and Sealed the said Instrument had they not first read it heard it read or had it explained that Some of them was acquainted in some measure with the Lowness of the Currency of this Country appears by their being here in the said Ship the Voyage before this, and that the Owners of the said Ship could not give them better Information for that the money of this Country is grown of very considerable less Value within these few months and that the Act recited in the Libellants said Libell was made for Settling a Just estimate and value upon pieces of Eight Dollars and other pieces of Silver were Current but that the said act Cannot be taken to extend to any Colony w[h]ere the said Silver is not Current as in this province where the Currency is only paper and Silver made a Merchandise when it can be gott and Conceives and is advised that it does not oblige him to pay the Said Libellants Wages according to that Establishment since it cannot be taken notice of in this province where the currency is a [*illegible*] paper but that they ought to be paid according to an Obligation of their own Signing and Sealeing in the said Currency.

And Lastly as to for and Concerning what the said Libellants in their Said Libell do further alledge Sett forth or propound Concerning Mr. Samuel Barons his Imposing a notorious Fraud upon the said Libellants when he induced (as they alledge) to Signe Such a Bond or writing for taking their wages in the current money of this province Instead of Sterling or Virginia money and that therefore in all Courts of Equity it ought to be deemed to have been Scandalously obtained from the said Libellants and therefore in no wise obligatory or binding on the said Libellants as they humbly Conceive and are advised and the rather for that the Said Libellants were told by the Said Samuel Barons that it was only a Bond to perform the voyage and was read to few or none of the said Libellants nor Sealed and delivered by any of them as their Act and Deed. The Said Lone with all Submission Conceives that there was no design of fraud in the sd Barons his Owner for as much as he did not know to what little value the money of this Colony is reduced within this few months as is before sett forth,[3] that he is a considerable Trader and a man of Great Reputation upon Exchange of London and was never known to be guilty of any fraud in any Contract or dealing that he

[3] With the issues of paper money in South Carolina the value of her currency was falling rapidly. In comparison with sterling it went from two to four between the years 1714 and 1722. Wallace, *Laurens*, p. 53.

never induced the Libellants by any Insinuation or persuasion to Sign the Said Bond or Instrument, that he never Concealed the tenour or purport of it from them but exposed it to their view and Submitted it to their Constructions, that he never told them it was only to perform the voyage that they themselves was Judges of what Obligation they laid themselves under Since it appears by the Libellants own Showing in the Said Libell that it was read to few of them and when such a number of Men Sign an Obligation those that are made acquainted with it Inform the Rest and it is reasonable to suppose and pass almost for a Certainty that they would not have signed it had they not been acquainted with its Tenour and Effect and that the Defendt. Saw the Said Libellants one or more Signe Seale and as their Act and Deed Deliver the Said Bond as appears by the Severall Witnesses to the Said Bond.

And therefore this Defendt. doth plead the Bond or Obligation Signed Sealed and Delivered in the presence of their Credible Witnesses whereof the Deft. is one and is ready to make Oath of the same, and is advised and desires to abide by the Said Bond or Obligation and Humbly prays the Judgment of this Honble. Court whether he shall be put to make any further or other answer thereunto.

W. Blakewey, Dept.

Sworne the fourth day of
June 1717 Before me
Nicholas Trott, V. A. J.

142. Minutes of Meetings of the Lords Proprietors, 1719.[1]

Present { Lord Carteret Palatin; Mr. Ashley; Sr. John Colleton; Mr. Danson }

Feb. 13, 1718/9.

Mr. Baron and other Merchts. attending presented to the Lords, a Petition against An Act of Assembly, wherein an Additional Duty is laid of 40 £ per Head upon all Negroes that shall be imported after 8th June 1719,[2] which Petition being read,

The Lords think the repealing this Act (they not having any Knowledge that such an Act was ever pass'd, or what the Reasons

[142] [1] C. O. 5: 292, pp. 113-115.

[2] The act against which the merchants complained was an additional act to an act for the better ordering and governing of negroes and other slaves, passed Dec. 11, 1717, for the avowed purpose of checking the alarming number of negro importations. It was to take effect eighteen months after its passage and to continue for four years (McCord, VII. 368-370). It was repealed by the assembly on Mar. 20, 1719, before it had gone into effect. Cooper, III. 66.

were for passing such Act) is a Matter of so great Consequence, that they desire further time to consider of it; And if it appears to be so very prejudicial to the Merchts. as is averr'd their Lord'ps will then repeal it.

Order'd that Mr. William Wragg[3] who is one of the Council at Carolina, and was there at the Time when this Act was pass'd in the Assembly do send word to the Secretary in Writing, what the Title and purport of the said Act is, and what were the Inducements and Reasons for the makeing the said Act. . . .

Feb. 20, 1718/9.

The merchants having been heard concerning the 40£ per head additional duty upon negroes, etc., the Lords did not think it advisable to repeal the said act, but will immediately send to the governor and council for the act, and require their reasons for passing it; directions will also be given that in future they pass no act affecting the trade or shipping of this Kingdom without a reserved clause, that the acts shall not be of force until they have received the approval and confirmation of the proprietors. . . .

Feb. 27, 1718/9.

Read the merchants address to the board respecting two acts, one entitled "An additional act to an act entituled an act for laying an imposition upon liquors, goods and merchandize"; the other "A further additional act to an act entituled an act for the better ordering and governing of negroes and all other slaves".[4] As to the first act, the Lords agree to its repeal; as to the second, order was given to prepare a letter to the governor and council, stating that great complaints have been made against the said act, and they have been pressed to repeal it, but the Lords are unwilling to repeal it from the report of the danger likely to accrue to the country from the number of negroes; if the governor however considers there is no real danger, they are advised to repeal the act and in lieu to pass one

[3] Is it conceivable that the Proprietors had confused William Wragg with Samuel his nephew, who was a member of the South Carolina council and a considerable merchant of Charleston and London? Samuel had in 1719 but recently come to London. It may be remembered that his first attempt to make the voyage to England was frustrated by his capture by pirates off the Carolina coast. S. C. Hughson, *Carolina Pirates and Colonial Commerce, 1670-1740* (Johns Hopkins *Studies*, vol. XII.), p. 70; Johnson, *Pyrates*, I. 74.

[4] Both acts were passed Dec. 11, 1717. The first laid no new duty but somewhat modified the process of collection, and exempted from its operation goods or negroes imported in ships built and owned in the province. Goods imported in vessels built in the province but owned elsewhere paid half the duty. Cooper, III. 32-33; McCord, VII. 370.

obliging every planter to have one white man to every ten negroes.[5] . . .

143. Case of the *Hanover Succession*, 1719.[1]

Memorandm. That on the Sixteenth Day of November Anno. Dom. 1719, personally came and appeared before me William Blakewey, Esq. Judge of his Ma'ties Court of Vice Admiralty in the province of S. C. Nicholas Gardiner Marriner late master or Commander of the *Bensworth* Galley belonging to Bristol who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelist Saith:

That he being a passinger on board the *Eagle* pinck Capt. William Ricketts Comander from the Coast of Guynea having on board about Eighty and odd Slaves on or about the Latter end of September last the sd Ship *Eagle* being at anchor off North Edistoe the Ship *Hanover Succession* (Capt. Clipperton Comander) came to anchor nigh the said pink and the sd Clipperton came on board the said Pink and there stayed about three or four hours. And in the meantime Clipperton's boat manned with Sailers belonging to the said Capt. Ricketts was by Clipperton's order sent on board the *Hanover Succession* to fetch a Barrell of Rice and a Cask of Water which the said Capt. Ricketts then stood very much in need of for the Support of Negroes and others then aboard him, which was accordingly brought on board the sd. *Eagle* Pink and presently after that Clipperton went on board the *Hanover Succession* again. And Nicholas Gardiner further saith that on the next day he went on board the ship *Hanover Succession* in order to get another cask of Rice and a Barrell of Water which Clipperton then ordered his Sailers to get

[5] The letter here ordered was sent the same day, with instructions that hereafter no act affecting trade was to be passed without the approval of the Proprietors (C. O. 5: 290, pp. 132-135), and with an explanation of their repeal of the first of the two acts: "We think it highly unreasonable and unjust, that in matters relating to trade, any difference or distinction should be made between his Majesty's subjects residing in Great Britain and those that live in our Province of South Carolina, or that any greater duty should be imposed on ships built in Great Britain than on ships built in Carolina; wherefore we the Lord Palatine and the rest of the Lords Proprietors of the Province of South Carolina in America, do think it proper to repeal and make void an Act of Assembly entituled an additional Act to an Act entituled an Act for laying an imposition on liquors, goods, and merchandizes, etc. and we do hereby declare the said Act, and all matters and things therein contained, to be repealed, made null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever" (Cooper, III. 33). Before the letter of Feb. 27, 1719, could have reached the province the various acts pertaining to negro duties had been repealed by the assembly and a new measure passed, on Mar. 20, 1719, which laid a duty of £10 on African negroes and £30 on all others imported, and continued the distinction between vessels built and owned in Carolina and those owned in Great Britain. This was repealed by the Proprietors on July 24: "We have repealed the three several Acts you sent Us over, *viz*t. An Act for the laying an Imposition on Negroes, Liquors, and other Goods and Merchandizes etc. We think that Act illegal because of the great inequality the Subjects of Great Britain lie under in relation to their Trade" (C. O. 5: 290, p. 151). Before the news of this action reached America the rule of the Proprietors was over and the act remained in effect. Cooper, III. 56-69; McCrady, *Proprietary Government*, p. 649.

[143] [1] MS. Records of the Court of Vice Admiralty, Charleston, S. C.

out (he knowing that the Ships Crew and all the Negroes on board the *Eagle* Pink had for long time before undergone great hardships for want of the same or some other provisions), but the Sailers in general (and in particular the two Mates) murmured seeming thereby to refuse to obey their Captn. Commands complaining that the Rice could not be got at without taking out the Head of the Cask and further at the same time abused the Master Clipperton by the most Scurrilous and Ill Language that could be thought of. And the Deponent saith that the Rice might easily have been got at and that without any further trouble than unstowing Six Barrels of Tarr at the most but through the Obstinacy of the men the Master Clipperton was forced to comply with the Saylors and deliver the Cask of Rice to Supply the then Emergent necessitys of Ricketts and Gardiner the rest of the persons on board the said *Eagle* Pink by Staveing out the Head of the Cask Which this Deponent looks upon as the more inhuman in the marriners by reasons of the Great necessitys and the Deplorable Circumstances the persons on board the said *Eagle* Pink were in at that time. And Nicholas Gardiner further Saith that as soon as Clipperton the first time went on board the *Eagle* Pink he immediately complained of the hard usage of his Sailors and that he had been forced to Steer back for Charles Town tho contrary to his will. And Gardiner further saith that on parting with Clipperton which was in two days time after they first mett, Capt. Ricketts offered Clipperton to lend him some hands (if he wanted them) to help him heave up his Anchor which Clipperton replyed that if he wanted any he would send his Boat for them. And Gardiner further Saith that neither he nor Capt. Ricketts (in his hearing) ever offered to lend Clipperton any hands to help him into the Harbour at Charles Town.[2] . . .

144. Governor Robert Johnson to the Board of Trade, 1720.[1]

Charles Town, South Carolina, Jany. 12, 1719/20.

My Lords, . . . There have been exported in one year, by

[2] The point at issue in this case was the condition of the *Hanover Succession.* There is no further reference to the negro cargo of the *Eagle.*

[144] [1] Rivers, *Chapter in the Early History of South Carolina,* pp. 98-99. Endorsed: "Recd. April 29, 1720. Read 3 May, 1720." Robert Johnson was governor from 1717 till the overthrow of the proprietary government. This information was given in answer to a query sent out by the Board of Trade, "What Trade is there in that Province, by exportation or importation, how, and in what particulars is the Trade thereof increased or decreased of late years, and what hath been the reason of such Encrease or Decay". Two estimates of population were sent to the Board of Trade in 1720, one gave the population as 9000 whites and 12,000 blacks; the second, 1500 to 2000 fighting white men and 14,000 to 15,000 negroes (Br. Trans., VIII. 66, 254. Unless otherwise stated, the British Transcripts to which reference is made are those in the possession of the South Carolina Historical Commission at Columbia). In the account of taxpayers for this year, the number of slaves was given as 11,828 (*ibid.,* IX. 23). Between the loss of power on the part of the Proprietors in 1719 and the arrival of Francis Nicholson, the first royal

computation above fifty thousand barrells of both [pitch and tar], which great exports of Navell Stores, not only have occasioned the greater consumption of British Manufactures, but incouraged the Merchants abroad, to import into this Province, great numbers of Negroe Slaves from Africa, and brought a great concourse of Ships to this Port, to load our bulky Commodities. . . . Whence[2] we import . . . from the Northern Plantacons . . . Negro Slaves. . . . To this bounty money[3] was chiefly atributed the cause of our Trades increasing very considerably, within these ten years our Planters having by means thereof, been so enriched as to purchase great numbers of Negroes Slaves, the labour of which has incredibly increased the produce and manufacture of this Province.[4] . . .

governor, in 1721, James Moore acted for the new government, but Johnson maintained his claim to the position for some time after the revolution. This probably accounts for the date of this report.

[2] From the American plantations.

[3] The bounty for exporting naval stores.

[4] Enclosure in the above letter: "We receive Cloathing, Furniture, Iron Ware, and every other thing that is necessary for the conveniency of the life of man from Great Britain, whose Merchants are the only Traders with us, and by yearly supplying us, with near one thousand negroes encreases our export by the many more hands sett at work." ("Answer to the Queries sent by the Hon'ble the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations relating to the State of South Carolina", Rivers. *Chapter in the Early History of South Carolina*, pp. 98-99, 108). Estimates of profit from slave labor in Carolina were always large: "A planter can make more tar here with fifty slaves than they can do with double the number in those places" (Virginia and the northern colonies, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1699, p. 106). A *Letter from South Carolina*, 1710, computes the returns from 30 negroes working on 90 acres of land: "The 30 Negroes beginning to work in September or October will clear 90 Acres of Land, plant and hoe it: half of which, that is 45 Acres, sowed with Rice, will, after the common computation yield 1000 Weight an Acre, which sold at 15 *s.* a Hundred, the middle Price, amounts to 337 *l.* 10 *s.* The other 45 Acres are to be sowed with Indian Corn, Pease, Pompins, Potatoes, Melons, and other Eatables for use of the Family." Governor Glen in his "Description of South Carolina" (1761) estimated that good land could raise from ten to thirty-five bushels of corn an acre, and that one negro could tend six acres. Corn then sold for from 10 *s.* to 15 *s.* per bu., currency. Of rice, one negro could produce from 22 to 23 cwt., which sold for from 45 *s.* to 55 *s.* per cwt. (Carroll, *Collections*, II. 202-203). All was not well with the planters however. The large purchases of negroes had plunged them into debt, the burden of which the act of Feb. 13, 1719, attempted to relieve: "Whereas, divers persons within this Settlement, not knowing how or on what fund or funds, the several sorts of bills of credit currant in the same were settled, nor forseeing the great and sudden fall of their commodities, as rice from four pounds the hundred unto forty shillings, have unwarily engaged themselves, some by entering into bonds for currant money, at and after the rate of two hundred and fifty pounds currant money for new negroes, and other, for upwards of that sum; whereas indeed new negroes are worth, at the highest price, not above thirty pounds, or thirty-five pounds proclamation money. . . . And whereas, some few persons have endeavoured to amass to themselves the greatest part of all the several sorts of said bills into their own keeping . . . do intend that such debtors shall in a little time pay such currant moneys (as they are so called by several acts of this Settlement) in proclamation money, to the utter ruin of such persons, who have made or entered into such bonds, contracts, or agreements, and tending to the depopulation of the whole Settlement, unless some remedy according to equity be provided against a calamity so general." The act provides that such debts may be paid in Carolina commodities at a fixed schedule of prices. Cooper, III. 105-108.

145. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1721-1726.[1]

A List of Negro's Imported from May 30th, 1721, to September 29th, 1726.

	Negro's
From May 30th to September 29th 1721	104
From September 29th 1721 To Septem'r 29th 1722	215
From September 29th 1722 To Septem'r 29th 1723[2]	527
From September 29th 1723 To Septem'r 29th 1724	602
From September 29th 1724 To Septem'r 29th 1725	433
From September 29th 1725 To Septem'r 29th 1726	1751
Total since His Excellency's Governm't	3632

Port of Charles Town

Wm. Hammerton, Nav. Officer

So. Carolina, In Councill this 18th day of Jan'ry 1726/7
Sworn before me, N. Middleton

An accot of Negros Imported in the following Vessells Arived from Affrica.[3]

1724, July 24 Capta. Albert Muller Enters in the Briggantine *Amerrica,* Thomas Marshall Commandr *Vizt.*

Men and Women	97	
Boyes and Girles	19	116 Negros

Ditto. Enters per the Ship *Greyhound* Galley, Edward Holden Commander, *Vizt.*

Men and Women	158	
Boys and Girles	29	187 Ditto

[145] [1] C. O. 5: 387, f. 130. These were the years in which the swamp lands of Carolina were being opened to rice. This not only created a demand for negro labor but provided a commodity with which it could be purchased. F. V. Emerson, "Geographic Influences in American Slavery", American Geographic Society, *Bulletin,* XLIII. 13 (1911).

[2] The act of 1721 placed on all negro slaves imported from Africa directly or from any other place, if above ten years of age £10, if below, £5. In addition to this all negroes imported from other parts of America must pay for six months after the passage of this act £30, and upon the expiration of the six months, £50, unless the owner, importer, or factor could certify that they were new negroes who had not been on shore six months in any part of America. For children under ten the additional duty was £5. The reason for this heavy impost was that slaves in other colonies were frequently shipped to Carolina for misconduct (Cooper, III. 160-161). The law of 1722 continued these provisions with the addition that Spanish negroes must pay £150, as they were thought to encourage the Carolina negroes to run away (*ibid.,* pp. 194-196). Between Jan. 1, 1722, and Sept. 29, 1723, £3625 were received from the duty on negroes. Carolina Historical Commission, Columbia, Br. Trans., XI. 56, 63.

[3] Cooper, p. 243. The white population at this time was estimated at 14,000, that of the negroes at 32,000. *Importance of the British Plantations in America* (1731), pp. 64-65.

Brought forward			303	
	Joseph Wragg Enters per the Ship *Ruby*, James Craige Commander *Vizt.*[4]			
	Men and Women	24		
	Boys and Girles	3		
	Messrs. Gibbons and Allen Enters per sd. Craige			
	Men and Women	78		
	Boys and Girls	7	112	Ditto
Sepr. 23	Joseph Wragg Enters per Ship *Cape Coast*, Peter Travisa Commander *Vizt.*			
	Men and Women	112		
	Boys and Girles	3		
	Capt. Peter Trevisa Enters per Sd. Ship			
	Men and Women	10		
	Girle	1	126	Ditto
Octobr 20th[5]	Charles Hill Esqr. Enters per the Ship *Pearle* Galley, Inkin [Jenkin?] Hughes Comandr *Vizt.*			
	Men and Women about	153		
	Boys and Girles "	40	193	Ditto
			734	Negros

So. Carolina

Memorandum. The Above is a Just Acco. of What Negros Hath bin Imported from Affrica. Octobr. the 20th 1724

632 Men and Women Duty 10 £ per head	£6320
102 Boys and Girles under Ten years of Age at 5 £ per head	510
A. Parris Treasur.[6]	£6830

146. The Royal African Company: Minutes of Committee, 1722-1727.[1]

1721/2, Mar. 13. Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Wrag[2] attending, were Call'd and Discours'd with touching their Proposal for being furnish'd

[4] See this work, vol. II., index.

[5] One cargo of negroes came to South Carolina inadvertently, probably late in 1724. Captain Durfey, with a cargo of the Spanish-American trade under the terms of the Assiento, was captured by pirates and the negroes on his vessel carried to Charleston. Whether they were sold there or not we do not know (letter to Gov. Francis Nicholson, Apr. 20, 1725, Add. MSS. 25564, p. 203). On Jan. 1, 1723/4, the agents of the African Company at Whydah wrote that there had arrived there the *"Cleeveland* Gally of Carolina".

[6] Endorsed: "Decr. the 23d 1724, Read Novr. the 18th 1725." What remained of this sum after the clergyman's stipend was paid and the building of a church was provided for was to be applied to redeem the £55,000 issue of paper currency (Br. Trans., XIV. 54). A calculation of the South Carolina revenue from negro duties for 1728 placed it at £750 stg. Br. Mus., Newcastle Papers, Add. MSS. 33028, p. 185.

[146] [1] T 70: 123, "Minute Book of the Bye-Committee of the Committee of Trade and Correspondence of the Royal African Company of England From June the 10th 1720 To January the 4th 1722". On Feb. 27, 1721, the committee had moved consideration of a ship with slaves for South Carolina. T 70: 123, p. 7.

[2] Samuel Wragg had probably left his brother Joseph in charge of their Carolina business while in London, where after 1726 he was agent for the colony. For his testimony on the Carolina trade see *post*, no. 147.

by the Company with Slaves at South Carolina. And sometime was Spent therin, but could not come to any Conclusion.

1722, May 9. Mr. Wrag came, and was discours'd with about the Contract for Slaves at South Carolina, which he desires to Enter into for himself, and took time till tomorrow morning to Consider of that article relating to unmerchantable Negroes, which are to be valued.

1722, May 23. Mr. Wrag came and a farther progress was made in the matter relating to the agreement he desires to make with the Company for Slaves to be furnished at South Carolina.

1722, May 24. The Agreement Settled with Mr. Wrag for 300 Slaves yearly at South Carolina.

1722, May 31.[3] Draught of contract with Wrag, 300 slaves for South Carolina read. He asked to name his security. Penalty be double the sum of the contract.[4]

1722, June 29.[5] Agreed . . . That the Court be Mov'd for directions. . . . That a Ship be appointed for Gambia to Slave there for South Carolina according to the Contract made with Mr. Wragg.

1722, July 26. Agreed, To Report to the Court as the opinion of this Committee, That it be recommended to the Commitee of Goods to make a Computation of what Quantity of Kendal Cotton will serve for Clothing the Slaves which are to be Sent to South Carolina and to put it on board the Ship.

1722, Aug. 16. Agreed, To Report to the Court, That the *Francis* Galley which the Comm'ee of Shipping have taken up with design to Slave at Gambia for Carolina be appointed to go to Cape Coast Castle to Slave there for Jamaica, and that it be recommended to the said Comm'ee to agree with the Owners for this alteration of the Voyage and to the Comm'ee of Goods to order a Sufficient Cargoe on board her of such Goods as are in the Warehouse.

1722, Oct. 24. That it be recommended to the Comm'ee of Shipping to Consider of a Ship for 300 Slaves at Gambia for Carolina.

1722, Oct. 25. Ordd. . . . That it be recommended to the Com'ee of Goods to provide Clothing for 300 Slaves which are to be carried from Gambia to So Carolina.

1722, Dec. 12.[6] Mr. Wrag having given a General Letter of Creditt for Capt. Lansdale of the *Lady Rachell,* upon his Agents at

[3] T 70: 91, p. 142 (2). At this point only the left-hand pages in the volume are numbered.

[4] An entry of July 25 gives as the security of "Mr. Saml: Wragg of Carolina", "Mr. Samll. Wrag his Unkle of Islington, and Col. John Lynch of Fenchurch Street Mercht." *Ibid.,* p. 154.

[5] T 70: 123, *ibid.,* 91, pp. 160 (2), 173 (2), *ibid.,* 131, p. 127.

[6] T 70: 91, p. 188. The *Lady Rachel* left the Gambia for Charleston in May, 1723, with 221 slaves consigned to Mr. Wragg. T 70: 7, p. 63; see this work, II. 294.

South Carolina. Ordered, That he be directed to take up Credit thereon not exceeding 1/3 part of the Freight.

1723, Nov. 6.[7] That Mr. Plunket have directions immediately on his arrivall at Gambia to proceed in purchasing a Number of Negroes not exceeding 300 to be Sent to South Carolina to be ready to be put on board in all February. And, That the *Northampton* be the Ship to carry them, if no other more proper Ship can be thought of to be sent out so as to be at Gambia in all January.

1724, Jan. 10. That the Cape Coast Frigatt be fitted out with all possible Dispatch for Gambia to take in what Negroes she can receive upon contract with Mr. Wragg for South Carolina.

1724/5, Feb. 17.[8] A Letter from Mr. Wragg read, desiring another Ship may be Order'd to Gambia, to carry a further Number of Slaves to Carolina upon the foot of the Contract.

Upon which the Contract was read As also a Minute from the Comm'ee of Goods, That there are no Goods in Warehouse proper for a Gambia Cargo.

Wednesday July 7th 1725.[9] . . . The Comm'ee took into consideration the Acct. with Mr. Wrag for Slaves furnished him at Carolina by the Ship *Lady Rachell,* and gave him the same to peruse and see if he has any objections thereto.[10]

Wednesday July 21st 1725.[11] . . . A Letter from Mr. Wragg recd. wherein he proposes as follows, *Vizt.*

That a Ship be now sent out by the Company which shall take in not less than 240 Slaves, which allowing for mortality, may deliver in Carolina Two hundred and Twenty. And that the Company be obliged to deliver Eighty more on board such Ship as he shall send (in not less than four months after) to Gambia the Company paying Customary freight, and he allowing the price on delivery in Carolina according to Contract,

And the Committee having discoursed him upon the same, are of opinion, That the said proposal be complyed with in order to the finishing that Contract, and that a Ship be taken up accordingly.

[7] T 70: 124. In his testimony before the Board of Trade in 1726 Wragg referred to his contract with the African Company as the only effort which that company had ever made to supply the South Carolina market (*post,* no. 147). Francis Yonge, in "A View of the Trade of South Carolina" (1723, Br. Trans., X.), refers to vessels fitting in Holland for Guinea and the plantations, some owned by Englishmen, some by Hollanders. It is difficult to believe however that any considerable portion of the Carolina supply was brought by the Dutch.

[8] T 70: 124.

[9] T 70: 103, p. 27, "At a Comm'ee of Seven".

[10] On the same day, "Mr. Wrag having a Letter of Attorney from Jno. Hodges late Smith at Gambia, and from William Hayes late Soldier at Ditto empowering him to receive from the Company the ballance of their Acct. Which being stated, The Committee have no objection to William Hayes acct. and agreed that Mr. Wrag have Creditt for the ballance in his Acct. with the Company; but John Hodges being concerned with other Mutineers, ordered, That a stop be putt to his Acct. till he appears to answer for the same." T 70: 103, pp. 28-29.

[11] *Ibid.,* pp. 32-37.

Thursday July 22nd 1725. . . . It is the opinion of this Committee, That Mr. Wrag pursuant to the 8th Article of the Contract, do furnish the Ship now to be sent to Carolina with full freight home in the same manner as if it was one of the Companys own Ships, and upon the terms therein mentioned, and that he endorse the Charter party accordingly.

Friday July 23rd 1725. . . . Considered further of the Memorandum which is to be indorsed upon the Contract with Mr. Wragg.

Wednesday July 28th 1725. Mr. Wragg came and was further discoursed with about the Ship which is to go now for Gambia and Carolina, and the Agreement concluded.[12]

The Comm'ee also settled Accts. with him for the Voyage of the *Lady Rachell,* the ballance due to the Compa. being £156. 19. 8.

Thursday July 29th 1725. . . . Ordered That Mr. Wragg have a Copy of his Acct. of the Voyage by the Cape Coast Fregate the ballance of which is £2435. 18. 6. due to the Compa. and payable in September next.

Friday July 30th 1725. . . . The Indorsement was made upon the Contract with Mr. Wragg according to the Order of Yesterdays Court.

Thursday Feb. 10th 1725/6.[13] Upon considering Mr. Wraggs Letter of the 20th of Jany. last, referred last Court Day to the Committee.

A Letter was thereupon drawn up to be sent to Gambia by the Ship he is now Sending thither, directing Mr. Plunket and the Chief Merchts. to putt on board the said Ship the 80 Slaves remaining to compleat the Contract made with him.

Thursday February 23, 1726/7. Mr. Wragg being discoursed with upon the Demand He makes of 240 Negroes which He alledges were delivered short at Carolina, upon former Contracts made with the Company.

The Committee are of opinion, That for putting an end to all disputes relating to the said Contracts the following Propositions be made to Mr. Wragg

1. That the Company do send out by a Ship He has ready to sail for Gambia to the value of £300 in Goods and Provisions, to be consigned to the Company's Agents there.

[12] This was apparently the *Diligence,* recently sold for £530. Items of July and August refer to the charter party of the *Diligence,* and later it becomes evident that Captain Rodwell delivered one cargo (possibly several) in Carolina for the company (*ibid.,* pp. 29, 36, 37, 42, 141). An entry of Sept. 13, 1726, reads, "Allowed to pay to Captain Emanuel Rodwell of the *Diligence* in full of his own Commission and Doctors head Mony of Negroes deliver'd at Carolina as per Charter party", and for Oct. 10, 1727, "Allowed to pay to Emanuel Rodwell Commander and the Owners of the *Dilligence,* in full for Freight of Negros from Gambia to Carolina 700 £ as per Warrant Dated 20th Octr. 1726". T 70: 103, pp. 141, 234, T 70: 7, p. 133.

[13] T 70: 103, pp. 89, 167, 180.

2. That the Company give Direction to their said Agents to purchase and deliver to the Master of the said Ship for the time being 50 Negroes certain, and also as many more as they can possibly procure during the said Ship's stay there, not exceeding one hundred qualifyed as to Ages and Sexes pursuant to the 2nd Article of the above-mentioned Contract. And that the said Agents put them on board, not less than ten at a time.

3. That Mr. Wragg covenant that the said Ship shall carry the above mentioned Goods and provisions and deliver the same to their Agents Freight free.

4. That upon putting the said Negroes on board, the Master for the time being shall draw Bills for the amount upon Mr. Wragg after the rate of £9. 10. Sterling per Head, payable 12 Months after Date, which Mr. Wragg shall covenant to accept and pay in their due time.

5. That the said Mr. Wragg will accept of the said 50 Negros in full satisfaction and discharge of the several parcels of Negros stipulated to be delivered him by the abovementioned contract and the Indorsement thereon dated 29th July 1725, any thing in the said Contract or Indorsement to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.[14]

Tuesd. April 25, 1727. Mr. Wragg came and his Acct examined and adjusted for Negroes carryed to Carolina by the *Dilligence,* Capt. Rodwell and the *Samuel* Capt. Paine; the Ballance due to the Company being £1037. 6. 8; whereof to be paid by Contract the 4th May next £348. 16. 3. and on the 10th Septr. next £688. 10. 5.

1727, Sept. 21.[15] Mr. Wragg came, And the Account between the Company and him was settled, and he paid the Ballance being £538.

1727, Sept. 27. Mr. Wragg's Letter read of the 26th wherein he desires his Ship the *Ruby* Capt. Colwell, if it happens to be at Gambia at the Same time the *Guinea* Packet is there, may be furnished with 40 or 50 Slaves for which he will pay the company at the rate of £10 per head.

It is the opinion of the Comm'ee That Mr. Wragg's request be complyed with, and that Orders may be sent to the Agents at Gambia accordingly.[16]

[14] 1726/7, Feb. 24: "Agreed with Mr. Wragg That He ship for the Company's Acco't 20 barrls of Gunpowder at 4.15 per Barrell to be allowed him in part paym't . . . . Order'd, That Mr. Lynn write to the Agents at Gambia by this Ship a Short Letter to inclose the Invoice and Bill of Lading and a Copy of the Agreement now concluded with Mr. Wragg."

[15] T 70: 103, pp. 229, 231. On Apr. 24 the Gambia factors, Anthony Rogers and Richard Hull, wrote: "Are Surprized at the demand of 100 Slaves for the *Ruby* Mr. Wraggs Ship" (T 70: 7, p. 134). Notwithstanding their surprise, they were able to provide part of a cargo: "Fifty Slaves Shipd on board her [*Ruby,* Captain Colvil] upon the Contract with Mr. Wragg. The finest Cargo of slaves that ever went from the River" (May 19, 1727, *ibid.*). On July 10 they sent a bill of exchange on Wragg by the *Resolution* (bound for Carolina) for £475. *Ibid.,* p. 135.

[16] The Wraggs were during these years also acting as agents for Isaac Hobhouse and Company of Bristol. See instructions to Capt. William Barry, this work, II. 327-329.

147. Journal of the Board of Trade, 1726.[1]

May 4, 1726.

Mr. Serjeant Darnell then called upon several witnesses present, who were respectively sworn and examined *viz:* Mr. Samuel Wragg who informed their Lordships that he had been a Trader to Carolina Seventeen or Eighteen years. That that Country formerly had but very few Negroes, but that now they employd near 40,000. That they now usually import 1000 per Ann. whereas they formerly imported none, and some times 2 or 300. That the Company never supply'd the Province with any on their own Accot. except by a particular Contract with him, when they supplied him with 300 instead of 900. That the Province has been regularly supplied with what Negroes they want by the Seperate Traders. That the Rice Trade is encreased from 1500 to 25,000 Barrels a year; and that the price is fallen from 45 shillgs. to 22 shillgs. per Cwt. That the Price of Pitch and Tar is likewise fallen from 50 *s.* and 3 *ll.* to 10 *s.* or 11 *s.* per Barrel.

Mr. Platt [Splatt?] being likewise sworn acquainted their Lordships that he was lately come from Carolina and that the province was then very well supplied with Negroes. That he never knew of any Negroes brought into that Country by the Company, excepting those contracted for with Mr. Wragg. That the province annually takes about 1000 per Ann and that they sell at about 30 or 35 *ll.* sterling per Head. That a Negro can make about 10 *ll.* per Ann. clear profit to his Master, and that he thinks the Colonies would be cheaper and better supplied by the separate Traders than the Company.[2]

148. Arthur Middleton to Governor Francis Nicholson(?), 1727.[1]

[May 4, 1727.]

. . . They are uneasy in theire private Circumstances, for the great Number of Negroes, that have been imported within these three or four yeares, have run them prodigiously in debt, and the sudden fall of the price of Pitch and Tarr, which was what Abundance of them cheifly Employed themselves in, has rendered Numbers of them unable to pay their Debts soone, and their

[147] [1] C. O. 391: 35, pp. 170-171; *B. T. Jour.*, 1722/3-1728, p. 254. This testimony was taken in one of the recurrent examinations of the state of the African trade carried on by the Board of Trade. There were hearings on the activities of the company on Apr. 14 and 20. C. O. 391: 35, pp. 87, 115-130, 143-158; see this work, II. 337.

[2] The anonymous author of a "Calculation of the Revenue of South Carolina", in 1728, was more modest in his reckoning of the yearly importation of Carolina, placing it at 500, though he says this is "the lowest computation". Add MSS. 33028, p. 185.

[148] [1] Br. Trans., XII. 204. During the absence in England of Governor Francis Nicholson the government devolved upon Arthur Middleton. The letter here printed, which is addressed to "yr. Excellency", was probably written to Nicholson after his return to England. Middleton, one of the richest planters in Carolina, owned 100 or more negroes. Meredith, *Descendants of Hugh Amory*, p. 73.

Criditors comeing upon them, has put them under desperate Circumstances, and this S'r is really the true state of their Case.[2] . . .

149. News Item relating to Slave Trade, 1729.[1]

London Aug. 2 [1729].

We have an account from Guinea, by Way of Antigua, that the *Clare* Galley, Capt. Murrell, having compleated her Number of Negroes had taken her Departure from the Coast of Guinea for South Carolina; but was not got 10 Leagues on her Way, before the Negroes rose and making themselves Masters of the Gunpowder and Fire Arms, the Captain and Ships Crew took to their Long Boat, and got shore near Cape Coast Castle. The Negroes run the Ship on Shore within a few Leagues of the said Castle, and made their Escape.[2]

150. Concerning Duties on Slaves, 1730-1732.

24 March, 1729/30.

To the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, Petition of Merchants of London and Bristol.[1]

Sheweth, That by Acts of Assembly of that Province there is imposed a duty of Ten pounds and another (called the State house duty) of one pound (mony of that Province) on Every Negro imported there, above the age of ten Years which Sum of Ten pounds and one pound added together amounts to more then Thirty Shillings

[2] Another testimony to the debt for negroes is to be found in a representation of the council of the province: "all their schemes and projects about settling currency, settling discount establishing banks and making laws for tendering their Commoditys in discharge of debts are all of the same stamp when examined into, tho dressed up in so many different Titles and shapes and tend all to one purpose that as the generality of the people are got into debt by buying of Negroes beyond their abilities they would screen the debtors from their Creditors by the most plausible means they could and this under the sanction of Laws to be made for the general good and public good (as they call it) that is for the good of all that are in debt which comprehends everybody exclusive of those that trusted them and the populace never failed to send such representatives as will best answer the debts they send them for." Br. Trans., XIII. 316.

[149] [1] *Boston News Letter,* Sept. 25, 1729. There is nothing unusual about this disaster to the *Clare* save the wide publicity which it seems to have received. The account in the *News Letter* was taken from the *Country Journal* of Aug. 2, 1729. The editor has also seen the account in the *Weekly Journal or British Gazette,* in *Fog's Weekly Journal,* and in the *Gloucester Journal.*

[2] From the Vice Admiralty records in Charleston we know that the snow *William,* Captain Barry, from Cape Benda, Africa, reached Charleston in 1729. In 1730 two vessels were slaving in the Gambia for Charleston, the *Elizabeth,* Captain Carruthers, and the *Sierra Leone,* Captain Jenkins, 180 slaves. This work, II. 400-401.

[150] [1] C. O. 5: 361, C 79. The petition was presented to the Board of Trade by the three men whose names are affixed to it. That the question of a duty should receive serious consideration is not to be wondered at when one realizes that the negro population was estimated at 28,000, the white at 3000 at this time. *Boston News Letter,* Oct. 22, 1730.

per head Sterlg. mony of Great Britain, according to the present rate of Exchange from That Province.[2]

That this is become a very great burthen and discouragement to the British Trade and defeats the good intentions of Our Legislature (who by taking off the dutys and giving bountys have Endeavoured to Encourage the Exportation of Our Manufacturers) by thus taxing of Negroes Imported from Africa who are there purchased, principally with British Goods,

That it is humbly conceived they have no right thus to Tax the British Trade for the Support of the contingent charges of that Colony or any publick Edifices there.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly pray your Lordships to cause the said dutys to cease on the British Trade by instructing his Majestie's Governour (now going over)[3] to that End or in any other manner as to your Lordships shall seem most meet etc.[4]

WM. CHAPMAN
WM. JEFFERIS
STE. PET. GODIN[5]

[*Sir William Chapman to the Board of Trade.*][6]

My Lords, A Lameness having unfortunately prevented my waiting on yr. Lordships this Morning, I humbly offer to yr. Lords'ps an Expedient regarding the present Dutys as laid upon the Blacks Imported into Carolina.[7]

We Represented to yr. Lords'ps that this is in Effect a Duty on the Brittish Manufactures the Blacks being the produce thereof, and Farther that the Merchant Importer often paid hereby the Duty for Blacks which dyed before they were sold.

But whereas this Duty is appropriated I should hope the same being laid henceforth on the Buyer in the like Manner for all Blacks

[2] The rate was by this time seven to one. For a table showing the rate from 1710 to 1770 see Wallace, *Laurens,* p. 53. A report made to the House of Lords by the Board of Trade in 1734 referred to an act of 1727 to carry on an expedition against the Indians as having "revived" the duty of £10 on negroes (Add. MSS. 33028, p. 251). The act of 1722 was to operate till 1726. It is possible that after its expiration there was an interval when no duty was in force. Neither Wallace (*Laurens,* p. 82n.) nor DuBois (pp. 9, 212) throws any light on this. Nor is it clear when the state house duty here mentioned was levied.

[3] Robert Johnson, who was governor 1729-1735.

[4] On Oct. 1, 1729, "Their Lordships agreed when other matters relating to this province shall fall under consideration at the Appointment of a new Governor to propose the said Act may be repealed" (*B. T. Jour.,* 1728/9-1734, p. 64). If the dates of the petition and this entry are correct the petition was necessary only as a reminder of a decision already reached.

[5] Stephen Godin was agent for the province of South Carolina.

[6] C. O. 5: 361, C 81.

[7] Colonel Johnson, Mr. Jefferis, and Mr. Wragg attended the meeting at which the matter was discussed. *B. T. Jour.,* 1728/9-1734, p. 103.

wch shall be bought, would Effectually answer the Several appropriations and the Ends desir'd.
March 25, 1730.

[*Governor Robert Johnson to the Duke of Newcastle.*][8]

CHARLES TOWN June 25, 1732.

. . . I shall obey His Maj'tys Commands therein for the future, but must beg leave to observe to Your Grace that there is a Law subsisting lays a Duty upon Negros, and that £5000 a Year thro' Currency out of the amount of the said Duty is appropriated agreable to His Maj'tys Instructions to me towards laying out Townships and Subsisting New Commers for a Year, in order to incourage the peopling the Province, and I humbly apprehend it will be for his Maj'tys Service, that Law should have His Maj'tys Approbation and Subsist for the time limited therein, which is about 6 Years to come, I having pursuant thereunto, caused the Townships to be set out, and given other Encouragements to New Comers.[9]

151. NOTICES OF SALES, 1732.[1]

July 15, 1732.

To be sold, On Wednesday next, the 19th Instant, by Benjamin Godin and John Guerard, a Parcel of Gold Coast Slaves, lately im-

[8] C. O. 5: 388, p. 14. Newcastle was one of his Majesty's secretaries of state. In the earlier part of this letter the governor states that he has received the king's additional instructions of Dec. 10, 1731, against imposing duties upon imported negroes. In response to the pressure of the merchants the Board of Trade inserted an article in the instructions to the governor asking him to use his influence for the passage of an act repealing the duties on the importer and placing them on the buyer (Br. Trans., XIV. 79). On June 10, in a representation to the king, the board explained that art. 57 of Governor Johnson's instructions had been inserted to encourage the importation of white people, and art. 125, at the request of the merchants who complained of the duty. This article not only instructed the governor to procure a law which should clarify the negro duties, but also to send home an account of the number imported (*ibid.*, pp. 145-146). In the instructions to Johnson as they appear in the British Transcripts (XIV. 208) there is no art. 125. Art. 114 reads as follows: "Whereas Sev'l Merchants of Great Britain Trading to South Carolina have complained that by certain Acts of Assembly now in force in the said Province, Duties are imposed upon Negroes Imported there, and made payable by the Importer, to the discouragement of the said Trade and have desired the sd Duties may for the future be made payable by the Purchasers and not by the Importer, submitting nevertheless that the Importer or his Factor shall be Security to the Publick for the Payment of the said Duty in case of the Purchasers failure. It is Our Will and Pleasure that you endeavour to get a Law pass'd for explaining and altering the Laws for collecting of the said Duties on Negroes agreeable to the Desire of the Merchants." *Ibid.*, p. 146.

[9] The act to which Johnson refers is probably that of Aug. 20, 1731, which was to continue the negro duty for seven years. The governor, in a letter of June 16, 1731, stated the duty in terms of sterling as 28 *s.* 7 *d.* for negroes over ten, and 14 *s.* 3½ *d.* for those under ten, perhaps thinking that it would sound less oppressive thus than when stated in terms of Carolina currency (Br. Trans., XV. 88). On June 26, 1732, in a letter to the Board of Trade, Governor Johnson repeated the statement here made to Newcastle. C. O. 5: 362, D 40.

[151] [1] *South Carolina Gazette,* July 15, Sept. 30, Dec. 6, 1732. With the year 1732 began the issue of the *South Carolina Gazette,* from the columns of which much more

ported from Barbadoes, for Rice, or Currency on Credit till January next.

Sept. 30, 1732.

To be Sold on Thursday next, being the 5th of October, by George Austin, for ready Money, a Choice Parcel of Negroes, lately imported in the Ship *Edward,* to be seen on board the said Ship at Eliott's Wharff.[2]

Dec. 6, 1732.

To be sold by Benjamin Godin and John Guerard, on Thursday the 21st Instant, a Parcel of Negroes, imported directly from Gambia in the Ship *Molley* Galley, Capt. John Carruthers.[3]

detailed information concerning the importation of negroes can be gleaned than has been found for the earlier period. The customs entries show that vessels from the West Indies, as was to be expected, frequently brought a few negroes: "Sloop *Resolution,* Sam. Spencer, from Bermuda, 4 negroes"; "Sloop *Benjamin,* Joseph Hinton, from Barbadoes, with 7 Negroes". These are seldom advertised for sale, and, since the practice of printing such entries did not continue throughout the century the figures which have been gathered from the *Gazette* omit the scattering importation of negroes from the islands.

[2] The cargo of the *Edward* was apparently divided between two Charleston merchants, as John Grove also announced for sale slaves from the *Edward.*

[3] The *Molly* brought 120 negroes and "a parcel of Teeth and wax". *S. C. Gazette,* Dec. 23, 1732.

152. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1733-1738.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 20, 1733	No special sale		Stephen Haven			The captain or at James Fisher's
Feb. 24	Feb. 28	*Berkley* Galley	Peregrine Stockdell	Africa		Jenys and Baker
Apr. 14	Apr. 24	*Judith*	Jeremiah Pearce	Gold Coast and Angola		Richard Hill and Co.
May 5	May 9	*Betty's Hope*[2]	Edward Little	Africa		Jenys and Baker
June 2		*Retrieve*	Thomas Walker	Jamaica (Gold Coast)		John Fraser
" 16	June 20	*Speaker*[3]	Henry Flower	Angola		Joseph Wragg and Co.
" "	" "	*Cato*[4]	William Kennedy	Africa		Jenys and Baker
" 23	" 27	*Amoretta*	David Jones	"		Benjamin Savage
July 14[5]	July 18[6]	*Scipio*	William Gordon	Gambia		Jenys and Baker
" 28	Aug. 1	*Shepherd*	Simon Ford	Angola		Joseph Wragg and Co.
Aug. 18	" 28	*Margaret*	Richard Whistler	Gambia		" " " "[7]
Feb. 16, 1734	Feb. 20	*Dorset*	Will. Oliver	Gold Coast		Yeomans and Escott
" 23	No special sale	*John*	William Ford	" " [8]		To be sold on board by the Master
June 29	July 4	*Isabella*[9]	Peter Poey	Angola		Benjamin Godin and John Guerard

[152] [1] This table with those similar to it which follow has been compiled from the advertisements in the pages of the *Gazettes*. From Sept. 29, 1730, to Sept. 29, 1731, 1533 negroes were imported (Report of Charleston Naval Office, C. O. 5: 362). From Christmas, 1732, to Midsummer, 1733, the importation was 1156; from Christmas, 1732, to Christmas, 1733, it was 2745 (*S. C. Gazette*, June 30, 1733, Feb. 2, 1734). During the consideration of the act for a duty by the Board of Trade in 1734 it was stated that whereas the duty was expected to yield £8500 a year it had actually yielded from Mar. 25, 1731, to Mar. 25, 1732, £12,085, and from Christmas, 1732, to Christmas, 1733, upwards of £10,000 (Br. Trans., XVII. 80). It should be borne in mind that the negroes advertised are new negroes, and that the mention of a West India source means either that they were purchased there from an arriving African cargo or that this vessel on the voyage from Africa had stopped in the West Indies and disposed of some of her cargo. Where the African source is known it is added in parentheses. A number of the vessels in this list are to be found in the list of those paying duties on negroes delivered in Barbados between 1730 and 1737. See this work, II. 428-431.

[2] Probably a Bristol brigantine, as she cleared for Bristol on June 23. The advertisement reads, "For the encouragement of which Sale great Regard will be had to ready Rice, as well as Ready Money".

[3] Cleared for London July 28. This of course is not absolute proof that the vessel is owned in London, but in every case where it has been possible to test it the vessel clears in Charleston, after delivering her African cargo, for the port of her owners.

[4] The *Cato*, the *Amoretta*, and the *Shepherd*, "entered out" for Bristol.

[5] "A parcel of Rum just imported and 4 choice Gold Coast slaves to be Sold by Ribton Hutchinson, July 7, 1733."

[6] The figure printed is 13, obviously a mistake. "Good Encouragement will be given for ready Pay, in Currency, Rice, Pitch, and Tar."

[7] Wragg's notices add, "N. B. Great Regard will be had to present Pay".

[8] The brigantine *John* entered from Jamaica, which fact suggests that the slaves may have been the captain's own venture, purchased from a cargo there.

[9] Cleared for London. The *Amoretta* and the *Post-Boy* cleared for Bristol.

July 13	" 17	*Amoretta*	David Jones	Africa			Benjamin Savage and Co.
Aug. 3	Aug. 7	*Post-Boy*	John McNutt	Angola			Jenys and Baker
" 24	" 28	*Scipio*	William Gordon	Gambia [30]			" " "
Sept. 14	Sept. 18	*Bath*	Robert Smith	"			" " "
Nov. 2	Nov. 13	*Speaker*	Henry Flower	Angola			Joseph Wragg
Dec. 21 [31]	Dec. 26	*Grayhound*	Edward Holden	Africa			" "
Feb. 15, 1735	Feb. 18	*Pearl* Galley	Jason Vaughan	Gold Coast and Angola			Richard Hill
Apr. 19	Apr. 29	*Morning Starr*	William Hamley	Angola	318		Benjamin Savage
May 10	May 14	*Rainbow*	Richard Morgan [32]	Africa			Joseph Wragg and Co.
" 17	" 28	*London* Fregatt	J. Sutherland				Cleland and Wallace [33]
June 28	July 2	*Dove*	Richard Fothergill	Angola			Joseph Wragg and Co. [34]
July 12	" 16	*Amoretta*	David Jones	Africa	233		Benj. Savage and Co.
" 26	" 31	*Diana*	John Malcome	Windward and Gold Coast			" " " "
Aug. 2	Aug. 6	*Faulcon*	Sam. Sanders	Angola	360 [35]		Jenys and Baker
" 30	Sept. 10	*Molly*	John Carruthers	"	400		Benjamin Godin
Sept. 13	" 24 [36]	*Happy Couple*	—— Hill	Coast of Guinea			Joseph Wragg and Co.
Jan. 17,1736 [37]	Jan. 21	*Berkley*	Peregrine Stockdale	Angola			Jenys and Baker
June 26	June 30	*Scipio*	Robert Smith	"			" " "
" "	" "	*Amoretta*	David Jones	Africa			Benjamin Savage
Aug. 7	Aug. 11	*Bonetta*	Philip Comyn	Angola			Joseph Wragg and Co.
" 21	" 25	*Garlington*	Henry Watts	Gold Coast and Angola [38]			Jenys and Baker
" "	" "	*Princess Caroline*	John Coe	River Gambia			Hill and Guerard
Sept. 18	Sept. 22	*London*	J. Sutherland	Angola	330		Cleland and Wallace
" "	" 25	*Dorothy*	William Douglas	Antigua	3		To be sold at Publick Vendue at the usual place

[30] "In 30 days from Gambia."

[31] The *Grayhound* was owned by Isaac Hobhouse of Bristol; for its earlier voyages see this work, II. 299, 428, 432, and *ante* p. 267. The *Gazette* reports the negroes received from Africa between Nov. 1, 1734, and Nov. 1, 1735, as 267[1]; those from the West Indies for the same period as 236; the duty amounted to £4360. 10. *S. C. Gazette,* Nov. 8, 1735; Br. Trans., XIX. 56.

[32] In the customhouse entry John Mathews is given as the captain.

[33] The sale is to be "on board ship".

[34] This cargo was also advertised as for sale by Richard Hill, who wrote: "The sale to be at my House, where may be had Barbados and Jamaica Rum."

[35] "Directly from Angola in eight weeks."

[36] "Extraordinary Encouragement will be given for present Pay and Payment with this Crop." Sept. 12, 1735, Samuel Eveleigh to Godfrey Malbone, sr., Newport, "There has been imported into this place Since the 25. of March Last Twenty four Hundred Negroes, which have sold very well, tho the greatest part upon Credit." Newport Hist. Soc., package 157.

[37] To this list one cargo for South Carolina, if not for Charleston, can certainly be added, that of the *Susannah,* of which we learn from a notice in the *Gazette* for Mar. 17, 1739: "Twenty-eight Negroes to be sold at Beaufort Port-Royal, on the first Day of April next, the Negroes are the said Remainder of those that were landed at the said Place in May 1736 by Mr. Delas out of the *Susannah,* Capt. Mallortie from Angola: therefore they are season'd to this Country and will be sold for ready Money or payable the next Crop upon good security if required by MONTAGUT and PERRY." This is one of the very rare advertisements of seasoned negroes, in which the place of origin is given.

[38] "A great Part of the said Slaves are Gold Coast."

[*Negroes imported into South Carolina*—continued:]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Oct. 16[19]	Oct. 27	*Speaker*	Henry Flower			Joseph Wragg and Co.
" 30	Nov. 2	*Shepard*	Maurice Power	Angola	350	" " " "
Nov. 6	" 10	*Phoenix*	David Arthur	"	Near 300	" " " "
Jan. 8, 1737[20]	Jan. 19	*Loango*	Thos. Dolman	"	35	Benjamin Savage
Feb. 5	Feb. 9	*Mary*	Robt. Pollixsen			Joseph Wragg
May 28[21]	June 1	*Amoretta*	David Jones	Africa		Benjamin Savage
July 23	July 27	*Pine-Apple*	D. Hallowe	Angola		Joseph Wragg
" 30	Aug. 3	*Pearl* Galley	Eustace Hardwick	"		Hill and Guerard
Mar. 2, 1738	Mar. 15	*Shepherd*	Maurice Power	"	300	Joseph Wragg and Co.
Apr. 6	Apr. 12[22]	*London Merchant*	John Thomas	"		" " " "
" 15	" 19	*London* Frigate	John Pickett	"		Cleland and Wallace
" 27	May 3	*Amoretta*	John Crode	Africa		Benjamin Savage
May 18	" 24	*Bettsey*	Alexander Duncomb	Angola		Cleland and Wallace
June 29	July 6	*Speaker*[23]	Henry Flower	"		Joseph Wragg
July 27	Aug. 2	*Mary*	John Coe	Gambia		" "
" "	" 9	*Princess Carolina*	William Johnson	"		Hill and Guerard[24]
Aug. 17	" 23	*Seaflower*	John Ebsworthy	Africa		Joseph Wragg
Oct. 12	Oct. 25	*Maremaid*	William Willson	Angola		Hill and Guerard
Nov. 16	Nov. 22	*Squirrel*	John Dyke	Africa		Benjamin Savage

[19] On Oct. 2 Messrs. Yeomans and Escott advertise a "small Parcel of likely young new negroes lately imported", with no further information concerning them.

[20] This is probably much below the actual number of vessels for 1737.

[21] On Apr. 2, 1737, there appeared in the *Gazette* an article signed "Mercator", dwelling on the evils of the heavy debts which the planters were incurring for negroes. The importation for 1728-1733 had been 5153, for 1733-1737, 10,447. See also, *post*, no. 155.

[22] "Great Encouragement will be given for present Pay in Rice or Cash." This or a similar statement is almost always affixed to Joseph Wragg's notices of sale and frequently to those of others.

[23] "N. B. To avoid any Hazard of the Small-Pox the Ship will not stop at Charleston, but proceed directly up Ashley River", the sale to be held at Ashley Ferry. This notice is affixed to the advertisements of the *Speaker, Mary, Princess Caroline, Seaflower,* and *Mermaid.*

[24] This cargo is also advertised on the same day by Messrs. Yeomans and Escott, who add to their note, "Proper care will be taken not to land them at the town". Injurious rumors were apparently afloat about this vessel, for in the same number of the *Gazette* appeared the following: "As has been reported about Town that the Ships Crew and Cargo on board the Ship *Princess Caroline,* Capt. Johnson Commander to Mr. Hill and Guerard, are very sickly, and as I visited the Ship very carefully in Rebellion Road, am oblig'd thus to satisfy that I found no room for any such Report. JOHN MOULTRIE." The next voyage of this vessel was a melancholy one. In November, 1739, William Watson, mate of the *Princess Caroline,* arrived in Newport with the story. The ship, owned by Mr. Goding of London, had sailed from Charleston to the Gambia where it had taken on board 116 slaves for a second Charleston venture. Here the captain died, and John Fumcan (?) took command. On Aug. 30 the slaves rose against the ship's company, killed three, and obliged the remaining eight to take to the long boat. After fourteen days they reached Marie Galante in a half-starved condition. The fate of the negroes is unknown. *Boston News Letter,* Nov. 22, 1739.

153. Concerning a Duty on Slaves, 1734.

[*Minutes of the Board of Trade, 1734.*][1]

Whitehall, Wednesday Jany. 9th 1733/4.

At a meeting of His Majesty's Commissrs. for Trade and Plantations, Present: Mr. Dominique, Mr. Bladen, Sir Archer Croft.

Sir Wm. Chapman, Mr. Wragg, Mr. Harris and Several other Merchants Trading to South Carolina attending, as they had been desired with Mr. Paxton their Solicitor, as also Mr. Wood in behalf of the Merchants of Bristol, and Mr. Hume late Speaker of the Assembly of that Province against two Acts passed there Entituled An Act for Appropriating the Sum of 104,725 *li.* 1 *s.* 3¼ *d.* towards the payment of the publick Debts passed in 1731 And An Act for the better encouragemt. of the Settlement of South Carolina pass'd in 1696. And Mr. Fury Agent for the Province with Mr. Young one of the Council there, attending likewise with Mr. Sharpe their Solicitor in behalf of the Sd. Laws. Their Lordsps took again into consideration the two Orders of the Committee read the 18th of the last Month[2] referring to this Board the Petitions of the Merchants of London and Bristol against Some Acts of South Carolina for continuing Duties on Negroes, Issuing of Paper Mony and protecting of Debtors: Their Lordsps then Heard what the Merchants and Mr. Hume had to offer against the first of these Laws for Appropriating the Sum of 104,725 *li.* 1 *s.* 3¼ *d.* etc. as being contrary to His Majesty's Instructions to his Governor of South Carolina not only on Account of the Duty on Negroes thereby continued but as the Fund for Sinking the Paper Currency of that Province was apply'd to different purposes than those appointed by His Majesty's Instructions. . . .

Mr. Wood then presented to the Board An Affidavit of two Bristol Merchants proving the Mischiefs attending the Trade to Carolina by the Acts for Screening Debtors, and Laying Duties on Negroes Imported there which was read; And their Lordsps resolved to hear what the Agent had to Offer in behalf of these Acts tomorrow Morning.

January 10th 1733/4.

The Carolina Merchants who attended Yesterday with Mr. Wood Mr. Paxton and Mr. Hume attending again as also Mr. Young Mr. Fury Agent for the Province, and Mr. Sharpe their Solicitor Their

[153] [1] C. O. 391: 43, pp. 2-3, 5, 13. The board first referred to the three interrelated subjects, duty on negroes, paper money, and the protection of debtors, on Dec. 18, 1733 (Br. Trans., XVI. 27). Omissions are not indicated throughout these minutes since it is to be understood that only those portions of the minutes are presented which deal with South Carolina duties. *B. T. Jour.*, 1728/9-1734, p. 366.

[2] *Acts P. C. C.*, III. 395.

Lordsps heard what they had to Offer in Support of the Said Laws, by representing that the Duty on Negroes complain'd of by the Merchants as contrary to the Governors Instructions was rather allow'd by the Governrs. Instructions than contrary thereto, His Majesty having thereby allow'd the Duties which were to Sink the Paper Currency of this Province to be Suspended from that purpose for Seven Years, and to be apply'd to other Uses; That the whole Sinking Fund of which the Duty on Negroes was part had not been apply'd according to the Letter of the Instructions there had not been a Demand for it, but as the remainder was appropriated to the Payment of the Province Debts, and as the Merchants were the Chief Creditors they Seem'd to have the least reason to complain.

WHITEHALL Jany. 24th 1733/4.

Present: Earl of Westmorland, Mr. Bladen, Mr. Docminique, Sr. O. Bridgman, Sir Arch Croft.

Their Lordsps taking again into consideration the Orders of the Committee mentioned in the Minutes of the 9th Instant upon the Petitions of the Merchants of London and Bristol against Some Acts of South Carolina protecting Debtors, Issuing and Appropriating Paper Mony Laying Duties on Negroes etc. and gave Directions for preparing the Draught of a Representation for Repealing the Act passed there in 1731 for Appropriating the Sum of 104,725 *li.* 1 *s.* 3¼ *d.* towards payment of the publick Debts.[3]

[*Petition of Bristol Merchants.*]

To the King's most Excellent Majesty in Council The humble Petition of several Merchants and others of the City of Bristol Trading to Your Majesty's Province of South Carolina.[4]

Sheweth, That by an Act of the General Assembly of Your said Majestys Province Ratifyed the 20th August 1731 and sent over for Your Majestys Approbation the Funds (which were Settled for calling in and Sinking the one hundred and Six thousand pounds paper Money formerly Issued in the said Province) are otherwise applyed and a further Sum of one hundred and four Thousand Seven hundred and twenty five pounds one Shilling and three pence farthing of paper Credit is imposed on Your Majestys Subjects contrary to the Publick faith and Credit of said Province And there has been an Attempt lately to raise a further Sum of £250 000 in paper Money

[3] Feb. 20, 1733/4, "The Draught of a Representation proposing the Repeal of An Act passed in South Carolina in 1731 for Appropriating the Sum of 104,725 *li.* 1 *s.* 3¼ *d.* towards payment of the publick Debts, Ordered to be prepared the 24th of the last Month, was agreed." C. O. 391: 43, p. 28.

[4] C. O. 5: 362. The two memorials which follow are undated but must belong to the early part of the year 1734.

the Consequence of all such imaginary Value will be greatly prejudicial to the propertys of Your Majestys Subjects and as we most humbly conceive contrary to Your Majestys Royal Instructions to the Governor of that Province.

That by the said Act an Exorbitant Duty of ten pounds per Head is imposed and continued on all Negroes imported by Your Majestys Subjects into the said Province to the very great discouragement of the Trade and Exportation of the Manufactures of Great Britain. . . .[5]

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly Request Your Majesty to take the Premises into Your Royal Consideration to repeal those two Laws and to prevent any Duty on Negroes Imported so pernicious to the British Trade and that they may be heard by their Council or to grant such other Relief as in Your great Wisdom shall seem most proper.

And your Petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray etc.

John Mackenzie
Thos Thompson
Christo. Devonsheir
Richard Farr
Ja. Hilhouse
Rd. Farr Junr.
Christr. Curwin
Thos. Gibbs
Jno. Tate
Graffin Prankart
Richard Jefferis
P. Fisher
Isaac Hobhouse
Robert Rogers
Walt Hawksworth
Edmd Saunders
Abell Grant
Thos. Jenys
Corsley Rogers
John Teague
Samll. Allen
David Moore
Philip Cornish
Jno. Combe
Jno. Gilbert
Edwd. Heylyn
Wm. Mathew
F'c Dampier
Richard Spencer
Jacob Elton Mayci
Jos. Jefferis
Will. Jefferis
Tho. Coster
Har's Lloyd
Geo: Mackenzie
Thos. Evans
J. Brickdale
Wm. Barnsdale
Henry Lloyd
B. Weekes
John King
Jno. Stapylton

[5] The remainder of the petition refers to an act postponing possible conviction for debt until five years after a settler has arrived in South Carolina.

[*Petition of London Merchants.*]

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty in Council The humble Petition of several Merchants and others of the City of London trading to Your Majestys Province of South Carolina.[6]

Sheweth, That an Act of the General Assembly of Your Majestys said Province entitled an Act for appropriating the Sum of One hundred and four thousand Seven hundred and twenty five pounds one Shilling and three pence farthing towards payment of the Publick Debts was passed with the Assent of his Excellency Robert Johnson Esqr. Your Majestys present Governor of the said Province on the 20th day of August Anno Dom 1731 Which Act was since transmitted under the Broad Seal of the said Province unto Your Majestys Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

That by Virtue of the said Act the Funds which were Settled for calling in and Sinking the paper Bills of Credit formerly issued in the said Province (being One Hundred and Six thousand pounds) are diverted and misapplyed and a further Sum of one hundred and four thousand pounds and upwards of Paper Credit is imposed on Your Majestys Subjects contrary to the publick Faith and Credit of the said Province and an Attempt hath been likewise lately made to raise a further Sum of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds in paper Credit all which tend to the great detriment of Trade and are highly injurious to the propertys of Your Majestys British Subjects and expressly repugnant to several of Your Majestys Royal Instructions to Your Majestys Governor there.

Your Petitioners humbly beg leave further to lay before Your Majesty that by the said Act an exorbitant Duty of ten pounds per Head is imposed and continued on Negroes imported into the said Province by Your Majestys British Subjects to the great Damage of the Manufactures and Trade of this Kingdom.

Wherefore Your Petitioners most humbly beseech that Your Majesty would be graciously pleased to allow Your Petitioners to be heard by their Council against the said Act and that the said Act may be repealed and that no Dutys may be imposed for the future on any Negroes imported into the said Province and that Your Petrs. may have such further and other Relief in the Premises as to Your Majesty in Your great Wisdom and goodness shall seem meet.

And your Petrs. will ever pray.

Cha. Pole	John Forster
Hen. Neale	William Chapman
Nath. Harris	P. Simond
Solomon Mercu	Dd. Godin

[6] C. O. 5: 362.

EDM BOEHM
JOHN BLAGMERE
JOHN TAVENER
WILLIAM HODSHON
BENJAMIN BILL
ROBERT THORPE
THOS. HEBERT
RICHD. SHUBRICK
THOS. TRINDER
JOHN GOVAN
WM. CAM
WM. WITHERS
P. BONOVRIER
THOS. FORSTER
JACOB BELL
RICHD. ACLAND
BENJA. WHITAKER
WM. PARKIN
ROBT. HUME
WM. VAUGHAN
ED. SANDERSON
STE. PET. GODIN

WILLM. BLACK
HENRY MCCULLOH
JNO. AUSTIN
THOMAS SMITH
SAMLL. WOOD
SAM BONHAM
WM. GERRISH
JNO. WATKINSON
EDWIN SOMERS
NATH PAICE
DANIEL GREENE
JAMES MAINTRE
SAML. BAKER
WALTER NEWBERRY
WM. POMEROY
DAVID MILN
BENJA. WEALE
SAMUEL BARONS
SAML. DEANE
JOHN HEWLETT
JOHN BLYDE STEYN

[*The Governor, Council, and Assembly of South Carolina to the King.*]

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Remonstrance of Your Majesty's Governor, Council and Assembly of Your Majesty's Province of South Carolina.[1]

The former Calamitys of this Province on Account of the Spanish and French Invasions, and the Wars of Indians, which they promoted against it, having about eighteen years ago obliged Your Majestys Subjects of this Province to contract so large a Debt in supporting of Garrisons, and forming Expeditions both by Land and Sea, for many Years together, that there was no other Expedient then to be used immediately and effectually to provide for the same, but by Paper Bills of Credit, for which the publick became indebted; a great part of which have since been cancelld, partly by a Tax levyed on the Inhabitants, and partly by Dutys which arose heretofore from the Importation of Goods and Negroes. The Residue your Majesty was graciously pleased to admit us to continue as Currency, that Your Majestys Province might not be wholly destitute of Money that being the only legal Currency which we have since had in use among us:

[1] C. O. 5: 363, E 28. This is probably the answer to the remarks of the merchants which Mr. Fury presented to the board on Dec. 10, 1734. Br. Trans., XVI. 245.

And though the Quantity remaining is very insufficient to Answer the Exigencys of our present Traffick we are surprized to hear, that a Petition was lately preferred to Your Majesty said to be, "The Petition of several Merchants and others of the City of London trading to Your Majestys Province of South Carolina. . . .[8]

All which Allegations of the said Petitioners We must beg leave to say, are very unfairly stated to Your Majesty for that the said Appropriation Law (which the said Petitioners so greatly complain of) took its use from Your Majestys Royall Instructions to Your Majestys present Governour here, allowing him to assent to a Law that the Duty upon Negroes might for seven Years be continued, and the Application thereof suspended from calling in and sinking the remaining part of the Paper Currency, and the same be appropriated to pay for the surveying Your Majesty's Townships, and to pay for the Passage Provisions and Tools of poor protestant Families, that shoud. come here to settle for the Defence and Improvement of Your Majestys Province. All which the said Law provided by appropriating the Sum of Five thousand pounds Currency per Annum for the purposes specifyed in Your Majestys said Royall Instruction, which Sum was then deem'd an Annual Sufficiency to accommodate any number of poor Protestants that we coud. expect here, and if a greater Supply shoud. be wanting. It was agreed by the General Assembly of this Province that from time to time suitable Provision shoud be made for the same which has been actually fulfilled there being no more than the Sum of five Thousand Pounds Currency per Annum, which has since been applied for that good Purpose and has proved an inviting Engagement to a considerable Number of poor Protestant people to come over from Europe and settle among us who are thereby now comfortably accommodated in several of Your Majestys Townships, and many more upon that Encouragement, are now engaged and daily Expected here from Switzerland. As the rest of the Fund woud. but lye dead unless the same was immediately appropriated: We therefore thought it a becoming Oeconomy to apply the Residue towards the Discharge of a Debt which heretofore became due from the publick on Account of Indian presents, Inland Forts, Scouts, Garrisons and Rangers, which before Your Majesty's Purchase we were and still are under a Necessity peculiar to this Province unknown to any other part of America in a time of Peace to keep in pay for the ordinary Defence of the Country. Which relief to the old Inhabitants has since enabled them to assist new Comers in furtherance of Your Majestys Royall Intention; which they have liberally shewn by lately raising two Thousand Pounds

[8] Here follows the substance of the petition of the London merchants. On May 24 Johnson wrote to Alured Popple that it would be impossible to raise the £104,000 recently appropriated without the duty on negroes. Br. Trans., XVI. 337.

for the Use of Georgia; and also further affording them Guards and Rangers at the annual Expence of five Thousand five hundred Pounds per Annum levied by a Tax on the Inhabitants of this Province. But the incurr'd Charge we were not in a Condition then to provide for by levying of Taxes over and above the common Contingences without driving away many of the old Inhabitants at a time Your Majesty was graciously pleased by Your said Royall Instruction so liberally and charitably to provide for new ones. We were therefore obliged to issue Orders upon Interest on the Credit of that Duty, as well to provide for the Expected arrival of poor Protestant Settlers as to preserve the faith of the Publick which was so necessarily before engaged for the Defence and care of the Province. Those Orders the Petitioners are pleased to call a further Sum of one hundred and four thousand seven hundred and twenty five Pounds of Paper Credit, imposed on Your Majestys British Subjects twenty seven thousand Pounds of which were immediately Sealed up in the Treasury, were never issued but faithfully cancell'd by a Committee of both houses, and the rest are not in the least enforced by way of payment only in case of the Merchants are made receivable by the Treasurer for the better discharge of the Dutys, and are all to be duly sunk as they come into our Treasury in a Course of Payment, which must all be done within the Space of four Years more, at which time by their very tenor they will totally expire.

We are at a Loss to know upon what foundation the Petitioners shoud. so confidently Complain to Your Majesty against the Continuance of the Negroe Duty, and the Paper Currency in use among us, when some of these very Petitioners, with several other Merchants of the City of London did heretofore Petition to the Right Honoble the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations in Great Britain to recommend to Your Majesty that you woud. be graciously pleased to allow the General Assembly of this Province to pass a Law, that the Law for sinking the Paper Currency might for seven Years be suspended. Which your most sacred Majesty was graciously pleased by your Royal Instruction to your present Gouvernour to admit accordingly on the earnest request of many Planters and Merchants in that particular Which very Law the Petitioners now oppose, and endeavour to get disannull'd by your Majesty, We are in these circumstances very unfortunate, to be under a Necessity of answering Complaints against a Law, which took its rise from the said Merchants Representation and Request as is set forth in Your Majesty's said gracious Instruction. The Petitioners had a little reason to charge the Assembly of this Province with an Attempt lately made to raise a further Sum on Paper Credits by cavilling at a Scheme which was lately here on Foot to give our

Currency a Value, and to establish the same on a better Basis; which we were not in a Condition then to accomplish, but hope its practicable, that still we may with due conformity to Your Majestys Royall Instruction and with equal Convenience, as well to the Trading as the Planting Interest; For since Your Majestys Subjects of this Province have had the Happiness of being under the immediate Care and Protection of Your most sacred Majesty a very sensible Increase of our Trade naturally requires an Increase of our Currency, our Yearly Exports are hardly short of one hundred and ten thousand Pounds Sterling, and not above one hundred and five thousand Pounds left of a Wasting Paper Currency for the Use of our Inland Traffick which in the whole does not exceed the Sum of Fifteen Thousand Pounds Sterling.

We therefore hope Your Majesty, will be graciously pleased to reject the said Petition; and not be deprived of the many Advantages accruing to Your Majestys Service from the Continuance of the Duty on Negroes imported, which is only to continue about four Years longer: And what the petitioners call an Exorbitant Duty of ten Pounds per head is only equal to twenty eight Shillings and six pence Sterling. For shoud. Your Majesty be pleased to comply with the Request of the Petitioners some of whom, are utter Strangers as well to the Proceedings, as to the Condition of this Province. By your Majestys disannulling those Laws for establishing the Negroe Duty for seven Years, and for appropriating the same which now lye before Your Majesty for Your Royall Assent and Approbation; It woud not only be impossible for Your Majestys Subjects of this Province at this Critical Juncture to raise by any extraordinary Taxes so large a Sum as that fund would require, over and above the necessary Charges which we already find so burthensome; and in case of a War must (we fear) be very grievous; but the poor Protestant Families must go back disappointed who came here in Expectation of the Bounty designed by Your Majestys Royall Instruction and the whole Country must inevitably be put into the utmost Confusion by annihilating those Orders, which principally depend on the Duty upon Negroes. The sudden Distruction of which before they are legally paid in, and cancelled woud. at this time prove an irreparable Loss to many British Merchants trading to this Province, in the Hands of whose Factors the greatest part of those Orders are Center'd.

The Importation of Negroes, We crave leave to inform Your Majesty is a Species of Trade, that has exceedingly increased of late in this Province where many Negroes are now train'd up to be Handicraft Tradesmen, to the great discouragement of Your Majestys white Subjects, who come here to settle with a View of Employment

in their several Occupations, but must often give way to a People in Slavery: which we daily discover to be a great Obstruction to the Settlement of this Frontier with white People.

So, that we must most humbly suggest to Your Majesty, the said Petition was never duly weighed by the Persons that Subscribed it, who trade to this Province in British Manufactures, but was rather Projected by a few Negroe Merchants and some other designing Persons, who have several Debts of that Paper Credit, now outstanding; upon Mortgages, Judgments and other good Securitys; who by destroying the Currency must unquestionably procure Possession of the greatest part of the Estates Real and personal in this Province. And the Merchants that deal in British Manufactures prove at Length the final Sufferers whose Debts are outstanding on the weaker Foundation of Book Accounts and Personal Promises.

South Carolina
Council Chamber the 9th day of April 1734.

Robt. Johnson
Thos. Broughton Presdt.
Paul Jenys Speaker

[*Petition of John Peter Purry to the King.*]

To the King's most Excellent Majesty in Council The humble Petition of Colonel John Peter Purry.[9]

Sheweth, That Your Majestys Governor of South Carolina in Pursuance of your Majestys Royall Instructions passed an Act of Assembly in that Province for appropriating a Certain Sum to be applied to the buying Tools, and other Necessaries and Provisions for any poor Protestants, that shall go and be willing to Settle there.

That the petitioner propos'd and agreed with the said Governor and Council to transport and carry Over a Number of Swiss, and other protestants, and having fixed on a Place for a Township on the Savannah River. He has accordingly already landed some hundreds there who have in part settled the said Township, and have received, and daily do receive from the Province the Necessaries and Provisions promised and agreed for and which was raised by and Out of the Aforesaid Sum so appropriated.

That your Petitioner has now actually on the Road, and which he proposes to Embark in three Weeks for the said Province, near four hundred more Swiss to settle and Inhabit the said Township but is informed that the said Law for appropriating the said certain Sum has been disapproved of by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations who have therefore reported the said Law not proper for Your Majestys Allowance and Approbation, but advised it may

[9] C. O. 5: 363, E 28.

be repealed; And the Petitioner being well assured, that if the said Law should be repealed accordingly, Not Only his People now there but those also he is going to transport thither will be deprived of the necessary aid and Assistance provided for them by the said Act, and be rendered utterly unable to subsist, and settle themselves, the said Province having positively declared that in that Case they were not able to keep their faith, and Promise with the Petitioner to the utter Ruin of his People, and the said Settlement.

Your Petitioner therefore, most humbly prays Your Majesty will be graciously pleased not to repeal the said Act on which the prosperity of the said People intirely depends, or that Your Majesty Grant him such other Relief as Your Majesty shall think necessary and proper.

And Your Petitioner as in Duty bound shall ever pray etc.

[*Minutes of a Committee of the Privy Council.*]

At the Council Chamber
WHITEHALL the 23d of July 1734.

By the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs.[10]

The Lords of the Committee this day took into their Consideration a Report made by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations dated the 22d of March last upon An Act past in the Province of South Carolina on the twentieth day of August 1731 Entituled "An Act for appropriating the Sum of 104725 *li.* 1 *s.* 3¼ *d.* towards paymt., of the Publick Debts", and also upon two Petitions preferred by the Merchants of London and Bristol trading to that Province against the said Act: And their Lordships likewise took into their Consideration a Remonstrance from the Governor Council and Assembly of the said Province and a Petition from Colonel John Peter Purry both of them in Support of the said Act and which were lately referred by His Majesty to this Committee. And their Lordships are thereupon pleased to Order as it is hereby Ordered that the said Report be referred back to the said Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. Who are to reconsider thereof and at the same time to Examine into the said Remonstrance from Carolina and Petition of Colonel Purry (Copys whereof are hereunto annexed) And the said Lords Commissioners are to Report their Opinion upon the whole matter to this Committee.[11]

JA. VERNON

[10] C. O. 5: 363, E 28.

[11] A reply from the merchants of Bristol and Liverpool to the South Carolina Remonstrance was transmitted to the board Sept. 10, 1734. In this they stated that they had complained of the duty in 1729 and had ever since been hoping to be relieved of the

154. Samuel Eveleigh to George Morley, 1735.[1]

May 1, 1735.

. . . About ten days since arrived a Ship from Angola with 318 Slaves and divers other vessels are expected from Guinea so that tis probable we shall this year Import a great Number of Negroes and we ought to have a good number of whites to balance them. The Duty whereof is appropriated for encouraging of the Importation of white People into Georgia, Purrysburg and several other Townships in this province.

An Assembly has past a Bill for Appropriating all the Money that arises by the Duty on Negros to the Incouragement of the Importation of Strangers and for raising of a Tax for sinking of the Orders, which Bill would soon have been confirmed into a Law, was it not the Governor was so extremely ill, in fact so bad, that his life was despaired of.[2]

The duty on Negros will this year I believe be very considerable. There is one Vessell arrived already with 300 and odd Slaves and all sold off in Two days time and there are three more daily expected.

155. Communication to the *South Carolina Gazette*, 1738.

March 9, 1738.

Mr. Timothy, I Was in hopes that the Complaint of bad Pay and Loss on Returns made for 2 years pass by the Gentlemen of London

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hardships it involved. If they were not at once freed from it they must drop the South Carolina trade. As for the training of negroes to handicrafts, that the colonists themselves could stop if they wished to. The charge that they did not know the conditions in Carolina was false as many of them had lived there for a number of years (Br. Trans., XVII. 32-37). In the report to the House of Lords made by the board Jan. 23, 1734, the statement was made that the complaint of the merchants was not of the amount of the Carolina duty but of the method of collection (Add. MSS. 33028, p. 251). An item in the records of the board for Oct. 23, 1734, indicates that the law was still under consideration: "A Memorial from the Merchants Trading to South Carolina, relating to the Act passed in that Province in 1731 for appropriating the Sum of 104,725 *li.* 1 *s.* 3¼ *d.* complaining of a Duty Imposed on the Importation of Negroes by the Sd. Act was read; And the Secretary Acquainting the Board, that the Agents had had a Copy of the Said Memorial in Order to prepare their Answer; Ordered that a Letter be wrote to the Said Agents to know when they will be ready with their Answer accordingly." C. O. 391: 43; *B. T. Jour.*, 1728-1734, p. 416.

[154] [1] Br. Trans., XVII. 339. The letter was transmitted to the Board of Trade by Mr. Fury, agent of the colony, on July 4.

[2] Act of June 17, 1735 (Cooper, III. 409). The controversy over the duty act was still being continued before the Board of Trade. On July 3, 1735, William Wood, who represented the merchants of Bristol, reported to the Board of Trade that he understood from a letter from South Carolina that a bill was to be passed for laying a duty of £7. 10 *s.* per head, to be paid by the purchaser, in addition to the customary duty of £10. The next day he presented a protest from the Bristol traders, who emphasized their importance in the trade and asked that duties be abolished. On July 11 the board, having listened to the arguments on both sides, agreed to give its consent to the bill. Br. Trans., XVII. 265, 272, 333-334, 347, 360, 394, 395.

and Bristol, who are concerned in the Negro Trade to this Province, would have prevented so great an Importation for some Years to come, and the early Advices of our Crops being lost this Year, I also imagined would have induced those Gentlemen to have sent Orders to the West Indies for the Masters adressed for this Province with such Slaves, not to proceed. But the Arrival of Capt Power with above 300 Slaves, and by him Advice that several others may be expected, make me imagine, that either the former Complaints were groundless, or, that there must be an Extravagant Profit on that Trade in this Province, by selling the Negroes at a much greater Price here than in any other Part of America. The last Reason seems to be likeliest, for I have known many Slaves bought in the Barbadoes, etc. and sent here for sale, which have been sold with good Profit.

I cannot avoid observing on this Occasion, that altho' a few Negroes annually imported into this Province might be of advantage to most People; yet such large Importations of 2600 or 2800 Negroes every Year is not only a Loss to many, but in the end may prove the Ruin of the Province, as it most certainly does that of many poor industrious Planters, who unwarily engage in buying more than they have Occasion for, or are able to pay. It is for their Sakes only, I now take the trouble of writing this, that they may not further involve themselves in utter Ruin.

Negroes may be said to be the Bait proper for catching a Carolina Planter, as certain as Beef to catch a Shark. How many under the Notion Of 18 Months Credit, have been tempted to buy more Negroes than they could Possibly expect to pay in 3 Years! This is so notorious, that few Inhabitants I believe will doubt it. I have hear'd many declare their own Folly in this particular, with a Resolution never to do so again: Yet so great is the Infatuation, that the many Examples of their Neighbours Misfortunes and Danger by such Purchases do not hinder new Fools from bringing themselves into the same Difficulty.

Until about the Year 1733, the common Method of selling Negroes in this Province was, to be paid in Rice, whereby the Sellers knew to make above 10 per Cent per Annum Profits, by a Forbearance of Payment under the Title of commuting their Bonds. The Rice valued at about 37 *s.* 6 *d.* per C. and the Casks given for nothing: The Factors here were in general under no other Contract with their Employers at Home, than to remit the Rice when they had receiv'd it from the Planter. But now the Case is alter'd, the Sales and Contracts being now upon a new and quite different Footing, which I believe will in the End prove not only worse for the Merchants at Home, but also for the Factor Seller, and Planter Buyer here.

If I am rightly inform'd, the Negroes that are now sold in this Province are sent upon those Terms, *viz.* The Factors here to make good all bad Debts, to remit 2 thirds of the Value in 12 Months, the other one third in 2 Years after the Day of Sale. Now as they give Security in Great Britain to perform their Contracts, and as their further Business depends upon the doing thereof, it is no surprize to find them now more exact in requiring their Payments when it becomes due than they did 6 Years ago; and as our Currency is every Year decreasing in Value,[1] so all others who have Remittances to make to Great Britain in Money, will be the more urgent to have their Payments.

It is so common for many Planters to buy Negroes and dry Goods for more Value than they can possibly expect to be able to pay for when due, that it may be called a general Distemper, which of late has very much encreased, by the two last bad Crops. In Case of failure of Payment they think they make full Satisfaction by giving Bond payable next Year, bearing 10 per Cent Interest. This is Sufficient, I must own, to those who lend Money at Interest, or who are only concern'd in our In-land Trade; but will not answer to those who must turn the Currency into Sterling. For suppose I had a Man's Bond for 700 £ two Years ago, that Money then would have purchase 100 £ Sterling, whereas I now give 770 £ for 100 £ Sterling. Now if the Debtor pays me with 10 per Cent Interest it is 840, so that altho' he pays me at the Rate of 10 per Cent. per Annum, yet I really receive but 5 per Cent: For the 840 £. he pays me, will only purchase 110 £. Sterling, which is but 10 £. upon the 100 £. for two Years. It's worse in Rice, for two Years ago 700 £. would have bought 65 or 70 Barrels of Rice, and now it won't buy above 40 Barrels, as Rice was then 40 *s.* and is now 71 *s.*

Those Reasons may be sufficient to excuse any trading Man for insisting upon punctual Payment, and also to warn those in Debt not to depend so much upon the Lenity of the Merchants in Town, besides as their is not one in 50 of those who sell Rice that will give 10 Days Credit, how can they expect the Buyers should be putt off with the Notion of paying Interest? Which it's well known will buy nothing at any Market, and Merchants can't support their Credit, or carry on Trade, without buying Produce.

My whole Design of this is only to warn the unthinking Part of our Planters against falling into the same Misfortunes next Year they have met with in this, *viz* being unable to pay their Debts. The common excuse is the Loss of Crop: But let many of those in Debts look into their Affairs, and they will find a good crop of Rice even sup-

[155] [1] The rate in 1738 was 8 to 1; in 1737, 7.4 to 1. Wallace, *Laurens*, p. 53.

pos'd at 60 *s.* per C: not sufficient to pay all their Debts, nor will a good Crop next Year pay half the Debts now due to the trading Men in Town; and in Case a general good Crop should be made, depend upon, Rice will be under 40 *s.* per C.

If I may be so bold as to give my Advice in the Affair of Negroes, it would be this, that before any Planter offer to buy one more, or even to venture into a Negro Yard, he should first make up an Account of all he owes now to every Person, and then make a Calculation of what he may reasonably expect to make this Year. The most certain way to know this is, to sum up the Amounts of his last 4 Years Produce of the same Number of Hands a fourth Part of which he may expect to have this Year: For a wild Expectation of 10 Barrels per Negro only brings a Disappointment to the Owner, and in Time may prove his Ruin.

Suppose a Man has 20 Negroes, and for these 4 Years past has made in all 240 Barrels of Rice, he may expect to have 60 Barrels next Year, which at a Medium of Price will be about 700 £ Currency, now if that Person finds that he is in Debt 1000 £ or only 700 £ how can he engage for any further Payments Next Year, without exposing himself at the Mercy of his Creditors? But if the same Man finds he owes only 100 £ he may safely buy 2 Negroes and have a common Chance [to] pay [for] them besides his annual Charges. Would People take this prudent Method to think before they buy Negroes, it would in the End prove better for them. If they complain of the Merchants being pressing for Payments this Year, depend on it they will be worse next Year. Besides this Caution of those who are in Debt would make fewer Buyers and of Course cheaper Negroes, so that in Time they might be had here as cheap as in other Parts of America. But if any Person who can't pay his Debts now, encreases them by buying more Negroes, how can he desire any Person to have Patience 'till next Year? If his Slaves are then seized for Debt, who is to Blame? Is it not his own Act and Deed? Could he not have lived without these new Negroes? Buying the needful Apparel, Meat or Drink pleads for itself, as Mankind can't live without some Necessaries. Can any Man be certain of a better Crop next Year than he had last? If they can't they should not increase their Debts beyond absolute Necessity.

Were it possible to prevent any Negroes to be imported for 3 Years to come, I am persuaded it would be for the general Advantage of all the Inhabitants in this Province, and the only means to relieve us of the Load of Debts we are now owing to Great Britain, which I believe is equal to the Amount of 3 Years Produce.

156. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1738.

May 4, 1738.

Several of the Negroes imported in the Ship *London* Frigate, which arrived here the 13th April last, have been since discovered to have the small Pox, there are few of them in Town but more in the Country and several were sent on board again, the ship having been ordered to fall down to the Fort to perform Quarentine.[1]

June 1, 1738.

On the 25th May last, two of the Sailors late on board the *London* Frigate, John Pickett Commander, appear'd before Maurice Lewis Esq., Judge of his Majesty's Court of Vice Admiralty, and made Oath, That they were on board said Vessel from her first setting out from England to her Arrival in Africa, and from thence to her Arrival at Charleston, and that during that time no Persons whatsoever were thrown over board, except about 14 Slaves, who died, as they believ'd of Fevers and Fluxes, and that, to the best of their Knowledge, no Person on board said Ship was taken ill of or discovered any symptoms of the Small-pox during the Voyage, nor till after the Day of Sale of the Negroes. N. B. The principal Depositions may be seen in the Records of the said Court of Vice-Admiralty.

157. William Wood to Thomas Hill, 1738.[1]

July 11, 1738.

. . . Nor do I know any one Person, either at London, Bristol, or Liverpool, Trading on his own Account to Carolina, either directly or by the Way of Africa, that is not an humble Suitor to his Majesty not only that Mr. Horsey [2] may be Instructed Not to pass any Law . . . for the Continuance of any Duties on the Importation of Negroes into Carolina.

[156] [1] The *Gazette* of May 11 contains a proclamation, signed by Joseph Wragg, declaring quarantine and ordering all slaves with the disease to be placed on board the *London* frigate. The first steps toward establishing a quarantine system were taken in 1698, when vessels were forbidden to pass a point one mile east of Sullivans Island until the pilot had ascertained from the captain whether there were contagious diseases on board (Cooper, II. 152). In the year 1712 a more determined effort to check the spread of disease was made: "Whereas great numbers of the inhabitants of this Province have been destroyed by malignant, contagious diseases, brought from Africa and other parts of America", a health officer was appointed who visited all vessels before anyone else was allowed on board, ordered masters to send their sick to the pest-house, and held vessels in quarantine for twenty days if anyone on board had died of a contagious disease. *Ibid.*, II. 382-385.

[157] [1] Br. Trans., XIX. 218. The act of 1731 was to expire in August, 1738, and the indefatigable William Wood was early engaged in preventing its continuance. On Feb. 7 he wrote the board, urging it to see that the governor be instructed to prevent the passage of a similar law. South Carolina had no mind to give up the duty and on Mar. 25 the president of the council intimated that the assembly considered the act necessary and wished the governor to be so instructed. *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 36, 56, 217.

[2] Col. Samuel Horsey was nominated for governor of South Carolina in 1727 and 1728. He was actually appointed governor in 1738, but died before he left England for the colony. McCrady, *Royal Government*, p. 178.

158. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1739-1744.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Mar. 24, 1739[3]	Mar. 28[2]	*Hiscox*	S. Saunders	Angola	300	Hill and Guerard
June 9[3]		*Amoretta*	John Crode	Africa		Benjamin Savage
" "	June 20[4]	*Shepheard*	Maurice Power	Angola		Joseph Wragg
" "	" 13					Hill and Guerard[5]
Nov. 24	Dec. 5	*Mary*[6]	Nathaniel Roberts	Gambia		Joseph Wragg
Dec. 1	" "	*Levant* Galley	—— Packer	Africa		" "
Aug. 16, 1740[7]	Aug. 20	*Squirrel*	John Brown	"		Benj. Savage
" 30	Sept. 10	*Amoretta*	John Crode	"		" "
Oct. 2	Oct. 8	*Midway*	Joseph Hunt	"		Yeomans and Escott
Dec. 11	Dec. 17	*Griffin*	John Sutherland	Angola		{ William Wallace and Co. { Pringle and Reid[8]
Aug. 6, 1744[9]	Aug. 15	*Jason* Galley[10]	John Bartlett	"		Hill and Guerard
Sept. 10	Sept. 26	*Africa*	Joseph Hunt	Africa		John Savage and Co.
Oct. 15	Oct. 31	*Nancy*	John Beaver	"		" " " "
" 22	" "	*Tryal*[11]	Wm. Jefferies	"		Hill and Guerard

[158] [1] William Stephens in his "Journal" estimates the negroes in South Carolina in 1739 at 35,000. *Georgia Col. Recs.*, IV. 276.

[2] "To be sold at Dorchester; "To avoid small Pox, the Ship proceeds directly up the Ashley River".

[3] No date of sale is given. "N. B. But two Persons have Small-Pox in Town and they at or near White-Point, therefore no Danger of coming here."

[4] "At Mr. Wragg's House, where the Secretary's office was lately kept in Charlestown."

[5] "On Wednesday the 13th Instant, will be sold in Charlestown, a very fine Cargo of able-bodied Gambia Negroes, just imported from Gambia directly by Hill and Guerard. N. B. The Negroes will be kept at the House built by the late Charles Hill Esq; about a Mile up the broad Path, until the Morning of the Sale. And very great Regard will be had to ready Pay."

[6] "The Ship *Mary* Galley, Capt Robert —, belonging to Mr. Samuel Wragg, of London, was on the 4th Day of September, 1742 drove ashore, plundered, and destroy'd in the River Gambia, by the Natives; of which she had a Cargo on board. The Slaves rose, in the most barbarous Manner murdered the Ship's Crew, and obliged the said Captain and the Mate, Mr. David Donahew, to confine themselves in the Cabin for 27 Days, whence they at last made their Escape, by the Help of a Stage, to the French Island Senegale. This Advice was first brought from thence to Newfoundland, etc. and a Certificate thereof sent here, sign'd by the Commander in Chief and other Officers at Fort Louis in Senegale" (*S. C. Gazette*, Oct. 24, 1743). This news was copied by the *Boston Gazette*, Dec. 20, 1743, and the *Boston News Letter*, Dec. 22, 1743.

[7] Negroes seem not to have sold well this year, for the advertisements are frequently repeated after the date of sale has passed. As a result of the insurrection of slaves in 1739 an act was passed on Apr. 5, 1740, placing a tax of £10 current money on all those over 4

feet, 2 inches tall, £5 on those over 3 feet, 2 inches, and £2.10 on all others except "sucking children", the tax to be paid by the first purchaser and to be in force fifteen months, after which it was to be increased to £100, £50, and £25. Because of this prohibitive imposition there were no importations in 1741, 1742, 1743 (Cooper, III. 556). For an account of the negro insurrection, which may have caused the slow sales as well as the duty, see McCrady, *Royal Government,* pp. 185-187; *Gentleman's Magazine,* X. 127-129.

[8] "The extream cold Weather having obstructed the Sale of the Negroes on board the Ship *Griffin* as advertis'd to be sold the 17th Instant; This is to give Notice that there still remains a parcel of very healthy Negroes to be sold, on board said Ship lying at Mr. Motte's Wharff, where daily Attendance will be given till all are sold, by WILLIAM WALLACE and Comp. and PRINGLE and REID." *S. C. Gazette,* Dec. 25, 1740, Jan. 1, 8, 1741.

[9] The prohibitive tax imposed by the act of Apr. 5, 1740, went into effect July, 1741, and cut off all importation for three years. The appearance of Malachy Postlethwayte's *The African Slave Trade the Great Pillar and Support of the British Plantation Trade in America* was attributed to the effect which this act had on the business of the Bristol merchants. The adverse opinions of these merchants were by no means the only opinions which found expression in England: "It is very certain that South Carolina is overstock'd with blacks, in proportion to the number of white people: because it appears by the customhouse entries at Charles Town that there were imported from two to three thousand annually, before the temporary prohibition (now expired). Therefore it must be allow'd that three independent companies may and will be serviceable to awe and terrify the slaves. But then, to all disinterested men, it must appear more reasonable for the governor, council, and general assembly of that province to make proper laws and regulations to restrain the rich planters from keeping dangerous number of negroes, and to promote the increase of industrious and useful inhabitants than [that] the mother country should be at the expence of paying a standing force to keep them in obedience." *Gentleman's Magazine,* XV. 29, January, 1745.

[10] The *Jason* was a Bristol ship. At this time a drawback was allowed on negroes imported and within six months re-exported. Edmond Aitken, in a petition to the assembly, stated that he had bought twelve negroes from the ship *Jason,* and sent them by land to North Carolina for Nathaniel Rice. Rice had also purchased five from the *Africa,* Captain Hunt, sold by John Savage, that had been sent to North Carolina in the same way. He asked that the drawback be allowed him as if the negroes had been exported by water. The assembly assented and resolved that it should be the general rule that "negroes carried hence by land" should be granted the drawback ("Journal of Assembly," 1744, pp. 64-67). A further reference to the purchases of Rice is to be found in 1745. John Tinker, the governor of the Bahamas, sent a negro to Rice who had to be landed in South Carolina. On Jan. 26, 1745, John Reid's petition to cancel the bond given at the time the negro was landed was granted. *Ibid.,* 1745, pp. 146-147, 153-154.

[11] A news item in the *Gazette* of May 18, 1745, reported the snow *Tryall,* William Jefferies, seized and sold in Havana.

159. Act for establishing Quarantine, 1744.[1]

An Act for the Further Preventing the Spreading of Contagious or Malignant Distempers in this Province.

Whereas, it hath been found by experience, that since the importation of negroes and slaves from the coasts of Africa into this Province, hath been prohibited, this Province in general and Charlestown in particular, hath been much more healthy than heretofore it hath been: and whereas, a sum of one thousand pounds current money hath been resolved to be provided for the building a pest house on Sullivan's Island, near the entrance into the port and harbour of Charlestown, for the reception of all infected or distempered persons which shall be brought into this Province; we humbly pray his most sacred Majesty that it may be enacted.

And be it enacted, by his Excellency James Glen, Esq., Governor-in-chief and Captain General in and over his Majesty's Plantations of South Carolina, by and with the advice and consent of his Majesty's Honorable Council and the Assembly of this Province, and by the authority of the same, That no ship or vessel which after the fifth day of July next after the passing of this Act, shall arrive or come into this Province over the bar of the harbour of Charlestown, with negroes from the coasts of Africa or elsewhere, shall be permitted upon any pretence whatsoever to come above Johnson's fort into Cooper or Ashley river, in this Province, before all the negroes imported or brought in such ship or vessell shall have been landed and put on shore on Sullivan's Island aforesaid, and there shall have remained for the space of ten days, or have been carried on shore five days in the said space of ten days, and shall remain on shore six hours in each of the said days in the summer, and five hours in the winter, that they shall be so on shore in, as the party's own election, for the better purifying and cleansing the said slaves and vessel from any infectious distemper; any law, usage or custom to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And in case any negroes or slaves so imported and brought into this Province, over the bar of the harbor of Charlestown, shall be sold, landed or put on shore in any part of this Province, before such negroes or slaves have been landed and remained by the space of ten days, or carried and remained on shore five days, on Sullivan's Island, as aforesaid, (unless such negroes and slaves, upon apprehension of the dangers of a hurricane, or other imminent danger, shall be ordered by his Excellency the Governor or the

[159] [1] Cooper, III. 773-774; see III. 643, for title of an act to prevent the spread of distempers.

Commander-in-chief for the time being, to be removed from thence to some other place in this Province, without the limits of Charlestown) all such negroes and slaves shall and they are hereby declared to be forfeited, the one half to his Majesty, for the use of the Government of this Province, to be applied as the General Assembly from time to time shall direct, and the other half to him or them that will inform and sue for the same, to be recovered in any court of record in this Province, wherein no essoign, protection, priviledge or wager of law shall be admitted or allowed, nor any more than one imparlance.

II. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That in case any person or persons whoever, not having the permission of the Governor or Commander-in-chief for so doing, shall go on board any such ship or vessel, or to Sullivan's Island, while such negroes or slaves are there, such person and persons shall be obliged to remain on board such ship or vessel or at Sullivan's Island till the time which such negroes shall be obliged to remain at Sullivan's Island shall be expired, under the penalty of one hundred pounds proclamation money, to be recovered and applied as is above directed. And in case such person or persons shall not be able to pay the said penalty, it shall and may be lawful for any two justices of the peace, and they are hereby required and authorized, to order such corporal punishment to be inflicted on such person or persons, not extending to life or limb, and not exceeding thirty-nine stripes, as they shall judge proper.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no mariner or seaman whatever, arriving in any such ship or vessel, shall be permitted on any account or pretence whatever to come to Charlestown till the time directed for such negroes to continue at Sullivan's Island shall be expired, under the penalty of one hundred pounds proclamation money, to be recovered and applied as aforesaid.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the masters or commanders of every ship or vessel that shall arrive with negroes as aforesaid, before such ship or vessel be permitted to pass Johnson's Fort, shall be and they are hereby obliged and required to make oath before the commander of the said fort that they have complied with the directions of this Act, which oath the commander of the said fort is hereby required and impowered to administer.

V. Provided always, That nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to extend to any negroes brought into this Province from any English colony, not for sale, but for the use of the importers

only. Provided also that this Act shall only continue to be in force for the term of three years from the passing thereof, and from thence to the end of the next session of the General Assembly, and no longer.[2]

May 29, 1744.

160. Henry Laurens to George Austin, 1748.[1]

London, 17 December, 1748.

per Legard
George Austin, *Charles Town* [2]

Dear Sir, . . . I am a Little at a loss who to propose for Security in case of any offer of Negro Consignments as it has been hinted to me that Messrs. Shubrick's are getting into that Branch, however I shall take an opportunity to ask Mr. R S.[3] if he'll be your Security and then on my Account I have some reason to believe Mr. Crokatt [4] would stand my friend but I can't say I am at present inclined to ask so great a favour. on this head I shall better determine when at Liverpool or Bristol and in the mean time hope the pleasure of a few Lines from you in which perhaps you may say more on this subject.

[2] On May 11, 1754, an act was passed setting aside one-fifth of the duty paid by the first purchasers of negroes for the building of the pest-house (Cooper, IV. 11). In 1759 there was passed a law, containing provisions probably more drastic than those enforced by any other colony, certainly more drastic than those of the West Indies, by which any vessel having on board ten negroes was obliged to lie in the harbor ten days, to be visited by a physician on the ninth day, who should certify that there was no cause for its further detention. *Ibid.,* IV. 78-86.

[160] [1] Laurens Letter-Book. The collection of Laurens papers, invaluable for its contribution to the economic history of South Carolina, is in the possession of the South Carolina Historical Society, which is publishing it in its quarterly *Bulletin.* For those letters or parts of letters which appear in this volume the editor is indebted to the generosity of that society. Unless otherwise noted, reference to the Laurens Letter-Books is always to the South Carolina collection. The material possessed by the Brooklyn Historical Society yielded nothing pertinent to the subject of the slave trade, and the provenance of those letters which come from the Pennsylvania Historical Society is always stated. From this point the history of the Carolina trade is largely to be written from the Laurens letters. Laurens had, in September, 1748, gone to England to make the necessary business connections for the new firm, Austin and Laurens. It is to be remembered that these are Laurens's copies of the letters, not the originals.

[2] It was Laurens's custom, in copying his letters into the letter-book, to add to the date the place in which his correspondent lived. These place-names have been transferred, to follow the name of the correspondent, and have been italicized, to distinguish them from the names of those places from which Laurens was writing. When the letter is written in Charleston the place does not appear in the Letter-Books.

[3] On Dec. 24 Laurens wrote, "Mr Richd Shubrick has promised if needfull to become your Security". No advertisements for the sale of negro cargoes by Messrs. Shubrick and Co. appear until 1755. *S. C. Gazette,* July 17, 1755.

[4] James Crokatt, who had been for a number of years in business in Charleston, but had in 1739 returned to London. In 1741, as a Carolina merchant and member of the council, he appeared before the Board of Trustees of Georgia to answer the questions of the Earl of Egmont (*post,* no. 399, Mar. 19). For an account of the relations between Laurens and Crokatt see Wallace, *Laurens,* pp. 15-19.

161. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1749-1751.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
June 12, 1749 [1]	June 20	*Hecter* [2]	Peter Bostock	Windward Coast		John Mackenzie, Ken. and Benj. Michie
Aug. 14	Aug. 22	*Brownlow*	—— Jackson	" "		Kennan and Campbell
Oct. 30	Nov. 8	*Pardoe* [3]	Anthony Galter	Gambia		Perry and Taylor
July 2, 1750 [4]	July 11	*Hector* [5]	Peter Bostock	Windward Coast		Wm. Glen
Aug. 6	Aug. 15	*Matilda*	W. Townsend	Africa		J. and B. Savage
"	" "	*Telemachus*	Joseph Work	"		Ralph Taylor
Oct. 8	Oct. 18	*Amoretta* [6]	Sam. Timberman	"		J and B. Savage
Nov. 5 [7]	Nov. 13	*Charles* (?)	Thos. Calvert	Barbados (Gambia and Gold Coast)	100	Robt. Pringle and Co.
Apr. 22, 1751 [8]	May 1 [9]			West Indies (Gold Coast)	70	Jos. Pickering
July 29	Aug. 7	*Orrel* [10]	Samuel Lacer	Gambia		Austin and Laurens
Sept. 23	Sept. 26	*Nancy*	Joseph Dickinson	Angola	59	Thos. Smith, sr. and John Savage
Dec. 6	[11]	*Peggy and Molly*	James Oates	Antigua (Angola)		James Oates

[161] [1] Here arises one of the puzzles in the South Carolina legislation. In April, 1746, the legislature revived the act of 1740 for five years (Cooper, III. 670). On the face of it this seems to prohibit importation until 1751, yet the trade was obviously renewed in 1749.

[*Notes to no. 161*—continued:]

Wallace attempts to solve the difficulty by concluding that the act was to be in effect but three years and that it was imposed in 1745 not 1746. Wallace, *Laurens*, p. 83; *post*, no. 163, n. 2.

The *Gazette* of Dec. 8, 1759, gives the arrivals for 1749 as 72, all of whom are assigned to June 24. The Reverend John Newton was mate on a vessel which sold slaves in Charleston in 1749. Newton, *Life*, p. 103.

[5] "June 5th, 1749. This Day arrived from the Windward Coast of Africa, the Bill. *Hector*, Capt. Peter Bostock, with a choice Parcel of young healthy Slaves: To be sold by the Subscribers, in Charles-Town, the 20th Instant, Credit will be given 'till the first of January next, giving Security if required. JOHN MACKENZIE [and] KEN. and BENJ. MICHIE. Great Abatement will be made for ready Money." *S. C. Gazette*, June 12, 1749.

[6] To be sold "at private sale".

[7] "A Computation of Negroes required for the use of the American Plantations. As no Gold Coast Slaves are required for North America, we distinguish the following Seperately. . . . Carolina, Some Years ago used to take about 1000 but now they take very few, occastion'd by a high Duty laid, which in effect answered the End of a prohibition but suppose the demand revives 1000." C. O. 388: 45, B. T. Commercial, ser. I., b 7.

[8] The slaves were to be sold "at the house of Mrs. Mary Sureau up the path". "The Condition of Sale is, Credit to the first of January next, without Interest, giving Security, if required by WILLIAM GLEN. N. B. Five per cent Discount will be allowed on all Sums paid down. The Sale to begin at eleven in the forenoon precisely." *S. C. Gazette*, July 2, 1750.

[9] The *Amoretta*, Samuel Timberman, the property of Joseph Ives and Company, had delivered 185 negroes in Virginia in 1749.

[10] On Nov. 5 the following notice appeared: "About One Hundred choice healthy Negroes, most of them Gambia and Gold Coast Slaves, just imported from Barbadoes, by ROBERT PRINGLE and Comp." The only vessel entered from Barbados was the *Charles*. The *Gazette* of Dec. 8, 1759, records the arrival of 140 on or before Sept. 29, and 302 Dec. 25, 1750, giving the sum of these two items (442) as the importation for the year.

[11] The *Gazette* of Dec. 8, 1759, gives arrivals as 535 for Sept. 29, and 296 up to Dec. 25, a total of 831 for the year.

[12] The advertisement reads: "Just imported, and to be sold in Charles-Town, on Wednesday the first of May, about seventy choice healthy Negroes from the West Indies, mostly of the Gold Coast and were the choice of two cargoes, by JOSEPH PICKERING. N. B. None will be sold 'till the first of May as above."

[13] "Just Imported in the Brigantine *Orrel*, Samuel Lacer Commander directly from Gambia, in a Passage of Seven Weeks, a Cargo of healthy fine Slaves, to be sold on Wednesday the 7th Day of August, by AUSTIN and LAURENS" (*S. C. Gazette*, July 29, Aug. 5, 1751). The *Orrel*, a Liverpool vessel, was reported as having arrived there Nov. 17. *Ibid.*, Jan. 27, 1752.

[14] This cargo was evidently sold on board the snow and at any time, as no date of sale was announced: "A Parcel of new Negro Men, The choice of a large cargo lately arrived at Antigua". By Dec. 20 Oates had ceased to advertise negroes, though he was still offering other imported articles for sale.

162. Governor James Glen's Description of South Carolina, 1749.[1]

. . . And the Importation of Negroe Slaves which formerly was a considerable article of expense to us, hath not only been saved for a time, but is likely to continue so for the future, a law having been made in this Province whereby a duty was laid on Negroes import'd here, that it amounted to a prohibition:[2] and though since the expiration of that Law,[3] the war hath hitherto prevented any from being imported, I do not find that in about nine years time, our number of negroes is diminished, but on the contrary, increased: so that from all appearances the negroes bred from our own Stock, will continually recruit and keep it up, if not enable us to supply the sugar Colonies with a small number of Negroes. . . .

163. Henry Laurens to Foster Cunliffe, 1749.[1]

Liverpoole 20th Janry. 1748[9].

Foster Cunliffe Esqr. *Liverpool*

. . . I can venture to assure you there is a Prospect of good Sales for Negroes in that Province [Carolina] as Rice promises fair to be a good Commodity, the Quantity heretofore exported being greatly reduc'd by our attention to the Indigo . . . and we have good reason to hope for success in this Last article and that it will make a very considerable addition in our remittances to Great Brittain. If you should do anything in this Branch I beg Leave to offer our service on the following terms To Load the Ship which imports the Slaves with such produce as can be had at the Season, pay Coast Commission there, make good all debts and remitt the Amount according to the times of Payment if freight can be obtain'd and as much in Bill as we may procure with Cash arising from the Sales, our Commission 10 per Ct. and if Requir'd we are ready to give Security in England in any reasonable sum for remitting the Proceeds.

[162] [1] "Glen's Description of South Carolina", Carroll, *Collections*, II. 224.

[2] About the date or approximate date of expiration of this troublesome act there can be no question. Colonel Vanderdusen had written on May 25, 1748, "that the Importation of Slaves had been greatly interrupted by an Act passed there some Years ago laying a Duty upon them but that the Act had expired or was near it" (Br. Trans., XXIII. 13). In June, 1748, Governor Glen was gently warned against allowing the duty to be continued by another act. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

[3] The description as printed in Weston's *Documents connected with the History of South Carolina* (p. 92) reads, "and tho the law expired some time since".

[163] [1] Foster, Ellis, and Robert Cunliffe soon after this time became Liverpool members of the newly created Company of Merchants trading to Africa, as were Edward Traford, John Knight, and James Pardoe, to whom Laurens wrote similar letters (Laurens Letter-Book; Gomer Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, p. 674). Cunliffe shipped negroes to Virginia as well as to Charleston, and, since he was a dealer in Maryland tobacco, it is reasonable to surmise that he may have sold negroes in that province also, but no trace of such sales has been discovered in the letter-book of his Maryland agent Henry Callister.

Our House at Charles Town will be under the name of George Austin and Henry Laurens. we shall be very Glad of oppertunity to open a Correspondance with your good self or your friends and shall endeavour to act so as may increase the same to mutual Interest.

164. Henry Laurens to George Austin, 1749.

Bristol 11th Febry. 1748[9].

George Austin, *Chas Town*

. . . Mr. Lewis introduced me to Sir Hugh Briggs who was so kind to give me Letters of recommendation to Mr. Foster Cunliffe, Mr. Edward Traford and Mr. John Knight, very considerable Merchants in Leverpool. those Gentlemen received me with great [*blank*] of respect and have promis'd to do us all the service in their Power. I have made each of them offers in the Guinea Business agreeable to your Standard and hope in a few days to hear further from some of them. at Leverpool I met with Mr. Pardoe of Worcesster who is now fitting out the *Pardoe*, Galter, and *Lamb*, [*illegible*],[1] for Gambia and Carolina and has promis'd to address them both to us in case of the miscarriage of Messrs. Perry and Taylors lately gone to establish a House at Carolina and has given me direction agreeably dated 23 Ulto. . . . I shall now embrace the first good Opportunity and return to Charles Town but can't determine if I shall ship any goods from London or this place till I have further discourse with some Gentlemen on the African Trade. I forgot to mention that Capt. Whitfield yesterday introduced me to Mr. Farr [2] and some other Gentlemen who are now about sending a Ship for Negroes and I believe not fix'd on a House at Carolina to address them to.

165. Henry Laurens to James Pardoe, 1749.

Bristol 21st Febry. 1748[9].

James Pardoe, *Leverpool*

Sir, . . . I have one Letter which says Negroes would sell at a monstrous price and I can't learn of any Ships from this Port gone with Slaves yet 'tho some Gentn. talk of being soon con-

[164] [1] The cargo of the *Pardoe* is announced for private sale by Messrs. Perry and Taylor in the *Gazette*, Oct. 30, 1749. This is the only negro cargo handled by this house which the editor has found, though the next year Ralph Taylor, possibly one of the partners, sold that of the *Telemachus*. There seems to be no evidence that the *Lamb* ever arrived in Charleston. Galter was in 1751 master of the *Penelope*, belonging to Pardoe. See *ante* p. 222.

[2] Richard Farr of Bristol, to whom Laurens wrote Feb. 18 giving him the terms on which the new firm expected to handle the African trade and setting forth his reasons for believing it to be a favorable time for Guinea cargoes.

cern'd that way, if your *Pardoe* and *Lamb* arrive in common time I imagine their Cargoes will meet with a very profittable Sale. . . .

166. Henry Laurens to Isaac Hobhouse, 1749.[1]

London 16th March 1748[9].

Isaac Hobhouse, *Bristol*

. . . I have ask'd Mr. James Crokatt if he would hold a concern in a Guinea Vessel with Slaves to Carolina which he declines saying that he is fully employ'd with Business on Commission and chuses to be confin'd in that way. if your good self or friends should do any thing in that Branch of Trade or any other to Carolina I beg leave to repeat the offer of service from Geo. Austin and Henry Laurens assuring you that any concerns you may be pleas'd to put under our direction we shall be carefull to conduct with integrity and in the best manner for your advantage. . . .

167. Account Book of Austin and Laurens, 1751.[1]

Charles Town So. Carolina

25 April, 1751.	Sundry Amounts to Capt. John Evans		
	Harry Middleton, Esq.		
	One Negro Man delivered to his Overseer for which he engaged to pay		200
	N.B. this Negro was ruptured.		
	Paid and Ent'd cash James Laurens: a Negro Boy		120
24 April, 1751.	Benja. Addison to Capt. John Evans one of the Little New Negroes left with us by Capt. Evans sold to him for		110
16 July, 1751.	John Cumyn Ball to Wm. Satterthwaite Sa [Sale] 69		
	5 new Negroe Men at 245 per	1225	
	To Richd Gillon Sa 68		
	2 New Negro Men at 245 per	490	
			£1715
	payable 1st December and after that with Interest		
18 July	John Cumyn Ball to Henry Laurens		
	a Negro Man nam'd Elisha sold him some time ago for		200
27 July, 1751.	Sundry Accounts to Jacob Motte Esq. (Entd. this day)		
	Wm. Satterthwaite Sa 69.		
	Duty on 5 Negro Men and port fee		50.3.9

[166] [1] Hobhouse was probably entirely familiar with the Carolina trade (see *ante*, no. 152, n. 11). Laurens follows the paragraph here printed with a statement of terms as given to Cunliffe (*ante*, no. 163). There is no indication in these letters that Laurens considered conditions in South Carolina so depressing as they seemed to a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (XXI. 39-40), who wrote of 200 insolvent debtors who had petitioned for relief. The frequent failures in the colony this author attributed to lack of sufficient currency and the undue amount of credit which had been extended.

[167] [1] Only those items relating to the negro trade have been extracted from the somewhat haphazard accounts of the miscellaneous business carried on by Austin and Laurens, as well as by other Charleston merchants. Most, if not all, of the merchants who advertised negroes in the *Gazette* were doing a general business, of which their trade in negroes was but a part.

[*Account Book*—continued:]

	Richd. Gillon Sale 68		
	Duty on 2 Negro Men and pt. fee		20.1.3
2d August, 1751.	Thomas and Thornton to Cap. James McKay		
	Thos. Goldsmith's Bill of 29th Ulto. on John Callcraft Esq. pa'ble to James McKay and by him endors'd-remitted to Wm. Satterthwaite of Lancaster per Clark and [*blank*] on Accot. of Mr. Jno. Thomas being the Nt. produce of a Negro Woman belonging to him per Tell £28. 17. 6 Sterling Excha. at 700 per Ct.[2]		153.2.6
31 Aug.	Wm. Satterthwaite his a/c to William Elliott abatement made him on a Negro sold him the 3d July with a Lame Arm which did not appear at the Sale		10
	Commission to Wm. Satterthwaite his a/c on Commission [*torn*] the above £10 abated		10
	John Guerard to Elias Ball of Ashepoo so much we endorsed of said Guerard's Bond to Elias Ball to pay for three Negroes we sent the Latter		750
	Vide our Letter to Elias Ball and his Answer.		
	To Jacob Motte Esq. Duty on two priveledge Slaves		20
	John Lee (Mate of the *Orrel*) to Sundry Accts To Jacob Motte, Duty of a Negro Man		10
4 July, 1751.			
	Sundry accounts to Willm. Satterthwaite's Sale 64. being 49 Negroes		
	Recd. per the Snow *Carolina Mercht.* from Barbadoes		
	Thomas Broughton, 6 New Negro Men Payable ½ in Cash; for which we take his Rect. on Acct. and one half per Note dated yesterday Payab. in three Mth.		1500
	Thomas Shubrick, 1 Man and 2 Boys Payable in Cash or a Bill of Excha		560
	Willm. Elliott, 2 Men and 4 Boys Payable to us in Cash in a few days		1260
	Peter David, 1 Man Payable per his note of yesterday at 1 Mo.		250
	Danl Heyward, 6 Men and 1 Boy payab. 1/3 in Cash and 1/2 on the 3d October next per his Bond dated yesterday	1740	
	1 Man per Bond payable 1st Jany	245	1985
	Peter Simmonds (of Santee) 3 Men payable part per an order on John Watson	440	
	and remaindr per his Note payab. 10th Inst	310	750
	Doct. John Linning, 2 Men payab. per Bond this date on 1st November next with Ints.		300
	Capt Robert Sammis (Mr. Thoms. Ellis his Security) 1 Man Payb in 14 days		242 10
	John McFadden and Wm. Thomson, (of Williamsburg) 1 Man (part cash, part account [?] on Glen and Cooper's Note, and £84 11.2) their Bond payabl. 3d. August with Interest		250
	Elias Ball Jun, 4 Men		1000
	Isaac Lecesne, 2 Men, 1/2 Cash 1/2 per Note payable in one Month		500
	Wm. Roper, 1 Woman per Assumption for John Beatty included in a Rect. for Cash		210
	David Palmer, 2 Men and 1 Woman payable per Bond on the 1st Jany.		600
	Cash ———, 1 Man per Mr. Remington		260

[2] In a letter of Feb. 21, 1756, Laurens said that the rate of exchange between sterling and currency, which was then 1 to 7, had not varied for seven years.

1 ditto per Mr. Izard		275
[3]Christ Gadsden, 3 Men per Note paybl.		710
		10,852 10
		[10,652 10]

Sold as above 44 Men and Boys and 2 Women and remains . . 3 Men this 4 July.

Danl Heyward to John Dart Esq.
1 Negro Woman sold him yesterday and included in his Bond of £97 Stg. Payab 3d October } £210
N. B. Mr. Dart put this Negro in our hands for Geo. Hardy.

Glen and Cooper to John McFadden and Wm. Thomson. part of the £250 charged them for a Negro Man per their Note the 3d Inst. 89 14 4

To Thomas and Thornton
1 Negro Woman Sold this day per Vendue Recd. per Capt Fell from Barbadoes £175
their Commission 4.7.6 170.12.6

260.6.10

26 August 1751. Sundry Accounts to Owners of the *Orrel* Sale 71
sold and delivered on the 7th Inst *Vide* accot. of the Sale being New Negroes Recd. per the *Orrel* from Gambia

Benjamin Waring, 4 Men. part paid for and the remaindr. being £280. we have his Bond payab 1st Jany. next	980
William Chambers. 2 Girls part Cash and part £170 per Bond Payab. 1st September	340
John Cumyn Ball. 5 Men sold him for	1250
Bernard Elliott 1 Girl	180
Nichs. Harleston, 2 Men at £255 besides 2 of the Captains charged below	510
Daniel Huger, 7 Men 1 Woman 2 Boys besides 1 of the Mates a priveledge Slave charged below	2290
Alexr. Garden Junr. 2 Men per Notes half Payab 1 Month and 1/2 Payab. in 3 Months	500
Samuel Thomas. 2 Men payable 1 Jan. per his Bond	500
Thomas Whilter[??], 1 Man, Bond given for £98. Payab 1st March next remd. in Cash	240
Willm. Cripps. 2 Elderly Men 1/2 payabl per Note in three Mos.	400
Thomas and Samuel Jenkins 2 Men 1 Woman Payable 1st March next per Bond with Ints. after two Months	710
John Vinson. 1 Man 1 Woman per Bond 1st Jany. next	450
Willm. Nelson. 1 Man 2 Women (£473 of it Payab. per Bond 1st Jany. next)	640
Isaac Lecesne 2 Men. Payab. per Bond 1st Jany. next with Ints from 15th Octob.	495
Wm. Ferguson (?) and Willm. Nelson: 1 Girl part £60 Payabl per Bond 1st Jany. next	170
David Singletary 1 Woman, part per Bond £187 Payb 1st Jany. next	290
William Oswald 2 Men Note for £200 Payab. 1st September Bond 280 Pay 1 Jany.	480
Saml. Nesmith and Willm. Thompson. 1 Man per Bond Payb 1st Jany. *vide* below	240
Elias Horry, 1 Men, 2 Boys, Payabl. per Bond 1st Jany. next with Interest	500
John Handlin, 2 Women (£313 is per Bond. Payabl 1st Jany. next	410

[3]The account book has at this point a note: "Christopher Gadsden to Wm. S. Sale 64. 1 New Negro Man wanting a thumb and finger on his right hand, 220."

[*Account Book*—continued:]

Richd. Mastson 1 Negro Boy sold Capt Cookson			155
Thomas Conn. 2 Men Payab. per Bond 1st Jany. Next			480
Willm. Thomson and Sam Nesmith 1 Man ailing with a flux per Bond Payabl 1st Jany.			220
N B. this and the above Sum of £240 is all included in one Bond and may be Posted in one Entry			
Capt. Robt Sams [Sammis] and Thomas Ellis			
1 Elderly Man	230		
1 Sickly Young Man	180		410
Theodore Galliard 2 Men 1 Woman Bond given for £477 12 Payb. 1st Jany.			620
Anthony Lambwright, 1 Man with a Guinea Woman. Per Bond Payb 1st Jany. with Intest from 7 September			200
James Hamilton and Anth Lambwright 1 Man. Per Bond Payb. 1st Jany. with Intst.			220
Dan. Horry Esq. 1 Man 6 Women the remainder of the Yard 1/2 per Bond Payab 1st Jany. next and 1/2 per Bond Payab. 1st Jany. 1752			1300
William Hopton. 1 Man			250
Elias Ball Senr. 2 Women			460
Elias (Ashepoo) Ball 2 Men 1 Woman			750
John Cumyn Ball. 2 Women 2 Girls			900
Benja. Addison. 1 Boy			180
Glen and Cooper per Vendue 1 Old Woman with an Ulcer on her thigh			47 10
Cash[4] per Edwd. Harleston	2 Men 490		
per Wm. Smilie	2 Men 490		
per Mrs. Fuller	1 Boy 180		
per Mr. Seaby	1 Man dropsical 100		1260
Doctr Wm. Bruce 1 Man 1 Girl			385
			£19332.10[5]
Nichs. Harleston to Capt. Samuel Lacer 2 Negro Men his priviledge Slaves at £255			510
Daniel Huger to John Lee for 1 Negro Man which was his priviledge Slave [*torn*] with J Lee himself			250
Smith and Palmer to Benjamin Waring This Note to Pay on Acct. of Negroes sold him the 7 Inst			700
Sarah Rutledge to Theodore Galliard her note dated 9th Inst. Payable in four Mos. with Interest given for Ballance of a Bond of Mr. John Rutledge's passed with us by Mr. Galliard in part of Negroes sold him 7th Inst. N.B. he promises to make this debt good to us.			1428
Aug. 31. 1751. Capt. Samuel Lacer to Sundry accounts.			
Per our Acct. settled and Rects. taken 29th Inst.[6] . . .			
To Jacob Motte, Esq. Duty on two privledge Slaves			20
Total			1436.1 8
N.B. We settled this in two Accts. with Capt. Lacer one as ships disbursements the other as his private Acct. . . .			
John Lee to Sundry Acct.			
To Jacob Motte, Duty of a Negro Man			10

[4] A marginal note adds of the next four sales: "Note, these are Ent'd in Cash Book, don't Post it twice."

[5] If the figures have been correctly transcribed this total is £19,412.10. It seems more likely that the figures have been incorrectly read than that Laurens was wrong in both his debit and his credit totals.

[6] The accounts which follow include a great variety of items, here omitted, necessary to refitting the *Orrel*.

[*Account Book*—continued:]

Owners of the *Orrel* Sale 71 to Sundry Acct.			
Per Amt Sales dated 28th Inst and transmitted per the *Orrel.* and Capt. Searle *Vizt.*			
To Jacob Motte			
Duty of 86 Negroes at £10		860	
3 Undersized at	5	15	
			875
To Cash [other items follow] per H. Laurens Paid Doctr. Chambers for Visitg the Ship			10
To Henry Laurens for Sundry Charges he Paid and Expences at the Sale			36
To Amt Mem. Commission 5 per ct on £19,332.10 being the Amot. of the Sale			966 12 6
To William Whaley and Co. Mercht. in Liverpool their A/Currt for the Nt. Proceed			17,443.2 6
			£19,332.10

William Whaley and Co. Owners of the *Orrel* their A/Cur.[1]	
To Capt. Saml. Lacer.	
1/4th part of his Commission he demanded of us being 4 (per ct) £104. on the Gross Sales for which and the 1/4th below we have transmitted his Rect.	185 17 6
To John Lee (Mate of the *Orrell*)	
1/4th part of the Captains Coast Commission as above paid him by order and the Rects. of Capt. Lacer	185 17 6
Total amt. to W. Whaley and Co. in a New A/Cu.	11,370 5 8

[1] The next page continues the invoice of the return cargo, which included rice, indigo, and deer skins.

168. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1752-1754.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 10, 1752 [3]		*Earl of Radnor*	Robt. Raite	Africa	300	Austin and Laurens
Apr. 20	Apr. 29	*Emperor*	Charles Gwin	Congo	250	" " " [2]
May 4	May 13	*Molly*	Richard Watts	Gambia and Gold Coast	100	John Guerard
" 11	" 20	*Prince George*	Peter Bostock	Gambia and Grain Coast	300	William Stone
" 28	June 9	*Delight*	William Colquhoun	Africa	160	Stead and Evance
Oct. 16	Oct. 25	*Sarah and Anne*	John Nicholson			John Savage and Co.
" 30	Nov. 9	*Two Friends*	Abraham Hammett	Barbados	60	Glen and Cooper [3]
Nov. 13	" 29	*Eugene*	—— Merrick	Guinea		Austin and Laurens [4]
" 27 [5]	Dec. 1	*Nancy*	—— Marshall	St. Christopher		Inglis, Pickering, Wraxall
Mar. 5, 1753 [6]	Mar. 21	*Hannah*	Joseph Cornish	Barbados (Angola)	50	Robert Raper
May 21	May 31	*Thomas* [7]	Jas. Hutcheson	Barbados (Gambia)	100	Middleton and Brailsford
Aug. 6	Aug. 9	*Africa*	John Hinde	Grain and Gold Coast	170	Austin and Laurens
" 15	" 22	*Molly and Sally*	John Wilmshu[r]st	Barbados	100	Middleton and Brailsford
" 27	Sept. 5	*Emperor*	Charles Gwynn	Angola	350	Austin and Laurens [8]
" "	" "	*Orrel*	James Bennet	Gambia		" " "
" "	Aug. 30	*Elizabeth*	James Hunt	"		John Guerard
Sept. 3	Sept. 12	*Prince George*	Peter Bostock [9]	Gambia and Grain Coast	270	Wm. Stone
Oct. 1	Oct. 12	*Entwistle*	Wm. Briggs	Barbados	50	Middleton and Brailsford
Feb. 19, 1754 [10]	Feb. 26	*Molly and Sally*	Wilmshurst	" (Gold Coast)	24 [11]	Thomas Smith
Apr. 9		*Martha*	James Lone	"	80	Middleton and Brailsford
May 3	May 15	*St Paul*	Tublay James	Gambia		Charles Mayne
" 21	" 29	*Noble*	Wm. Whitson	"		James Michie
" "	" "	*New-Ormond and Success*	Dickson	" and Gold Coast	200	Middleton and Brailsford
" "	" "	*Nugent*	Jas. Hutcheson	Gambia	200	" " "
" "	" "	*Sylvia*	Jas. McMurdo	Coast of Guinea	200	Benj. Smith and Benj. Stead
June 4	June 11	*Matilda*	John Davis	" " "		Inglis, Pickering, Wraxall [12]
" "	" "			Gambia		Chas. Mayne
" 20	July 3	*Fortune*	Ed. Bouchier	Windward and Gold Coast	180	Austin and Laurens
July 4				Jamaica	48	
" 11	" 18	*Elizabeth*	Jas. Hunt	Gambia		John Guerard
" 18	" 31	*Orrel*	Jas. Bennet	"	170	Austin and Laurens
" 25	" "	*Mercury*	—— Webb	Jamaica (Gambia)	30	Benj. Smith and Co.
Aug. 22	Sept. 4	*Minerva*	Wm. Colquhoun [13]	Windward and Gold Coast	160	Middleton and Brailsford
" 29	" 5	*Africa*	William Mason	Sierra Leone		Austin and Laurens [14]
Oct. 3	Oct. 9	*Young Prince George*	John Rosse [15]	Gambia	50	Glen, Cooper and Co.
" 10	" 22	*Isaac*	John McNeill		60	Middleton and Brailsford
Dec. 12	Dec. 16	*Prince of Wales*	Robt. Gordon	Barbados (Gambia)	70	Chas. Mayne

[168] [1]For this year the *Gazette* provides figures more complete than can be derived from the advertisements of the merchants, as each issue reports the number of importations since Nov. 1, 1751.

Feb. 1, 327	Apr. 13, 420	Aug. 10, 1405	Nov. 6, 1572
Feb. 8, 355	Apr. 27, 650	Oct. 3, 1490	Dec. 25, 1865
Feb. 22, 403	May 18, 1066	Oct. 9, 1491	
Mar. 16, 411	May 28, 1071	Oct. 16, 1512	

This makes the monthly importation about as follows: February 76, March 8, April 239, May 421, June, July, and ten days of August 334, September 85, October 82, November and December 293. At Beaufort 19 are reported between Nov. 12, 1752, and Jan. 1, 1753 (*S. C. Gazette*, Jan. 1, 1753). These figures bear no relation whatsoever to those reported in the *Gazette* of Dec. 8, 1759, for 1752. For the quarter ending Mar. 25 the number given is 33; June 24, 50, Sept. 29, 212; and Dec. 25, 16—a total of but 311.

[2] "Just Imported in the Ship *Emperor*, Charles Gwin Commander, about Two Hundred and Fifty fine healthy Slaves directly from Africa; to be sold on Wednesday the 29th Instant, and none will be sold before that day, by AUSTIN and LAURENS" (*S. C. Gazette*, Apr. 20, 27, 1752); "To be sold to the highest Bidder, on Tuesday the 12th Instant, at the Vendue-House in Charles Town, A Parcel of healthy Congo Slaves, Chiefly Men and Women, Just imported by the *Emperor*, Capt. Gwynn, directly from the Coast. Credit will be given till the first of January next, giving Security if required, by AUSTIN and LAURENS." *Ibid.*, May 4, 1752.

[3] "On Thursday the 9th Day of November next, will be sold at Auction at the usual Place in Charles-Town, about Sixty very likely new Negro Men, Women, Boys and Girls, just imported in the Brigantine *Two Friends*, Abraham Hammett Master, from Barbados. Credit will be given 'till the first Day of March next, giving Security if required, and a Discount will be allowed for prompt Payment, by GLENN and COOPER. N. B. The Treasurer's Certificates issued before the Year 1752, will be taken in Payment." *S. C. Gazette*, Oct. 30, Nov. 6, 1752.

[4] "To be Sold, on Wednesday the 29th Instant, a very healthy fine Cargo of Slaves, imported directly from the Coast of Guiney, in the *Eugene*, Capt. Merrick. Great encouragement will be given to such as pay ready Money or the present Crop, by AUSTIN and LAURENS. N. B. The Treasurer's Certificates issued before the Year 1752, will be taken in Payment" (*S. C. Gazette*, Nov. 13, 20, 1752). The note was added to the advertisement on its second appearance.

[5] The *Boston News Letter*, Nov. 23, 1752, announced that the *Vine*, Robert Rantin, of Liverpool, bound from Barbados for Charleston with slaves, had been driven ashore. The cargo was saved. This vessel is not listed among the Liverpool slavers of 1752 (this work, II. 496-498). Indeed none of the vessels arriving in Charleston in 1752 or 1753 is to be found in the Liverpool list.

[6] The *Gazette's* cumulative returns of negroes imported since Nov. 1, 1752, are as follows:

Jan. 15, 305	Feb. 19, 351	June 4, 511	Sept. 10, 1345
Jan. 22, 326	Mar. 19, 399	Aug. 15, 511	Sept. 17, 1615
Jan. 29, 333	Apr. 2, 403	Aug. 27, 781	Oct. 15, 1665
Feb. 5, 349	May 28, 414	Sept. 3, 929	

Of the 305 on Jan. 15, 293 were reported on Dec. 25, 1752. The agreement between this list and the cargoes advertised is sufficiently close to give assurance that few vessels are missing. Of the nine cargoes during the year, Austin and Laurens received three, two of these very considerable ones, the third probably smaller, as it came in the *Orrel*, which had brought but 86 on her previous voyage. The report in the *Gazette* of Dec. 8, 1759, is not given for the calendar year but estimated for that period it is roughly 1787.

[7] The *Thomas*, capacity 200 negroes, was owned by G. Campbell and Co., Liverpool. Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, p. 677.

[8] "On Wednesday the 5th of September next, Will be sold An exceedingly fine Cargo of 350 Healthy Negroes, just imported in the Ship *Emperor*, Captain Charles Gwynn, directly from Angola, by AUSTIN and LAURENS."

"Also, on the same Day as above, will be sold, A Cargo of exceeding fine Healthy Slaves, just imported in the Brigantine *Orrel*, Capt. Bennet, directly from the River Gambia, by AUSTIN and LAURENS." *S. C. Gazette*, Aug. 27, Sept. 3, 1753.

[*Notes to no. 168*—continued:]

[9] In 1754 Peter Bostock reported to the Board of Trade that in December, 1752, he had been driven from Shallis in the Kingdom of Dowell [Damel] by the arrival of the French. Here he had found the finest trade he had ever seen and natives who wondered why the English never sent vessels there. C. O. 388: 46 Ee 18; T 70: 143, p. 307. See C. O. 388: 44 Cc 73, for an earlier reference to Captain Bostock.

[10] The importations reported in the *Gazette* after Nov. 1, 1753, were as follows:

Jan. 1	17	Mar. 19	175	May 28	1169	July 18	1645
" 15	87	" 26	175	June 4	1169	" 25	1739
" 22	111	Apr. 2	175	" 11	1321	Aug. 15	1928
" 29	117	" 16	246	" 20	1321	Sept. 5	2206
Feb. 19	128	May 14	402	July 4	1494	Nov. 7	2330
" 26	165	" 21	402	" 11	1504		

No figures are given after those of Nov. 7. This makes the importation for the year 2313. It is reported in the *Gazette* of Dec. 9, 1759, as 3648, though the figures given total but 2648.

[11] "To be Sold, on Tuesday the 26th Instant, by Thomas Smith on the Bay in Charles-Town, Twenty four new Gold Coast Negroes, *viz.* 15 men, 6 women, 2 boys, and 1 girl, just imported in the ship *Molly and Sally*, from Barbados." *S. C. Gazette*, Feb. 19, 26, 1754.

[12] In the midst of a list of miscellaneous goods this firm inserted in its advertisement of Jan. 22, 1754, "Also imported, in the last vessels from the West Indies, N-England, and N-York About Thirty healthy and likely Negro Men and Women, mostly Gambia's and Coromantees".

[13] "Capt. Thomas Betson, late Master of a Snow belonging to London, which was run ashore and lost on the Coast of Africa about 2 Years ago, by the Negroes she had on board, is arrived here in Capt. Colquhoun, from Siera Leon." *S. C. Gazette*, Sept. 5, 1754.

[14] "To be Sold, on Thursday the 5th of September next, a Cargo Of fine Healthy Slaves Of the same Countries as come from the River Gambia: Imported in the Snow *Africa*, William Mason Commander, directly from Siera Leon. AUSTIN and LAURENS." *Ibid.*, Aug. 29, 1754.

[15] The colorless announcement of the sale of Captain Ross's negroes gives no notion of the adventures he had encountered before he reached Charleston with this cargo. The story begins with Captain Peter Bostock, of the *Prince George*, who when he reached Charleston in 1752 had reported a number of French men-of-war on the coast and preparations for an expansion of French trade in territory which the English had come to regard as their own. In a skirmish in which he, the natives, and perhaps the French were involved, he had seized and carried off several free natives (*S. C. Gazette*, May 11, 1752; C. O. 388: 46, 1754, May 9, Ee 18, 23). In retaliation the natives seized Captain Ross, who was also accused of stealing blacks (C. O. 388: 46 Ee 31; Admiralty Papers, I., Feb. 28, Mar. 12, 1754). The items in the *Gazette* concerning the *Young Prince George* report part of this to Charleston readers:

May 3, 1754, "Arrived from this or other Ports . . . The *Young Prince George*, Rosse, in the River Gambia".

July 11, "By Capt. Hunt, from Gambia, we learn, that the Sloop *Young Prince-George*, of this Port, which has been some Time expected from thence, was lately taken by the French, near Senegal".

July 18, "The Account in our last of the *Young Prince-George* Sloop's being taken by the French, was premature. The Captain (Rosse) had been to trade at a Place call'd Port Dallia, and was made Prisoner with his People, by the Natives, but made his Escape; and his Sloop was safe in Gambia River, when the last Vessel came away. Capt. Rosse writes, that a Sloop from London, one Trumbull [Turnbull?] Master, had been taken at Port Dallia, and plundered of her Cargo, Sails and Rigging and the Captain with all his Crew carried off by the Natives, but that the Vessel was retaken by a London Snow passing that Way" (also in *Boston News Letter*, Aug. 22, 1754).

Sept. 19, "We hear, that the *Young Prince George*, of and for this Port, from Gambia, John Rosse Master, was spoke with a few days ago, to the Southward, and had 50 or 60 Slaves on board".

The presence of the French in the Gambia River and their capture of a sloop from Liverpool was referred to in the *Gazette* of May 14.

169. Governor James Glen to the Board of Trade, 1754.[1]

August 26, 1754.

. . . There have been already Imported since the 1st of November upwards of 2000 Negroes, and there are some Ships that are still expected from Africa with more, they have all been readily sold and at great Prices, the men for 250, 260, and 270 Pounds Currency and the Women for 200, the Boys and Girls for little less; Some years agoe the usual prices were 170 or 180 pounds for the best picked men to be paid in Rice the following Crop, but they are now all purchased for ready money or with bonds bearing Interest, which are really as good as ready money, for I know of few or no Planters whose Credit is suspected. As Negroes are sold at higher Prices here than in any part of the King's Dominions we have them sent from Barbadoes, the Leeward Islands, Jamaica, Virginia and New York, this I think is a plain proof that this Province is in a flourishing condition, for these Importations are not to supply the place of Negroes worn out with hard work or lost by Mortallity which is the case in our Islands where were it not for an annual accretion they could not keep up their stock, but our number encreases even without such yearly supply. I presume tis Indigo that puts all in such high Spirits. . . .

[169] [1] Br. Trans., XXVI. 111.

170. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1755.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Mar. 6	Mar. 19	*Hare*	Caleb Godfrey[2]	Windward and Gold Coast	70	Wm. Banbury
Apr. 24	May 2	*Providence*	Wm. Nicholls	Barbados		Solomon Isaacs
June 12	June 19	*William*	David Griffith	Gambia	40	Inglis, Pickering, and Wraxall
" "	" 24	*Pearl*	William Jefferies	Angola	250	Austin and Laurens
July 10	July 16	*Matilda*	Ed. Wiltshire	Africa (Calabar)	170	Inglis, Pickering, and Wraxall
" 17	" 30	*Prince George*	Peter Bostock	Gambia and Windward Coast	220	Shubricks and Co.
" 24	" "	*Polly*	Paul Miller	Gold Coast		Solomon Isaacs and Henderson, and Robert Pierce
Aug. 21	Aug. 27	*Elizabeth*	J. Hunt	Gambia		John Guerard
" 28	Sept. 3	*Olive-Branch*	Thos. Hunt	Antigua (Gambia)		Smith and Scott
" "	" 5	*Orrel*	James Bennet	Gambia		Austin and Laurens
Sept. 19	" 25	*George*	James Gilcrist	Barbados (Gambia)		Middleton and Brailsford
Oct. 9	Oct. 15	*America*	Benj. Jefferson	Barbados (Windward Coast)		Solomon Isaacs
" 23	" 29	*Prince George*	John Rosse	Gambia	60	Glen, Cooper, and Co.
Nov. 13	" 24	*Margaret and Mary*	James Gordon	Antigua (Gambia)		{ Glen, Cooper, and Co.[3] { Middleton and Brailsford
Dec. 11	Dec. 18	*Jacky and Peggy*	James Dunbar	Antigua (Gambia)		Smith and Scott
" 18	" 31	*Gambia*	Robt. Dodson	Gambia	150	Chas. Mayne

[170] [1] The *Gazette*, on Dec. 8, 1759, gave 1305 as the total importation for 1755. Of the sixteen cargoes advertised in the *Gazette* Laurens in his letters mentioned eleven, giving the numbers in the cargoes of seven, the total of his figures amounting to 1264. If the cargoes of those not specified averaged as much we should have an importation of over 2000, but it is probable that Laurens named the larger cargoes. The *Gazette* of Oct. 16, 1755, gave 1275 as the number imported since the preceding Nov. 1. Four cargoes were advertised after that date. Eleven firms advertised newly arrived slaves during the year, Austin and Laurens announcing cargoes which amounted to 383 negroes.

[2] The owners of the *Hare* were Samuel and William Vernon of Newport, R. I. See this work, III. 146, 149-164, 166-173.

[3] The co-operation of two well-established houses in selling these negroes leads to the conjecture that the cargo was a large one, which the sellers feared that they might have difficulty in disposing of.

171. INSTRUCTIONS TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM LYTTLETON, 1755.[1]

§29. Whereas Acts have been passed in some of our Plantations in America, for laying Duties on the Importation and Exportation of Negroes, to the great discouragement of the Merchants trading thither from the Coast of Africa.[2] . . . It is Our Will and Pleasure, that you do not give your assent to or pass any Law imposing Duties upon Negroes imported into Our Province of South Carolina, payable by the Importer or upon any Slaves Exported, that have not been sold in Our said Province and continued for the space of twelve months.

172. HENRY LAURENS TO WILLIAM WHALEY, 1755.[1]

12th May 1755.

per Foote
William Whaley, *Liverpool*

Sir, . . . We have had no arrivals yet this Year from Africa save a Rhode Island Sloop[2] from Serralione wth 70 Slaves and another of New York[3] with about 40 now under Quarantine from Gambia. this Vessell brings an acct. that Slaves were very scarce in that River but we presume She came away before the usual season of their Comeing down as she has now been from there Eight Weeks. She says there was 4 or 5 Sail of Vessells just arriv'd in the River when she came away, one of them from your Port which by the

[171] [1] Br. Trans., XXVI. 291. William Lyttleton was governor from 1756 to 1760. Similar instructions were given to Thomas Boone when he became governor in 1761. McCrady, *Royal Government*, p. 378.

[2] South Carolina had passed a duty act in 1751, the preamble of which stated the reason for the tax to be the intention to provide a fund for the settling of the province with white inhabitants. A duty of £10 was laid on all negroes over four feet two inches, £5 on those between that and three feet two inches, for all under three feet two inches, £2 10 *s.* Notice must be given of the importation and sale, the importer must give security for the payment of the duties, and the purchaser must pay the duty before he removed the negro. In case a slave was re-exported within six months of his arrival the exporter received a drawback of three-fourths of the duty. The additional tax on slaves from other plantations was £50 unless it could be certified that the slave had not been in the colony six months. Cooper, III. 739-743.

[172] [1] Laurens Letter-Book. William Whaley (or Whalley, as the name appears in Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*) was a Liverpool member of the newly created Company of Merchants trading to Africa. He and his house were owners of the *Ann*, a Guineaman which in 1753 carried 340 slaves from Calabar. *Ibid.*, pp. 674-675.

For the years 1755 and 1756 we have an opportunity to follow the progress of the trade from day to day. Not only is it unusual to gain so close a view of the slave trade, it is seldom that any aspect of the economic life of the past can be viewed in such detail. For this reason a large number of letters for these years is published. The same is true for the year 1764. It might be added that an equally large number of letters has been omitted.

[2] The *Hare*, Caleb Godfrey. On the next voyage of the *Hare* her cargo was assigned to Austin and Laurens.

[3] The *William*, David Griffith. Laurens makes no reference here to the "likely young Men Slaves", brought in on the *Providence*.

description of the Master must be Capt. Bennett.[4] we are alarmd here with the expectation of a Sudden Warr with France. if the Reports prove true the Rice Planter will have but little encouragement to purchase Slaves but those who run upon Indigo which are no inconsiderable Number wont be at all discourag'd.[5] We have a large share of these Chaps always apply to us when we are posses'd of Slaves so that we shoud not fear of makeing as speedy and Good Sales as any body can here if a Warr shoud alter the present System of things. the Rhode Island Mans Slaves avarag'd upwards of £29. Sterling and those of the New Yorker will go of[f] as well. indeed a good Cargo just now we judge would sell as well as at any time Precedeing. . . .

173. Henry Laurens to Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd, 1755.

22 May 1755.

Devonsheir[1] Reeve and Lloyd, *Bristol*
per Pearse

Gentn. . . . A fine Cargo of Slaves would do well just now, wish the *Emperor*[2] could find the way here with such a one but we can hear no Tidings of her 'tho we have Vessells lately arriv'd from most part of the West Indias, one from Barbadoes that has been now out but 17 days. We should begin to suspect the French had began a War by making a sweep of our Trade upon the Coast of Africa but that we have two Vessells arriv'd from thence that have not been out a great while, one a Sloop of New York from Gambia with about 40 Slaves the other, the *Matilda* of your place with near 200 both of these Vessells having the small Pox must perform a long Quarantine which will be a vast injury to the latter if any number should drop in before she sells because Callabar Slaves wont go

[4] Capt. James Bennett, *Orrel*, owner John Knight of Liverpool. The *Orrel* had made at least three previous voyages to Charleston with slaves. Austin and Laurens announce in the *Gazette* cargoes received by the *Orrel*, July 29, 1751, Aug. 27, 1753, and July 18, 1754. Bennett had been the master in the voyage of 1754, Samuel Lacer in the earlier voyages. On the 22d Laurens wrote to Whaley that he had heard from Bennett, who reported twelve vessels in the Gambia River and very dull trade.

[5] Since France and Spain were the most profitable markets for rice, war would destroy the rice trade, but would not so seriously affect that of indigo, which was rapidly developing in South Carolina. Also the rice planters were better supplied with negroes than were the indigo producers, whose industry was a new one.

[173] [1] This spelling of Devonshire is the one consistently used by Laurens.

[2] The *Emperor*, Charles Gywnn, in which Laurens owned a share. She had brought slaves to Austin and Laurens in April, 1752, and in August, 1753. *S. C. Gazette*, Apr. 20, 1752, Aug. 27, 1753.

down when others can be had in plenty.[3] Pray let us be fully insured on the *Emperor* for if it be a War we are assurd the French at Martinica have a number of armd Vessells ready to put to Sea on the first notice whose first cruise we presume will be to windward of Barbadoes. . . . We are now at the *26th May*. since writing the Preceding We have a Letter from Mr. James Smith of St. Kitts dated the 2d Current in which he acknowledges the receipt of a Letter from us to be handed to Capt. Jefferis,[4] immediately goes on to tell us two Guinea Men had lately sold there one of them one Capt Rice from Angola. We naturally expected he was going to tell us in what situation Jefferis was in when Rice came away but says nothing more than that he shall deliver our Letter immediately on Jefferis arrival. We presume Jefferis must have been well for had it been otherways he would naturally have mentiond it. She will make a tedious Voyage we fear, wish it may end well.

174. Henry Laurens to Smith and Clifton, 1755.

26th May 1755.

Smith and Clifton, *St. Christophers*
per the *Benjamin,* Capt. Dickinson

Gentn., . . . We thank you for the care of our Letters to the Gentn. in your Neighbourhood and your intention of delivering that to the Captn. of the *Pearl* immediately on her arrival. It would have given us great pleasure to have heard through Capt. Rice how he left that Vessell as she has been out on the Voyage now near 12 months. from this we might have formed some judgment of the *Emperor,* Capt. Gwynn, a Ship we are largely concernd in. She saild from Cork for Malimba the 31st July and we can get no tidings of her further than that she had a short Passage to Angola. She had a Cargo out largely calculated for the purchase of 570 Slaves and we are told that one Capt. Carruthers of the *Jesse* that touchd at your place in his way to Jamaica should say that Gwynn would not be able to purchase more than 350 at which rate she must make but a ragged Voyage; her Cargo and Outset was above £7000 Sterling. was she to appear soon the prices with us might be some help as

[3] July 10, 1755, Laurens to John Knight, Liverpool, who was owner or part owner of the *Knight,* the *Orrel,* and the *Thames*: "We have nothing yet reachd us from Gambia nor any other part of the Coast later than the *Pearl*; on Wednesday next will be a Sale of 160 Callabars per the *Matilda* of Bristol who has lain 6 or 7 Weeks Quarantine on account of the small Pox, these Slaves will now sell well if no other Vessells pop in before the Sale but should that happen many that would buy these when none others can be had would forego the purchase for a Fortnight to get them of some other Country."

Sept. 6, 1755, Laurens to Peter Furnell, Jamaica: "stout healthy Fellows sell to most advantage with us, the Country not material if they are not from Callabar which Slaves are quite out of repute from numbers in every Cargo that have been sold with us destroying themselves."

[4] William Jefferies of the *Pearl,* owned by Thomas Easton and Co. of Bristol.

Slaves just now would sell very well. We have two Guinea Vessells now in port and both under a Quarantine for the small Pox so they wont be allowd to sell in less than a month or two, between them they have not more than 240 Slaves which are but a trifle to the number wanted. could you have sent 60 or 70 fine Slaves in Compa. with Mr. Crooke as you proposd We think we must have rendered an agreeable Account of them but we cannot promise that will be the case a while hence as 'tis impossible to judge what number may arrive with us this Summer. If we see two or three months hence that our imports are but small it may be worth while to take a share with you in One or two hundred to be here in the months of October and November. our Common method of selling Slaves arrived at what time they will is for payment in January or March following, if they are a very fine parcel Purchasers often appear that will produce the ready money in order to command a preference. the engagements we enter into in the Slave Trade are these to load the Ship with such Produce as can be got, pay the Coast Commissions and Mens half Wages and to remit the remainder as the payments shall grow due. We sold three Cargo's last Year after the first of July [1] and every shilling was remitted for them by the 18th March and every preceding Year has been much the same. all our Remittances hitherto but trifles have been Bills of Exchange at 30 or 40 days sight, an entire parcel of fine negroes must enable us to remit quicker than we can for a Cargo which consists of a mixture of all sorts and sizes, for the ordinary and small Slaves we must sell on such terms of payment as we can, those which are prime enable us to pick our Customers. at some times of the Year we can advance for our Friends without any inconvenience at others when we have large orders for Produce it is very inconvenient as our Planters produce such as is fine always commands Cash down. thus we have given you the best Account we can of our African business if at any time you should be disposed to try it be assurd it shall be our endeavours to give you satisfaction. . . .[2]

If She [ship *Sarah*] Comes down the most Certain Article we can recommend to be Sent by her is a few fine Negro Men (not Callabars). We dont know how things are just now in Jamaica be them as they will there may be Strange alterations before the *Sarah* can return; which is the fullest and best reply we are able to give to your favour before us. . . .

[174] [1] *Fortune*, Ed. Bouchier, 180 Windward and Gold Coast negroes; *Orrel*, James Bennett, 170 Gambia negroes; *Africa*, William Mason, Sierra Leone negroes.

[2] The paragraphs omitted deal with the general trade between South Carolina and the West Indies. Laurens reports that South Carolina will no longer have corn and peas to ship, as the planters who have hitherto raised them are devoting their efforts to the more profitable indigo. He also discourages the sending of rum and molasses to South Carolina as it is difficult to find sale for it.

175. Henry Laurens to Wells, Wharton, and Doran, 1755.

27th May 1755.

Wells Wharton and Doran, *St. Christophers*
per the *Benjamin,* Capt Dickinson

Gentlemen, Your kind favour of the 28th Decem now before us did not reach us till 14th March, from which time we have had no oppertunity of replying to it, We are sorry Capt. Raite in the *Earl of Radnor* [1] brought down so sickly a Cargo that you could not Venture to Stop her at so low a limit as £ 21. per head, from this we conclude that She must have made the Gentlemen concern'd but a bad Voyage; are glad she did not Come here as a sickly Cargo from Callabar at that Season of the Year especially would have mov'd very heavily and very probably have been order'd a long Quarantine; had they been healthy and in good flesh we shoud. have been glad to have seen her as there never was a better opening for a Cargo of Calabar Slaves than in the Months of Octor, and Novem last oweing to a Number of Small Indigo Planters finding a ready sale for their Crops a 32/6 to 35/ per [?] which brought them in such large sums they were all mad for more Negroes, and gave for very ordinary Calabar Men £250. Cash; Our Imports this Year hitherto have been very small none yet sold but a few small Parcels from Barbadoes and a little Cargo of about 70 in a Sloop of Rhode Island Capt. Godfrey from Gambia; a few of the fine Men sold so high as £280. or £40. Sterling but our People will not Currently give that Price, they seem very content to give £260. for Men and a large Number would this day sell at that rate. We have two from Africa now under Quarantine on Acct of the small Pox One of them a Sloop of New York Griffith Master with abo't 40 Slaves from Gambia, the other the *Matilda* of Bristol from Calabar with 90, these we apprehend cant be sold this Month or two; many more Vessells are expected but if a Warr with France should take place which we seem to be at the 'Eve of we presume most of them will stop in the West Indias. such an event would give a sudden Check to the Rice Planters but not at all to those who go upon Indigo, so that we judge we may have vend for abo't half the Number in time of Warr that we have in Peace say from 12 to 1500 per Annum; We are sorry Capt. Darbyshires Tender brought no more than 60 Slaves as our Good Freind Mr. Knight promis'd himself 100 by her, but Mr. Furnell [2] advises us from Jamaica that he made a great sale of Darbyshires Cargo sold abo't 350 Slaves at upwards of £45 per head, that money

[175] [1] Austin and Laurens had sold 300 negroes from this vessel in 1752. *S. C. Gazette,* Jan. 10, 1752.

[2] Peter Furnell of Jamaica. He was the seller of the cargo of the unlucky *Emperor.*

which we think must make up for the defficiency of the other; We were empowr'd to order down here 100 of the Prime Men out of Darbyshires Cargo, but did not chuse to do it being of Opinion we could not for those Slaves exceed the Prices at Jamaica, Our People like the Gambia and Windward coast full as well or the Angola Men such as are larger. The Contracts we enter into for Slaves is to load the Ship wth Produce when it can be had, to pay coast Commission and Half Wages, to remit the remainder as Payments shall grow due; which makes that Business sufficiently heavy in this Country for in our small Business, w[h]ere we would not out of Choice receive above 700 Slaves per Annum,[8] we are often in advance more than £10,000 Sterling. we have hitherto always Balanc'd our Accot. by the Month of March succeeding the sale, but 'tis not to be done without a large advance of Money, indeed for this we have an Interest of 8 perCt. We have for 4 or 5 Years past had so great a Plenty of Bills that we have been at very little loss at any time to Gratify our Friends with a Remittance therein. . . .

176. Henry Laurens to Captain Charles Gwynn, 1755.[1]

12th June 1755.

Capt. Charles Gwynn of the *Emperor* at *Jamaica*
per Adams

Sir, We have before us your kind favour of 3d May from Jamaica the date would have pleasd us much better if it had been from Rebellion Rhoad,[2] however what cant be cur'd must be submitted to which we do on our parts as chearfully as can be expected on such an occasion and are thankfull that you are safe and that matters are no worse after such a trying Storm as you describe. to be sure if you had arrivd about the middle of April or any time since we should have made a glorious Sale of your Cargo, our Planters are in full spirits for purchasing Slaves and have almost all the money hoarded up for that purpose. Indigo has kept up at a most exhorbitant price in England so has Rice and in short every Article from our Colony sells mighty well. at home our Planters in general have bent their strength to Indigo and we verily believe that many of them have planted much more than they can reap and work without an augmentation of their Slaves, relying on the importation of this Summer. from hence we expect to make a fine Sale the 24th Inst of the *Pearl's*

[8] Austin and Laurens, if selling 700 slaves a year, must have been doing about one-fourth of the business carried on in Charleston at this time, though there were certainly a dozen firms in Charleston that handled slaves with more or less regularity.

[176] [1] On the same day Laurens wrote a letter similar to this to Peter Furnell. For an account of Captain Gwynn's misadventures see letters of June 26 and July 4, *post,* no. 178 and n. 2.

[2] Charleston harbor.

Cargo, Capt. Jefferies.[3] He arrivd here the 10th Inst with 251 pretty Slaves, we shall strain hard to get £40 Stg. per head for the best men 'tho we must be carefull not to break the Cord besides this Guinea Man here's only the *Matilda* from the Bight and a Sloop from Gambia both performing Quarantine for the small Pox. the latter indeed has gone through it. Our Accounts from Gambia are very bad, Slaves scarse, upward of 20 Sail in the River and the small Pox currant among them, we believe few Slaves will come from that Quarter. Capt. Timberman has lost his Ship [4] going over the Bar of Bonny and we judge no other Vessell will come here from Angola. from all this we are of opinion our importation will not be excessive and that barring a War with France the price of Slaves will hold up here thro this Summer, good prices and quick payments. . . .

177. Henry Laurens to John Yeates, 1755.

12th June 1755.

John Yeates, *Jamaica*

Sir, We have before us your kind favour 3d Ulto and are glad to see our conduct in Mr. Chapones Affairs is pleasing to you. the two Negroes which he brought hither for Sale we sent to George Town where they have sold for £570. Nt and a great part of the money paid down, a price we think far above their real worth if we do not misjudge their Qualifications, but from this we entreat you will not be encouragd to send any more such, for altho we shall be always glad to render you our best services in any other matters we must make an absolute objection to the consignment of West India Slaves, besides they are subject to a duty of £50 per head [1] which we suppose Mr. Chapone escapd by importing them as his attendants . . . our Market keeps very high for the sale of Negroes and will continue so through the Year barring a French War. We have a Ship [2] on hand with 250 Angola Slaves and expect to put off a good many of the Men at near £40 Sterling per head. . . .

178. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1755.

26th June 1755.

John Knight, *Liverpoole*
per White

Sir, . . . Capt. Bennett has given us a Letter of the 15th March soon after his arrival at Gambia in which he in-

[3] The *Gazettes* of June 12 and 19, 1755, contain the following: "Just imported in the Ship *Pearl,* Capt. William Jefferies Commander, directly from Angola, about 250 fine healthy Slaves, To be sold on Tuesday the 24th Instant, by Austin and Laurens."

[4] The *Amoretta?*

[177] [1] Cooper, III. 743.

[2] The *Pearl.*

forms us that Slaves were very scarse in the River, the number of Purchasers so great that he shall think himself very well off to get 2/3rd of his Compliment. we wish he had been with us with that number two days ago when we made Sale of the Cargo of the *Pearl,* Jeffries, of Bristol from Angola which avarage £33.17. Sterling, her Cargo was 250. we had Chaps for more than double the number could we have furnishd them. There was in this parcell near 150 Men and large Boys, the Men all to a trifle brought 270 and £280. Five of them sold so high as £290 per head, a very great price we think for Angola Slaves. Our ready money upon the Sale does not exceed £1000 Stg. but scarsely one sold for longer Credit than January. Had we been confind to sell for ready money which Mr Mear[1] requires should be the case for the Cargo of Capt. Allen had we encouragd him to come down here, indeed by our Letters of the 10th January to meet him at St. Kitts we were far from discouraging him but in them told him on what Terms of Credit Slaves usually sell with us to make the most of a Sale. If matters are properly considerd it will appear the Owners of the *Pearl* wont be two months longer out of their money than if she had sold in the West Indias and we dare say we have raisd the Sale £1700 Sterling, say the Ship would have been dispatchd in Ten Weeks, that she carried 3/4 of the Produce in Bills at 3 months sight and the other 1/4 in 12 months after, with what we shall send in the Ship and the remainder in January dispatching the Ship in 30 days from arrival, were we Owners of the Vessell and Residents in England [we] do think we should like the Carolina Remittances full as well as the other. the *Emperor* Capt. Gwynn has made a sad piece of work of it this Voyage, purchasd only 390 Slaves, buried of them 120, met with a violent Gale of Wind off this Bar on the 8th of April which obligd him after lying too for seven days to bear away for Jamaica; Mr. Furnell advises us of the 3d May he had then sold 77 of his Slaves at about £20.10/ Stg. on an Average, a very poor affair indeed compard with our Market which will greatly agravate the loss upon a destructive Voyage.[2] all the Vessells that have reachd us from Africa since we last wrote you are a Sloop of New York from Gambia with 40 Slaves, the *Matilda* of Bristol from the Bight with 190 do. each of these Vessells brought the small Pox; the first was admitted to sell on the 19th after a Quarantine of 45 days, the other has now lain about a month and may continue a fortnight or three Weeks longer. . . .

[178] [1] Thomas Mears of Liverpool.

[2] On July 4, 1755, Laurens wrote to Messrs. Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd: "We have before informd you of the *Emperor* being forced off our Coast and selling at Jamaica. We are of opinion that mishap alone will be £2000 Sterling out of the way of the Owners. We mean that her Slaves would have yielded so much more here than there but 'tis fruitless to think of what can't be remedied. We will call her a very unlucky Ship to the concernd."

179. Henry Laurens to Thomas Mears, 1755.

27th June 1755.

Thomas Mears, *Liverpoole*
per White

Sir, . . . We fear your Snow the *Mears* Capt. Allen has misd a most charming Market with us if what we have heard of her be true that she was very forward in her Slaving the beginning of March, she must if well have reachd the West Indias long before this. We had no opportunity of forwarding Letters to meet him at Barbadoes 'till a Week ago when we thought it too late. some have been laying at St. Kitts for many months past in which we gave Capt Allen good encouragement to come down here if he could dispence with selling them on Credit as usual which if he was to come in so late in the Year as this would be nearly as expeditious as from the West Indias where for nine Cargoes out of ten they keep one fourth of the produce 12 months, delay your ship 8 or 10 Weeks with them and most of the Bills they send you are payable 3 mos. after sight. We sold a Cargo from Angola three days ago none on longer Credit than the Month of January. The bulk of the Men brought 280 and £270. Five of them £290. the Cargo avarages £33.17/ Stg. if we had stood out for ready money are of opinion the Sales would not have run so high by 6 or £7 Stg. We must stick to this modus to keep up our Sales, the Importer is extreamly well paid by laying 3 or 4 months out of their money. . . . We have very good prospects of Crops this Year both of Rice and Indigo, by our computation shall make at least 500,000 weight of the latter barring accidents. this spirits up our People to give good prices for Slaves, many having planted largely in expectation of buying new Negroes to give them a Lift in their Crops so that a Cargo or two more would just now do extreamly well but our People growl in the Gizard a good deal at paying more than £260, this price they would be contented with which is equal to £37.2.10 Stg. we wish you a successfull Voyage in the *Mears* wherever she sits down.

P. S. Since closing the foregoing it has occurd to us that if we have no War this Year and you could do any thing for the *Austin* to the West Indias there to take in a parcel of prime Slaves for this place if to be purchasd at a moderate price as things now appear to us there is a great probability that they would turn to Account, from this we form our opinion that as most of the Vessells expected here are from Gambia where Slaves are this Year very scarse, the small Pox in every part of the River and those which come

down will be greatly short of their Compliment, Men Slaves from 18 to 25 Years of age turn to best Account, tall able People of any Country, but Callabars. If they come later than October they should have a warm Jacket and Breeches.[1]

180. Henry Laurens to Henry Weave and Company, 1755.[1]

2d July 1755.

Henry Weave and Co. Owners of the *Fortune, Bristol*
per Rains

Gentn. Your favour of the 5th of April reachd us yesterday advising of the Receipt of Sundry Bills, to the amount of £548.11.9½ Sterling the Ballance of the *Fortune's* Cargo. We are glad the Remittance was satisfactory wish the Sales had been so and really had the Cargo been tolerable We are sure it was in our power on that day to have made as good a Sale as any that preceeded it. We had as many Purchasers as we could have wishd, there were forty or fifty that came upwards of Seventy Miles distance most of which returnd without a Slave and these sort of People are the only ones to raise a Sale, for if they like the Slaves they wont go back empty handed so far for 10 or £20. in the prices. We had not in Capt. Jeffries Cargo the other day six Men so ordinary as the best of Capt. Bouchers. this Sale will show what might have been done with a Cargo of good Slaves. We need not tell Mr. Weave that this Cargo avarages £33.17/ Stg, as we see he is concernd in the Ship. Those of Boucher were sold every bit as well considering what a scabby Flock he brought. We sold of those Men from 240. to £260. that we would not have insurd to reach the Masters Plantation alive for £100. per head they were so very low. . . . the next Cargo of Slaves that sell with us must go off very well as we were unable to furnish one third part of the Purchasers that attended at the Sale of these last. Could your *Fortune* have the good luck to come down here this Summer with a healthy Cargo well assorted we dare say she would find a better Market with us than any where else, proviso we have no declaration of War as our Crops of Rice and Indigo are both thus far very promising.[2]

[179] [1] The next day Laurens, in a letter to Corsley Rogers and Son, repeats the suggestions made in this postscript, for their vessel, the *Oldbury*.

[180] [1] Messrs. Henry Weave and Co. were the owners of the *Fortune*, Edward Bouchier master, whose cargo of 180 negroes from the Windward and Gold coasts Austin and Laurens had sold on July 3, 1754. *S. C. Gazette*, June 20, 1754.

[2] June 10, 1755, Laurens to James Cowles: "We shall have a great deal [of indigo] offered to us from such Persons as deal with us for Slaves from Williamsburgh Township which affords in general the best Indigo."

181. Henry Laurens to Robert and John Thompson and Company, 1755.

5th July 1755.

Robert and John Thompson and Co.
Owners of the *Africa*,[1] *Lancaster*
per Rains

Gentn. . . . The Sale of Slaves having continued with us much the same as we advised you last, that is: have hitherto sold mighty well, all the Vessells arrivd with us this Year are two Sloops from Gambia who between them brought about 110 Slaves which avaragd something above £30. Sterling, a Snow from the Bight with 170 which has lain Quarantine for 5 or 6 Weeks having the small Pox, to be sold next Week, a Ship from Angola to our selves brought 243 very pretty Slaves on the general, these we sold on the 24th Ulto, a few of the finest Men at £290. many at £280. and very few under £270. this Cargo tho the Women were but midling avarages £33.17/ Stg. Had we had double the Number on that day we had had more than Purchasers enough for them and not one sold for longer Credit than the month of January. 'tis owing to our success last Year in Indigo and a very good prospect we have the present that People buy with this Spirit. The apparent prospect of sudden War has not as yet in the least discouragd them and if no Declaration is made this Summer we judge Negroes will continue to sell well through the Year as we are likely to be disappointed of a large part of those that were destin'd here the present Summer (*vizt.*) the *Emperor* Capt. Gwynn, a Ship we are pretty largely concernd in went to Angola for 570 Slaves, came off this Barr the 8th of April and was forced away to Jamaica by a violent Gale of Wind most of the others that were intended are from Gambia from whence we hear they wont be able to obtain half their Compliment and that the small Pox is so very rife in that River, we imagine some of our Vessels will stop in the West Indias to avoid a Quarantine with us, from these considerations 'tis our opinion if no War Breaks out Slaves will sell as well in October and November as at any time even to Xmas which we think it our duty to inform you. . . . We are now expecting the arrival of two Vessells from Gambia, the *Mears* and *Orrel* belonging to Liverpool. . . .

[181] [1] The cargo of the *Africa*, advertised as "slaves of the same countries as come from the River Gambia", had been sold by Austin and Laurens on Sept. 5, 1754. *S. C. Gazette*, Aug. 29, 1754.

182. Henry Laurens to Smith and Clifton, 1755.[1]

17th July 1755.

Smith and Clifton, *St Christophers*
per Sinclair *Anguilla*

Gentn, . . . We think there is a chance of making money on a parcell of Slaves purchasd with you to come down here in the Fall proviso there is no War this Year. if there should [be] it wont by any means do. So if you will be half concernd with us in a hundred Slaves proviso you can purchase that number of very likely healthy People, Two thirds at least Men from 18 to 25 Years old the other young Women from 14 to 18 the cost not to exceed Twenty five Pounds Sterling per head, you will please to Interest us the other Half and [draw] for the purchase of our moiety value on Mr. James Cowles £600 Stg. on Messrs. Devonsheir Reeve and Lloyd the remainder, advising the latter Gentlemen to insure for us. there must not be a Callabar amongst them. Gold Coast or Gambia's are best, next to them the Windward Coast are preferd to Angola's. We would not choose them sent in the Hurricane Season but rather to come in the Month of October or November. pray observe that our People like tall Slaves best for our Business and strong withall such as are small meagre or other ways ordinary wont sell better here than with you. the difference in price between Men and Women here is never less than £3 Stg. per head sometimes £6; for your government, young Lads from 13 to 15 Years of age wont bring so much as Men by 5 or £6 Stg. at that difference in price they are very saleable.

183. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1755.[1]

24th July 1755.

John Knight, *Liverpoole*
per Wiltshire

Dear Sir, . . . We imagine the *Mears* must have come off the Coast long ago, having been informed by the Master of a Sloop some time ago that she had Sixty Slaves on board at the middle of

[182] [1] The paragraph recounting the familiar tale of the sale of the cargo of the *Pearl*, the disastrous voyage of the *Emperor*, and the conditions in the River Gambia is omitted. Captain Sinclair also carried a letter of July 17 to Messrs. Wells, Wharton, and Doran containing the same matter.

[183] [1] On July 21 Laurens wrote to Knight: "After confirming the foregoing Copy of our last We must take leave to inform you that a few of the *Matilda's* Men Slaves sold so high as £270, say the Privilidge, several brought £260 a very great price for Callabar Slaves, since which a Sloop of New York laden with Red Wood some Teeth and 30 Slaves is arrivd from the Camaroons and Bostock from the Windward Coast, last from Cape Mount. he has been attended with his usual good fortune. brought as much Cam Wood as he says will pay for his outward bound Cargo and 220 Slaves besides. the Ship has been out of London but Ten months. nothing yet appears with us from Gambia. We wish the *Orrell* may be the first and be a fortnight ahead of the rest as there are six or seven sail expected should they all drop in together it might lower the prices now given."

January. the small Pox we understand is very rife this Year in the River Gambia and possibly by having that disorder Capt. Allen may have gone to some other Market but we have not heard of his arrival at any of the Islands from which Quarter we have pretty late intelligence. We are mighty glad the *Thomas* [*Thames*?] makes you so pretty a Voyage. We fear it will be much otherways with the *Orrel* this Year unless Slaves should come down much faster than they did when our intelligence came away which was at the middle of March. We shall write by the very first opportunity that shall present both to Barbadoes and St. Kitts to meet Capt. Jenkinson of the *Fanny*[2] 'tho we are afraid We shant get any in time as we have no Vessells now with us for any part of the West Indias. should that Vessell come down we shall carefully adhere to your orders to hurry him away with all dispatch. . . .

We are sorry you have such a mighty poor Market for Rice that some of that of the *Orrel* should remain on hand in April. We really expected that you must have been in want of a little supply by that time as no one Vessell is gone for your place all this last Season. We wish you had told whether Naval Stores had not taken a rise upon the prospect of War as they have done in London or Bristol by way of Government to us in case any of your African Ships should come this way. We fear we shall not be able to load anything upon them but Rice or Naval Stores except some Indigo and a few Skins, as to the last Article it is so much now engrossed by Persons who ship them on their own Accounts that we dont think we shall be able to obtain 30 hogsheads in the whole Year. We lay out every way we can invent to get them and dont get a Tenth part of the Quantity we would purchase if the Cash would bring them. as to Indigo We shall have the first offer of a great deal and from such People as generally make the best. We expect to see some little parcells of this Years growth very soon at Market as half of our Planters are now cutting away and will bring it down as early as possible hoping the first that appears will bring the best price.

3 per 100 wont pay the *Austin* an extra freight. should hope the great appearance of War would give a fillup to the Portugal Markets as we find it has done to the prices at London and Cowes but we have latterly made too much Rice are in hopes through the Indigo we shall reduce the Quantity of Rice to 60 or 70,000 Barrels as we seldom fail of finding Markets for so much that will take it off to advantage.

We have this Year introduced a little Ancona Hemp seed which we flatter ourselves will become another valuable Export from this Province and be a means of dividing the labour of our hands so that

[2] See *post*, no. 185.

we may not glut the Market with any one Article. We have had a very great plenty of Bills of Exchange all this Spring and from the fondness of People to buy Indigo are of opinion we shall be in no want of them to remit for Negroes at this next Season to such Gentlemen as shall prefer them.

We ought rather to be ashamd than you that we give you the trouble of striking off our Commission on the Coast Commission and disbursements for the *Orrel.* the money is a thing we dont in the least mind. We are only endeavouring to avoid the censure of our Neighbours that they should not charge us with making Innovations on the Commiss's they have been always accustomd to. . . .

184. HENRY LAURENS TO THOMAS EASTON AND COMPANY, 1755.

31st July.

Thomas Easton and Co. Owners of the *Pearl, Bristol*
per Jeffries

Gentn., . . . We are now to present you with the Sale of your Slaves per the *Pearl* the Nt Proceed whereof being £52,294.17.9 Currency, we pass to your Credit in Account Current also inclosd which gives a Ballance now in your favour of £33,979.15.2 [1] which we shall remit as it grows due in Bills of Exchange if can obtain them unless you shall order us to invest it in something else, as 'tis possible a War may occasion a scarsity of Bills pray direct us in such case in what way else we shall remit relying upon our utmost endeavours to send you Bills if you prefer them for Remittance. . . . you will please to take notice at the foot of the Sales there is an abatement of £100 to Daniel Heyward and a memorandum that he demands £100 more. he lives near 100 miles distance and writes us there was a mistake of £200 in casting up the Sum total of his Slaves that is they were rated at five or six different prices. the paper on which it was done he took from us, now if upon returning that Paper it appears we are wrong We must abate him £100 more. this we shall know from him very soon when we shall regulate the Account accordingly and advise you how it stands.

Most People were of opinion the almost certainty of an immediate War with France must have given a damp to the Sale of a Cargo of Slaves of the *Prince George,* Bostock, which sold two days ago but 'twas so much the reverse that some of the Buyers went to collaring each other and would have come to blows had it not been

[184] [1] The first account of the sale of the cargo of the *Pearl* was sent to John Knight on June 24, and to Messrs. Easton on June 27. Five men had sold for £290 each, the rest for prices ranging from £270 to £280. The cargo of 243 yielded a gross return of £57,656, an average of £33.17.1 stg. This vessel had lost sixty or seventy negroes in the Middle Passage, in spite of which the venture must have been a profitable one.

prevented in contending for the choice, which gave the Seller an excellent opportunity to make them pay what price he pleasd and through this he got £300 for some. By the number of People that day in Town which seem'd to be in want we compute they would have taken off 1000 Slaves at a good round price so that we think the Vessells that are to follow this Year cannot fail of a good Market with us.[2] . . .

185. Henry Laurens to Captain William Jenkinson, 1755.

13th August 1755.

Capt. Willm. Jenkinson or Commr. of the
Brigt. *Fanny* to the care of Mess.
Carter and Hunter, *Barbadoes*
per Gordon [1]

Sir, We have a Letter before us of the 17th March from our worthy good Friend Mr. Knight which did not reach us 'till the 24th Ulto. in this he directs us to meet you with Letters at Barbadoes and St. Kitts to inform you how the price of Slaves holds with us telling us you have orders to proceed down here if you cant obtain £30. Stg per head round for your Cargo at one of those Islands and that we dont discourage your coming, We are a little puzzeld what advice to give you as we seem to be at the very eve of a War with France, if none should be declared before the day of Sale we should hope to render a very pretty Account proviso your Cargo was healthy and well assorted as it does not appear to us we shall have so many come down here this Summer as our People are in want of, the best Cargoes for our Market are those that have most full grown Men, the Men generally bring with us from 3 to £6 Stg. more than the Women and 4 or £5. more than what you call Men Boys of 14 to 16 Years of Age. the last Cargo we sold was from Angola about six Weeks ago. it consisted of 116 Men 45 Women 49 Boys and 33 Girls, they were healthy and in good flesh, they sold upon an Avarage at £33.15.6 Stlg. since that about 250 Slaves have been sold in two Vessells from the Windward Coast, the able Men brought upwards of £40 Stlg. these were sold since the advice reach'd us of Mr. Boscowen having taken and sent into Hallifax some French Men of War which we here think in effect a declaration of War and there was notwithstanding Purchasers enough attended those Sales to have taken off

[2] In letters of July 31 to Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd, and of Aug. 1 and 6 to Messrs. Corsley Rogers and Son and Henry Weave and Co., all of Bristol, Laurens repeats his account of the feverish demand for slaves from the *Prince George,* but on Oct. 13 he wrote to Messrs. Easton, also of Bristol, that he had been mistaken in the price of Bostock's slaves, none of whom had sold for more than £290.

[185] [1] Gordon also carried letters to Smith and Clifton, and to Wells, Wharton, and Doran, of St. Christopher, giving much the same information.

1000 more Slaves than there was for them. all the Vessells that we now know of expected to reach us this Year are five or six Snows from Gambia which amongst them we dare say wont bring that number and tis highly probable as the small Pox is very rife in that River some of them will be infected and stop in the West Indias, the Vessells are the *Mears,* Allen, the *Orrel,* Bennet, the *St. Paul,* James, the *Elizabeth,* Hunt, the *Nugent,* Hutchinson and another Snow that is his Consort one Todd Master with a small Sloop calld the *Prince George,* Ross, you may possibly learn which of them have stopd in the West Indias and what luck has attended the Gambia Vessells this Year, We have reason to believe very indifferent; should they all come down here and no War there will be room enough for you, this is the best Account we are able to give you of the present state of our Market. we wish you may be able so to govern yourself as to sit down at the most advantageous Market for our Friend which will be much more agreeable to us than the Commission arising from the Sales.[2]

186. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1755.

20th Augt. 1755.

John Knight, *Liverpoole*
per Clutsam

Sir, The above is Copy of our last. three days ago we got a Letter of the 1st Inst. from Capt. Bennet at St. Kitts advising that he should sail for this place in two days so that we are hourly expecting his appearance and endeavouring to provide a proper Cargo for him, what we intend if we can get it is about 200 Barrels Pitch, 100 Barrels Rice, 8 or 10 Hogsheads of Skins and a little Indigo if the purchase be not immoderate. the Rice and Skins we are pretty sure of but as to the Pitch believe shall be puzzeld to get it in which case must send more Rice rather than send the Vessell home empty.

Capt. Bennet advises us that he then had on board 140 Slaves, that his whole purchase was 167, Twenty seven of which he had buried and all of them except three before he left the River, that he had lost the major part of his Ships Company amongst them his Doctor which was a heavy misfortune. it appears to us that he made a better purchase than any other Vessell at Gambia and if he brings in 140 Slaves in good order and well assorted we shall hope that he will make no bad Voyage to the Owners. he does not say

[2] In the next letter, written on Aug. 15, Laurens announced the arrival of the *Elizabeth* with news of the *Mears* and the *Orrel,* and in a letter of Aug. 20 to Messrs. Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd he wrote that he had learned from the *Elizabeth* that Captain Hutchinson, *Nugent,* had 120 slaves and Captain Todd about 100 when the *Elizabeth* sailed.

a Word of the *Mears.* the Captn. of the Sloop that brought his Letter tells us there was a Snow sold at St. Kitts that was intended for this place in which all the Officers were dead down to the Boatswain. We hope it wont prove to be Allen but indeed we think had it been he Capt. Bennet would not have omitted mentioning it, Please to make Insurance on Goods per the *Orrel* 1000 or £1200 Stlg, if any deficiency on that Sum the Premium to be returnd, We cannot pretend to ascertain the value we shall ship before we see how the price of Indigo will open. there are some parcells now ready for Market which the Makers declare they will ship themselves rather than sell it for less than 40/ per l. a very long price, before we give it must have more encouraging Lrs. [letters] than the last we had from England, the latest Letter that has reach'd us from London is of the 15th of May when our friends there seemd to think that Indigo must fall soon. We have no other Guinea Man in Port but the *Elizabeth,* she sells on this day Week her Cargo but 112 Slaves. she went for the same number as the *Orrel* but did not purchase above 135.[1] . . .

187. Henry Laurens to Henry Weave and Company, 1755.

30th Augt. 1755.

Henry Weave and Co. Owners of the *Fortune, Bristol*
per Bonell

Gentlemen, Since we wrote you last of which the above is triplicate we saw a Letter from Capt Easton to Messrs Middleton and Brailsford that did not surprise us a little,[1] it run thus, that Capt Tod at Gambia was to put his grown Slaves on board of Hutchinson and proceed himself with his small Slaves to Barbadoes for the Gentn. observd that small Slaves did not sell near so well with us as in the West Indias and as a proof of it mention the *Fortune's* Cargo [2] which they say Capt. Boucher was offerd £24 Stlg. per head for and here they did not bring £20. Capt. Boucher indeed said so to us but we thought him upon the banter as not being Strangers to the West Indias Prices, if Capt. Boucher had such an offer it must be from a person who had not seen them and that presumd they were a healthy well assorted Cargo of Slaves but we rather think it must have been £24 Barbadoes Money [3] per head which would have been

[186] [1] On the 26th Laurens wrote that the *Orrel* had arrived with 133 slaves and that the sale was announced for the first day on which the law allowed the slaves to be sold, the prescribed period of quarantine being ten days. "To be Sold, on Friday the 5th of September, a Cargo of very fine Slaves, just arrived in the Snow *Orrel,* James Bennet, Master, from Gambia, by Austin and Laurens." *S. C. Gazette,* Aug. 28, 1755.

[187] [1] Rather, "did surprise us not a little".

[2] See *ante,* no. 180.

[3] In 1761 the rate of exchange between Barbados currency and sterling was 135. John Wright, *American Negotiator,* p. vi.

a great price in the West Indias for such a Cargo. be pleasd to look in to your Sales and you will find there was 25 Men only and 22 Women, 70 Boys and 51 Girls it will appear by the duty [4] we paid that there was 92 under the height of 50 Inches a large part of them not 40 Inches, now can it be imagind that such a Cargo and the most mangey Creatures that ever were seen should bring £24. Stlg. round when the Prime Men from Gambia and the Windward Coast were bought at Barbadoes and shipt to this place at about £25. Stlg. which we dare say Messrs. D R and Lloyd can verify by some purchases made for them, the thing is absurd to the last degree. there never was a better sale made in this Province the condition of the Slaves considerd. you will find many of the Men sold for £250, at which time we must assure you no Man in the Province was more in want of Slaves than our G A. [George Austin] lost more than half his Crop for want of assistance, would have given any price for a few good ones but did not touch one fearing their disorder would have infected his Plantation assure yourselves they were very well sold and without vanity we will say none in this Country could have turnd them out so high. the reason was this, We had abundance of poor industrious People attended that Sale which came from 70 to 80 Miles distance who were forced to take such as we had because other People not knowing them and they making but a mean appearance 'tis rare they come down to look at any Slaves but those we have to sell, these are all facts and we hope such as must convince you that you lost nothing by your Vessell coming to this Market. We sincerely wish they had been better for your sake as well as for our own. People in our way must take Cargoes as they come or we would very gladly be excusd from having any concern with such a one as that for the reasons before assignd. We have not at this day receivd above 2/3 ds of the Payments.

This Letter has lain open to the 22d September for want of a conveyance. must inform you on the fifth we sold a Cargo of Slaves per the *Orrel* of Liverpoole from Gambia when the fine Men brought £300 and £290. the Women 260 and £250. as there was many very ordinary ones in this parcell the whole avarage but £33.14/ Stlg. We expect but very few more with us this Year so that our Market must be good in the Spring if a War does not intervene and alter the System.

[4] See the regulation of the duty by the height of the negroes, *ante*, no. 171, n. 2.

188. Henry Laurens to John Knight and Company, 1755.

22d Septem. 1755.

John Knight and Co. Owners of the *Orrel, Liverpoole*
per Bonnell

Gentlemen, The first proceeding is a Copy of our last trouble the second of a few Lines committed to our Pilot on the evening of the *Orrel's* Sale but did not reach the Ship it was intended by. We miscast the Amot. of the Sales that night it was not so much as we then calld it.[1] We can now inform you that the number of the Cargo was 129 the Grose Sum sold for £30,445. Currency which upon an Avarage is £33.14/ Sterling per head at the present course of Exchange. there was in this Cargo one fourth of them in poor condition. had they been as good as those of the former Year they must have avaragd 40/ Stg. more but we are of opinion none have done better than Capt. Bennet at Gambia the present Year or perhaps not one so well.

Capt. Bennet would have been ready for the Sea by this time but has been embarrassd by a Man of War that's going to the No[rth] Ward and wanted hands, they were pressing Men for a whole Week during which the *Orrels* Men lay hid in the Country and the business was impeded. We now expect she will sail in 5 or 6 days. She now has in 200 Barrl. of Rice and Ten hogsds of Skins. We dont know that we shall ship any thing more in her, such a price is demanded for Indigo that we are afraid to venture upon it (*vizt.*) 40/ per l. for such as is fine,[2] here is now a great deal ready for Market which must come home soon either for Accot. of the Merchant or Planter, as the consumers on your side will be aware of this. We think it would not be right to purchase at so high a price, here are no more Slaves arrivd since the *Orrels* but 48 from Barbadoes which are to be sold the 25th.[3] We begin to think we shall have but very few more reach us this Year, if so our Market must be very good in the

[188] [1] On the evening of Sept. 5 Laurens wrote to John Knight that they had sold that day from the 120 slaves brought on shore by Capt. Bennett, 101, for £27,125. Those remaining unsold were "all meagre or full of infirmitys". Eight of the cargo had been retained on board because of sore eyes. In a letter to Messrs. Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd of Sept. 22 he speaks of the *Orrel's* cargo as "a large proportion of them distempered".

As an illustration of the extent of Laurens's correspondence and of his belief in the general interest in the condition of the Charleston slave market, it is worth noting that, in letters here omitted, he described the sale of the *Orrel's* slaves to Peter Furnell of Jamaica, Walter Caddell and Gedney Clarke of Barbados, William Wells, jr., and Peter Caren of St. Christopher, to Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd of Bristol, Augustus and John Boyd and Co. of London, and Robert and John Thompson and Co. of Lancaster.

[2] In 1748 the price of indigo had been 17 *s.* 6 *d.* per pound, currency. Carroll, *Collections,* II. 235.

[3] The cargo of the *George,* James Gilcrist, advertised by Messrs. Middleton and Brailsford as "full grown Gambia slaves". *S. C. Gazette,* Sept. 19, 1755.

Spring in case we have no War.[4] . . . Bennets Cargo will Amot to more than £1000 Stlg.

189. HENRY LAURENS TO THOMAS MEARS AND COMPANY, 1755.[1]

26th Septem 1755.

per Bennett
Thomas Mears and Co. Ownrs. of the *Austin, Liverpoole*
3d Copy per Ford

. . . We are very sorry your Snow the *Mears* was not so lucky to reach us from Gambia with a good healthy Cargo as we must have given you a Pleaseing account of them. the nearer we seem to a Warr the more Mad some of our People seem to be after Slaves. Some fine Gambias were sold yesterday from Barbadoes [2] when the 4 best Men sold so high as £330. the day before the Sellers offerd them at £300, and we believe would have made some abatement on that, but this Spirit is not General and we believe when we shall hear of a declaration of Warr those who are now most sanguine will be a good deal Check'd in their Career.

190. HENRY LAURENS TO HENRY BRIGHT AND COMPANY, 1755.

Septem 27th 1755.

Henry Bright and Co. *Bristole*
per Bennett, Copy per Bennett,
2d Copy per Arnold 3d Copy per Ford

Sirs, Our last was under the 17th March when we handed you sales of your Rum and your Account Currt. Balance in our Favour £2073.2.3 Currency exclusive of more than £1200 debts Outstanding of which there is 3 or £400 still out but we hope none of it will prove bad, if it shoud must take Leave to apply to you by and by. We have taken leave of yesterdays date to Value on you for the above Balance Payable in London 40 days after sight to the order of Messrs. John Knight and Co. Owners of the *Orrell* at Liverpool. the sum is £296.3.2 Sterling, the Exchange being seven for one which Bill we must recommend to your accustomd due honour. . . .

[4] On the same day Laurens wrote to Henry West, jr., of St. Christopher: "Prime Negro Men of any Country except Callabar bring great prices with us, £40 stg. and upwards", and to Messrs. Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd, that in case of war the demand for slaves would continue if only the price of Carolina indigo remained high.

[189] [1] Messrs. Mears and Co. owned both the *Mears* and the *Austin.*

[2] The cargo of the *George*; Sept. 27, 1755, Laurens to John Knight: "yesterday a Sale of Forty odd prime Gambia Negroes from Barbadoes . . . 4 or 5 of the first choice of the men sold at £330 per head 'twas oweing to a Struggle between some Warm Competitors for that String, so that it cant be expected that such a Price can be maintaind for a Number."

191. HENRY LAURENS TO CAPTAIN JAMES BENNETT, 1755.

8th Novr 1755.

Captain James Bennett, *Liverpool*
Per Arnold

Sir, . . . Ross brought in about three Weeks ago near 60 Slaves from Gambia, they sold but heavily several still remaining owing to these three Causes, the prospect of a sudden War, a good deal of the late Indigo lost by a long dry spell and an early Frost and now the Indigo comes down no Currt. Sale for it, the sellers want 30/ per l. and the Buyers offer only 22/6, a little has sold for 25/, should matters be accomodated between this and the Spring 'tis not improbable then the sale of Slaves may be good, but if a War we cannot as yet judge how that Trade may be affected. We mean the price here.[1] . . .

192. HENRY LAURENS TO LAW, SATTERTHWAITE, AND JONES, 1755.[1]

14th Decr. 1755.

Law, Satterthwaite and Jones, *Barbadoes.*
per Bell

Gentn., Your kind favour of the 14th Ulto. per the Snow *Gambia* Capt. Dodson reach'd us last night and with it a Letter from Capt. Dodson desiring to know on what Terms we would take up his Slaves. We offerd to do it (tho they are come at a very poor time) on the Terms we have ever yet practisd (*vizt.*) to give the Vessell a Cargo of our Produce to pay the Capts. Coast Commission and Mens half Wages etc., and to remit the remainder at the time the payments shall become due. it is our Interest to sell for the shortest Cr[edit] possible, because the shorter the payments the less risque of bad debts. We have hitherto always compleated our Remittances by the month of January or March succeeding the Sale, but that cannot be hoped for just now unless they should be sold very low as the Spirits of our Planters are much lowrd within this month or 6 Weeks that their Produce is considerably falln in value from the great probability of a sudden War on which Insurance from this to Brittain is got up to 15 or 16 per Cent, this has made a great alteration in the price

[191] [1] On Nov. 1 Laurens wrote to Smith and Clifton that the planters had grown very cool toward buying negroes. According to the *Gazette* two cargoes had arrived since that of the *George* was sold: on Oct. 15 the slaves of the ship *America,* Benjamin Jefferson, master, were sold by Solomon Isaacs, who advertised them as "Windward Coast Slaves"; on Oct. 29 Glen, Cooper, and Co. sold the slaves brought from Gambia by the sloop *Prince George,* John Rosse master. *S. C. Gazette,* Oct. 9, 23, 1755.

[192] [1] The night before this letter was written Laurens wrote to Satterthwaite, Inman, and Co. of Liverpool, owners of the *Gambia,* telling them of the arrival of their vessel and of Captain Dodson's request that he, Laurens, look at the cargo. The *Gambia,* it may be inferred from this letter, had stopped at Barbados and had there taken on fifteen negroes from Law, Satterthwaite, and Jones, who were obviously connected with the Liverpool house.

of Slaves, six or eight Weeks ago some fine Men were sold so high as £330 per head, a month ago some of the same stamp at £275 and have been daily declining in price ever since that time. what these will avarage we really cannot judge but we fear they must go a good deal lower than any preceeding especially if the Captn. insists as he does at present to have them sold so as to carry the whole produce home with him, which is not to be done from this Country at the best of times without selling to great disadvantage. he has offerd them to several Houses whether yet agreed or not we cannot say.[2]

We are sorry to inform you that two of your Slaves are dead, most of the others very low in Flesh, you dont mention in your Bill of Loading of what Species they were, those that the Captn. says belong to you are 6 Men, 5 Women, and 2 Girls, two or three of them old. We shall put them off for you at the best rate we possibly can and remit the produce as you direct to Mr. Touchett.[3]

Our unlucky Ship the *Emperor* by missing this place made a most sad Voyage when had she come in here she had made a saving one, the difference we compute full £3000 Stlg. by a Sale we made of the *Pearls* Cargo soon after from Malimba, which avaragd £33.15/ Stg. these Incidents are very common in the African business, against which every one that enters upon it should fortify themselves. . . .

193. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1755.

18th Decem. 1755.

John Knight, *Liverpoole*
per Rodger

Sir, . . . We are very sorry for your sake more than for our own that the *Mears* did not reach us with a good Cargo of Slaves this Summer as we must in such case have given you a good Account of them. what Mr. Mears said in regard to the whole Remittance in the Bottom did not discourage us from saying every thing we could with safety to invite Capt. Allen down here, as our Letter will appear when the *Mears* shall arrive with you, we dont now think it necessary to send you a Copy of it. We were told by Capt. Bennet that the Vessell would have been with us but that your Friends in St. Kitts on seeing in what a sickly condition her Slaves were recommended Jamaica as a much more proper place for her and they were right if she had the Small Pox or any thing that look'd like a malignant Fever as either of which our People are as much alarmd as

[2] Charles Mayne announced them for sale on Dec. 31 (*S. C. Gazette,* Dec. 18, 25, 1755; see also *post,* no. 193). On Dec. 15 Laurens sent to John Hardman, M. P. for Liverpool, an account of Carolina prices and the effect of the threatened war. For Hardman see this work, vol. II., index.

[3] See this work, II. 521n.

you in England are at the approach of a plague. You really as we think suffer'd a loss in the death of Capt. Bennets Doctor, he was a mighty quiet good naturd young Man so well adapted to the Temper of his Commander that we fear poor Bennet may hunt a good while for his Fellow before he will be able to find him.[1]

We observe your kind offer of admitting us into a share in the *Orrel* if you can but gentilely drop some that are now concernd, which we take very kindly as there is not a Person goes to Africa that we know, we should be better pleasd to take a concern with than Bennet under your direction but in the uncertain state of things we are in at present, We really dont know what to say, our payments this Year are likely to be very bad as we see no prospect just now of half our Crop selling and this is the Fund from whence Money principally blows to us. We luckily have a good deal on your side towards our Remitts. this Year but fear the whole will be required. in about a month more we shall see more clearly into Affairs and be better enabled to conclude than we are just now, We expect on the meeting of the Brittish Parliamt shall be put on an absolute certainty as to peace or War, that if the latter be determind such small Vessells as the *Orrel* can stand no chance on the Coast of Africa nor can that Trade be attempted immediately from this consideration that Slaves have latterly sold high upon the Coast and they will so continue 'tho it be War if any number of Vessells go there at the usual Season and two Sloops now here are bound soon to Gambia,[2] their Cargoes cheifly Rum. we mention these things as a reason that we think a month hence we shall be early enouth to conclude.

We are very glad to hear Mr. Guichard was able to do so well for you at St. Kitts with your two small Vessells, £30 Stg. per head with a full Remittance in the Bottom may be full as well as we could have done but this we cannot possibly judge of unless we knew the sorts and condition of their Cargoes. We really think we have seen one Cargo from the Coast here that would have avaragd had they been here in the month of Octo. last full £40 Stlg. but our People now begin to pause and we expect a Cargo that is to be sold in Wednesday the 31st Inst. by the Snow *Gambia* of Lancaster from Gambia will not bring any extraordinary price, this Vessell was offerd to us and out of regard to some Friends we have in that City we would have taken her on such Terms as formerly, but the Master demanded the whole in the Bottom in Bills, all to a trifle, a thing we could by no means agree to, he now sits down with Mr. Mayne but what the conditions we know not. We should be very much pleasd we are

[193] [1] On the same day Laurens wrote a similar paragraph to Thomas Mears.
[2] The sloop *Betsey*, Alexander Urquhart, cleared for Africa Dec. 25, 1755; the *Prince George*, Bostock, Jan. 8, 1756.

acquitted from her but that we could wish her into the hands of Persons more experienced in that branch than he. We shall really have more Money lying out for Negroes this Year than we could choose in time of War, did we know how to keep ourselves without making any addition to it, for should any material alteration happen in our Exchange before our money comes in we shall have been working for a dead Horse for a Year or two past. You need not have been at all afraid of the *Knights* Cargo being too many to reach us in one bottom, the Purchasers generally come down in proportion to the Numbers to sell and we generally find the larger is the Cargo the better they sell, but if the *knights* Cargo with that of the *Enterprize* included brings £20,000 Jamaica Money, its £34 Stg. round, supposing the whole Number to be about 420, which we judge it was from what Mr. Furnell writes to us, this is a pretty good price considering the circumstance of things in America, by our latest Letters from every one of the Islands the price of Slaves is declining very fast with them as both the French and Spanish Markett are now shut up to us. . . .

194. NEGROES IMPORTED INTO SOUTH CAROLINA, 1756.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 8	Jan. 20	*Adventure*	Joseph Druitt	Antigua (Gambia)		Holmes
" 15	" 22	*Relief*	Wm. Lightbourn	Angola	140	Austin and Laurens
" "	" 27	*Georgia* Packet	Alex. Marshal	Antigua (Gambia)		Ogilvie and Ward
Apr. 15	Apr. 27	*Africa*	Alex. Millar	Africa	300	Inglis, Pickering, and Wraxall
May 29	June 3	*Benn*	Sherman	Guinea	350	Middleton and Brailsford
June 5	" 16	*Hope*	Wm. Lugen	Africa		Inglis and Pickering
" 17	" 29	*Hare*	Caleb Godfrey	Sierra Leone	70	Austin and Laurens
July 1	July 8	*Carlisle*	Thomas Osborne	Gambia	150	Austin and Laurens
" 29	Aug. 4	*Concord*	Simondson	Windward and Grain Coast	49	Austin and Laurens
Aug. 26[2]	Sept. 1	*St. Andrew*	Alexander Hood	Gambia	250	Austin and Laurens
Sept. 2	" 14	*Cavendish*	Walker	"	270	Middleton and Brailsford
" "	" "	*Success*	Todd	"	154	Middleton and Brailsford
" "	" 14	*Molly*	Richard Watts	"		John Guerard
" 30	Oct. 7	*Sylvia*	Ed. Boucher	"		Benj. Stead, and Benj. Smith and Co.

[194] [1] The *Gazette*, Dec. 8, 1759, gives 2239 as the importation for the year 1756, during which fourteen cargoes were advertised. Laurens names one vessel not in the *Gazette* and refers to unnamed and often unidentified arrivals. By June 12 from 800 to 900 had been ordered to his house alone.

[2] On Aug. 23 Laurens wrote to Henry Bright: "since the Account of War has

195. Henry Laurens to Gedney Clarke, 1756.[1]

12th Janry 1756.

Gidney Clarke Esq., *Barbadoes*
per Hinson

. . . We are now indebted to your kind favour of the 12th Ulto. handed to us yesterday by Capt. Moses who is come on shore in a poor state of health owing as he tells us to Capt Lightbourns Vessell [2] being much out of kelter, her Decks and all her upper works in want of Caulking whereby both he and the Slaves have sufferd very greatly. this induced them to put into Anguilla at which they tarried nine days, have lost six of the Slaves he reckons through this and have six or seven more very low and weak which we have sent a Doctor on board to visit and a carefull Woman as a nurse to them. We have said so much in our former Letter as to our present Market for Slaves that we have but little to add to it except that some other Vessells are since arrivd with parcells from Antigua and that here are half that were in Town before still on hand. We hope you have bought these very low or we fear shall render you but a poor Account of them, our Planters being quite dispirited from the price of Rice now only 30/ per Cent. and at a Credit of six months, our Acquaintance with the Planters is pretty extensive and we shall take care to give them notice in every part of the Province of the day of Sale which we have fixed for Thursday the 22d.[2] which is as early as we can be permitted to land them and please to be assurd we shall leave no Stone unturnd to do every thing that is possible for your Interest both in the Sale and Remittance. they have reach'd us at the worst time could possibly have happend, many of our People dont choose to buy at this cold Season and they seeing parcell after

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reached us the Sale of Slaves has become wretched bad and we have no less than four Gambia Vessells now under Quarentine which must still reduce the prices a good deal"; and on Aug. 26, to Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd: "but the Quantity [of indigo] made will be greatly short of our expectations, a large part having been destroy'd by a long drought which has also ruined more than half of our Negro Provisions and from this cause the Sale of Slaves is almost as materially affected as by the declaration of War, our People can't think of buying Slaves when they don't know which way they shall get Provisions to feed them."

[195] [1] Gedney Clarke (this work, III. 457) was kept well informed of Carolina conditions by Laurens, who on Jan. 1 had written: "there is half a dozen little parcels of a dozen to twenty in different hands in Town which move extreamly heavy, such as would have sold very currently two months ago at £40 Stlg. and upwards." On Jan. 3 Laurens wrote to Knight: "The Slaves per the *Gambia* which were expos'd to Sale on Wednesday went off very dully 'tho there were a pretty many of our Planters came down who would have bought with a proper abatement in price in proportion to the circumstance of things. 'tis not a time just now to stand out for a largr price as every Vessell from the West Indias brings down parcells of prize Negroes which we presume are now bought there very low, now in the place half a dozen parcells of such which our People look coolly at and we believe the Sale wont amend whilst we remain in such an uncertain situation as to peace or War."

[2] "Just imported in the *Relief*, Capt. William Lightbourn, a Cargo of prime Angola Men and Women Slaves Chiefly young People and healthy, To be sold on very reasonable Terms, on Thursday the 22d of this Instant January, by Austin and Laurens." *S. C. Gazette*, Jan. 15, 1756.

parcell perpetually coming in at this unusual Season of the Year[3] makes them immagine that in a month or two more they shall get them for a Song, this makes many stand off that would otherways buy, Our good friend Commo. Frankland[4] we fear will make but a dull beginning in Merchantile business 'tho we hope our next may bring a more favourable Account of things wch it shall be our endeavour to accomplish.

We propose to Capt. Moses to have sent back the three Negroes with Capt. Hinson that you say were put on board to take care of the rest. he says he only brought one of them and that he chooses to keep him with him 'till he returns himself. . . . Our Pest House where the Slaves are to be placed during their Quarintine is in good order and they have a plenty of Wood at hand so that we hope the Cloathing they have will be sufficient but Capt. Moses informs us he was obligd to put their Cloaths on a few days after he left Barbadoes to preserve them from the Water that came down through the Deck, neither of the Capts. shall know from us that Mr. Frankland has any concern with the Slaves but we should immagine Lightbourn must know it, as the Bill of Loading expresses for whose Account they are.

196. Henry Laurens to Law, Satterthwaite, and Jones, 1756.

12th Janry 1756.

Law Satterthwaite and Jones, *Barbadoes*
per Hinson

Gentlemen, The above is Copy of our last trouble, since which have none of your favours. are sorry to inform you that we have now on hand Ten of your Slaves 'tho had numbers to look upon them which dont at all like them and several parcells have dropd in upon us since they arrivd. whilst prime People can be had our Planters will not touch such as are not so. We sold a Man at £280. and a Girl at £210. payable the 1st November next, and one other Man for £260. payable in 4 months, 'tis much more difficult to run off these small parcells than a Cargo of 3 or 400, when such a Number are for Sale it draws down the People from every part of the Province and one bids upon the other, very often they in their hurry take hold of very ordinary Slaves as prime, overlooking their imperfec-

[3] The so-called season for the arrival of negroes began about March.

[4] Rear-Admiral Thomas Frankland, commander-in-chief in the Leeward Islands, who was entrusting to Laurens, for sale, negroes from French prizes. "By Capt. Gilcrist, in 24 Days from Barbadoes, we learn, that Commodore Frankland's Squadron has sent in there a French Guineyman, with 160 slaves on Board"; and "His Majesty's Ships on that station [Jamaica] had then [Jan. 2] carried in there 23 French Vessels, (four of them Guineymen)" (*S. C. Gazette,* Dec. 25, 1755, Jan. 29, 1756). "Thomas Frankland Esq., Commodore. . . . Sent into this Island [Antigua] by his Squadron, 1 Ship and a Snow with upwards of 700 Slaves on board. . . . Sent into Barbados Two Guineymen with upwards of 500 Slaves." *Boston News Letter,* Jan. 29, 1756.

tions which in a small parcell scarce ever escapes notice, Capt. Dodson put his Slaves into the hands of Mr. Charles Mayne. we believe near half of them are unsold, how the others have sold we cant pretend to say as it would not become us to make enquiry. We are told there is to be a largr Remittance for them in the Bottom such a one as (if true) Mr. Mayne will have good luck if he is not a loser by this concern. our Planters are much discouragd just now from buying Slaves through the low price of Rice which sells with us at 30/ per Ct. some of it on so long a Cr. at [as] six months. whilst things remain so a few Negroes will suffice and we have had for a month past a very extrordinary number for this Season of the Year, yesterday a Brigt. arrivd to us with 140 from your Island which will bring down our friends from the remote parts of the Country and enable us to run off yours if they are not disposd of before, it will give us great pleasure to furnish you with an agreeable Account and a quick Remittance.

197. HENRY LAURENS TO CAPTAIN SAMUEL SIMONDSON, 1756.[1]

22d January 1756.

Capt Saml. Simondson of the *Concord* from Africa
to the care of Andrew Lesley Esq., *Antigua*
per Hall.

Sir, We have before us a Letter from our Friends and your Owners Messrs. Robert and John Thompson dated 8th of November which reachd us two days ago in which is this paragraft, (*vizt.*) We desire you will write Capt Simondson of the *Concord* to be left with Andrew Lessley Esq. at Antigua the State of your Market for Negroes in January, February, or March next. Please to observe that Slaves all this last Summer sold here extreamly high the prime Men from £40. to £47 Stlg. within these ten or twelve weeks past the price has been declining partly from numbers being sent here from the West Indias [2] but principally on Account of a great probabillity of a sudden War with France which has reduced the price of the Produce of this Country near 30 per Ct. this has stopt the Career of our Planters so effectually that we cant get more than 30 to 32 and £33. per head for such as would have brought £40. but a little while ago. if we should have War we are of opinion the price can't amend but if matters should be accomodated 'tis not unlikely that the Spring Sale of Slaves with us may be good. this is all the information we at present are able to give you as 'tis impossible in the present situation of things to forsee what may happen upon any certainty. we wish you a successfull Voyage and that you may hit

[197] [1] A similar letter was sent to Capt. Samuel Sandys, *Duke of Cumberland,* at the request of Capt. Thomas Hinde; and on Feb. 5 to Capt. Thomas Whiteside, *Willy,* in care of Thomas Duberry of Montserrat, at the request of John Knight.

[2] In the next letter Laurens writes of "several hundred" sent by Frankland.

upon the Market that may best answer the purposes of the Gentn. concernd.[3]

198. HENRY LAURENS TO LAW, SATTERTHWAITE, AND JONES, 1756.

31 January 1756.

Law Satterthwaite and Jones, *Barbadoes*
per Hunt

Gentlemen, We have now chiefly to confirm the foregoing Copy of our last and to inform you of the further progress we have made in the Sale of your Slaves which stands as below. We have two still remaining on hand a Man and a Woman, the Man extreamly low in flesh and we fear wont bring more than £100, the Woman 'tho able not one seems to like her so that to this day we have not had an offer for her. We had but very few come to our Sale of the 140 Slaves per the *Relief*, indeed it unluckily happened that a Parapneumonia [?] prevaild at that time and does so still amongst the Slaves in many parts of the Province which sweeps off great numbers and is a great discouragement to such as would now otherways buy. We have however put off all to about ten that were able to appear in the Yard which have sold much better than we at first hoped for as they were a mighty small People such as our Planters dont at all like. We see clearly Slaves will not ma[i]ntain a price with us whilst our Planters Produce continues so low and it cannot amend if we should be involvd in a War.

Foot Note:
We have just now sold the Negro Woman. the Acct. stands as under:

1	Man—Paybl 1 Novr.	£280
1	do—in 4 mos	260
1	Woman—in a month	220
1	Girl—1 Novr.	210
2 Men 1 Woman	(1 Jany 1757 with Ints.)	660
1	Girl—1 May	220
1	Man—Cash	200
1	Woman—30 April	200
1	do in a month	200
1	Girl in 2 mos	160
12		£2610

[3] On the 24th Laurens wrote to the Thompsons, expressing his regret that their ship, the *Africa,* Captain Saul, had not come to Charleston the preceding summer, and telling them of the advice which he had sent to Captain Simondson. On the same day he acknowledged a plantation certificate for Captain Nash's cargo and a bill of lading for eight Gold Coast negroes. The plantation certificate was the sworn statement that the negroes had been less than six months in the colony from which they came and were therefore free from the £50 duty imposed on colonial negroes.

199. Henry Laurens to Gedney Clarke, 1756.

31st January 1756.

Gidney Clarke Esq., *Barbadoes*
per Hunt.

. . . Permit us now to inform you what progress we have made in the Sale of your Slaves addressd to us which we have taken every measure in our power to put off to advantage but with poor success. our People thought them a very indifferent parcell, that they were much too small a People for the business of this Country and on this Account many went away empty handed that would otherways have purchasd. another grand impediment to the Sale was a Parapneumonia breaking out in many parts of the Province and sweeping off great numbers of Negroes a little before the day of Sale, which prevented a great many from attending and the success of a Sale much depends on the Numbers that attend. in short every thing contributed to induce us to think we must inevitably make a very poor Sale and what added greatly to it was that we could only bring into the Yard 105, the rest that remaind alive were in a bad condition with the Flux from which disorder there are dead to this time 13 and we are sorry to say several more in great danger. What we have sold at this day are 102, the Amount £21,291.10/ Currency. We have 14 more that are able to come abroad and 11 sick in the Hospital. those which are well are a very dimunitive parcell of Mortalls, Children in size but at their full growth, so that upon the whole we fear you must make a very indifferent Voyage and what will add to it is that the major part of those sold are on Credit to January next. the monstrous prices given for a few Slaves in the month of October has produced all this Evil, brought down parcell after parcell from the West Indias incessantly all this Winter, which has put it in the power of the Planter to play upon the Sellers their own Game. this we can safely assert, that yours are sold for better prices than any since they arrivd, as a proof of it we ourselves purchasd four Angola Men the prime of a parcell and not to be equald by any four of yours for £212.10/ per head and we obtain'd for some of yours £240 per head. We see clearly whilst our Planters produce continues so low they will not buy Slaves unless at a price proportionably to that of their Goods, they paid very little regard to the prospect of a War untill they sensibly felt the consequences by the Sale of their Produce.[1] . . .

[199] [1] On Feb. 7 Laurens reported the facts of this sale to Commodore Frankland. By this time 113 had been sold; the gross returns now were £23,376. 10. No more had died, though a few were not yet out of danger.

200. Henry Laurens to Gedney Clarke, 1756.

21 Febry 1756.

Gidney Clarke Esq., *Barbadoes*
per Adam.

. . . the Slaves per Lightbourne as before advisd sufferd greatly by the Seams of his upper works wanting caulking. when they arrivd here found the most favourable Weather that could be wishd for at that Season of the Year or their mortallity must have been much more considerable. We are sorry 'tis not in our power to give you the Sales, have 10 on hand most of them in a thriving way but cant meet with a tolerable offer for them or should not keep them upon a prospect of their improving, the Number sold is 116 the Gross Amount £24006.10/ Currency. We observe that you cannot reconcile it to your self that the price of Slaves must fall with us in time of War, on considering that Freight Insurance Mens Wages etc must greatly advance and inhance the price of them when they come to Market. these Matters are not all considered by our Planters, the only point with them is what price the Value of their Produce will enable them to give, and a very just consideration this, for many Rice Plantations that clear to the proprietors from 500 to £1000. Sterling per Annum in times of Peace will scarsely defray their own expenses in time of War, the price of that Commodity being so much affected by the high Freights and Insurance its clodg with, which the produce of your islands being of abundantly more Value is not proportionably affected by, on the contrary the frugal industrious Man must in the worst of Markets have more from his Plantation than will defray his ordinary Expence which the generallity of the American Planters choose to invest in Slaves, preferably to any thing else, so dull is the present prospect of things that we have wrote to meet every Guinea Vessell, orderd to our House the approaching Summer recommending to them to stop in the West Indias if they can find a tolerable Market unless the contest between Great Brittain and France should be made up in such case it is possible our Market may amend.

201. Henry Laurens to Samuel Touchett, 1756.

23d. Febry 1756.

Samuel Touchett, *London*
per Tucker

Sir, We receivd about two months since a Bill of Lading for fifteen Slaves from our mutual friends Messrs. Law, Satterthwaite and Jones [1] with orders to remit the produce of them to you in Bills of

[201] [1] See *ante,* no. 192. Laurens had reported the results of the sale to them on Feb. 21.

Exchange. two of them died on the passage, some of the others were very low in flesh and came at a time when our Market was grown very dull so that we were a good deal put to it to find Chaps for them, did not get the last off till the 6th Inst. the produce of the 13 sold is £2230.3/ Currency. £525 of the Money does not become due 'till January next, £740 of it in May, the rest will be due soon and shall be remitted as soon as we can obtain a Bill which is now become a scarse Article. . . .[2]

202. HENRY LAURENS TO DEVONSHIRE, REEVE, AND LLOYD, 1756.

3d March 1756.

Devonsheir Reeve and Lloyd, *Bristol.*
per Fell

. . . Our payments this Year for Negroes come in very slackly many of the purchasers dependence being on their Crops of Rice which sells much lower than they promisd themselves, so of course they must fall short, others again have shipd their own Indigo and we must wait for payment untill we have an Account of its being sold. We could however have made a tolerable shift were Bills to be purchasd, which they are not just now and therefore to make the Owners of the *Pearl* easy shall try to find paymt for them within ourselves towards which we have of this day passd our Bills upon you for Eight hundred Pounds Sterling payable 40 days after sight to Messrs. Thomas Easton and Co. Owners of the *Pearl* which we must recommend to your accustomd punctuallity—if we cant get Bills soon we shall be forced to desire you to advance to them the value of the Indigo shipd to you in order to close that Acct.[1] . . .

203. HENRY LAURENS TO LASCELLES AND MAXWELL, 1756.[1]

20th March 1756.

Lascelles and Maxwell, *London.*
per Odin

Gentlemen, We gave you the trouble of a few lines under the 23d of last month advising that we had receivd a small Cargo of Slaves

[2] A description of the state of the Carolina market follows.

[202] [1] Here follows Laurens's usual description of the state of the market. Part of the significance of these letters on Carolina conditions lies in their number. Between Jan. 1 and May 1 he thought it worth while to inform at least twelve business houses of the over supply of negroes and the dull trade. To some of his correspondents he wrote six times during these weeks. If other Charleston merchants were similarly assiduous a knowledge of Carolina conditions must have been widely disseminated both in the West Indies and in England.

[203] [1] Lascelles and Maxwell did an extensive West India business, and their letter-books, which have been preserved, may yield some information on the slave trade. The editor has not examined them. Some evidence of their interest in trade to the Continental colonies is to be found in the *Letter-Book of John Watts* (N. Y. Hist. Soc., *Collections,* LXI.)

from Thomas Frankland and Gidney Clarke Esq. with orders to remit the proceeds of them to you as the Money should become due.[2] please to receive inclosd James Irvings Bill on Samuel Touchett Esq. and Co. payable to Thomas Middleton Esq. or order for £239.16.6 Sterling and pass it to the Ct. [credit] of the said Gentlemen. We shall remit you further on this Account as soon as we can pick up some more Bills who are [*blank*]. Upon reverting to Mr. Clarkes Letter he directs that one half may be passd to his Credt. the other to Mr. Franklands, which please to notice in all we remit. We shall not be able to send seperate Bills for each half without some delay to one or other of the Gentn. as we are glad to get hold of Bills just now in any manner the drawer pleases.

204. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1756.[1]

10 April 1756.

Mr. John Knight, *Liverpoole*
per Livingston

. . . We have not had any Slaves Brought this way for 6 or 8 weeks past and Indeed Our People seem to think very Little at [of] them, the low price of Rice and probability of its still declining makes them now begin to consider from what sourse their payments must arise, which scarsly Enterd into the heads of any of them before the[y] felt where the Shoe pinch'd or it would have been better both for themselves and us that many of them had acted with more Caution some months sooner. this might not have been so good for Trade in General and therefore we must reconcile Ourselves to the perticular Inconveniencys we Ourselves may suffer by the fluctuation of Exchg.

205. Henry Laurens to Aufrere, Fry, and Cust, 1756.

9th April 1756.

Messrs Aufrere Fry and Cust, *London*
per Livingston

S'rs, Capt. Hector McNeil [1] was with us in the fall 1754 when he had four Negroes that he was at a loss to dispose of, and as he was an Old Acquaintance we assisted him therein. One of them we shall not get the mon'y for before next Crop, but as we suppose the sooner

[2] The earlier letter gave the details of this venture with all Laurens's gloomy predictions concerning it. At the time he still had ten unsold slaves.

[204] [1] In a letter of Feb. 12 Laurens warned Knight against sending the *Willy* to Charleston.

[205] [1] McNeill was captain of the snow *Isaac,* whose cargo was advertised in the *Gazette,* Oct. 10, 1754.

Capt McNeil gets it the more agreeable, we now inclose you two Bills which Ballance his Accot. as per Accot. inclosd, which we send to you as tis highly probable Capt. McNeil may be abroad. we must desire when he is at home you will please transmit him the Accot. and Carry the Money now remitted to his Credit which is £68.18.2 Sterling, we shall be glad to render you any acceptable Service in this Quarter.

206. HENRY LAURENS TO RICHARD OSWALD AND COMPANY, 1756.[1]

13 April 1756.

Richard Oswald and Co., *London*
per Livingston.

. . . We are very much obligd to our worthy Friends Augustus and John Boyd Esqs. and Co. for the confidence they repose in us by becoming our Security for a punctual Remittance of the Produce of your Slaves intended us by the *Carlisle*. It would give us much pleasure to transact this Affair for you had we a prospect of doing it successfully but really the Scene is so much alterd for the worse within these last 3 or 4 months and which we hope cannot escape your knowledge that we sincerely wish you may order the Sloop to a much better Market than ours at present seems to promise and we think it cannot amend before a peace shall be established. our People bought Slaves with great spirit all the last Summer and even 'till the month of December (October) they gave so high as £330 for some very prime Gambia Men but as soon as they found the price of their produce faild through the high Freight and Insurance it was loaded with, the generallity of them resolvd to touch no more Negroes except they could have them at a price proportionatly low to the price of their Produce. just at this juncture several hundreds were brought down from the West Indias that were purchasd out of the French Ships stopd by Commodore Frankland and these falling into many hands, some of them quite unexperienced in that branch of business, the price was reduced to 210 or £220. for prime Fellows, one of the latest parcells came to us being 140 Angola's we with much difficulty put off, some of the Men payable next Jany. at £240. and we were longer in running them off and met with more difficulties in effecting it than ten times that number would have occasiond three months before. Should Capt Osborn come here (which we truly hope he will not) please to be

[206] [1]Richard Oswald, best known as one of the commissioners to negotiate peace with the United States in 1783, had been a merchant in America before he established himself in London. His marriage with a West India heiress brought to him large West India estates and he acquired by purchase many acres on the continent. For years he was the owner of a slave factory on Bance (Bence) Island, from which he sent numerous slave cargoes to America (see this work, II. 111n., 537n.). So uniformly is the spelling Bance used in the material of this volume that the editor has accepted it.

assurd that we shall do every thing in our power to promote your Interest and attentively adhere to your orders as far as is practicable, but as to the Article of Bills they are become very scarce with us and upon the rise must become more so if a War takes place or even if things remain in such a state of uncertainty as they have been for several months past, which gives such a general damp to Trade that there has not been half the Ships to load on Bill this Year as we usually have, by this we have been enabled for some Years past to remit for our Negro Sales totally in Bills almost, but this must cease in case of a War and the Sellers be obligd to ship produce or wait a great while for Bills. We wish we knew when to meet Capt. Osborn with a Letter in the West Indias to prevail upon him to stop there as are persuaded it would be most for your advantage. this we hope you have notice in time to do which will afford us great pleasure.[2]

207. HENRY LAURENS TO CAPTAIN SAMUEL LINNECAR, 1756.[1]

8th May 1756.

Capt. Samuel Linnecar or the Commander of the Ship *Hopewell* to the Care of Messrs Thomas Stephenson and Sons
per Morrison

Sir, We are favourd with a Letter under the 1st January past from our mutual good Friends your Owners Messrs. Jona. Blundell and Co. advising they had orderd your Snow the *Hopewell* with a Cargo of Slaves from Bonny to our address at this Port, except you were stopd at Barbadoes which they doubt, because your Limitts are pretty high, and they direct us, to meet you there with the state of our Market for Slaves which we intend by this. The price of Slaves here while they are imported in moderate numbers is wholly influencd by the value of our Staples, Rice and Indigo, and as these have been depreciated much below the prices of last Year, so have the Planters slackend in the purchase of Slaves, lowerd the prices and lengthend out the Credit. We receivd a Cargo of 140 Slaves from Barbadoes in the month of January last which were indeed an ordinary slender People, 'tho chiefly Men and Women, were ten times as long selling them off as we have usually been selling twice the Number formerly, and avaragd only about £28.10/ Stlg and great part on Credit to 1st January next, but we must observe the same Negroes would sell much better at this Season of the Year and less Mortallity happen among them.

[2] Laurens had written a similar but briefer letter to Messrs. Thomas Mears and Co. on Feb. 25, urging them not to send the *Mears* to Charleston; in April he wrote in the same strain to Messrs. Smith and Clifton of St. Christopher.

[207] [1] This letter Laurens followed by one to Jonathan Blundell and Co. of Liverpool on May 16, in which he reported to them what information and advice he had given to Captain Linnecar.

The Snow *Africa,* Capt. Millar, who left you on the Coast arrivd here the 17th Ulto. and her Cargo has been selling off ever since the 27th and still a great many and those likely Slaves too remain on hand so the Avarage of the Sale is not yet known. the Gentn.[2] to whom she was addressd have kept up the prices bravely, sold a good many Men at £250 to £260 etc. and Women 200 to £220 and so in proportion for young ones, but we judge they have been under a necessity of giving long Credit for most of these prices. should a War be declard which we have the strongest reason to believe is done before this day, the price of Slaves will beyond all doubt be much worse and our Exchange rise which we should observe to you is now £712.10/ Currency per £100 Stlg and Bills become very scarce and we would in that case entreat you to stop at Barbadoes or find out some better Market, as this will by no means do for you, but if publick Affairs take an unexpected turn and a peace be establishd or a probabillity of it soon, we really believe this will be as good a Market as any in America for this Summer if no very extrordinary Number of Slaves is brought here. You will learn the state of Publick Affairs as soon at Barbadoes as any where and may in a great measure govern your proceedings thereby, tho' we must further observe that all Slaves from the Bite sell at £3 to £4 Stlg. per head less here than Gambias, Windward or Gold Coast, this is saying as much as we can on the Subject. We should rejoyce to have an opportunity of rendring our worthy friends in Liverpoole and your self our best services, and it would give us real concern to see you here at a dull and unprofitable Season. upon the whole we sincerely wish you may hit on the best Market and make a prosperous Voyage and we shall by all future opportunitys communicate our sentiments if any alteration with us.

P. S. if you should unfortunately have the small Pox or any contagious distemper in your Cargo, dont think of coming hither, let the times be as they may.[3]

208. Henry Laurens to Henry Bright, 1756.

17th May 1756.

Henry Bright Esq., *Bristol*
per Curtin

. . . We are sorry to hear there are so many Ships intended this way with Slaves the present Year as the prospect of a sudden

[2] Messrs. Inglis, Pickering, and Wraxall. The *Africa,* a Bristol vessel, brought about 300 slaves, Calabars, and therefore especially difficult to sell. On May 18 Laurens wrote to Messrs. Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd, of this cargo, "there now remains on hand at least 40 and most of them pretty young People 'tho the Sale commenced three Weeks ago".

[3] There are in these letters frequent references to the greater severity of the South Carolina quarantine law.

War by which our Planters produce is much affected in price has so far reduced their Spirits that we clearly see they will not buy any large number of Negroes except they can have them at a very low rate. We thought the Sales were very good at Jamaica when Mr. Jere. Meyler [1] was here, by some Letters he receivd from Mr. Hall it appeard he had run off some Cargoes at £47 and upwards. We hope the Markets will hold good and carry down all or most of the Slaves intended this way. . . .

209. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company, 1756.

17th May 1756.

Richard Oswald and Co., *London.*
per Curtin

Gentlemen, The foregoing is a third recital of our last to your good selves. We have now before us your esteemd favour of the 5th of March advising of your intentions that your Ship the *St. Andrew,* Capt. Hood,[1] should proceed from Gambia to this place and that we may expect her the latter end of June, should she reach us the next Ship and with such a Cargo as were Shipd by your Friends in the *St. Paul* [2] two Years ago we might hope bad as things now appear to render you a pretty good Sale. but if any numbers should arrive before her our hopes may be defeated as there are not many of [our] People have Spirit just now to purchase, so that a few hundreds would supply all their wants. The Slaves from the River Gambia are preferrd to all others with us save from the Gold Coast and as we trust your Ships will leave the Coast much before the Traders which are obliged to go up the River 'tis highly probable she will be a head of all from that Quarter, indeed we do not immagine there will be many come from that River to this place the present Summer as we wrote early to our Friends at Bristol, Liverpoole and Lancaster not to have a thought of sending Slaves to our Market untill the differences should be adjusted between Great Brittain and France, this we have reason to believe will divert the Voyage of half a dozen Vessells that were intended this way. . . .

210. Henry Laurens to Jonathan Blundell and Company, 1756.

May 25th 1756.

Jona. Blundell and Co., *Liverpool*
per Webb

Gentn., The foregoing is copy of Our last Trouble to which have now to add that two more Vessels are arriv'd with us from Africa

[208] [1] Jeremiah Meyler. Meyler and Co. was a Bristol house.

[209] [1] On the 26th Laurens wrote urging Oswald to divert Captain Hood from the Carolina market if possible.

[2] In May, 1754, Mayne had advertised a cargo in the snow *St. Paul* from Gambia. *S. C. Gazette,* May 3, 7, 14, 1754.

who between them have upwards of four hundred Slaves besides a parcel of coromentees [1] from the West Indies. One of these Vessels is the *King George* of yr. Port from Angola,[2] the Other a Sloop of N York from Gambia, the Sloop brings acct. of several Vessels being arrivd in the River that must come down here from whence we have a most shocking prospect of this Summers Sale more especialy for bite Slaves [3] which not one in ten of our People will Touch when Others can be had on Moderate terms. those which are now arrivd we think would be full sufficient to supply the present demand, therefore unless some thing should happen to alter the voyage of those which are behind we fear there will be destructive work with us, we have sent two Letters to St. Kitts to be forwarded to Barbado's for Capt. Linecer, and shall repeat them by every Vessel that shall go soon for that Quarter, as we hertily wish both for your sakes and our own the ship may stop in the West Indies, for Our Commissns do not by any means compensate for the pain we suffer when our friends make a bad Voyage, Whilst we are writing this are Informd the *King Geo.* aforementiond is from the bite which makes matters still worse as it will beat down the price lower than if they had been Angolas, we wrote Early in the year to all the Gentn. we annually have Negroes from to disire they would not send us any this present year unless Peace should be establishd and we fear we shall have at least six hundred Slaves from Gambia and the Windward Coast to Our House that we did not know of in time to prevent their Coming; thus Gentn. you see our present situation and we sincerely wish you may be relievd from the Inconveniencys attending it by a good markett in the West Indies.

211. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1756.

28th May 1756.

John Knight, *Liverpoole*
per Webb

. . . We have but a very dull appearance of the Africa business just now. the Snow *Africa* of Bristol from the bite reachd us about six weeks ago, and as there was not a negro in Other hands to Interfere in the Sale that Cargo Sold at pretty good prices tho they were a month about it. by that sale we discover that Our People had but little Inclination to Engage for Negroes as it was a most butiful Cargo of the sort, chiefly young People from 15 to 20 which are not accustomd to destroy themselves like those who are

[210] [1] Cormantines; for an account of their characteristics see this work, I. 398n.
[2] Of the *King George,* mentioned by Laurens, there is no record in the *Gazette.*
[3] Calabars. In a letter to Oswald, written May 26, Laurens stated that these two vessels brought between four and five hundred negroes.

Older. here are now arrivd a Ship of your place from the Bite Calld the *King George*, a New York Sloop from Gambia and ano'r parcell by a Brigantine from the West Indies, these amongst them have 400 Slaves which we doubt will give a settling blow to that business as Our planters that are able have not the least temptation just now to purchas, the Spring having been very dry, half the Indigo that was planted has perishd, at this wretched conjuncture we have reason to expect the arrival of a Ship of Messrs. Jona. Blundell and Co. from the Bite Every day, which gives us great pain. we were not apprisd of her Coming till about three Weeks ago when we wrote Immediately to the West Indies to meet her there if possible tho we have but little hopes of doing it. it is most Improbable but those Gentn may have communicated their Intentions to you Since they wrote us which was in January tho we did not receive it till the Other day, in which case we shall hope you have prevaild upon them to alter the Voyage as we think it moraly Impossible we should be able to give them any tollerable satisfaction. we have two Vessels coming to us besides that we would give a good deal to have it in Our power to stop, A Ship of Mr. Oswalds and Co. of London from Gambia which is to bring 250 Slaves, another from Bance Island belonging to Augustus and John Boyds Esq. with 170 Slaves.[1] tho these will be abundantly more saleable than those from the Bite we could very hertily wish they might direct their Course some Other way. A number cannot sell with us before the planters shall have a better prospect of a Saving price for their Commoditys than they at present have. some few unthinking People may buy but very few that it woud be our Interest to Trust.

The Sloop from Gambia has now been but six weeks from thence. the master Informs of the Arrival of several Vessels in the River but Capt. Bennet was not amongst those he mentions. Two of them we think must absolutly come down, Capt. Hunt[2] as being Chiefly Ownd here and the *St. Andrew* Capt. Hood, the Ship of Mr. Oswalds before mentioned. . . .

212. Henry Laurens to Commodore Thomas Frankland, 1756.

4th June 1756.

Thos. Frankland Esq. Comr. of his
Majesties Ships in the *Leeward Islands*
per Hinson.

Sir, The last Letter we gave you the trouble of Was under the 17th April by the Capts. Gilberd and Dickinson. since it Our G. A.

[211] [1] A letter to Messrs. Augustus and John Boyd, of May 25, urged them to try some better market than Charleston.

[2] Probably of the *Elizabeth,* which had sold a cargo in Charleston Aug. 27, 1755. *S. C. Gazette,* Aug. 21, 1755.

gave you two Letters, the first of which inclosd Wellseysens bond which we hope would reach you in safety, since which we have not the pleasure of any of your faviours. We have just now got the Sale of Mr. Clarkes Negroes sent to Winyaw at which one died.[1] The Eight produced £1553.10 Currency which is more by £200 than we offerd them for here. this Sum added to £24,035, the Amount the Others sold for makes the total amount of the 125 sold £25,588.10 Currt. The Gros Amot. this upon an avarage at the present Course of Excha. 7⅛ for One is £29 Sterg. per head which we presume would have been no bad Voyage to Mr. Clarke and Co. had it not been for the mortality. We shall have the Sales ready to go to those Gentn. by the first good conveyance that shall offer. we are remitting the money to London as fast as we can possibly obtain bills which grow more and more scarce, at this day, the sum so remitted is £1016.13.4 Sterg. as we know you wish well to Mr. Clarke we are willing to tell you the fate of his adventure. Our Markett is now sadly overstockd from large numbers having lately arrived for which reason all that shall follow the present year must be sold very low. . . .

213. Henry Laurens to Gedney Clarke, 1756.

26th June 1756.

Gidney Clarke Esq. *Barbadoes*
per Rash

. . . We have now before us your kind favour of the 22d Ulto. to which permit us to reply that the Negroes per Lightbourn certainly sufferd very greatly from his Decks wanting Caulking, when we chargd him with that neglect he declard that it was his intention to have caulked them but you would not allow him time for it, to which we could make no reply. be pleasd now to receive the Sales of those Slaves, the produce of them carried to the proper Credit £22,470.16.11 Currency, how it will turn out to the Gentlemen concernd we cant pretend to judge not knowing the cost, but when we consider how small a People upon the whole and that many of them were reducd to a very low Ebb by Fluxes, that they also reachd us at an exceeding bad time in the Winter Season upon a Glutted Market We must think that £29. Stlg. per head was a great price for them all things consider'd, such small Negroes would not do very well in this Country at the best of times, our Planters almost to a Man are desirous of large strong People like the Gambias and will not touch small limbd People when such can be had. It was our intention to remit for these Slaves on the Terms as we do to Mr. Knight and

[212] [1] On Apr. 5 Laurens had written Gedney Clarke that six of the negroes he had sent to Winyaw had sold for £1312. The other three were then unsold.

others of our valuable Friends but the scarcity of Bills put it out of our power to do it with that dispatch we should otherways have done, that you might not lay out of your Money a great while we have applyd money of our own towards your Remittance as per particulars at foot hereof of the Bills now gone home and that we have ready for the next Ship that Sails for which we debit the proper Accot. Currt. with £12234.12.6 Currency. . . .

We have a Cargo of Slaves from Serralionee to Sell on the 29th, if Capt. Rash does not get away before that time we will Inform you how they moove.[1] Should it happen that most of the Vessels hereafter Expected should stop in the West Indias or come to any accident that may prevent their reaching of us it may possibly give an Opening towards the fall or in the Spring for a parcell to be brought down here to advantage in which case we Shall not fail to give you the most early advice but if the Majority should reach us that are Expected we must have a great many to[o] many for the demand tho we ourselves have stopt 6 or 8 Sail that were Absolutly Orderd here had we not forbid it.[2] . . .

214. HENRY LAURENS TO RICHARD OSWALD AND COMPANY, 1756.

29th June 1756.

Richd Oswald and Co., *London*
per Dinmore

Gentn., We must take Leave to advise you by way of Winyaw that Capt Osborn in the Sloop *Carlisle* arriv'd in Our Road last night. He advises us that he has on board 141 Slaves for yr. Accots. and Messrs. Oswald, Grant and Co.[1] and that he lost Five on the passage, that all that he has are in health but three which have Fluxes. he does not distinguish to which parcell those belongd that are dead. we find by Our Bill of Lading from Messrs. McLiesh and Stephens 120 of them were Shipd at Bance Island so there must have been 26 Only at Gambia. The Capt. Further informs us that he is [has] nine priviledge Slaves on board. . . . just now our visiting Doctor is come up from the vessel and tells us the men are a very fine parcell of Slaves the Women the reverse. if none Others shall arrive from this time to the day of Sale which we have ad-

[213] [1] True to his promise, Laurens wrote to Clarke on the 30th that a large number of purchasers gathered for this sale, but that the cargo itself was a "shocking" one. A few good men sold for £250 and £260.

[2] On the 19th Laurens wrote to Capt. John Holden of the snow *Anson,* in care of Messrs. Thomas Stephenson and Son, giving the reasons why it was not advisable for him to bring his negroes to the Charleston market. At the same time he sent a similar letter to the owners of the *Anson,* Messrs. Hulme and Fowler of Lancaster. Discouraging letters had also been sent to Capt. Samuel Sandys Jan. 22, to Capt. Thomas Whiteside Feb. 5, and to Capt. Samuel Linnecar May 8.

[214] [1] Probably the Alexander Grant who with Oswald owned Bance Island.

vertis'd on the 8th of Next Month [2] we shall hope to render you an agreeable sale. The Seasons for Our Crops now proaving Very Agreeable we hope will raise the Spirits of Our Planters, we are just now going to begin a Sale of a Cargo per the Sloop *Hare,* Capt. Godferry, from Serralione.[3] we have Chaps Enough in Town to take them all off immediately if they shall like them which we are much afraid they will not as they are a very Ordinary Parcell. . . .

215. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1756.

5th July, [1756.]

John Knight, *Liverpoole*
per Dinmore

. . . We are pleasd that the *Orrels* last Voyage was so agreeable and should wish to see Capt. Bennet this Year in his new Ship [1] if we had any prospect of putting them off near the Mark of last Year but are persuaded it cannot be done now. We have had a good many Vessells arrive with us from Africa this Spring and every Sale has grown duller. When many of our People continued to flatter themselves there would be no War, such can now no longer doubt. We shall have an opportunity on the 8th Currt. to try how they stand affected having 150 fine Slaves to dispose of that day Shipd by the Fort at Gambia and the Factory at Bance Island. these are all grown Slaves to a small number, would have sold pretty well had not the Account of War reach'd us as many of our Customers waited to buy Slaves from us. We now fear they will be discouragd from coming to Town wherefore we wish very sincerely that Capt. Bennet may find a better Market. We shall write to meet him at Mountserrat if any opportunity shall present soon. If he should come down here we will load him as near as possible to your orders. . . . We judge Capt. Whitside must have sat down at Mountserrat where we have reason to expect he found a pretty good Market if our advices from the Leeward Islands may be depended upon. We wish as things have happend with us he had come down here, We might in the month of March or April have made a good Sale, pray what can be become of the *Thomas.*[2] We never have

[2] "Just Imported in the *Caroline,* Thomas Osborne Commander, in a short Passage directly from the River Gambia and the Grain Coast, about One Hundred and Fifty Slaves, Chiefly Men and Women. And are as likely and healthy People as ever were brought into that Province, being picked out of a large Number at the Factory; To be sold upon easy Terms, on Thursday the 8th Instant, by Austin and Laurens." *S. C. Gazette,* July 1, 1756.

[3] For this sale see this work, III. 161-164.

[215] [1] The *Phoebe.* "Charles-Town, S. Carolina, Sept. 6. The Snow *Phebe* of Liverpool, James Bennet, master from Africa, with 180 slaves designed for this port, is taken and carried into Martinique." *Boston News Letter,* Oct. 30, 1760.

[2] Consort of the snow *Willy,* Captain Whiteside's vessel.

heard a Syllable of her in this Quarter, 'tis not improbable he may have met a Noser on the Coast at that Season and bore away to the West Indias. We hope nothing worse has befall'n her. We in our Letter to Capt. Whiteside which we suppose met him at Mountserrat told him such Slaves as had sold Currt. last Summer at £40 Stlg. would not then bring £30 which was really the case when we wrote but as the Weather became warm our People began to think of Negroes but soon became Shy again from the arrival of three or four Callabar Ships, one on the Heels of another. We made a Sale this last Week of about 70 Slaves from Sierraleon a wretched bad Cargo that one third remain still upon our hands, had they been good we had made as pretty a Sale as we could have wishd for having more purchasers than appeard at the three preceeding Sales put together. if half the number come down on Thursday next we shall do very well. these were two Vessells that came to us unexpectedly and we still look for a third, the *St. Andrew,* Hood, with 250 Slaves from Gambia. This and the Bance Island Man belong to Messrs. Richard Oswald and Co. whose business was wrested out of our hands by a bold pusher [3] who would do more in his Remittance than any prudent Man could think of, but these Gentlemen see that business done in the common way turns out in the end to most advantage. 'tis not an easy matter to alter a method of Trade long established in a Country and whenever 'tis attempted must be injurious to one side or the other. . . . Capt. Bennet is the first Man that goes to Africa we would wish to see here with a Cargo of Slaves upon the smallest hopes of success and we may possibly another Year when few will send their Ships this way encourage his coming but cant think of it this, our People must have time to recover from their panick the declaration of War has thrown them into before they will act with any Spirit, those who were in any pressing want are already supplyd this Year, therefore out of regard for our friends we would not receive another African Vessell this Year could we fall upon any way to stop them. We must be terribly out in our Judgement if that business does not flag immediately. . . .

216. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company, 1756.

10th July, [1756.]

Richd Oswald and Co., *London*
per Dinmore

Gentn., Our last Trouble was under the 29th June intended by a Ship from Winyaw but was not in time so comes with this. We then

[3] Probably Charles Mayne.

had hopes of a very pretty Sale, considering the times, for Capt. Osborns Slaves but Intelligence reachd us very unluckily for this concern on this day week that war was declard in London on the 18th of May which entirely discouragd Numbers from buying at any rate and none would go so high as what has been lately given. We did every thing that was in our power to promote the Sale to the utmost but it was not possible to work the purchasers up to any Spirit, at last were Oblig'd to accept of 225 to £235 for the best men and £200 for the women, at that rate they moavd but hevily. We have sold at this day 23 of the Gambias for £4825 Curry. and Only 68 of those from Bance Island to the amount of £13,580. what remains save a few wenches are Ordinary and too Old. Indeed there is two or three of them so Old that they wont bring with us much more than their Passages. Ours is a very bad Market for ordinary Slaves but more perticularly now that good Slaves flag. The others we cant get an offer for. there are now in this town of that Stamp the tails of several Cargos which can only be sold at Vendue where they yield but little.

We have now before us to reply to your kind faviour of the 18th Feby from Messrs. Rd. Oswald and Co. and Mr Richd. Oswald. we shall take due Care to keep the Accts. Seperate of the Slaves from Bance Island and Gambia, the Five Slaves that dy'd were all from Bance Island, another lies so very Ill there is very little Hopes of her and Eight more so mauger and sickly that they can't appear in the yard. Several have very bad sore Eyes, Others the Yaws,[1] upon the whole they were not a fine Cargo which at this Season we would perticulerly have wishd for. had the day of sale been but ten days sooner it would have been 10 per Cent in your Faviour and Considerably to our advantage on Acct. of the Remittance you Require. This Turn of affairs almost Compells us to sell for almost any Credit the buyers think propper to demand which was not the Case before. tis bad on both sides so we must hope the next concern will prove more successfull tho this cannot be if the *St. Andrew* should come down here. We fear every Sale hereafter this Summer will grow worse and worse therefore sincerely hope you may have been able to reach Capt. Hood with a Letter to alter his Voyage. . . . Capt. Osborn we believe has ten priviledge Slaves on board but this we shall have more Certainty of by and by. . . . in Consequence of Mr. Oswalds Letter we advertisd the Slaves to be the prime pickd out of a Large Number but we beleive your agent must have mistook you and thought the worst would be good enough for Our market. we are now at the eve of the day and have Only

[216] [1] Contagious disease which affected the negroes alone.

been able to get off three men this day £200 per head and two women at £180.[2]

217. Laurens and Austin to Robert and John Thompson and Company, 1756.

24th July 1756.

per Ball
Robt. and John Thompson and Co., *Lancaster*

Gentn., Our last trouble was under the 24th of Jany when we very candidly gave you Our Opinion of the prospect we then had of a Sale for Slaves this Summer. conformable to that Opinion we wrote of the 22d Jany by two or three Conveyances to meet Capt. Saml. Simondson of your Brigt. the *Concord* at the house of Andw. Lesley Esqr. in Antigua. these Letter we are pretty Sure went Safe and therefore we are in great hopes you would have been exempt from any concern with us during the bad Situation of things here, to our great concern we reced just now a Letter from the said Capt Simondson from Our road below that he was arrived in the *Concord* with 49 Slaves only, having buried 22 on his passage and that he had been buffeted on this Coast for five weeks past with Contrary Winds within 140 Leagues of the place, very unlucky indeed. had she reachd us so as to have made Sale of the Slaves before the 2d Instant when Accot. reachd us that War was declared in London the 18th of May it would have been at lest 25 per Cent in your faviour from what can be hoped for now, the advice of War Struck Our planters all of a heap and to this is now added Such a drought that Our Indigo and Negro provisions is almost totally demolished, which happens also at a time when the place is quite Chgd with Slaves, that god knows what we Shall do with them, we have on hand a parcell of able men and women of a Cargo Exposd to Sale the 8th Instant from the Factory at Bance Island. this we have try'd every Stratigem in Our power to get Rid of on tollerable terms without success. the Planters wont come near us unless they are nearly hauld along and then wont offer half the price given a few months ago, thus far we had advanced from the receipt of Capt. Simondson Letter and now

[2] On the 19th Laurens wrote that 22 able-bodied slaves were still on his hands, that two had died, and five were near death. He also sent an account of this sale to John Knight, to Gedney Clarke, to Captain Bennett, whom he hoped to reach at St. Christopher, and to Captain Hosden "or the Commander of the Snow *Anson*" by way of Barbados. On the 26th 100 Bance Island slaves and 24 Gambias had been sold for £18,515 and £4985, respectively.

[217] [1] "Just imported in the *Concord,* Capt. Simondson, from the Windward and Grain Coast, a Cargo of fine likely young Negroes, To be sold upon very easy terms, on Wednesday the 4th Day of August next by Austin and Laurens." *S. C. Gazette,* July 29, 1756.

our H Laurens who went down with the Visiting Doctor is returned we have informd Capt. Simondson how bad the present prospect is and desird him to Consider whether it would not be prudent to proceed with his Slaves to Virginia. he says no as he has been very Sickly and the disorder may possibly return upon him he will take his Chance here, therefore we have advertisd the Sale for the 4th day of Next Month.[1] Capt Simondsons mortality lay Chiefly Amongst his Grown Slaves so that those that remain are mostly boys and Girls, two or three of them so ill that there is no hopes of their recovery. We have a Spaniard amongst us that Seems to want Negroes if we can agree with him may help the Sale a good deal.[2] . . .

218. HENRY LAURENS TO RICHARD OSWALD AND COMPANY, 1756.

6th Augt. 1756.

per Jamieson
Richard Oswald and Co., *London*

. . . The Drought still continuing with us there is no amendment in the Sale of Slaves, those few that attended our last Sale of the 4th seemd to expect they should get them for little or nothing, that we have not yet sold above half the parcell, We have still remaining of yours Nine, Two of them Gambias which we would part with on very moderate Terms could we find the Person would make the offer, but nothing will tempt them but prime young People. We really think there never could be a worse time for the Sale of Slaves than now therefore most heartily wish your Ship the *St. Andrew* may receive your orders to proceed some way else which we have hopes she will from the information we have of her by one Capt Todd of Bristol who left the River Gambia between 6 and 7 Weeks ago. he says that Capt. Hood was then laying off the Fort with only Ninety Slaves, that every Vessell in the River had the Small pox on board except the *St. Andrew* and that Capt. Hood was so apprehensive of the bad consequencys must attend him if his Slaves should be seizd with that disorder, that Capt Todd immagines he would wait a considerable time to avoid that risque which we hope would enable you to reach him with a Letter. Capt. Todd has in 154 Slaves, about 100 of them stout Men, he made a very extrordinary purchase and the Voyage must have been so had our Sales been tolerable notwithstanding he has had the Small Pox and must perform a long Quarantine before he will be permitted to sell. . . .

[2] Laurens reverted to this possibility in a letter to Oswald of July 26, "they being pretty large boys and Girls which are the Sort those people like, but they being Chiefly Accustomd to Calabar Negroes, tis very difficult to bring them up to Such a price for Others as they richly deserve".

219. Henry Laurens to Robert and John Thompson and Company, 1756.

6th Augt. 1756.

per Jamieson
Robt. and Jno. Thompson and Co., *Lancaster*

. . . These . . . went to advise of the arrivals of your Brigt. the *Concord* and the bad prospects we had before us of the Sale of your Slaves which is every day growing worse and worse from the Continuence of the drought. on the first day of the Sale we put off only 19 of them and yesterday but three. the men and Women that remain are but Ordinary and Older than Our People Choose Them, the Children too young by 3 or 4 years. none will now tempt Our People to open their purse Strings but very prime young folks of which Capt. Simondson brought none save a few Boys of about 11 or 12 years of age, that we shall be most sadly pushd how to get of[f] these that remain more especially as ano'r Vessel arrived a few days ago with 154 Slaves from Gambia and through her we hear of some Other Vessels may be daily Expected from the same River. wretched must be the Sales, indeed nothing now can possibly prevent it but an imediate plentifull Supply of Rain which may Raise the Spirits of Such as have not as yet quite lost their Crops.

We are now at the 9th and within these two days had Glorious Rain, Which will Save so much of Our Crops as were not before totally destroyd. We wish it may give Our Planters a little spirits to come and take of[f] those Slaves that Stick on hand. we have sold of your Parcell at this day thirty the Amount £4490 Currt, all of them Boys and Girls Except five men, the Men and Women that remain will hang Long unless the late Seasons Shall raise the Spirits of Our Planters as they are Very Ordinary. . . .

220. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1756.

10th August 1756.

per Capt. Jamison
John Knight, *Rhode Island*

. . . We must now take leave to inform you that by Capt. Tod of Bristol who has been about Seven Weeks from Gambia we learn that Capt. Bennit had made a very Successful purchase and was saild for Montserrat having the Small Pox on Board, as was the fate of every Vessel in the River save one the *St. Andrew,* Hood. if Capt. Bennit shall have had the disorder as favourably as Capt. Tod we are in hopes he must make you a very pretty Voyage. Tod has

brought in 154 fine Slaves and his mortality has been very inconsiderable but how he may come off in a Long quarantine with us at this bad Season of the year we cant pretend to judge. The Rains that usually attend us in the Months of Augt. and Sepr. very Often make the place Sickly. Since Our former we have another little Vessel arrived to us with Slaves from the River Sherbro (*viz.*) the *Concord,* Capt. Simondson of Lancaster. we began the Sale on the 4th, at this day have about 1/3 left on hand. Our People are now become very delicate in what they buy, must have Such as dont Exceed the age of Twenty, those which are more go off Extreamly heavily, indeed Our People have another discouragement now attends them almost equal to the Accot. of War, which is a long drought we have had that has distroyd a large part of the Indigo and negro provisions. it goes very much against People to buy negroes when they are Obliged to pay for the provisions they are to Subsist upon and this has made our late Sales a good deal duller than they would Otherwise have been, for three days Past we have had Glorious Rains which may give some Spirits to a few that have not suffered very materially. . . .

221. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company, 1756.

1st Sepr. 1756.

per Simondson
Richard Oswald and Co., *London*

Gentn. We are now at the Eve of the Sale of Capt. Hoods Cargo, for the first day when the number sold on the Generals is 41 the amount £8130, which is really better than we could well hope for.[1] the good men yielded from £220 to 240, the Women of the Same Stamp £200 a £180. if what are left were Equals to those gone we could Soon close the Sale.

Mr. Donaldson has got all his Slaves verry well

ad it [added] Sept. 4th 1756.

Richd. Oswald and Co. per Tufts

Gentn., The foregoing is Copy of a few lines we troubled you with per Capt. Simondson for Lancaster informing of the Success of the first days Sale of your Slaves per Capt. Hood, since which we have not been able to do much, Sold Only Eight for £1260, the buyers

[221] [1] On Aug. 21 and 22 Laurens informed Oswald that the *St. Andrew* had arrived with 108 slaves, 22 of whom belonged to Mr. Donaldson. About the same time two other vessels reached Charleston, bringing between them 300 negroes. "To Be Sold on Wednesday the first of September next, a cargo of fine Slaves, Just arrived in the Ship *St. Andrew,* Alexander Hood commander, directly from the river Gambia; they are perfectly healthy and have been so the whole passage, free from the Small Pox and all other contagious distempers, by Austin and Laurens." *S. C. Gazette,* Aug. 26, 1756.

now will have prime Slaves or none and as there are three Gambia Cargoes to be Sold on the 14th they lye by for them, tho many of your People that remain are very able and healthy, they wont go down therefore are afraid they will stick by us untill the fine slaves of the Other Ships shall be run off, in the mean time we shall do all that we possibly can to bring the Accot. to a close.[2] . . .

222. HENRY LAURENS TO RICHARD OSWALD AND COMPANY, 1756.[1]

15th Septemr. 1756.

per Smith
Richard Oswald and Co., *London*

Gentn, . . . we have Sold to this day 69 of your Slaves, the Totals Amot. £12,750 Curry. We have remaining on Shore, Two men One of them is advanced in years and has Sore Eyes, the Other Young but almost blind, there remains also on board Three Women under the Doctors hands with Guinea Worms and Other Infirmitys which we are in hopes will bring more money by and by, than if Offerd to Sale now. at the Sale of yesterday [2] there was a great many people in Town expecting from the Number of Slaves to be Sold that they Should buy them very low which was a great advantage to the Seller because when they do come down they will give more than they limited themselves rather than return Empty handed thro' this the Sale was more brisk than was Expected at the rate of £220 to £240 for the fine men.[3] . . .

223. HENRY LAURENS TO CAPTAIN VALENTINE POWELL, 1756.

9th Novemr. 1756.

Capt. Valentine Powell or the Commander of the
Snow *Molly* of Bristol to the care of Messrs.
Shepherd and Cooper Merchts. In *Barbadoes*
per Mitchell

[2] Accounts of the result of this sale were sent to Messrs. Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd Sept. 7, to Messrs. Robert and John Thompson Sept. 10, and to Gedney Clarke Sept. 13. In a later letter Laurens wrote that the sale averaged £25 stg.

[222] [1] On Sept. 11 Laurens wrote to Richard Nicholas and to Messrs. Foster Cunliffe and Sons, both of Liverpool. Nicholas had consigned to Laurens his snow *Nicholas,* Captain Jennings, from the Gold Coast, and Cunliffe had directed Capt. Henry Hayston to this merchant.

[2] Cargoes of the *Success* and of the *Cavendish,* in the hands of Middleton and Brailsford, and of the *Molly,* sold by John Guerard, were offered for sale on Sept. 14. *S. C. Gazette,* Sept. 2, 1756.

[3] Laurens's final statement concerning this cargo was sent on Dec. 16: "Net proceeds thereof to your Credit in Acco't Currt. £11,977.13.1 Currency, there was not men enough in this parcell in proportion to the Women or the sales would have averaged considerable more."

Sir, We have a letter before us of the 2d Septr. from Mr. Henry Bright informing us of your being on a Voyage in the Snow *Molly* for Angola and this place but to touch at Barbadoes to receive advice from us how far we can encourage or discourage your coming down here. this is a point of great uncertainty to be determined upon just now and puzzells us not a little what advice to give. the declaration of War gave a great damp to the Purchasers of Slaves but towards the latter end of Summer they began to recover from their first panick and gave better prices than they would at first do. now their Spirits seem again depressd from the bad aspect of publick Affairs, the loss of Mahone and the Fort of Oswego [1] seem to affect them sensibly and we really fear in the Spring the Sale of Slaves will be dull unless publick Affairs should take a favourable turn before that time. our last Sales have averagd, We mean since the Accot. of War, 25. to £29. Stlg. per head but it must be observed that these were all Gambia and Windward Coast Cargoes which are better esteemed by our People than Angolas. We shall if opportunity present hold you advisd of our sentiments on this matter until we expect you have reachd the West Indias that is shall inform you if the present prospect shall take any turn either for or against you but thus far may now say, that if you should have the Small Pox or any other disorder that shall much reduce your Slaves we must be of opinion they will do much better in the West Indias than here and we must further observe to you, that our Market requires two thirds as many Males as Females at least to enable us to render a speedy and agreeable Account. We wish you may hit on the most advantageous Market for our good Friends your Owners.[2]

224. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company, 1756.

22d Novem. 1756.

per Walker
Richard Oswald and Co., *London*

. . . we shall labour to get her [*St. Andrew*] away as early as possible that she may be in time for Gambia if you should intend her that way in the Spring. The last Vessell that reachd us from Africa was the *Sylvia* whose Cargo went off something brisker than those that preceeded, our Planters began to recover their Spirits and in all probabillity would have bought briskly this next Spring had it not been for the late very disagreeable news that has reachd us, the Loss of Fort St. Philip and Oswego which again has a good deal depressd them. if any lucky turn should happen in publick Af-

[223] [1] On Aug. 15, 1756.
[2] On Nov. 20 Laurens wrote to Captain Powell that the prices of Carolina products were encouraging and that if two-thirds of his cargo were males he had better come to Charleston rather than sell for less than £21 or £22 stg. in the West Indies.

fairs soon we expect they will get the better of this last Alarm as their Indigo sells much better than they could reasonably hope for 25/ per pds. and they have a prospect of a much better price for their Rice than has been usual in time of War. these are the Funds on which they depend and by which their purchases are entirely influenced. We have received this day Letters from the Leeward Island, which inform us Slaves are very low in that Quarter and have been so for some time owing to a stop being put to the Trade from St. Eustatia and that it must continue untill The Trade shall be again opend which does not seem probable soon as some Dutch Vessells have been condemnd in our Islands. should you send any Slaves to the West Indias this next Summer it might be of service to inform us of their destination and that we should have power to send for them to come down here if our Market should prove good and those in the West Indias very dull. be assurd if you vest us with such authority we shall act entirely with a view to your Interest without the least deviation from it on Account of our Commission.[1]

225. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1756.[1]

31st Decr. 1756.

per Capt. Hood
John Knight, *Liverpoole*

. . . We are much pleasd to find that Mr. Blundells Ship [2] from Bonny stopd in the West Indias, as they are in extream bad sort of Slaves to come here on a falling Market, will only do when the Commodity, if we may so call them, is much wanted and if the *Nicholas* [3] Snow found a good Sale at Jamaica we shall be pleased she went there as the best of our Sales last Year could be calld but middling. we cant pretend to say with any certainty how it may be with us this ensuing Year but one good omen of a tolerable Sale for the first Cargoes that may arrive is that many of our customers have lately askd us if we expect any Slaves and entreated us to send for some. however we cant prevail on them to make an offer of any certain price, the plain English is they would be glad to have it in

[224] [1] On Dec. 13 Laurens wrote to Clarke: "Several of our Customers have lately been asking us if we expect any Negroes in the spring which inclines us to believe the sales may prove tollerable especially if any vigorous measures shall be taken on our side to give a Check to the French armes in No. America, really the state of affairs are so fluctuating that we dont know what to say on this head with any certainty but as we hear from the Leeward Islands Slaves are become very low with them upon a stopage of the Trade to St Eustatia and which may possibly have the same effect at your market we have been induced to say as much as we can with safety on this head."

[225] [1] On Nov. 22 Laurens reported to Knight the improved price of Carolina products and the effect of this on the planters, and asked that he be notified of all African ventures due in America in the early spring.

[2] Probably the *Hopewell*, Captain Linnecar.

[3] Richard Nicholas and Co., Liverpool, owners.

their power to buy or let it alone just as the prospect of Affairs shall give them encouragement, We are glad the *Willy* and *Thomas* reachd the West Indias in safety. they must have done better than we think, all things considerd, than we could have done for you here nor do we believe we could have done better for our Friend Bennet upon the same consideration. it affords us great pleasure these several Vessells met with so much success in their Voyages, which we shall be glad to contribute to as often as our Market will permit, when we Slack in the encouragement we give you believe us it proceeds from pure Zeal for your Interest and that we dont dislike business when we can do it without prejudice to our Friend, what shall we say in regard to your Gambia concerns this next Year. We believe nothing more can be said than this that if you foresee that the West India Marketts must be dull order them down here, it will hardly do for them to call in the West Indias and from thence proceed in consequence of Letters from us because we judge the risque will be more than doubled by their taking that course and a Cargo is often injured by turning their back on the Islands, the Slaves grow dispirited and pine away for want of knowing the reason why they dont stop there. If you should incline to send one only pray let Capt Bennet be the Man, we should much rather choose to see our old Friend than any new face whatsoever. . . .

226. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1757.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Feb. 24	Mar. 3	*Katherine*	James Hayes	Barbados (Gambia)		Wm. Banbury
" "	" 8	*Hannah*	A. Cornish	Barbados	200	Benj. Smith and Co.
June 9	June 14	*Thomas and Sarah*	St. Judkins	" (Windward and Gold Coast)		Middleton and Brailsford
Aug. 25	Sept. 1	*Black Prince*	Peter Bostock	Gambia		Smith and Brewton

227. Henry Laurens to Henry Bright, 1757.

3 January 1757.

per Wallace
Henry Bright Esqr., *Bristol*

Sir, The preceeding we confirm as a third recital of our last since which are without any of your favours, by the enquiry our cus-

[226] [1] Governor Lyttleton in a report to the Board of Trade Aug. 7, 1758, gave the importation from June 1, 1756, to June 1, 1757, as 1661; and that for June 1, 1757, to June 1, 1758, as 1910, making for the two years a total of 3571 (Br. Trans., XXVIII. 67). The *Gazette*, Dec. 8, 1759, gave 1207 as the number of the arriving negroes for 1757, and 2477 for 1758. As has been stated before, the figures in the *Gazette* of Dec. 8, 1759, are not for the exact calendar year.

tomers have lately made whether we expect any slaves in the spring and their pressing of us to send for some makes us hope that if Capt. Powell should come down here we shall be able to render you a pretty good Accot. of them, we shall encourage Capt. Powell to try the event if we can find an Opportunity of writing to Barbados in time proviso his Cargo is healthy and in Flesh and pretty well assorted for this Market we have not in those letters that are gone altogether discouraged him but shall give him now a little more encouragement than in those.[1] . . .

228. Henry Laurens to Gedney Clarke, 1757.[1]

15th Jany 1757.

per Mr. Perdrian
Gidney Clark Esqr., *Barbadoes*

Sir, Our last trouble was under the 13th ulto per Catling for your Island, a Copy of it went by Joseph Dickinson for St Kitts, since wch from the enquiry that has been made of us whether we expect any slaves in the spring we have great reason to believe we shall then have a brisk and good sale, we could [wish] that you may have it in your power to lay in a good Cargo to be with us early on moderate terms. we should not be at all afraid without some great alteration in affairs of rendering you an agreeable acct. of them, and suffer us to observe that Bills of exchange from our Indigo and Rice, being in great demand are become plenty at seven for one. Rice sells current at 35/ per 100 and we believe there has been 400,000 of Indigo sold by this day at 25/ to 30/ per c[w]t. and which has put our planters in high spirits, those who shall have early Cargoes of slaves must feel the good effect of it for our parts we dont expect any very early unless the *Molly*, Val'n Powell should proceed here from your Island which we can scarcely expect as our Letters hitherto to meet her have not been very encouraging. Please to observe that we have had the good fortune thus far, not to have one of the Enemies Privateers come near our Coast so that our trade is all safely arrived and our harbour so full of ships they may be had for any part of England at £4 per Ton. . . .

[227] [1] Laurens sent two letters to Captain Powell of the snow *Molly*, one "per Tucker of Antigua", one "per Mr. Perdrian", both in care of Messrs. Shepherd and Cooper, merchants of Barbados. On Jan. 7 he wrote: "many of our Chaps have lately desired us to Import some Slaves in the Spring. We must now recommend to you to come down here if you have a healthy and good Cargo and have not a satisfactory offer in the Islands. We have not had one Cruiser on this Coast as yet so that our Ships come in and go out in great safety. We should be glad to see you here in March or April." In the second letter, written Jan. 15, he added to his good opinion of the market, "we must note that many of our Planters are flush of Cash and that Bills of Exchange are very plenty".

[228] [1] On Jan. 12 Laurens wrote a similar letter to Richard Oswald.

229. HENRY LAURENS TO SAMUEL AND WILLIAM VERNON, 1757.

22 Jany 1757.

per Capt. Davis
Saml. and Willm. Vernon, *Rhode Island*

Gentn. Your kind favour of the 8th ulto.[1] reachd us the 28th Ditto. We wish the sale of Capt. Godfreys slaves had been more agreeable, tho really had you seen the condition they were in you must have thought them very well sold, our People latterly make as great a difference between prime slaves and such as are ordinary as in any place whatever and will continue to do so as long as our market shall be as well supplyed as it was last year. we could very heartily reccomend to you to order a Cargo here this Spring if they were young healthy People and could be here early, our planters have obtaind such prices for there Indigo 25/ to 30/ per ct. and this Rice finding a Current sale at 35/ per Cent, we shall be greatly mistaken if we find not a brisk sale for slaves, in the months of March, April, and May, perhaps later but tis highly probable we shall have a number of Gambia Vessels reach us at the proper Season as the markets in the West Indias are very low, and these slaves our People esteem equal to the gold Coast.

We remitted our own Bills to Messrs. Tomlinson, Trecothick and Co. on the 12th Currt for £568.7.5 Sterlg, the 5th of which Bills we now Inclose you and the 6th shall come per next, for the said Bills and our Commission we debit your Acct. Currt with £4177. 10 C. currency and this we judge will bring that Acct. nearly to a Close, which hitherto lies open with us on Account of that slave sold Benja Yarnold, who lingerd under the Docters hands for two or three months and then dyed, the poor man who could but illy afford such a loss thinks it very hard he should pay for her as she had the disorder unknown to him when he bought her, and the very day afterwards fell sick upon his hands, we think it the fairest way to have it adjusted by an arbitration which he has with much difficulty agreed to so that we shall now very soon have an end to it when we will close that Account.[2] . . .

[229] [1] See this work, III. 173. William Vernon had been trading with Charleston as early as 1746 (N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box. VI). On Jan. 11 Laurens wrote concerning Godfrey's cargo to Thomlinson, Threcothick, and Co., who were the London agents of the Vernons. See this work, III. 147, 168, 170.

[2] Laurens had wished to refund to Yarnold a portion of the price of this negro, to which action the Vernons had objected (this work, III. 171). In 1807 a suit was brought to recover $200 paid for an African girl who died six weeks after her purchase. The judge charged the jury for the plaintiff and refused a request for a new trial. The argument for the defendant was that "the quality of the slave or his soundness of body or mind" was not warranted at the time of sale but that the purchaser chose among many, using his own judgment. Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, II. 288.

230. Henry Laurens to Thomas Mears, 1757.

24th Janry. 1757.

per Wallace
Thomas Mears, *Liverpool*

. . . We observe you have an inclination that your Snow the *Mears* now on a voyage to Gambia shall come down here if we can meet her in the West Indias with Letters to encourage it. as far as we can at present judge our Spring Sale will be brisk and good and therefore we have wrote Letters this day to meet Capt. Berryl at St. Kitts and others to be forwarded from thence to Barbadoes in which we encourage him by all means to come down if he can arrive here between this and the month of July and has got a healthy good Cargo but really we have very little hopes of seeing him the French Privateers are so numerous in the West Indias.[1] . . .

231. Henry Laurens to John and William Halliday, 1757.

14th Feby. 1757.

per Vance
John and Willm. Halliday, *St. Kitts*

. . . We continue to abound with Shipping and Freights very dull; as it may possibly be of some service to you to be informed that through the great prices our Planters have obtaind for their Rice and Indigo this Year they seem in great want of Slaves and from thence we believe will give great prices in the Spring. We take leave to mention it to you, upon which we must observe that our People dont like the Slaves of Callabar that are above 16 or 17 Years of Age, those of any other Country sell pretty much alike with them, proviso they are young robust People, the Males sell to much more advantage than the Females, the difference in price generally 5 or £6 Stlg. per head. please to observe that such as are old or ordinary wont bring more here than in the West Indias. If these hints shall prove serviceable to you it will afford us great pleasure.[1]

232. Henry Laurens to Captain Thomas Hinde, 1757.

21st March 1757.[1]

per Linthom
Thomas Hinde, *Lancaster*

. . . Our Planters dreading the Effects of War upon the price of their produce became very cool and indifferent last summer

[230] [1] On the same day Laurens wrote to Capt. Christopher Berryl of the *Mears*, in care of Messrs. Carter and Hunter of Barbados, repeating the advice here given.

[231] [1] Similar letters had been sent to Meyler and Hall of Jamaica, James Smith of Barbados, and Francis Guichard and Thomas Duberry of St. Kitts and Montserrat.

[232] [1] The next day a similar letter was written to Messrs. Devonshire, Reeve, and Lloyd. On Mar. 14 and 21 statements of the conditions in Carolina were sent to John Boyd and Gedney Clarke. To the former Laurens predicted that Gambia slaves would bring £300.

in the purchase of slaves, whereby the price of the prime men was reduced to £230 and 40 but in having had a glorious Sale for their Indigo and Rice this year their drooping spirits are revivd as appeared by a sale last week of about 200 slaves that were purchased at Barbados, most of them Calabars for the Prime of whom they gave £280 Currency equal to £40 Sterg. and most of them sold for very short pay, a fine Gambia Cargo would just now furnish a very agreeble Accot. and in appearance will so continue this summer if the numbers Imported are moderate. . . .

233. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald, 1757.

26th March 1757.

per Rothmahler
Richard Oswald, *London*

Sir, Permit us to trouble you with this per the Snow *Planter* Erasmus Rothmahler master, a Vessel in which we are two Ninths concernd and which may possibly suit you to make a trip to the Coast of Africa, as she was Originally built in France for that purpose, to us appears well calculated for it and that she will sail well to which we may add that the master is a sober active young fellow, has made two or three Voyages to the Coast, and as that is the business of all others he seems to prefer there is reason to believe that if he was employd he would assidiously endeavour to give satisfaction in hopes of being continued on the same Voyage. what induces us to mention this to you is that we imagine she may discharge at a proper Port for your purpose, that is in Holland or Hamburgh as she is ordered to stop at portsmouth and from thence proceed as shall be directed by Mr. John Nutt, who will be impowerd if such a Vessel should be usefull to you to execute a Charter. We have had only about 220 slaves reachd us as yet this year that were purchased at Barbadoes the major part of them Calabars, which sold as high as £40 Sterg, we mean the prime men, those of the other stamp in Proportion, we are of opinion slaves will continue to sell well with us this summer, if our Province shall remain in the present state of Tranquility and the Importation is not excessive, but we are told the Enemy [threatens] us a visit from the Missassippy, if it proves so our People will have a different employment to that of Planting and of course wont have Occasion to enlarge their number of slaves.[1]

[233] [1] Laurens also wrote to John Nutt: "We have recommended the Snow to our Worthy friend Mr. Richard Oswald in London who frequently hyres Vessels to go out to the River Gambia or Siralion River in Africa and 'tis probable you may make a freight for her in that way as she is extremely well calculated for the African business and Capt. Rothmahler much inclined and we believe well qualified of a young man for such a voyage, as she is fit for a Guiney man having a great height between decks and very airy."

234. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1757.[1]

Charles Town, April 21.

Tuesday last arrived Capt. Holden from Gambia. . . . we have Advice by the same Vessel that the Snow *Black Jake,* Capt. Stubbs, of London, from Africa bound hither, was lately taken to Windward of Barbados.

Charles-Town, May 19.

Capt. Dickinson . . . . informs us that a Brigg. was arrived at Barbados, from the Coast of Africa, which had narrowly escaped being taken by a French Squadron of 2 74 Gun Ships, 1 60 Gun Ship, and 2 Frigates, who had cut off most of our Traders upon the Coast of Guiney. And that the Brigt. had on board 4 of the English Captains that had been taken by them.

235. Case of the *Rainbow*, 1758.[1]

[*Captain Joseph Harrison to Thomas Rumbold and Company.*]

[Barbados, February 28, 1758.]

We arrived here on the 25th inst. in company with Capt. Perkins from Bonny, and Capt. Forde from Angola, whom we fell in with at St. Thomas's. The packet arrived here from England the day after us. I expect to sail from hence for South Carolina in five days, having on board 225 slaves, all in good health except eight. On the 23rd of June last, I had the misfortune to fall in with a French brig privateer, of fourteen 6-pounders, to leeward of Popo.[2] . . . We were three days in repairing our rigging, etc. and on the 28th got over the Bar of Benin and found only one vessel there, *viz.* a Portuguese sloop at Warree. I purchased eight slaves on the windward coast, and 261 at Benin, besides 5400 weight of ivory. Leaving the river, Nov. 9th, we arrived at St. Thomas's Dec. 17th, from whence our three vessels sailed, Jan. 4th. I have buried all my officers, except my first and third mates and gunner. Having lost since left Liverpool, 25 white people and 44 negroes. The negroes rose on us after we left St. Thomas's; they killed my linguister whom I got at Benin, and we then secured them without farther loss. We have an account of five privateers being to windward of Barbadoes, by a retaken vessel brought in here this day, so that we shall run a great risk when we leave Barbadoes.

[234] [1] *S. C. Gazette,* Apr. 28, May 19, 1757.

[235] [1] Gomer Williams, *Liverpool Privateers,* pp. 488-489. Harrison's vessel was the *Rainbow,* owned by Messrs. Rumbold.

[2] Popo was on the Slave Coast of Africa, not far from Whydah. There follows a description of the encounter between the *Rainbow* and the French brig.

The Deposition of John Dawson Mate of the Snow "Rainbow", born at Preston in Lancashire Aged Forty Years touching the Suppos'd Murder of George Crawford and Comer late Mariner, belonging to said Snow "Rainbow". [3]

That on the high Seas in a voyage from the Coast of Africa to America in and with the Said Snow, at the places Call'd Benein and the Island of St. Thomas, George Crawford One of the Mariners on board the said Vessell, being Ordered to assist in hauling up the Treysail (Then standing on the Hen Coop) he then pull'd the rope Call'd the Foot Brail which gave way by means whereof he fell in a Violent Manner with his head upon the Deck, where he remain'd Stun'd and Speechless. That Capt. Harrison at that time having a Catt of Ninetails in his Hands.

And driving the Negroes off the Deck, and apprehending that the said George Crawford was Shamming, gave him a gentle blow with the Catt, such as woud. not have hurt a Child. And this Deponent declares that the said Joseph Harrison did not kick or Otherwise abuse the said George Crawford, but that when the Doctor had in vain apply'd some Salvolatile to the Nostrils of the Said George Crawford, the Said Captn. Harrison blew some Tobacco Smoke to his nose, in Order to recover him to his Senses, but the said George Crawford remain'd Still Speechless till he died.

And this Deponent further declares upon Oath that John Alexander late Gunner of the Said Snow, was not upon the Deck of the Said Snow At the time of the Accidents happening nor was it possible for him to see what then happened upon Deck. And the Deponent verily believes that the said George Crawford's falling as aforesaid on Deck was the Occasion of his Death and not from any ill usage he mett with from Captn. Harrison. And the Deponent further declares that he knew of no ill will subsisting between Captn. Harrison and the said Geo. Crawford at the time of his falling. The Deponent also Saith that he hath frequently heard John Alexander abuse and threaten the said Captn. Harrison, saying he would be reveng'd.

The Deponent further Says That Captn. Harrison at Benein, hired one Dick, a free negro man, as a Linguist between him and the Slaves to proceed on the Said Voyage, that his being on board the Said Snow was of great Consequence to the Interest of the Voyage. That Richard Kirkby commonly called Comer, had reported that the said Dick was bought as a Slave by Captn. Harrison and woud. be sold at the West Indies. That one of the Mariners told Dick he was no better than a Slave, and woud. be sold as such when they arriv'd at the West Indies, that thereupon Dick grew sulky,

[3] MS. Records of the Court of Vice Admiralty, Charleston, S. C.

and that the Slaves on board refused their Victuals and woud. be under no Command as formerly, and in this humour they continued for two days; That Captn. Harrison having Observ'd an Alteration in Dick's behavior, ask'd him what was the matter, and with some reluctance Dick told him what he had heard, That Captn. Harrison thereupon enquir'd into the matter, and found that Comer was the Author of the said Reports. Whereupon the said Dick demanded Satisfaction of the Said Comer, but the Captain told him he coud. give him no Satisfaction having no power to beat any White Person on board, but Dick being Dissatisfied, and stormed and Raged upon Deck; and in the Deponents Opinion, the Captain apprehended danger from the Slaves, and therefore to prevent Insurrection Desir'd the said Dick to take Satisfaction of the said Comer,—which he did, by tying up the said Comer, and giving him at two different times, about three or four and twenty lashes in the whole. That the Deponent is of Opinion that the said Whipping was not the Occasion of his death but that he died of a Lethargick Disorder, with a flux and Dropsye. Now [nor] does he believe the whipping hastened his Death, because it was not severe or violent, and also declares that no blood issued from the Body of the said Comer, by the whipping given him as aforesaid. And the Deponent saith the said Comer had the Said disorder on him at the time of his being whip'd.

Sworn in Court before me [4] 22d June 1758.[5]

236. NEGROES IMPORTED INTO SOUTH CAROLINA, 1759.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
June 30	July 4	*Molly*	Watts	Gambia	200	John Guerard
" "	" 11	*Marlborough* (Snow)	Dodson	"	200	Austin and Appleby
" "	" "	*Betsey*	Robt. Deas	Sierra Leone [2]		Austin and Appleby
July 21	Aug. 1	*Marlborough*	Lace	Whydah [3]		Middleton and Brailsford
" 28		*John*	Pearce	Gambia [4]	40	Austin and Appleby
Sept. 1	Sept. 6	*Thetis*	John Preston	Windward and Grain Coast	212	Austin, Laurens, and Appleby
" 29	Oct. 9	*Rainbow*	Jos. Harrison	Gambia	100	Middleton and Brailsford
Oct. 13	" 23	*Africa*	Alex. Robe	Africa	250	Inglis, Lloyd and Hall
Nov. 10	Nov. 14	*Elizabeth*	Robt. Elliott	Windward Coast	50	Wm. Banbury
" 17	" 28	*Polly and Betsey*	Graham	Barbados	200	Middleton and Brailsford

[4] Peter Leigh, judge of the court of vice admiralty in 1758.

[5] The *Gazette*, Dec. 8, 1759, gives the importation of 1758 as 2477 but we have no Laurens letters and few details from other sources for this year.

[236] [1] For 1759 there are no Laurens letters available but some information as to the amount of importation can be gathered from the *Gazettes*: from Nov. 1, 1758, to Nov. 1,

237. NEWS ITEMS RELATING TO SLAVE TRADE, 1759.

CHARLES-TOWN, January 12, 1759.[1]

The *Lievsley,* Capt. Onslow, with 323 Slaves on board, and a Rhode-Island Sloop, one Johnson, Master, with 150 more, both from Africa, and designed for this Port, are taken by French Privateers to Windward of Antigua.[2]

[March, 1759.][3]

At the same sessions capt. Wm. Lugen was tried for the murder of a Black infant: He had sailed upon the slaving trade from Bristol, and had taken in about 200 Blacks upon the Coast of Africa, and was carrying them to Carolina, among whom was a woman with a young child. The woman, in the voyage, happened to die of a flux, and the child being very ill of that distemper, the crew belonging to the ship very naturally committed the care of the poor infant to the people of its own colour: but they, like true savages, handed it upon deck, and refused to admit it amongst them; their reason was, because they believed the distemper to be infectious, and dreaded it as we do a plague. The infant, then, in a very miserable condition lying exposed to the broiling heat of the sun, and in the agonies of death (for the surgeon declared it could not live the day out) the capt. ordered it to be thrown overboard. The capt. appeared to be a man of great humanity in other respects, tho', in this instance, he seems to have forgot the tenderness of his nature, and, as the court very justly observed, took upon himself to determine upon a case of life, which Providence alone could decide. He was however acquitted, as there could be no premeditated malice in the case.

CHARLES-TOWN, June 30.[4]

By one of the Vessels arrived from Africa this Week, which has been at Goree, we learn, that Every Thing was quiet there and

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1759, the importation was 1555; for the year 1759 (to Dec. 8) it was 1957. *S. C. Gazette,* Nov. 3, Dec. 8, 1759.

[2] "Chiefly of the same Country as those which are brought from the River Gambia; just arrived in the Snow *Betsey,* Robt. Deas, Master, from the Factory at Sierra-Leon on the Windward Coast of Guiney, where the said Cargo was picked out of a large Parcel."

[3] "Whidah, a Country greatly preferred to any other, thro'out the West Indies, and inferior to none on the Coast of Africa."

[4] "A little Cargo of Forty choice Gambia Negroes just arrived in the Sloop *John,* Capt. Pearce, from Gambia, *viz.* 15 young Men and young Women, 11 Boys, and 5 Girls. To be sold on reasonable Terms to any Person that will take them all or otherwise on Wednesday the 1st of August next, by GEORGE AUSTIN [and] GEO. APPLEBY."

[237] [1] *S. C. Gazette,* Jan. 12, 1759; *Boston News Letter,* Feb. 15, 1759.

[2] The *Gazette* (Jan. 19, 1759) also reported prizes captured by the English, "A French Dutch [*Sic*] Ship, with 320 Slaves on board, by H. M. S. *Hornet,* Chas. Napier."

[3] *London Magazine,* XXVIII. 162.

[4] *S. C. Gazette,* June 30, July 7, 21, 1759; *Boston News Letter,* Aug. 2, 1759.

at Senegal, our two new Conquests on that Coast,[5] and that no Enemy had offered to give the least Interruption to our Trade.

July 7.

On Wednesday last put in here for a Supply of Water, the Ship *Black-Prince,* of Bristol, Capt. William Miller Commander, from the Coast of Angola, with 500 Negroes, bound for Virginia. Capt. Miller says, his was the only English Vessel that had been upon that Coast this Year, but he left 6 large Ships there under Dutch colours supposed to be bound for the French West India Islands. . . .

The Ship *Polly,* Capt. Hamilton, and the Ship *Mercury,* Capt. Ingledieu both of Bristol, were lately lost on the Coast of Africa. Capt. Hamilton was destined for this Port with a Cargo of Slaves. A Sloop commanded by a Brother of the above Capt. Ingledieu, slaving up the River Gambia, was attacked by a Number of the Natives, about the 27th of February last, and made a good Defence; but the Captain finding himself desperately wounded, and likely to be overcome, rather than fall into the Hands of such merciless Wretches, when about 80 Negroes had boarded his Vessel, discharged a Pistol into his Magazine, and blew her up; himself and every Soul on Board perished.

The Snow *Perfect,* Capt. William Potter, of Liverpool, bound for this Port, is also cut off by the Negroes in the River Gambia and every Man on board murdered; and the Vessel lost.

July 21.

According to some Accounts that have been received, there is Reason to fear, that the Ship *Pearl,* of and from Bristol, Henry Todd Master, bound for Gambia and this Port, was lost in coming out.

[5] Senegal capitulated to the English in May, 1758; Goree in December.

238. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1760.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 5	Jan. 10	*Keppel*[2]	Walter Kerrat	Senegal	50	Thomas Shirley[3]
Apr. 7	Apr. 16	*John*	Geo. Cherry	Gambia		John Guerard
" 26	May 6	*Bance Island*	John Stevens	Windward and Rice Coast	250	Austin, Laurens, and Appleby
July 5[4]	July 10	*Pearl*	Pollard	Angola	360	Middleton and Brailsford
" 12	" 23	*Racehorse*	John Barker	Africa	160	Inglis, Lloyd, and Hall[5]
" "	" 21	*Anne*	Joseph Webb	Senegal	200	Thomas Shirley
" "	" 22	*Charming Esther*	John Hamilton	Windward and Gold Coast	200	Austin, Laurens, and Appleby
" 19	" 24	*Molly*	Joseph Miller	Gambia		John Guerard
Aug. 2		*Marquis of Rockingham*	Evans	Windward Coast	200	Middleton and Brailsford
" 13		*Nestor*	Maddock	Gold Coast	200	" " "
" 23	Sept. 3	*Marlborough*	Robert Dodson	Gambia	180	Austin, Laurens, and Appleby
Sept. 13	" 30	*Middleton*	John Walker	Gold Coast	170	Middleton and Brailsford
" 20	" 26	*Prince Tom*	John Chillcott[6]	Angola	430	Smith and Nutt
Oct. 11	Oct. 15	*Kingston*	Wm. Brown	Angola	350	Smith and Brewton
" "	" "	*Molly*	William Denison		200	Austin, Laurens, and Appleby
" 18	" 28	*Carolina*	John Kennedy	Sierra-Leone	200	Da Costa and Farr
" 20	" "	*Betty*	Kennedy	Windward and Grain Coast	180	Austin, Laurens, and Appleby
Nov. 22	Dec. 2	*Roebuck*	Thos. Gullan	Africa	420	Inglis, Lloyd, and Hall

[238] [1] On Nov. 1, 1760, the *Gazette* reported the number of importations since Nov. 1, 1759, as 3573. The total number of negroes sold this year by Austin, Laurens, and Appleby must have been at least 1000; that by their closest competitor, Middleton and Brailsford, 900. The largest cargoes of the year were those of the *Prince Tom* and the *Roebuck*. It is noticeable that the advertisements for this year are more frequently repeated than they have heretofore been. Shirley's notice of the sale of the *Anne* appears in seven issues. In its last appearance it is specified that the sale of "200 Guiney Negroes" is to take place at Beaufort Port Royal.

[2] "Monday arrived here the Ship *Keppel*, Walter Kerrat present Master, with 50 Slaves from Senegal (our new Acquisition on the Coast of Africa). The late Captain, with all his Crew except two Mates and two Seamen died at Senegal, and the Vessel has been navigated from thence to this Port by these four, with the Negroes, who never once made an Attempt on the Lives of the Whites. By this Ship, we have Advice of the Arrival of the Ships that sailed from England with our last London Fleet at Goree and Senegal" (*S. C. Gazette*, Jan. 5, 1760). For an account of the English capture of Goree and Senegal see E. C. Martin, *The British West African Settlements, 1750-1821*, pp. 57-58.

[*Notes to no. 238*—continued:]

[3] May 27, 1765, "Dined this day with Mr. Thomas Shirley, a very polite English Gent. residing here in very genteel fashion: is an ingenuous ready man: was bread a mercht., has travel'd much, understands several modern languages: pass'd the afternoon agreeably with him". Webster also dined with, and recommends in similar fashion, William Glen; Thomas, Thomas-Loughton, and Benjamin Smith; John Torrans; and John Head. "Journal of Pelatiah Webster's Voyage to Charleston, 1765" (ed. T. P. Harrison), Southern Hist. Assn., *Publications*, II. 137.

[4] One vessel intending to deliver a cargo in Charleston failed to do so: "The Snow *Hannah*, of Liverpool, Edward Prescott, Master, with 270 Slaves on board, from Serra-Leon for this Port, after beating four Weeks upon this Coast, has been obliged to put in to Okerecock, in North-Carolina, for a Supply of Provisions." *S. C. Gazette*, June 14, 1760.

[5] "The snow *Race-Horse*, of Bristol, John Barker master, from Africa, with slaves, bound for this port, after being three weeks in soundings, in constant thick foggy weather, on the 22d instant, about a quarter past eight at night, struck on the shoal called the Frying-Pan, off Cape-Fear; the next morning capt. Barker ordered his second mate ashore with six hands to get assistance, which having procured, he returned to where he left the snow, but could neither see nor hear anything of her, upon which the said mate is come hither by land. There were only six white hands besides the captain left on board the snow and the vessel lay in six feet of water" (*ibid.*, July 5, 1760). Two weeks later the following notice appeared in the *Gazette*: "To be Sold by the Subscribers, at their Store at Stono Landing, on tuesday the 23d Instant, A Cargo consisting of about One Hundred and Sixty Healthy Young Negroes. Just arrived in the Snow *Racehorse*, John Barker, Master, directly from the Coast of Africa. INGLIS, LLOYD, and HALL." *Ibid.*, July 19, 1760.

[6] Some notion of the competition in buying slaves may be gathered from a report made by Captain Wilkinson of the *Jenny*, with 370 slaves from Angola (*ibid.*, June 14, 1760). When he left the Angola coast he left behind him:

"At Cabenda.	The *Success*, Piggot, of London
	The *Kingston*, Brown, of Bristol
	The *Prince Tom*, Chilcott, of Liverpool
At Melimba.	The *Antelope*, Hamilton, of Bristol
	The *Eagle* (late Jones) of Ditto
	The *Nanny*, Bare, of Liverpool
	The *Vaba*, Smith, of Ditto
	And three Dutchmen
At Loango (St. Paul's).	The *Betty*, Bailey, of Liverpool
	The *Pearl*, Pollard, of Ditto."

239. Notices of Sales, 1760.[1]

April 26.

To be sold on board the Ship *Bance Island,* on tuesday the 6th of May next, at Ashley Ferry; a choice cargo of about 250 fine healthy Negroes, just arrived from the Windward and Rice Coast. The utmost care has already been taken, and shall be continued to keep them free from the least danger of being infected with the Small-Pox no boat having been on board, and all other communication with people from Charles-Town prevented.[2] Austin, Laurens, and Appleby.

July 19.

To be Sold very cheap. On Tuesday the 22d of this Instant July, At Strawberry-Ferry, A choice Cargo of about Two Hundred very Likely and Healthy Negroes, Of the same Country as are usually brought from the River Gambia: Just arrived in the snow *Charming Esther,* John Hamilton Commander, from the Windward and Grain Coast. Austin, Laurens, and Appleby.

Aug. 23.

To be Sold, On Wednesday the 3d of next month (September), at Jacksonburgh, Ponpon, A fine and healthy Cargo of about One Hundred and Eighty Gambia Negroes, just arrived in the Snow *Marlborough,* Capt. Robert Dod[s]on from Gambia. Austin, Laurens, and Appleby.

Oct. 11.

To be Sold, on wednesday the 15th of this instant October, at Jacksonburgh Ponpon, About Two Hundred very likely healthy Negroes, (of the same country as are usually brought from Gambia) Being the entire Cargo Just arrived in the snow *Molly,* William Denison commander, from the Windward and Rice coast of Guiney. Austin, Laurens, and Appleby.

Oct. 20.

To be Sold, on Tuesday the 28th inst. at Dorchester,[3] A Cargo of about One Hundred and Eighty fine Guiney Negroes, just imported in the snow *Betty,* Capt. Kennedy, from the Windward and Grain Coast. Austin, Laurens, and Appleby.

[239] [1] *S. C. Gazette,* Apr. 26, May 3, July 19, Aug. 23, Oct. 11, 20, 1760.
[2] Smallpox was raging about Charleston in 1760, and many of the notices emphasize the freedom of the cargo from that disease.
[3] Up the Ashley River.

240. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1761.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 31	Feb. 5	*Amherst*	Lorrain Lyell			Smith and Nutt
May 30	June 4	*Bance Island*	John Stephens	Sierra Leone	300	Austin, Laurens, and Appleby
July 18	July 29	*James*	—— Howell	Windward and Rice Coasts	150	" " " "
Aug. 1	Aug. 5	*Marquis of Granby*	Robt. Dodson	Gambia	200	Smith, Brewton, and Smith
Sept. 5	Sept. 9	*Hannah*	Rich. Dawill	"	200	" " " "
" 19	" 23	*Dispatch*	—— Duncan	Rice Coast		Austin, Laurens, and Appleby
" "	" "	*Fanny*[2]	—— Taylor	" "		" " " "
Oct. 3	Oct. 7	*Duke of York*	Peter Bostock	" "	250	Smith and Nutt
Nov. 28	Dec. 3	*Charming Sally*	Joseph Dwight	Angola		Inglis, Lloyd, and Hall

[240] [1] The general duty act of 1751, laying a duty on negroes, expired in 1761 and was not renewed during Governor Boone's term, though the subject was under discussion during the year. "The pernicious Consequences of too free an Importation of Negroes into this Province, having lately become the Subject of serious Consideration of some public-spirited Gentlemen, a Motion was lately made in the Honourable the Commons House of Assembly, for leave to bring in a Bill, 'laying an additional Duty on all Negroes and other Slaves thereafter imported,' and such a Bill has accordingly been brought in this Day. The Duty proposed to be laid, we hear, will amount nearly to a Prohibition, and it is thought the Bill will pass and take Place very soon" (*S. C. Gazette*, May 30, 1761). "The bills for laying an additional duty on negroes imported . . . rejected by his Majesty's honourable council last week . . . passed the honourable the commons house of assembly, who met last Monday." *Ibid.*, July 18, 1761.

[2] "To be Sold at Ashley-Ferry, on Wednesday the 23d September inst. Two Cargoes of fine healthy Guiney Negroes, picked out of a large number at the factory, and just arrived in the snow *Dispatch*, Capt. Duncan, and that [of] the Brigt. *Fanny*, Capt. Taylor, in short passages directly from the Rice Coast. Austin, Laurens, and Appleby. N. B. We have good reason to believe that Charles Town is not infected with the yellow fever, or any other epidemic disease; but in order to remove all cause of apprehension, we make this sale in the country." *S. C. Gazette*, Sept. 19, 1761.

241. News Item relating to Slave Trade, 1761.[1]

Charlestown, South Carolina, Sept. 12.

On thursday last arrived capt. Taylor and capt. Duncan, from Bance-Island on the Rice-Coast of Africa, by the former of whom we have the following information,[2] *viz.* That the *Amethiste,* the French frigate sometime since mentioned by capt. Dodson to have arrived on that coast, came out the 15th of June to the Banana's (some Islands to the southward of the river Sierra Leon) within which is a very good road, and where then lay the *Flora* of London, James Taylor master, with 200 slaves on board, and the *Hare* of Liverpool, capt. Colley with 500 more: but she arrived there too late to come within gun shot of the English Vessels: That capt. Taylor sent his boat to inquire who she was, when the commander of the frigate took two negroes out of her, and making sure of the ships, sent her back for the masters and their papers: That capt. Colley being on board the *Flora* when the boat returned, immediately went on board his own vessel, cut his cables in the night put to sea, and got safe off the Coast; but capt. Taylor finding it impossible to get away, put his slaves on shore, and set fire to his ship, so that Mons. was sadly disappointed in the morning of his booty: That about 40 leagues to the southward of Sierra Leon, the said frigate took a Brig belonging to Liverpool, Ray, master, with about 100 slaves on board, bound for Virginia: That she likewise took a sloop belonging to Rhode Island, as she was coming round the shoals of St. Anne's, one Ellick or Alleck master, with 50 more slaves, which she took out and burnt the vessel: And that she left the Banana's the 1st of July, proceeding further down the coast, where it is probable she has made a number of other captures.

[241] [1] *S. C. Gazette*, Sept. 12, 1761; see also *Boston News Letter*, Oct. 15, 1761.

[2] Earlier news of the depredations of the *Amethiste* was brought to Charleston by Robert Dodson of the *Marquis of Granby*, who arrived in Charleston about the first of August. Captain Dodson reported that in the beginning of May the *Amethiste*, commanded by M. Buxaulle, had captured the *Lady Augusta*, the *Trial* of London, the *Friendship*, and the *Nancy*, and had made an unsuccessful attempt to take James Fort. *Boston News Letter*, Sept. 17, 1761.

Various items in the *Gazette* indicate the interest of Charleston in the effect of the war on the African trade. In May the captures of the *Kingston*, William Brown, the *Molly*, William Denison, and the *Prince Tom*, Chilcott, were reported. In October, among the list of French captures appear two "Guiney-men bound for New York, one of them a brigt. with 80 slaves, John Nicoll master, the other a sloop with 128, called the *Sally*, commanded by Michael Molton; and a brigt. from Sierra-Leone to Charleston (no names mentioned) ransomed for 350 *l.* Sterling". *S. C. Gazette*, May 16, Oct. 24, 1761.

242. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1762.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Feb. 27	Mar. 4	*Neptune*	Barnabas Binney	Gold Coast	220	Torrans, Greg, and Poaug[2]
Aug. 21	Aug. 31	*Marlborough*	Wm. Benson[3]	Angola	270	Smith, Brewton and Smith
Nov. 6	Nov. 17	*Hope*	John Gilman	Rice Coast	150	Torrans, Greg and Poaug

243. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1762.

15th Sept. 1762.

per Vibart
John Knight, *Liverpoole*

Dear Sir, . . . The acquisition of Havanna[1] will give great spirits to the Planters in Georgia and this province to purchase Negroes, a Cargo from Angola lately sold at higher prices than ever we knew considering the quality.[2] . . .

[242] [1] The imports for the year were 640. The cargo of the *Neptune* was sold at "the House of Mr. Thos. Nightingale on Charles Town Neck"; that of the *Hope* at the "House of Mr. John Poaug, near the New-England meeting house in Old Church Street" (*S. C. Gazette*, Feb. 27, Nov. 6, 1762). On Dec. 16 Laurens wrote to Oswald: "only three Cargoes of Negroes have arriv'd here this Year the last a very ordinary one from about Sierraleon which nevertheless sold at great prices rather higher considering the Quality than ever I knew, but some difficulty will attend the Remittances and perhaps an advanc'd Exchange as Bills are very scarce."

[2] "Thursd. 30 [May]. Dined this day with Mr. John Poaug, a Scotch mercht. in this City, a very genteel polite man." Poaug had married a Miss Charlotte Wragg, the daughter of Joseph Wragg. "Jour. of Webster", Southern Hist. Assn., *Publications*, II. 138.

[3] "On Wednesday last died capt. William Benson, commander of the *Marlborough* of Liverpoole, lately arrived here from Africa." *S. C. Gazette*, Sept. 25, 1762.

[243] [1] August, 1762.

[2] "Negroes are very much asked for and would bring great prices but at present we have no Exchange for our Paper Currency." Nov. 6, 1762, Laurens to Gedney Clarke.

244. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1763.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 8	Jan. 25	*Greyhound*	Wm. Pinnegar	Gold Coast	160	Isaac Da Costa and Thos. Farr[1]
June 4[2]	June 10	*Charles*	John Davis	Windward Coast	200	Brailsford and Chapman
Aug. 15.	Aug. 11	*Upton*	Hugh Maxwell	Angola	370	" " "
" 13	" 18	*Seahorse*	Elias Glover	Cape Mount[3]	130	" " "
" "	" 23	*Juba*	Wm. Penhale	Africa		Inglis, Lloyd, and Hall
" "	" "	*Porgy*	Jeremiah Bassett	Antigua[4] (Gold Coast)	50	George Smith
Sept. 24	Sept. 27	*Marquis of Granby*[5]	John Kitching	Gambia	200	Middleton, Liston, and Hope[6]

[244] [1] Isaac Da Costa was one of the correspondents of Aaron Lopez of Newport, who probably owned the *Greyhound*. See this work III. 186.

[2] On May 21 Laurens wrote to Knight: "Not one Guinea Man yet appears and the enquiries for negroes are very frequent, from whence I imagine that good Sales may be expected for some of the first Cargoes."

[3] "From Cape-Mount on the Grain Coast, usually called Guiney Negroes, and esteemed equal to any from Gambia or the Gold Coast, Just imported in the Brigt. *Seahorse*, Capt. Elias Glover." *S. C. Gazette*, Aug. 13, 1763.

[4] "Gold Coast Slaves, Being the Choice of a large Cargo at Antigua just arrived from thence (after a passage of only 13 days)." *Ibid.*

[5] "The *Marquis of Granby*, Capt. Kitchen, from Gambia, for this port, with 200 fine slaves, is put into Georgia, and expected here about tuesday next, a pilot being sent round for her." *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1763.

[6] June 3, 1765, "Dined this day with Mr. Thomas Liston, a reputable merch't born here: is a man of great openess and politeness, of generous sentiments and very genteel behaviour"; "Sat June 15. Dined with Mr. Liston. . . . Passed some hours this afternoon with some Guinea captains, who are a rough set of people, but somewhat carress'd by the merch'ts on acco. of the g't profits of their commissions." "Jour. of Webster", Southern Hist. Assn., *Publications*, II. 140, 144.

245. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company, 1763.

15 Feby. 1763.

Per Higgins
Richard Oswald and Compa. *London*

Gent. . . . as I formerly wrote you I would rather not pursue the African Trade yet if you should think proper to direct any of your Ships to my care I will either dispose of the Cargo or Cargoes myself or make a pains of puting them into such hands as will give you as much satisfaction as the times shall admit and give equal assistance in the Sale as if I was to be sole gainer by the Commission . . . less Capital than I have in possession have often been employ'd to wield more business than three or four Cargoes of Negroes per annum can create but I would in this uncertain Climate and for other considerations endeavour to avoid embarassment and I shall keep my affairs with in such a Compass as not to expose any of my friends to disappointment.

I do believe that the demand for Negroes all the ensuing Year will be very great in this Country and Georgia and that high prices will be obtain'd provided that not more than one or two Cargoes arrive at the same time.

I have observ'd that 1500 Negroes droping in by 4 or 5 Importations at a little distance of time from each other have always yielded a greater avarage than half the number arriv'd at the same juncture. We have now a large field for Trade opening in these Colonies and a vast number of people seting down upon our [*blank*] Lands and that with a little management will take off almost insensibly a Cargo by one or two in a Lot, and it has been from such folks that we have always obtain'd the highest prices and hitherto we have had no reason to be discouraged from dealing with them on account of bad debts, if I were to tell you the total loss that we have sustained in that way you would be pleas'd on our Acct. to find it so small.

. . .

246. Henry Laurens to John Rutherford, 1763.

23d June 1763.

per Waldron
John Rutherford, *Wilmington*

. . . One Cargo of negroes only sold this Season;[1] the best men yielded £320 per head which is more than ever was given and

[246] [1] The same information was communicated to Oswald on this date. Laurens had either forgotten the cargo of the *Greyhound* (*ante*, no. 244) or else he regarded that

small Boys £260 to £280. there will be some abatement in the remittances as our exchange is nominally 721 pr. Ct. and the few Bills in motion sell at that rate.

247. HENRY LAURENS TO HENRY BRIGHT, 1763.

12th Novemr. 1763.

Per Capt. Seagers
Henry Bright, Esq. *Bristol*

. . . The Season for Negro Sales is over in the present Year the last Sales were beyond any former *Vizt.* Angola and Windward Coasts averaged from £32. 10/ to £34 and one Cargo of Gambia did really sell so high as £36.9/ round, but they were chiefly grown and the prosperity of our planters will in all probability open the next season as well as the late one has been concluded.[1] . . .

248. HENRY LAURENS TO JOHN KNIGHT, 1763.

22nd December 1763.

Per Capt. Brownett
John Knight, *Liverpool*

. . . The last subject I have to trouble you upon at present is your very affectionate manner of throwing further gain into my Lap in that advantagious branch the Guinea trade. I had well considerd what you said under the 25 Septembr. about the *Pocock,* which I know woud. be only a Leading String to other Vessels and after observing to a friend that you were resolved to make a Negro Merchant of me again I had come to this resolution to accept your kind offer provided you woud. gratify me so far as to be my Partner which of all right I thought you ought to be so far as concern'd the Commissions arriving from my Sales and agreeable hereto had notified to some of my old a[c]quaintances in the Country (who have

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as belonging to the preceding season. On July 15 he wrote to John Knight that the cargo brought by Captain Davis had averaged between £33 and £34, but that many remained unsold after the second day. On Aug. 25 he wrote to Smith and Baillies of St. Christopher: "Negroes have yielded great prices hitherto and will continue to do so thro the Year unless the Importations should be excessive, a Cargo of Angola's lately averaged £32 Sterlg. round and 50 prime Gold Coast Negroes bo't in Antigua at £34 per head sold in One Lot at £300, round."

[247] [1] On Oct. 19 Laurens wrote to Smith and Baillies that the remittances for the Gambia cargo were at "3, 6 and 9 months all in the Bottom", and added, "this cannot be expected every day but I do believe that great prices will continue to be given even all the ensuing Winter and until the importation shall become excessive, which may probably be the case early in next Summer from this great encouragement".

been often teasing me to import more Negroes) that I should have a Cargo of Slaves ready for them early in the Spring and perhaps a Second which I did purpose to ask you for, when just at the time your next favour of the 4 Novr. reach'd me and directed me in case of adhering to my former plan of Shunning the African Trade to signify the same [to] Messrs. Shirley and Martin to whom in such case you had order'd Captain Miller to deliver his Cargo upon my own Account. I most chearfully Aquiese in this alteration and have declared myself to that House accordingly and this you may depend upon Sir that whenever your Interest is concerned my good wishes will be there and my attention and assistance too as far as I dare with decency and good Manners extend them. Your remark upon Mr. Shirley's praises of me (which indeed he had better spared) do quite overwhelm me. I can only say again what I have wrote and said a thousand times that I shall as long as I live bear the most grateful remembrance of you . . .

P. S. In my declaration to Messrs. Shirley and Martin I did on your Account take the Liberty to reserve to myself the right to interfere in the *Pocock's* Cargo in case that by death or other accident in their House it should become necessary.

249. Henry Laurens to Joseph Brown, 1763.[1]

24th Decemr. 1763.

Joseph Brown, *Geo. Town*

Dear Sir, . . . The Request that you make for my assistance to procure you a Small Cargo of Negroes I shall most readily comply with as far as 'tis in my power if you yourself will lay down a plan to proceed upon which I am affraid you will find attended with some difficulty and not a little risque and danger to your own Interest; for the very reasons you assign will operate powerfully with the owners of Guinea Men against sending a Vessell to your Port without a warrantee both as to the price and remittances; as there never have been an attempt of that Kind made the first adventure must be tempted by some sure promises especially while there is so fine a Markett for slaves in the Center of the province and in the old beaten Track then the people that you quote being as you say in General poor their honesty allowing to be greater than other folks will be no inducement to the affrican Traders who love to go and allways seek for that Market where there is most money, stirring and where there are Men of Fortune who in Case of a Glutt will

[249] [1] Hist. Soc. of Pa., Laurens Letter-Book, Oct. 30, 1762-Sept. 10, 1766, Georgetown.

take of[f] a Cargo at some rate or other and pay for them. Now Sir the two points that you have to establish are assurance that in your new trade better prices than at Charles Town will be obtained and also better remittances and to give security for the performance of both for without something better offers you know that no Trade can be diverted from its' old Channel but wou'd you make such offers? I think not, I wou'd advise you as a friend not to do it; at least before you have well considered the nature of such an engagement, suppose you had a Cargo of Negroes arrived to you on one wing of the Province while there was another upon the right and two or three in the Center which in all probability will be the Case this year how would you be perplexd how embarrs'd? forced to sell for long Credit in order to m[a]intain the prices or to run off the Slaves very low for Money in order to comply with the terms of remittances; perhaps about the same juncture you may fall Sick and perhaps die —what a Situation would your widow and Children be in, more I cou'd say but may be I have said too much until I hear of or see your proposals which are always to be laid down as the first step and therefore I suspend the Subject untill I hear from you again. . . .

[*Notes to no. 250* (p. 386)—continued:]

[5] "To be sold in Charles Town on Thursday the 30th Instant very healthy young Female Negroes, being the choice of a large number (at the factory of Annamaboe on the Goald Coast of Africa) Just arrived, after a short passage in the ship *Lion*, capt. Barnabas Binney, by TORRANS, GREG, and POAUG." *S. C. Gazette*, Aug. 25, 1764.

[6] The advertisement of a cargo from Havana is unusual: *King George*, Thomas Erskine, 70, "picked out of sundry cargoes at the Havana and just arrived there". The Spanish appetite for slaves rarely left any for shipment to the northern colonies.

[7] On Nov. 19 the cargo of the *Charming Sally*, Captain Evanson, was again advertised, this time by Smyth and Farr.

250. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1764.[1]

Gazette[3]	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
	Feb. 9	*Sally*	Floyd	St. Kitts	5	Henry Laurens
Feb. 18	" 21	*Hope*[2]	Wm. Royall	Antigua (Angola)	170	George Smith
	Apr. 14			Calabar	50	Henry Laurens
	May 7		Bostock	Windward	410	Brewton and Smith[4]
	June 10	*Jenny*	McKie	Whydah	292	" " "
	" 27	*Pocock*				
	Aug. 10	*Queen Barra*	Taylor	Sierra Leone	300	Brewton and Smith
Aug. 25	" 30	*Lion*	B. Binney	"	150	Torrans, Greg, and Poaug
	Sept. 10	*Manchester*	Livingston	St. Kitts	15	
Oct. 8	Oct. 18	*Africa*	Hugh Moth	Gambia	180	Smyth and Farr
" 22	" 25	*Marquis of Granby*	John Kitchin	Gambia	200	Middleton, Liston, and Hope
" "	Nov. 1	*Phillis*	Peter Gwinn	Sierra Leone	70	David Stoddard
	" "	*Molly*	John Wooster	Barbados	20	
" 29	" 2	*King George*	Thos. Erskine	Havana[6]	70	Torrans, Poaug, and Company
	" 9	*Prince of Wales*				
Nov. 12S.	" 13	*Charming Sally*	Evans Evanson	Havana (Gold Coast)		Corrie, Scott, and Carsan[7]
" 19		*Success*	Cookson	Barbados		Brailsford and Chapman
Dec. 3	Dec. 6	*Friendship*	John Amory	St. Kitts	60	Geo. Smith and Josiah Smith, jr.

[250] [1]To this list many small cargoes from the West Indies should be added. The reiterated advice of the preceding year had taken effect and English merchants, not yet acquainted with the revival of the Charleston market, were not ordering cargoes to that port. Charleston prices were however known in the West Indies and many West India houses were sending small lots north, hoping to profit by the restored prices before the market was again glutted with African cargoes.

[2]Where no date appears under "Gazette", the date of "Sale" is that of the letter of Laurens in which occurs the first mention of the arrival of the vessel.

[3]On Dec. 15 Laurens wrote to John and Thomas Tipping of Barbados: "if Mr. Knight's Ship *Hope* brings any prime Slaves in her I expect to make a very great Sale of them I do think that a fine Cargo to arrive early in Feby or March will average £36 Stg. but the Coast is dangerous to encounter at that Season with a Live Cargo and I speak only of what may be done if every [thing] conspir'd in ones favour at the same time it is my opinion that Negroes will sell very well here all the Next Summer." If this is Knight's *Hope*, Laurens had apparently resigned the consignment.

[4]May 7, 1764, Laurens to John Knight: "Brewton and Smith averaged Capt. Bostock's Cargo of 410 Windward Slaves last week at £36. I never saw them But am told they were not a fine Cargo and many little ones—the average is just now sent to me by themselves. this is probably the flower of the Market and I wish your Factors had gathered it."

[Notes continued on p. 385:]

251. Henry Laurens to Smith and Baillies, 1764.

9th Feby. 1764.

Per Capt. Nelme
Smith and Baillies, *St. Christophers*

. . . Of your five Negroes per the *Sally*, Capt. Floyd,[1] I have sold four and hope to sell the other tomorrow so as to average upwards of £41 Sterling which you will say is very great considering their Country and that two of them were little Boys, but let me beg of you not to be encouraged from this as to dabble to[o] freely for our high prices will probably occasion vast Importations and soon knock down the Market but If you do send any more let them be young Men, likely and healthy and none others, and to come early in the Year and to have some Clothing and great care taken of them in the passage.

You must know Gentlemen that I have in general declined the African business, altho I have had the most kind and friendly offers from my friends in London, Liverpool, and Bristol, and do believe that I might have sold 1000 or 1500 last Year and more the Year we are now in if I wou'd ask for them but having no Partner I do not chuse to embarrass and perhaps involve myself in concerns too unwieldly for a single Man both on his own and his friends Account, however a few more now and then of a good sort I can manage well enough for you while the prices keep up of which I shall keep you advised.[2]

252. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company, 1764.

3d March 1764.

per Floyd
Richd. Oswald and Co., *London*

. . . I have an Inclination to send a small Vessel to your Factory at Bance Island for Negros for my own use provided I coud Ship Some Articles from hence that woud assist in paying the pur-

[251] [1] This refers to an incalculable source of supply for Carolina: the cargoes of miscellaneous goods from the West Indies were often supplemented by half a dozen negroes. These would but rarely be advertised in the *Gazette*, nor would they be suggested by the custom-house returns there published and it is impossible to form any estimate of the number thus brought in during a year. These, it must be remembered, were new negroes, that is, negroes who had not been in the West Indies six months, otherwise the duty on them would have been prohibitive.

[2] On Mar. 1 Laurens reported the returns from these negroes as £1322, and the amount received for a single negro sold for James Smith, as £228.17.6. In the same letter he asked that whatever cash of his lay in the hands of this house be invested in new negroes, to be sent to him by a "carefull and humane" captain. On the same day he wrote to Martin and Stevens of Antigua: "I lately sold a few from the West Indies at an average of £37. 10 Sterg. Net Proceeds Duty and Freight etc. all paid but no doubt we shall be fully supply'd and great abatement of prices before the Summer is over."

chase and the remains in Bills of Exchange. I therefore beg the favour of your opinion of my scheme, and information of such Goods as will be acceptable at your Settlement and the Sterling price of prime Negroes delivered there, that if practicable I may provide in time for the next Season.

I shall have two Plantations to settle and think I may procure hands by this means on easier terms than purchasing here and this method of Selling Negroes if I remember right is most consistant with the plan laid down by yourselves. . . .

A Cargo of Negroes, about 120 Angolas from Antigua, sold a few days ago at an average of £43 Stg. but this cannot hold when the usual supplies arrive.[1]

253. Henry Laurens to Joseph Brown, 1764.[1]

15th March 1764.

Joseph Brown, *Georgetown*

. . . meantime I send you five fine Negroes for Sale each hath a Blanket and I hope will produce as much as the rest that I have sold here *viz* £330 to £320 payable in two Months and some for Cash and in my opinion these are equal to any of them save the difference that fancy may make. You will sell these and pass the proceeds after deducting your Commission to my Credit. . . .

254. Henry Laurens to John Knight and Company, 1764.[1]

14th April 1764.

per Capt. McGee

John Knight and Co., *Liverpool*

. . . I should be glad for your sake that some of your African[s] would drop in. I sold as wretched a fifty Ebo Slaves [2] this week as ever I saw at £34. 6/ Stg. round. They were sent to me by a friend in the West Indies contrary to my will as well as expectation. had they been tolerable they would have yielded £8 or £10 more but there was no less than 31 scrawney females amongst them and none except 4 Boys that Could be called passible. . . .

[252] [1] On Feb. 24 Laurens wrote to John Knight: "a little Cargo unexpectedly sent to me from the West Indies avergd. £43 Sterling. I call it a Cargo tho there were only 14 in the number but being too old, two Swelled and Sick, and two Boys under Size the colection makes no bad epitom of a Cargo."

[253] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

[254] [1] On Mar. 21 Laurens wrote to Capt. Henry Todd of the sloop *John*: "if you can purchase likely little Negro Boys either there or to Leeward not lower than 48 to 50 Inches high for about £16 to £20 Sterlg. per head you may lay out my Money in three or four such if it will extend so far."

[2] From Calabar. There is no record in the *Gazette* of this sale. In fact the *Gazette* announces no sales between Feb. 21 and Aug. 30, yet on July 6 Laurens wrote that about 2000 negroes had been received since February.

255. Henry Laurens to Smith and Baillies, 1764.

30th April 1764.

per Capt. Mitchell
Smith and Baillies, *St. Kitts*

Gentlemen, On the 6th Inst I recd. your favour of the 21st March per the *Mary Ann* Sloop with Bill of Loading for 50 New Negroes on Your Acct. which came in all alive but extreamly meagre and thin. I viewed them with great attention over and over again and likewise took the opinion of a Gentleman who had formerly lived with me and Assisted at the Sale of many Thousands, and upon the whole was convinced that the ordinary course of this Market would by no means turn them out to your advantage, and having that Solely in view I had project'd a voyage to George Town Winyaw in which I should have Subjected myself to no small risque, and had given Capt. Mitchel orders to deliver the Slaves on board a Schooner which I had engaged for that purpose but the Wind coming suddenly round to North and blew fresh and put an end to that Scheme. I then purposed to send them to Port Royal but could not agree upon terms to induce me as I do not so well like the payments in that quarter; and at length Mr. Francis Stuart of Beaufort made me an offer of £11,200 for the whole which I rejected, at the same time told him he might have them for £12,000, which after a day or two he agreed to give but then we parted on Acct. of the time of Payment which he would have to be 1st January next he went out of Charles Town and left directions with a House here to agree with me if I should come to his terms. And after placing your Negroes in the most advantageous light that I could

vizt. 5	Men not extraordinary at	£300—£1500
10	inferior 3 of them very ordinary	£280— 2800
15	Women cheifly small and very thin	245— 3675
16	Girls very thin and slender	£200— 3200
4	Boys small	£240— 960
		£12,135

and considering the very great probability of a large abatement from these prices by the arrival of African Ships I thought it most for your Interest to accept of Mr. Stuart's offer which with some difficulty I got the Gentlemen here who were grown very cool to confirm, and I think my self very Lucky in effecting the bargain, because I could not have sold upon so good terms above one half of them before the arrival of a Ship from the Windward Coast with 410 which would have knocked the Sale of the remainder on the head. upon the whole I have done the utmost in my power to

make a good Account of them and should have been very glad to have got any body else to have accepted the sale upon the same conditions. the Credit that I have been obliged to give may pro[b]ably be attended with some inconvenien[c]e to you. its evedently so to me by the advance that I am oblidged to make for the Sloops Cargo and for the Duty which you are heartily welcome to. please now to receive Accts. sale of said Negroes Nt. proceed to the Credit of your Acct. £10,905—which Acct. is also charged for Amot. of 244 Barrels and 62 half Barrels of Rice and 5 M Shingles Shipped on your own Account per the *Mary Ann* and her disbursements £3536.1.7 as per Invoice Bill of Loading and one of Capt. Mitchells Rects here inclosed. . . .

256. Henry Laurens to Edward Martin, 1764.[1]

10th June 1764.

Edward Martin, *Charles Town.*

A ship belonging to Mr. Knight in Liverpooll arrived yesterday with about 260 to 280 Slaves from Whyda [2] and orders to call on me and put the Cargo into my hands if I would undertake to dispose of it, this I am determined not to do unless I find it necessary for my friends Interest to interfere. I see the Captain has an alternative in case of my refusal; and the name of Your House Messrs. Shirley and Martin is Mentioned. he informs me that his orders are to have remittances for the whole Amount in the Bottom *Vizt.* a load of Rice and some Deer Skins and the remainder in Bills at 3 and 6 months. If you incline to take him up be pleased to inform me directly and take as soon as you can the necessary steps for making a good Sale. Let who will sell them, my regard to Mr. Knight will oblige me to offer my best services upon that occasion and the more as he seems to require it in very pressing terms.

257. Henry Laurens to Brewton and Smith, 1764.[1]

10th June 1764.

Brewton and Smith, *Chas. Town*

Gent'n, I believe you have not been explicit with Capt. McKee—offer him as good terms of remittances for his Cargo as any that have been made the present Year and you need not doubt of having the Sale of the Cargo of Negroes on board his Ship. Let who will sell it if they will accept of my best Services they may be assure[d] of having them.

Your Answer before 6 oClock is necessary.

[256] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.
[2] *Jenny,* Captain McKie.
[257] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

258. Henry Laurens to Captain William Frierson, 1764.[1]

11th June 1764.

Capt. William Frierson, *Williamsburgh*

Dear Sir, The Cargo of Negroes for Sale as per inclosed Advertisements to be sold by Messrs. Brewton and Smith belongs to a particular friend of mine in England.

The Negroes are from that part of Africa which people in the West Indies esteem most for producing the best Slaves.

Please to disperse the Advertisements as quick and as generally as you can and I wish it may suit you and many others of my old friends in your Quarters to attend the Sales. . . .

259. Henry Laurens to Colonel Daniel Heyward, 1764.[1]

11th June 1764.

Collo. Daniel Heyward, *Indian Land*

Dear Colonel, A Cargo of Negroes belonging to a very good friend of mine is offered to Sale by Messrs. Brewton and Smith as per inclosed Advertisement—which I take the Liberty to forward and recommend to your consideration. You have often complimented me with enquiries when I should have Negroes and promised of further favours which add to the obligations that I am under for all past ones. Now Sir your aid at this Sale of my friends will oblige me as much as if I made the Sale myself and if I can but win you to come and see them I am under no doubt that the Country will tempt you to make a small purchase.

260. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1764.

12th June 1764.

per Reeves

John Knight, *Leverpool*

. . . Last Saturday Morning the 19th [9th] Inst. your Ship *Jenny*, Capt. McKie, arrived here with 269 Slaves on the Ships Acct. and 23 upon Freight from Whydah, Capt. McKie wrote to me that he had orders to make an offer of his Cargo to me, for which Additional favour I beg leave to repeat my most grateful thanks; upon enquiry I found that you had given the Capt. an alternative in case of my refusal and named the Houses of Messrs. Shirley and Martin, Brewton and Smith or any other that I should recommend and that the terms in case I didnot take up the Ship were remittances for the whole per Bills in the bottom Payable at

[258] [1]Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.
[259] [1]Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

3 and 6 Months save the Amount of a Cargo of Rice and some Deer skins, this I say was the information he gave me. My reply was that nothing should tempt me to touch her but an absolute necessity to serve you and therefore I desired him to apply without delay to those other Houses, he asked me which? and I could not help on your account recommending him to the latter for many evident reasons which I assigned to him and shall here repeat some of them *vizt.* the same objections lay against the other house that I make to myself, Mr. Martin is at present alone and consequently not so capable of going thro business of this importance as those two partners with the assistance of the Elder Mr. Smith [1] whose extensive acquaintance and ability in dispatch of business as well as influence with the Planters are at least equal to those of any other Man in the Province; Sudden Death or even a Sharp disorder to a single person would greatly injure your Interest for I am sure by experience that it cannot be so well taken Care of by any Subs[t]itute—again Mr Martin's acquaintance is not very extensive yet and indeed his name scarcely known by a great many very good customers for Negroes who are very cautious of bonding themselves to strangers and therefore he must be under some disadvantages in case of one or more competitors altho he might if there were no other Cargoes at Market do very well and here lay the weight of my argument. We had upon your Ship's arrival the *Sally* of Bristol with [*blank*] Slaves to Smith and Brewton, a small Cargo of 90 to Middleton, Liston, and Hope, the Sales of both to come on within these eight days, besides several Little scattered parcels from West Indies and more daily expected, as well as a Cargo of 500 from Angola which B and S have late advice of and hourly expect its arrival. these are too powerful opponents for a new House and must distress one greatly, besides on the other hand since it falls out so and there is really a demand for the whole, confining them to one House or nearly so, does undoubtedly enable that House to maintain its prices and I am morally sure it will have that effect in the present case. Capt. McKie hereupon wrote to those Gentlemen whose reply was that they would comply with his terms except in point of remittances which they could not make better than 3-6 and 12 Months, being the stated periods for other Cargoes sold by them. then I wrote to Mr. Martin but found that all my reasonings with the Capt. were unnecessary because Mr. Martin was out of Town and not to return before tomorrow, a delay which I could by no means subject your business to. Next I offered the Cargo to Mr. Thos. Savage, a Young Gentleman of exceeding good connexions here and for his encouragement told him he might depend upon my ut-

[260] [1] Benjamin Smith.

most assistance to make a good Sale; that I would undertake to procure him all the Bills wanted and he should have the whole Commission but he had not resolution to encounter the terms—in the meantime McKie became anxious to fix with B and S and to avoid further loss of time—nevertheless I made one effort more and that was with Messrs. Brailsford and Chapman, making them an offer of the Cargo upon the terms prescribed or I believe more properly squeezed by your Captain assuring them that I would make no further attempts if they would comply, but those Gentlemen would come no nearer than 3-6 and 9 Months, which made me turn once more to the Other House who at length agreed to remit in 3-6-9 and 12 Months, the difference here lays wholly in the Interest of the last paid portion which in my opinion is greatly overweighed by some of the considerations above mentioned, therefore I closed with them and your Cargo is advertized for sale on the 19th Inst. the same day with the *Sally's*.

I have wrote Letters to some of my old Friends and if needful my utmost services shall be exerted on the day of sale but I am very sure those Gentlemen will do everything in their power to serve you and that they can do much more that [than] I a single Hand could do even barring the accidents of Sickness etc. which are no small considerations in this Climate where one Man is obliged to bustle thro a great deal of business. I know these things very well from some experience and observations and must confess that, I have not resolution and avarice enough to endanger either my good Friends who would intrust me, on one hand—or my Family on the other to great disappointments and losses, upon the precarious tenure of my Life. . . .

I took notice just now of the probability of your Captains having squeesed the terms of 3 and 6 Months for I cannot think that a man of Mr. Knight's judgement and generosity would lay such heavy and unprecedented Bonds upon honest Men, nor expose himself on the other side to the danger of being made a dupe of his own Policey by the rapaciousness of designing Men who will Lick themselves whole under any terms; but Dear Sir I now talk of this, did you ever find any inconvenience attending the mode of remittances made by the Houses of A and L and A L and A—*vizt.* according to the times of payment set forth in the Sales? surely you did not or, if ever you did they were small in comparison of the difference of prices obtained for a few months Credit, but I believe upon the whole you had your remittances made in a shorter time than those Gentlemen who had tied up their Factors to certain Rules for remitting the whole in the bottom, and I have known the time when some of our Neighbours under those Limitations have pocketed by gain of Interest a Com-

mision of 12 or 13 per Ct. when we have made barely 9 per Ct. averaged more Money upon the Cargo sold by us and remited the whole or within a trifle of the whole in the Course of 7 to 9 Months and the bulk of it in the bottom and in 3 to 6 Months of which I think I can produce more than two or three instances. now in the present case Your Negroes will all or almost all will be paid for in Cash or an Interest of 8 per Ct. running upon the deficiency within 4 or 5 Months of the Sale. this is a benefit which in my sense of things ought to be wholly yours but yet there is no prevailing upon Gentlemen tied down to remit in the bottom to give it, they argue and with great plausib[i]lity, the difficulty of purchasing Bills for the Amount of a whole Cargo of Negroes and the risque they take upon themselves in Shipping the produce of the Country to raise a Bank and make some compensation to their friends who in the mean time give Credit to their draughts by accepting them without effects in hand. If indeed the advantage of handling and negotiating those long sighted bills are more than adequate to those other considerations in moving the great wheel of unfathomable commerce round, which you know best, the case is greatly altered, upon the whole, I shall be as strenuous as I dare to be with these Gentlemen not to crimp the average merely for the sake of speedy payment. . . .

261. Henry Laurens to Paul Trapier, 1764.[1]

25th June 1764.

Paul Trapier Esqr, *Geo. Town*

Sir, At the request of Mr. William Price who has embarked himself and me in a purchase of Negroes which he intends to sell at Geo. Town, I take the Liberty of requesting your countenance and friendship to him upon that occasion. I tell Mr. Price that I do not know of any right I have to make so free with you and to yourself permit me to say that whatever favours you are pleased to shew him shall be thankfully acknowledged whenever it is in the power of [2] . . .

262. Henry Laurens to Edward Martin, 1764.[1]

27 June 1764.

Sir, I enclose you a Letter from our friend Mr. John Knight and refer you to that part of it relative to the Brigt. *Pocock,* which you see he insists upon my taking up, a[t] the peril of nothing less than

[261] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

[2] Price and Hest had entered into partnership in Charleston in the spring of 1764. Laurens on May 9 wrote to Thomas Hartley and Son of Whitehaven that if they consigned negro cargoes to this new firm he would give to them his advice and be responsible for the performance of their obligations. On June 26 Laurens wrote to Joseph Brown, soliciting his assistance in the sale of Price's negroes.

[262] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

his Friendship; this I would not forfeit for Twenty *Pocock* Cargoes but I cannot think that he will inflict so heavy a penalty upon me for continuing to refuse the consignment, when he hears my further reasons for doing so, the principal one I shall mention to you and is this; that after having made a full and clear surrender to your House as you Know I did some months ago of that Vessel, I would not upon any accot. (but such as I then reserved) deprive or baulk you of your expectations, which indeed may be more injurious to your credit than the loss of double the Amount of commission, arising by another Kind of misadventure for when tis given out that a House expects such a Cargo of Negroes and that same consignment is seen to go by to another House it must occasion whispers and conjectures amongst Trading Men to Lessen the reputation of the first.

And in order to give my very Kind friend all the satisfaction in my power I beg leave to offer in case your partner does not in the meantime arrive to lend you a helping hand—my utmost assistance to obtain good customers and to make a profitable Sale of the *pocock's* Cargo, and even after his arrival if he and you shall think that I can be of any service—I am not very well and therefore could not write this Letter through with my own hand which I beg you will excuse.

263. Henry Laurens to Joseph Brown, 1764.[1]

29th June 1764.

Joseph Brown, *Geo. Town*

Dear Sir, I herewith inclose you a Letter rece'd per Capt. White. I observe that you had not sold my three Negroes when you last wrote—that your Customers had greatly altered "their notions since last Winter". Let me take occasion from hence to remark how you would have been embarrassed and how I should have been put to the blush, if I had recommended and you had undertaken the Sale of a Cargo, for if the Sale of three proves so difficult how must a man be puzzled to sell and remit for 300, but by the by this is a Little strange too, because I see people come from all quarters and give £320-£325 per head for Negroes not superior to those you have and I did a few days ago put a small parcel of Ten into the hands of a young House here—they were Ebo two of them grey-headed and one Boy and they produced me £315 round pay'ble, in Cash for more than half and the remainder pay'ble in 60 days. if they remain unsold when this reaches you be so good as to deliver them to Mr. Price on my Accot. unless you can obtain about £320 per and I will thankfully repay all the expense you have been at on this Accot.

. . .

[263] [1]Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

264. Henry Laurens to Samuel Wragg, 1764.[1]

13th July, 1764.

Samuel Wragg, Esqr, *Geo. Town*

Sir, I reced. two days ago your favour of the 29th ulto which was the date of what I wrote last to you.

I now send you per the Schooner *Susanna* William Smart Master the consignment of thirteen Gold Coast Negroes just arrived from the West Indies, *Vizt.*

4 Men 1 Boy 7 Women 1 Girl	}	all in good health, tho' one of the Women has Guinea Worm in her Leg which is of no great injury I beg you will sell these as speedily as you can to good safe Men for

ready money or produce of Pitch or Rice deliverable presently upon Bonds bearing Interest, the prices shall be left to you not doubting but you will do as much for me as your Market will admit of and transmit to me an Accot. of the Sale etc. as soon as you can.

If this consignment is not acceptable be pleased to transfer it to William Smith (but observe he knows nothing of it nor will without you inform him) with an extract of this Letter for his direction —but if you have no dislike to it I shall endeavour hereafter to make you some of the same Kind and perhaps more valuable.

P. S. Note these are really Gold Coast Negroes bought at Anamaboo and the little Boy a very fine one. I am expecting an answer to the Subject of mine the 29th Ulto. If you think it necessary please to give each of these a Blanket.[2]

265. Henry Laurens to William Price, 1764.[1]

21st July 1764.

William Price, *George Town*

D'r Sir, In answer to your favour of the 10th Inst. the short notice that is given of this opportunity will permit me only to say— that what Negroes may remain upon your hands when this reaches you I would sell them (if I was in your place) to good Men for a barely saving price rather than Keep them longer upon hand and next to that attempt in case it should fail I would bring them to Charles Town again rather than let designing people compass their ends of getting them at their own prices. this that you experience is always the case at little markets they must be fed sparingly and then they pay the dearer for their meat, but if you put any large quanti-

[264] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

[2] The notices of sales occasionally contain the item, "The Negroes are well cloathed". *S. C. Gazette*, Feb. 18, 1764.

[265] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

ties in their way they triumph and will not purchase even what they stand in need of unless at their own prices and terms. . . .

Just as I had subscribed to the foregoing Mr. Dickison brought me your favour of the 16th I have no more to add respecting the Negroes but that you may leave them in such hands as you like best I should certainly have sent the 13 Negroes that went to Mr. Wragg to your adress to avoid that clashing of Sale which you apprehend if I had not flattered myself with hopes of your being on the point of returning to Charles-Town—but be not discouraged and neither be talked out of reasonable demands by people who may design to tire you out.

266. Henry Laurens to Joseph Brown, 1764.[1]

21st July 1764.

Joseph Brown, *George Town*

Dear Sir, Having but very short notice of this opportunity I cannot be very full in reply to your favour of the 7th Inst. but shall endeavour to say the needful.

You have really mistaken my remarks upon the subject of Negroes for Sale at George Town, and from thence put your self into a very unnecessary heat I cannot see that there is one word *cruel* or *hard* or even inclining to either in my whole Letter, and I am sure there was nothing of that nature intended by me. What I suggested there; still appears to me to deserve attention; that if instead of a few prime Negroes you had had a mixed Cargo of good and bad old and young you would have been embarrassed and I should have been put to the blush if I had recommended such a Cargo to you and you had been as much puzzled to sell it as you were to dispose of the few that I troubled you with. You may say and insist upon what you please about peoples' notions that every Negroe's being a refuse that goes from Charles Town; but I am sure with submission to you that it is not invariably the case; and I need not go further than your own Letter for a proof. Is there a more wary Man in dealing than Mr. Davidson, has he not given me a very good price for those very Negroes wch you found unsaleable for so long a time? why did he as you say "go out of your House and somewhere into Town" and then return and take my Negroes? I am no conjurer but yet with the small share of penetration that is fallen to my Lot I will venture to answer that question. He delivered you my order to secure the preference of my Negroes to himself then he went some where into Town, that is to say to take a view of Mr. Prices Cargo or perhaps some others and when he had satisfied himself he returned and took those from you. Is not this a full proof that he

[266] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

could easily discern the difference between the negroes in one place and the other? 'tis too true that many refuse Slaves are sent to Geo. Town which no doubt does make people there abouts cautious of buying such as go in general from Charles Town and some times even shy of good Slaves, but that must be according to the experience and Knowledge of different Men as occasions offer; and sometimes the most Knowing are deceived or deceive themselves—but now Sir, what does all this prove but that you have not (being on one wing or in a corner of the Province) so good a chance of selling a Cargo (in which there is always some refuse and sometimes a good many) in Geo. Town as the merchants have in Charles Town the Centre of the Province and where purchasers for every sort and size are to be found and this you will be convinced of either to your own or the cost of your New-England freinds let the Cargo that you expect come when it will unless they happen to be all fine Slaves wch can hardly be suppos'd or expected and the less if they are to be purchased on the Coast in the manner you talk of—for let the Salem Gentlemen be never so sober or never so careful Rum and their Bar Iron will not command fine Slaves if any better Cargoes are in the way. I had nothing more in view when I first attempted to disuade you from interfering in the African Trade than your Interest—I am sure you have not a proper idea of the difficulties attending it, when a man acts in such a manner as not to injure himself and family and at the same time to preserve his reputation and do justice to his constituents, in wch there must always be a dash of generosity over and above bare starved justice and if you had not applied to me upon the occasion I should not have been so impertinent as to have troubled you with my opinion. You must Know from other parts of my conduct that it was not owing to a want of Friendship for or inclination to serve you that I declined giving that recommendation that you desired, and you will excuse me for saying that your neglect of answering what I kindly and candidly wrote up[on] that subject because I was not so happy as to chime into your sentiments, was neither, Mercantile, friendly nor Genteel and your applications to New England discovers too plainly that you were miffed with my candour and here I might very justly retort, that it is "cruel hard" to be thus treated in return for one's advice and opinion given to a friend in the most open and unreserved manner, and not without being first asked for them, but let me once more and for the last time recommend to you to forego the shew of profits in the African Trade rather than stake your peace perhaps your Character and fortune to attain to it, unless it be in the way that you talk of making a purchase now and then in Charles Town in which there may some times be profits made and the Basis upon

which you deal is more certain and now drop this troublesome subject.

267. HENRY LAURENS TO RICHARD OSWALD AND COMPANY, 1764.

10th August, 1764.

Per Capt. Banfield
Richd. Oswald and Co.

. . . The day before yesterday your Ship *Queen Barra* Capt. Taylor arrived here from Sierraleon with about 300 Slaves of which 106 were Shiped by Mr. Aird on your Account and the rest are upon Freight partly Shiped by that Gentleman and partly by Mr. James Tweed at £6 Sterling per head.

Mr. Aird in his Letter to me of the 11th of June desires me to recommend this concern to the care of some proper Person here. I have therefore agreed with Messrs. Brewton and Smith to sell your Negroes and those which he Shiped upon Freight, to remit the whole proceeds in the Bottom in Bills payable at three, Six and Nine Months, after deducting Charges and the Cost of a Cargo for the Ship, which I shall direct to be in such articles as may promise to pay the best Freight.[1] these in my oppinion are good terms and I am sure that House will make at least as good a Sale as any in Charles Town for it has undoubtedly the most extensive Corrispondence and is upon a par with any other in point of knowledge and application to Business. If I had thought it had been in my power without a partner to do so well for you I should not have let the Commissions pass by me. at present I have no other Interest or advantage therein but the pleasure of making a Greatfull acknowledgement for your repeated favours to me and which I shall continue to do as often as opportunity presents. Captain Taylor has been very sick the whole Voyage and is now in a very low state under my roof where I have obtained permission to lodge him while the Ship performs her Quarrentine Mr. James Tweed is well but necessarily confined on board, if Mr. Aird is in London be so good as to assure him that I shall have a friendly eye to his concerns and that I shall pay my respects to him in a few days.

268. HENRY LAURENS TO THOMAS MEARS, 1764.

24th Augt. 1764.

per Capt. McKie
Thomas Mears, *Leverpool*

. . . Our Crops of Rice are in exceeding fine order just now and if bad weather does not interupt the Harvest it will be very large

[267] [1] On Aug. 13 Laurens wrote to Henry Bright of Bristol that Brewton and Smith had disposed of one cargo of 300 from Whydah, which he transferred to them, at £36 per head.

and the grain early at Market; the Indigo Planters have also tolerably good prospects being greatly favoured by Latter Season and in general our Planters are in a state of prosperity wch was pretty clearly evinced by their purchase at a Sale of Negroes this Week, where the first 230 of the Cargo averaged £41 Stg. and the whole will turn out near £40 remitted for in the bottom at 3-6 and 9 Months. . . .

269. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1764.

24th Augt 1764.

per Capt. McKie
John Knight, *Leverpool*

. . . permit me to return you my thanks again for the repeated offer of the *Pococks* Cargo of Slaves. I would not forfeit your friendship for a great deal more than the Value of the whole, but I will not suffer such a thought in my breast, as that you will inflict so heavy a penalty upon me, for acting according to the dictates of reason and principles of generosity wch now oblige me to adhere to my first resolution of not selling that Cargo; I had with your permission resigned it to Messrs. Shirly and Martin, they no doubt had fixed some dependance upon that and have talked among their friends of their expectations, after that to be disappointed I should think would not only be galling to them but might create injurious whispers from some people whose envy might lead them to mischief whereever they have opportunity, from this consideration I have told those Gentlemen again that I should not deprive them of the benefit of that Sale, and assured them of my best services in every respect to make a good one, wch they have excepted and were so genteel as to offer me a share of the Commission wch I declined with a hint of the impropriety of making Sale of my Friends favours and that as they would have the trouble and risque attending that transaction, I thought they were intitled to all the benefit arising from it, and I indeed would by all means hold myself detached and indepentant that I may do you in case of need the more effectual service. I am sorry that or some other of your Ships do not appear. I resigned a Cargo from Bance Island this Week of wch about 230 are sold at upwards of £40 Stg. and the general average will be within a few shillings of that Sum. If Mr. Austin's *Black Joke* comes here, as her Cargo will not embarass me much, I shall take proper Care of it and hope to render him a satisfactory Acct. if the Negroes are well chosen and healthy. . . .

Having now run thro all private concerns that have occured as needful to mention at this time; I must beg your patience while I

detain you with an Acct. of a Law just passed in this Province wch I think is of importance to the Public both on your side and on this side of the Water, regarding it either as a Salutary or a pernicious Act. The Law that I mean is one that has passed three Readings in both Houses of Assembly, laying an additional Duty or Tax upon all Negroes imported into this province for the term of three Years from the 1st January 1766 of One hundred Pounds Currt. money wch Amounts to a prohibition;[1] you will receive with this a Copy of the Bill with some remarks upon it to which I refer. it stuck some time with the Council of Carolina House of Lords and would have remained there I do believe til dooms day if it had not been a necessary instrument to save appearences and take off the imputation of outragiousness in a quarrel that the two Houses are unhappily engaged in and wch I fear will be attended with many disadvantages to those whom we represent. as it now stands it awaits only for the Governor's assent wch there is no doubt of, and therefore receiving it as a Law I think it my duty to apprize yourself and other Gentlemen in the African Trade of the Tenour of it as well as to trouble you with my opinion of it, wch I have Sketched upon the Bill and under those heads I took up the time of the House both at the second and 3d readings with many arguments, wch with myself were honest and of great weight, and I made some converts but we were outvoted by four voices, tho none of my arguments were answered. We have only two Merchts beside myself in the House, Mr. Benja. Smith and Mr. Brailsford, from neither of whom I received any assistance. the former had said out of Doors that he was against the importation of more Negroes and he uniformly voted for the Bill. the other Gentleman who countinanced it with his voice at the Second reading, but as if his conceince and his Interest were at variance he would vote on neither side at the third, but retired when the question was going to be put. I think it necessary to say so much to you upon this occasion because if the Law is (as I apprehend it to be) unnecessary with regard to the Local circumstances of the Country in wch it is intended to Operate and at the same time a stroke at the Trade of his Majestys British Subjects, you might otherwise wonder

[269] [1] The committee which brought in this bill consisted of Messrs. Smith, Manigault, Lynch, Gadsden, and Thomas Smith. It was read the first time on Aug. 14, the second time on Aug. 15, and was passed by the lower house and sent to the council on the 24th. Governor Boone had returned to England and Lieutenant Governor Bull gave his assent to the bill on the 25th (Columbia, S. C., MSS. Journals of the House, Aug. 14, 15, 24, 25, 1764). On Sept. 4, 1764, Laurens wrote to Rossel and Gervais: "An impolitic partial act which has been for some time in agitation and is at length passed into a law to prohibit the importation of negroes has made me the more indifferent about that matter in the present juncture [the taking up of land in the Ninety-Six Country] for I am almost certain that if that law is approved of or not repealed in Britain, vacant lands will abound in the year 1767 more than they do in the current year" (Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book; quoted by Wallace, p. 84, n. 2). For the act see Cooper, IV. 187-189.

how such a Law could pass in a Town abounding with commercial Men; but indeed as the generality of them alledge that their own respective branches of Trade are injured by the free importation of Slaves, wch to me is a meer Chimera, so you may be assured very few of them were Enemies to this new and extraordinary measure.

. . .

270. Henry Laurens to Thomas Farr, jr., 1764.[1]

1st Septemr. 1764.

Thomas Farr Junr., *Charles Town*

Sir, I informed Mr. Decosta yesterday as the eldest Partner of the late House of Decosta and Farr that I was directed to call upon the said House for the net proceed of Nine Negroes received by them from on board the *Greyhound* Capt. Pinnegar Shiped at Cape Coast by Mr. Mutter on Accot. of Nassau Senior Esqr.[2]

Mr. Decosta sent me a Verbal answer that he would speak to me before Sunset but I suppose something hindered him from coming aboard for I have neither seen nor heard from him since. This is his Sabbath and therefore I must not obtrude business upon him on this day, but as I am writing to London by a Vessel that will Sail tomorrow or on Monday, I beg the favour of you Sir to inform me what is the Amount of said Nt. Proceed and what expectations I may give Mr. Senior of remitting him his Value for the same.

271. Henry Laurens to Day and Welch, 1764.

10th Septembr. 1764.

Capt. Stafford Dickenson
Day and Welch, *St. Kitts*

Gentlemen, With your favour of the 23d June per the *Manchester* Capt. Livingston I Received fifteen Negroes *Vizt.* seven Males and Eight females,[1] which came in most wretched plight, they were in general Aged, some quite Gray others maimed, but you know better than I do what they were when they were Shiped at St. Kitts and you may imagine how much they were improved by a long Voyage and very short provisions, for the Captn. of the *Manchester* alledgd

[270] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

[2] Nassau Senior was governor of Cape Coast Castle from 1757 to 1761, William Mutter from 1763 to 1766. The latter was dismissed from office by the Committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa for exporting slaves from the coast contrary to regulation: "It is our desire that all persons in our service should thrive but they ought to keep within the bounds prescribed." Martin, *British West African Settlements,* p. 40.

[271] [1] The arrival of these negroes had been acknowledged by Laurens in a letter of Aug. 7 to Arnold, Albert, and Alexander Nesbitt, of London, to whom the proceeds were to be sent.

that the provision you had laid in was exhausted in a few days and that he had spared to them as much as he could of his own for which he made a small charge in addition to his Freight. Such Negroes as those will not sell here upon the best terms nor can it be expected I think I have been exceedingly lucky in what is already done and I hope soon to close the Sale and transmit to you, *Vizt.* I have sold three Men and three Women at £280. per head and one Boy very ill made at £262. 10/ the whole to be paid in a few days or Weeks; but the first lot gave such dissatisfaction to the purchaser after viewing them deliberately at home that he returnd or rather attempted to return two of them upon my hands and I declare upon my Honor if I had been dealing for myself I would have received them but I did not think myself at liberty to use the same freedom with your Interest, however it will still occasion me some trouble and perhaps the loss of an acquaintance merely because he has made a bad bargain for I practice no artifice.

As to the other eight I could not get them off here at any rate, at any tolerable rate, one of them is deaf and dumb and truly they all seem to be proper subjects for an Alms House I have sent them a little way in the Country where I think there is a better chance of Selling them than here and I expect an Accont. of the Sale every day for it can answer no good end to keep such goods on hand, and therefore I have given proper orders to end the Sale without much delay, and you may depend upon it that I shall forward your Money into the hands of Messrs Nesbitt as speedily as possible to whome I have wrote upon this occasion and given them reason to expect a remittance from me on your Accont.[2]

Negroes have sold extremely high even to an Average of £40 Stg. for a Cargo of 320 and £36. for another of about the same number but inferior in Quality and I do believe that prime Negroes will yield a great price thro the ensuing winter but refuse Slaves will not yield any satisfaction.[3]

272. Henry Laurens to Henry Bright, 1764.

12th Sept. 1764.

per Capt. Harbison
Henry Bright Esqr., *Bristol*

. . . The Cargo of Negroes from Bance Island mentioned in my last has netted £39. 19/ Stg. but this branch of Trade, if you

[2] On Dec. 17 Laurens reported to Day and Welch the net proceeds of this sale as £3098. 8. 10, which sum was to be remitted about Jan. 10.

[3] Isaac Da Costa wrote to Aaron Lopez on July 19, 1764, that men were bringing from £270 to £320, women from £200 to £280, and boys and girls from £200 to £280, the boys being worth from £30 to £40 more than the girls. Newport Hist. Soc., Lopez Letter-Book, no. 622, p. 30.

Gentlemen are content,[1] will cease in a few Months and be prohibited for three Years by a law lately passed in our Assembly. It was introduced and hurried through in a manner uncommon, unexpected and without argument to support it. I strove hard to have it deferred until the meeting in December that in the mean time the general Voice of our constituents might be heard but the Junto by which it was planned and introduced knew that would not countenance their designs and so depending upon a Majority in a thin House they pushed it forward and succeeded. I transmit you a copy of the Law with a few Notes on the back of it and leave it to your disposal.

273. Henry Laurens to Samuel Wragg, 1764.[1]

19th Sept. 1764.

Samuel Wragg, *George Town*

Sir, . . . and now that I mention this Vessel let me inform you she is a Guinea Man and may bring 80 to 120 Gambia Negroes, which for some very particular considerations I shall dispose of. do you think Sir, from the experience that you have had that I might expect any advantage by removing such a Cargo to Geo. Town, I mean as well in payments as prices? Your sentiments hereon may induce me to ask your assistance in the Sale if you encourage it to be made there.

I am quite satisfied with the Sales that you have made of the Negroes so far as you have informed me and I do think you have bid full enough for the quiet Woman,[2] was she your [my] own I would surely make you an abatement but it being your own offer and the property a third person's I dare not pay you such a compliment. Please now to close and forward the Sale of those and if you can of the former parcel also that I may Enter them accordingly.

274. Henry Laurens to George Appleby, 1764.

18th October 1764.

per Capt. Moth

. . . As to the affairs of Capt. Stephens, and other Guinea concerns mentioned in both your Letters, I'll tell you what I have

[272] [1] Laurens apparently believed the power of the merchants sufficient to cause a repeal of the act if they chose to exert it. The measure was reported to the Board of Trade by Lt. Gov. William Bull on Sept. 13, 1764; the board asked the opinion of the attorney general, who reported on Nov. 20, 1765, that, since the act placed the duty on the first purchaser and not on the importer, there was no legal objection to it. The size of the duty (£14. 6 stg.) he left to the board (Br. Trans., XXX, 196, 290). The statute was allowed to stand but was not re-enacted at its expiration three years later.

[273] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book. On Aug. 21 Laurens wrote that the negroes sent to Wragg were "refuse", which he was to sell upon the best terms which he could get, to "safe" men. On the 30th he again wrote to Wragg concerning this consignment, since "the Gentlemen who own those Negroes are very anxious to have their money reallized in London". *Ibid.*

[2] Probably the deaf and dumb negro mentioned in the letter of Sept. 10.

done this Summer and what I may possible do in future. when Mr. Knight's *Jenny* arrived here it was really not in my power to do him justice in the Sale of her Cargo. I was wholly unprepared and so unwell that I could not have exerted my self to my own wishes for his Interest; Brewton and Smith undertook the Sale upon good terms somewhat the better by the falling under my disposal. Capt. McKie complaind a little of their remittances but I am sure they were just, tho I might allow there was some room to be generous; but that is a principle whose legitimate issue freeborn only is valueable in my eye and therefore I cannot go about to extort its effects.

another Cargo from Bance Island belonging to Mr. Oswald and Co., Mr. Tweed, and others they sold too under my direction, and in both they certainly have made better averages than any other House—they have as great advantages as any and greater than almost every other in the Town—Mr. Oswald writes that Capt. Stephens will come here, if his or any other Cargo should be Lodged under my care I will assuredly do as shall appear most for the benefit of the Owners by undertaking the Sale if I can do so with Honour to myself and advantage to them or by making the best bargain I can with somebody else, I am tied to none in particular, for I gain nothing by that sort of business—you know I scorn it—unless my friends the Owners are pleased to thank me. I am very loth to touch business of such importance without the assistance of a partner, and I neither see the fit Man nor feel inclination to seek for one on this side.

Your junction with Mr. Knight I hope will be a very happy one but if the Law lately passed in Carolina is not repealed at St. James's you must look out for other Markets for your African Cargoes, this in all probability will be quite overstock'd next year and then for three succeeding Years that Law will operate to prevent a further importation, I transmitted a Copy of that Act with some notes on it to Mr. Knight, Mr. Oswald, and Mr. Bright and I now send you a state of the Trade of this province for the last four Years from whence you may form some further opinions of the propriety of and necessity for such a Law. I thought my self at Liberty to speak boldly against it and made use of arguments and introduced proofs which could not be controverted, nevertheless the Law being artfully introduced did pass and I may say was cramm'd down in the latter end of a Session after other business had been rejusted for no other reason but because it was the latter end of a Session and many members gone home. Our once neighbour Brailsford acted two droll parts upon this occasion, first in voting and whispering strenuously in favour of the Bill and afterwards when I told him that I hop'd he intended to sell no more Negroes at the Crisis, he retired from the House and with[h]eld his Vote as if his patriotism and his In-

terest were in strong debate—he may nevertheless be very honest and the error lay in my want of perception—Mr. Smith was its Father and carried his point as he generally carries all points in which he succeeds, assertions too often are subs[t]ituted by him in place of argument and proof but this must be said for him that his declarations out of doors and in were uniform.[1] . . .

275. Henry Laurens to Samuel Wragg, 1764.[1]

29th Octob. 1764.

Samuel Wragg, *Geo. Town.*

Sir, . . . The Sale which you sent of the parcel of 8 New Negroes per Smart is satisfactory except the charge of Commission, which is the same that is given in Charles Town in consideration of Sale and Guarantee of debts. I have usually paid only 2½ per Ct. and never asked more in the Country for the Sale alone. I am obliged to you for the offer of Keeping the Bonds and receiving the several amounts free of Commission, which you may do if you please but 'tis not improbable that you will be in Charles Town before they fall due which I think you said would be the 1st January, and we may then talk more of this matter. I beg the favour of you to forward the Sale of the first parcel concluding it by the Sale of the short-fingured Woman at the price you name if no more can be obtained but I think she is worth more, however do not stop the Sale of that Accot. . . .

The little Guinea Man which I expected and in which I was to have Ship'd those and other articles of Wood does not yet appear wherefore I hope she is better taken up. . . .

276. Henry Laurens to John and James Graham and Company, 1764.

9th Novem. 1764.

John and James Graham and Co., *Georgia*

. . . The former [1] I have reason to think treats of the *Prince of Wales* Brigt. belonging to our friends Messrs. Abram Parsons and Co. expected from Africa, which I take notice of because she is charg'd upon me in case of her arrival at this port and as I shall not undertake the Sale of her Cargo I would not, if she is worth your acceptance, have you miss of it. therefore with your permission I shall

[274] [1] On Nov. 9 Laurens wrote to Appleby, in Liverpool: "be Wary and cautious in your orders to Guinea Men for Carolina next Summer, but order them to me if any comes. I'll put them upon the best terms into the best hands this Country affords."

[275] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.

[276] [1] "A small packet from Bristol." In another letter of the same date, to Abraham Parsons of Bristol, Laurens wrote of having refused the sale of more than 1400 negroes during the preceding summer.

upon her appearance advertize the Sale in your names and do what is needful until the arrival of one of your House to take the burthen upon yourselves, which no doubt your friends here will endeavour to make as light as possible to you and if you are pleased to command my services none will more chearfully assist you.

277. HENRY LAURENS TO JOHN HASLIN, 1764.

19th Novem. 1764.

per Capt. Wooster
John Haslin, *Barbadoes*

Sir, I am indebted for your favour of the 16th Septem. and 6th October—the last per your Schooner *Molly,* Capt. Wooster, who arrived here the 31st Ulto. with twenty poor New Negroes on Accont. of Samuel Maddock Esq. and yourself. I have had no opportunity of writing to you but one presenting for Philadelphia; I advised Mr. William Wharton the 3d Inst. and requested the favour of him to pass the intelligence along by the first Vessel and to assure you that I should give your Vessel all possible dispatch; which I have not failed in.

Please now to receive Accont. Sale of said 20 Negroes Nt. Proceed to your Credit £4143. 1. 6. to the Credit of your Accont. Currt. which is as good a Sale as ever I made considering the assortment—one Man was maim'd by a shot in his ancle and not a little peppered with the venereal disease, one of the Girls very meagre and in a dangerous way and most of the females small and ordinary, nevertheless had there been 8 or 10 likely Men amongst them the average would have been five or Seven Pounds Sterling more, as I have sold them for Credit and not stinted the price for Cash which commonly affects a Sale 10 per Ct. only for two or three Months.

. . . . . .

Capt. Wooster having hinted to me a design of returning here soon after he is unloaden at Barbadoes I take upon me to recommend to you to send a few Prime Negroes none old or defective and let them be clad with Linnen, woolen and a Blanket, about 12/6 Sterling each but not wear their Cloaths until they begin to feel the change of climate and then only by degrees 'till they come upon the Coast. Let them be well fed and humanely treated. such a Little Cargo say 40 to 60 will sell in all probability ext[r]emly well at George Town in Winyaw and the Schooner may be loaden upon as good terms as in this place especially if you can give a little previous notice of her coming. if the weather suits he may go in there directly, otherwise stop here and proceed or tarry as shall appear most for your Interest. If you think that such a Voyage will be advantageous

to you I shall be glad to receive your commands and to do all in my power to make it so. . . .

278. Henry Laurens to John and Thomas Tipping, 1764.

4th Decem. 1764.

per Capt. Dickison
John and Thomas Tipping, *Barbadoes*

. . . Likewise on your Accot. three poor wretched human creatures call'd Negroes, being part of those four which you were pleased to consign to me, one of that number the Captain says died on the passage. I shall do the best in my power with the owners goods but 'tis amazing to me that they continue to send such to this Market where they can expect no gain unless a profit is already laid upon their Invoice. . . . I have sold your three Negroes as per inclos'd Accot. for Net proceeds £492. 8. 6 which considering their quality is the greatest Sale that ever I made and I have done as much as most folks in that branch. I believe you will be so well satisfied with the Accot. that it will be in vain for me to say any more. You may from hence judge what an handsome adventure might have been made for the Owners if you had been permitted to Ship about four score or an hundred prime Negroes and especially if you had avail'd yourselves of that Skill which you think so peculiar to Capt. Holme in the choice of Females—he smiles at this, and says you would not trust him with a commodity worth his care—I am sure that a Cargo of prime Gambia Young Men and Women would sell for upwards of Forty pounds Sterling and this I believe will continue to be the case untill the Cargoes fall in next Spring when probably they may be so numerous from our late Sales as to make a vast alteration. If from this advice you incline to make a consignment to Mr. Head to arrive here any time before the 10th March, you may depend upon my best assistance to him both in the Sale and remittances. He has shew'd me your Letter and I think if you are dispos'd to do a friendly Act to him you have now an opportunity of doing it without any apparent risque to yourselves but you know too much of commercial affairs to depend so absolutely upon any adventure, as to appropriate the profits while the adventure is only in embrio—but so much I can safely say and repeat that there is a good prospect of gain and that you may be assur'd of my aid to make the most of it for you provided you send likely healthy (black) Negroes. . . . If any Guinea Men belonging to my worthy friends and benefactors, Mr. Oswald of London, Mr. Bright of Bristol or Mr. Knight of Leverpoole shall arrive with you in proper time, I intreat you to inform them what I have wrote to you in their branch. let healthy negroes be well fed and well cloath'd and be not afraid of the Cold.

279. Henry Laurens to Smith and Baillies, 1764.

18th Decem. 1764.

per Capt. Emery
Smith and Baillies, *St. Christophers*

. . . You will now receive Accont. Sale of two Negroes Boys, Bob and Allen per the Sloop *John,* Net proceed £358. 1 which no doubt you will think a good price as you know what sort of creatures they were . . . I am given to understand by the Gentlemen who bought your Negroes that they cannot pay me any part before February nor do I expect the whole for a Long time after in the common course of Carolina payments and yet they are very good men. by the latter I have some reason to hope that you are now a good deal in Cash on my Accont. and that you will be so good as to remit my full Balance upon Receipt hereof and the offer of a good opportunity in healthy New Negroes to be pretty well Cloathed and have a Blanket each, under a humane Master who will promise to take care of them. if you are pleased to exceed the said Balance a little or to add any number of Negroes on your own and so make a joint Account of it I shall be speedy in remitting your part I hope you will not fail in this but if it cannot be done be so good as to remit me in the first new Rum that shall come to Market. . . .

280. Henry Laurens to Lloyd and Barton, 1764.

24th Decem. 1764.

Lloyd and Barton, *Jamaica*

. . . Negroes have sold here at very exhorbitant prices all the past Summer and even down to this time. I have just transmitted a Sale of a parcel of Men refuse aged, half blind and one dumb and deaf, which made an average of £34. Sterling—prime negroes will yield full £40 [1] at this time but how long this will continue is very uncertain for we have parcels dropping in every day from the West Indies, many more are expected and the Season is at hand when the Affrican Ships will make their appearance. a great many of them are expected and I am sure that several will come or attempt to come earlier than usual—I have advices from my own particular friends of several. The great prices that have of late been given, The eagerness of some rival Houses in this Town, The Act of Assembly lately passed laying a heavy duty upon all Negroes imported after the year 1765, all will conspire to over stock our

[280] [1] On Dec. 7 Laurens wrote to Meyler and Hall of Jamaica that a parcel of 70 negroes had sold the day before for £42 per head.

Market with Negroes and I shall not wonder if the prices are run down very Low and a necessity for giving very tedious Credit. you will be pleas'd to think on this a little and then give me leave on the other hand to observe, that many people may from apprehensions of the danger which I have pointed at restrain their importations, and that our Crops of Rice and Indigo are very large and sell for high prices whereby the Rich planters are enabled to lay by money and the middling and poorer sort in general to clear themselves of debt, That the latter class stand in need and will take off a great number of Negroes in small parcels, and the first will be induc'd to lay out all their ready money and to strain upon a next Crop to increase their Stocks both for themselves and their Children upon the prospect of that prohibitary law which is calculated to stop the importation of Slaves for three years. now I have said all that occurs to be needful on each side of your enquiry you will be pleas'd to judge for yourselves, I shall only add a word of advice, which may be of service in case you shall determine to adventure in that branch. in such case be early, not later here than 15th March and let your purchase be of the very best kind of Slaves black and smooth free from blemishes, Young and well grown, the more Men the better but not old, none sell better than Gambia Slaves. if you touch any below this description let a very great bargain only tempt and let me know the real cost of them. be sure to give them good covering and victuals and secure the promise of the Master by whom you send them to treat them with humanity and keep up their spirits. if you have an inclination after all that I have said to make an attempt you may have remittances in Bills of Exchange upon London according to the then state of the Market which will be in payments at three, six, and nine or three, six, and twelve months but I would not have you rely upon anything better than the latter tho you may depend upon being treated with honour and punctuality. upon the whole unless you have an opportunity of making a very good purchase, I think you may as well forego the prospect of uncertain profit as to run a risque of meeting certain loss. if I am not in the way Messrs Price, Hest, and Head will receive and obey your commands as effectually as I could do, and I beg leave to introduce that House to your acquaintance. . . .

Gazette [1]	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 19	Jan. 23	*George*	Geo. Dorsett	New Providence	40 [2]	Lloyd and Neyle
Feb. 2		*Alice*		Tortola (Gold Coast)	17	Brewton and Smith
" 9	Feb. 20	*Greyhound*	Alex. Robe	Africa	300	Inglis, Lloyd, and Co.
" 23	Mar. 7	*Prudence*	Thos. Farmer	West Indies	70 [3]	Wm. Kirby
" "	" 6	Unnamed		Jamaica (Gambia)	50	Logan, Guerin, and Vanderhorst
" "	" 8	*Polly* (sloop)	Wm. Phillips	West Indies	40	Ed. Lightwood
Mar. 2	" 13	*Marton*	Jno. Wilkinson	Angola	400	Brailsford and Chapman
" 9	" 20	*Success*	—— Cookson	Antigua (Gambia)		Middleton, Liston, and Hope [4]
" "	" 19	*Charming Sally*	E. Evanson	St. Kitts	8 [5]	Price, Hest, and Head [6]
" 23	" 28	*Lord Pultney*	—— Hodgson	Angola	200	Brailsford and Chapman
Apr. 6	Apr. 16	*Rodney* [7]	Daniel McDaniel	Angola and Gambia	400	" " "
" "	" 10	*Molly*	John Wooster	Barbados	50	Price, Hest, and Head
" "	" 9	*Providence*	Ed. Williams	Angola	100	Middleton, Liston and Hope [4]
" "	" 16	*Jamaica* Packet	—— Dickinson	Antigua (Gold Coast and Senegal)	100	Crofts and Dart

[281] [1] Only the date of the first appearance of the notice is here given. Most of the advertisements are continued in successive numbers of the *Gazette*, sometimes long after the date of sale.

[2] "All well cloathed." The *Gazette* of Jan. 26 advertised negroes, who may have been those left from the sale of the *George*: "A Parcel of very Likely and Healthy New Negroes all well cloathed, to be sold, at a Store on Burn's Wharf, for Rice or short Credit, by JOHN GORDON."

[3] "At Mess's Woodrop and Cathcart On the Bay . . . Being the prime picked out of a large cargo. N. B. Indico will be taken in payment." In a later notice it was stated that this cargo came from Montserrat. On board the *Prudence* was the negro Olaudah Equiano, better known as Gustavus Vassa, who in 1791 published his life. He had been kidnapped at the age of eleven in Benin, and had been first sold in Barbados, then in Virginia. He was later purchased by a Mr. King of Montserrat and Philadelphia, who still owned him at this time though he was in the service of Captain Farmer. He writes of having taken a negro cargo to Charleston at the time of the celebration of the repeal of the Stamp Act, a troublesome statement, since presumably no cargoes were coming into Charleston at that time. *Life of Gustavus Vassa*, p. 191.

[4] This cargo was sold at Beaufort, Port Royal.

[5] "Likely negro boys and girls."

[6] See "Jour. of Webster", Southern Hist. Assn., *Publications*, II. 143n.

[7] On June 1 the following notice appeared in the *Gazette*: "Now selling, The ship *Rodney's* cargo, formerly advertised, of about Four Hundred Negroes by BRAILSFORD and CHAPMAN. To remove as much as may be any prejudices our country friends may have on account of the small-pox that broke out in this cargo, we can assure them, that the utmost care has been taken to cleanse them thoroughly of every

[*Negroes imported into South Carolina*—continued:]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Apr. 13	Apr. 16	*Elizabeth*	—— Campbell	Barbados	100	Crofts and Dart
" "	" 23	*Essex*	Geo. Barwick	Angola	150	Middleton, Liston, and Hope[4]
" "	" 19	*Sally*	John Jones	Senegal[8]	90	Brailsford and Chapman
" 20	" 24	*Captain*	Rich. Dobbs	Windward and Grain Coast	280[9]	" " "
" "	" "	*Hannah*	Ed. Prescott	Angola	300	Middleton, Liston, and Hope
" 27	May 6	*Success* (schooner)	Wright Westcott	Antigua	60[10]	Ancrum, Lance, and Loocock
May 4	" 7	*Antelope*	Thos. Paly	Gambia	150	Middleton, Liston, and Hope[4]
" 11	" 21	*Essex* (ship)	—— Leaman	Windward and Grain Coast[11]	190	Brailsford and Chapman
" 18	" 22	*Etty*	—— Denison	Gambia	283	Brewton and Smith
June 1	June 11	*Black-Joak*	Robt. Riddle		90	Brailsford and Chapman
" "		*Apollo*	Jno. Hamilton	Gold Coast	150	" " "
" 8	" 13	*Chloe*	Wm. Hayman	Windward Coast	130	Ancrum, Lance, and Loocock
" 15	" 26	*Fox*	Rich. Eaton	Gold Coast	170	Brailsford and Chapman[12]
" "	" "	*Bonetta*	Jos. Mayes	Windward Coast	50	Inglis, Lloyd, and Co.
" 22	" 27	*Virginia* Packet	Gersham Spear	Gold Coast	80	Torrans, Poaug, and Co.
" 29	July 4	*Lively*	—— Caird	Gambia[13]	160	Thos. Shirley, Ed. Martin
July 6	" 10	*Fanny*	Ralph Sampson	St. Kitts		Robertson, Jamieson, and Co.
" 13	" 18	*Molly* (snow)	Thos. Woodburn	Sierra Leone	200	Torrans, Poaug, and Co.
" "	" 23	*Woodmenstone*	Jos. Miller	Windward Coast	190[14]	John Neufville
" 20	" 30	*Minories*	W. Williams	" "	260	" "

thing that could convey the least infection, and that it is now upwards of six weeks since they had the least appearance. Likewise, Now Selling, One Hundred and Fifty choice Gold-Coast Negroes, Just arrived in the snow *Apollo*, Captain John Hamilton, directly from thence, by BRAILSFORD and CHAPMAN."

[8] "Such as are usually imported from Gambia."

[9] "Directly from the windward and Grain coast of Africa, being such as are usually brought from Gambia, as fine a parcel as ever was imported into this province, stout able men and women, with a few boys and girls, all in perfect health, there being none thin or disorder'd among them."

[10] "Chosen out of a large cargo at Antigua."

[11] "Such as are usually brought from Gambia and inferior to none imported this year."

[12] Brailsford and Chapman apparently found themselves with more negroes than they could dispose of in Charleston, for on July 27 the *Gazette* carried the following notice: "On Thursday the first day of August next Will Be Sold, At Public Vendue, At Jacksonborough, Ponpon, Sixty likely Angola and Windward Coast New Negroes: Eighteen months credit will be given, paying interest after three months from the day of sale, and giving security if required. The sale to begin precisely at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. BRAILSFORD and CHAPMAN."

[13] "After a passage of 33 days."

[14] "None of sd. cargo of Slaves will be sold or engaged, before the Doors are open, on the above-mentioned day of sale." This assurance is frequently attached to notices of sale. The next advertisement, that for the cargo of the *Minories*, has the following note:

"	27	"	"	*Friendship*	Alex. Robertson		Middleton, Liston, and Hope
"	29	Aug.	9	*Elizabeth* (ship)	Jno. McNeill	Gold Coast	Brewton and Smith
"	"	"	10	*Newport*	Jno. Shearman	" "	160[15] Brailsford and Chapman
Aug.	17	"	21	*Nancy*	Jno. Keast	Gambia	— Brewton and Smith
"	24	Sept.	3	*Prince George*	Jno. Addison	Sierra Leone	160 Middleton, Liston, and Hope
"	26	"	4	*Ballea Castle*	Matthias Egan	Anamabo	200 " " " "
"	27	"	3	*Dispatch*	Walter Taylor	Guinea	220 Brewton and Smith
Sept.	21	Oct.	1	*Three Friends*	Draper Thomas	Rice Coast	47 " " "
"	"	"	"	*Success*	John Phillips	Senegal	80 John Forbes and Co.
"	28	"	8	*Speedwell*	Jas. Bevins	Africa[16]	Inglis, Lloyd, and Co.
"	"	"	"	*King* [*Prince?*] *Tom*	Jno. Read	Windward Coast	250 Middleton, Liston, and Hope
Oct.	19	"	24	*Brittania*	Stephen Deane[17]	Gambia	130 John Neufville
"	"	"	29	*James*	Jas. Longster	"	70 Inglis, Lloyd, and Co.
"	31[18]	Nov.	5	*William*	Wm. Patton	"	68 Brewton and Smith

"N. B. It may be depended on, that this cargo of negroes will be entirely free and unengaged till the doors are open, on the above mentioned day of sale."

[15] "Chiefly young, lusty Men, and as likely Women, as could be picked out of a large number at a Factory on the Gold Coast."

[16] "Small cargo of young negroes."

[17] "On Tuesday put into Tybee . . . a snow from Gambia, Dean, master, bound to Charlestown, having on board about 150 slaves. Capt. Dean lost two anchors of[f] Charlestown bar on Saturday, and upwards of 30 of his cargo of slaves have died during 16 days he has been on the coast" (*Georgia Gazette*, Sept. 26, 1765). The *Gazette* of Oct. 17 reported that the vessel had sailed for Charleston on the 24th.

[18] The *Gazette*, July 6, 1769, reported for this year 6701; that of May 31, 1773, gave 7184. "The number of Negroes brought into this port only since the 1st of November last this day inclusive, is Five Thousand and Eighty-two, which at £35 sterling per head amounts to £177,870 sterling, or One Million Two Hundred and Forty-five Thousand and Ninety Pounds currency" (*S. C. Gazette*, June 29, 1765; *Mass. Gazette and News Letter*, Aug. 1, 1765). The advertisements up to the end of June give a total of 4368, which leaves 714 to the previous November and December. In those months the *Gazette* had recorded but three arrivals, all from the West Indies, two of them with "a few prime negroes", one with 60 blacks. On Aug. 8 the *Georgia Gazette* gave the value of the importations since the passing of the duty act as £200,000 stg., probably reckoning the average value at £35. This would give a total of 5711 slaves. That the *Gazette* list is not complete is of course probable. The *Newport Mercury* on Sept. 16, 1765, notes the arrival in Newport of Capt. Henry Tillinghast, from Anamabo and "last from South Carolina", but his name does not appear here.

282. Henry Laurens to Francis Stuart, 1765.[1]

6th Febry. 1765.

Francis Stuart Esqr., *Beaufort.*

Sir, It gives me some pain to be troublesome to you upon any occasion but particularly upon such an one as the present. I am now in advance for every farthing of the proceeds of those Negroes which I sold you some time ago for £12,000, because I promised our friends at St. Kitts that I would be punctual in remitting. I must therefore request you to order me a reimbursement of the whole if you possibly can but at least send me some part of it to Keep dunns from my Door, the fear of which alone makes me call upon you and I flatter myself that you will give the needfull attention hereunto.

283. Henry Laurens to David Fulton, 1765.[1]

16th May 1765.

David Fulton, *Black Mingo*

Sir, . . . If a proper parcel of good Negroes shall fall in my way I will send them for Sale to Black Mingo but this is so very distant and uncertain that none of my friends can by any means depend upon it and therefore I beg they may loose no opportunity of purchasing elsewhere.

284. Henry Laurens to Elias Ball, 1765.[1]

15th July 1765.

Elias Ball, *Hyde Park.*

Dear Sir, On Tuesday last I chose out of Messrs. Brailsford and Chapman's Gold Coast Cargo Six Negro Women they prevailed on me to take two more in all 8: which I have bought on your Account at £240 per head payable in two months from the 10th Inst. or as much sooner as you can.

I believe they are all young and seem in these five or six days experience to be tractable and healthy; the price is certainly reasonable. I know he sold Women two days after those at £250 per.

If 8 is more than you want please to draw two out for me and send them when a convenient opportunity offers to Wambaw or back again to Charles Town. I shall be glad to have them, I say this because I think you limited me to 6 and the 8 were bought to reduce the Amt. of the price but if you like to keep the whole, do so by all means. Mr. Gaillard charges you with 8 Blankets at 46/6 per piece.

. . .

[282] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.
[283] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book.
[284] [1] Pa. Hist. Soc., Laurens Letter-Book. Elias Ball was a nephew of Laurens.

285. Lieutenant Governor William Bull to the Board of Trade, 1765.[1]

December 17, 1765.

. . . the indulgence equitably intended to be given to the British Merchants trading to Africa (lest too short a period might have interfered with their adventures) by the Act of Assembly for prohibiting the importation of negros for 3 years, has in great measure defeated the salutary end proposed, as above 8000 have been imported this year, being nearly equal to three years importation.[2] whether this sudden addition to a number already beyond a prudent proportion[3] will be productive of unhappy consequences, cannot be certainly foreseen, but I have a few days ago received intimation that some plots are forming and some attemp[t]s of insurrection to be made during these Holydays, at which Time Slaves are allowed some days of festivity and exemption from labour. I shall therefore take proper measures to prevent the execution of such designs by giving necessary directions to the militia and patrols to be alert on their duty on that season. . . .

286. Henry Laurens to Captain Richard Todd, 1767.[1]

23d Septem. 1767.

Capt. Richard Todd of the Sloop *Henry,* Now Bound to *Jamaica*

Sir, You have here inclosed Invoice and Bill of Loading for the Cargo Ship'd on board your said Sloop on Account of the Owners, to wit, 5/8ths on Account of Mr. Henry Todd, jun. and Compa. and 3/8ths on my Account with which you will proceed immediately to Kingston in Jamaica and there dispose of the whole to the best

[285] [1] Br. Trans., XXX. 298.

[2] The act imposing an additional duty of £100 on all negroes imported, to be paid by the first purchaser, went into effect Jan. 1, 1766, to be in operation for three years. Cooper, IV. 187-188.

[3] Webster gives the population of Charleston as 5000 whites and 20,000 negroes; for 1769 Governor Bull reported for South Carolina 45,000 whites and 80,000 negroes. "Jour. of Webster", Southern Hist. Soc., *Publications,* II. 134; Br. Trans., XXXII. 122.

[286] [1] With the South Carolina market closed by the duty Charleston merchants turned to Georgia and Florida, to which they were at liberty to send negroes. Evidence of earlier trade with Florida is also to be found occasionally. On Jan. 29, 1767, John Gordon presented to the assembly the statement that before the passage of the duty act John Dennett of St. Augustine had purchased from Brailsford and Chapman, and Middleton, Liston, and Hope seven new negroes. Dennett had died and the negroes could not be advantageously disposed of. He asked if they could be brought back to Carolina provided the drawback were returned. The request was refused (S. C. House Journals, p. 269). Petitions relating to the slave trade were not uncommon. On Apr. 16 James Phillips asked that the duty of £50 and £100 per head which he had paid on 4 women, 1 boy, and 2 children imported in *Yellowly,* James, be returned to him as he intended to become a resident of Carolina. This the committee reported upon favorably (*ibid.,* pp. 290, 370, 377). On May 22 John Morris, comptroller of customs in Charleston, former resident of North Carolina, asked permission to bring in his 30 slaves without duty but was freed only from the £20 currency imposed by the general duty act on the first purchaser. *Ibid.,* p. 409.

advantage for ready Money and invest the Net proceed in good Rum of a fine colour and full proof, or in Negroes, or in Dollars as shall appear to you most for our benefit. if Rum is upward of 2/6 per Gallon, no great prospect of profit appears at present from that article and therefore in such case endeavor to lay out your Money in fine healthy young Negro Lads and Men, if such of any Country except Ebo are to be purchased at or under Forty Pounds per head, and you will remember that some cloathing will be needful upon your approach to this coast. in case that neither Rum nor Negroes are to be purchased nor Sugar upon as good terms as the last parcel, then bring home our Money in Silver.

We rely very much upon your own judgement and there[fore] do not lay you under any absolute restrictions but after giving our advice, we recommend our affairs in a great measure to your own discretion, perhaps you may see a good opportunity of purchasing Negroes cheap in the way that we were talking of today, such as are sold to pay debts and not for crimes, if so, it is probable that you may make a good return in that way, but remember that in case of Negroe purchases, we must be prepared to export them again from this place therefore if you have above nine on board it will be necessary for you to come to, with the Sloop in Rebellion Road; former directions about the care of Negroes and also the state of your Accounts may serve in the present case, and leaves nothing particular to add upon the Sloop's Account. I beg you will particularly wait upon Mr. Jeremiah Meyler and press him to make me some remittance by the *Henry* in part of the large balance still due to me by Meyler and Hall near £600 Sterling—in Negroes, in Rum, or Sugar.[2] . . .

287. Henry Laurens to Inglis and Hall, 1767.

24th Sept. 1767.

per Mr. Peace
Inglis and Hall, *Savanna*

Gentlemen, I am obliged to you for your favour of the 3d Inst notifying your intended Sale of a Cargo of Negroes, which I received at the State House and communicated the contents to a great many people some of whom have Lands in Georgia.

I had no occasion for Negroes in addition to my stock in that Colony and therefore defer'd answering your favour until Mr. Peace the bearer of this should go to Savanna and I then thought he would have been there within 24 hours of your messenger.

[2] Captain Todd also carried a letter from Laurens to Jeremiah Meyler, importuning him for some payment, which ended, "send me anything but Rogues, from such I have no hopes of any good, but for justice sake send something or other".

I hope you make a good Sale, to your own and the benefit of the owners and wishing you success in all your undertakings

288. HENRY LAURENS TO SMITH AND BAILLIES, 1767.

14th Nov. 1767.

per Capt. Pekin via Eustatia
Smith and Baillies, *St. Christophers*

My last was the 22d Octob. per Capt. Robertson, since which I have heard that the Negroes therein mentioned were safe arrived in Georgia, but were under much the same inconv[en]iences as to Landing them as Negroes are in this Country;[1] this was disagreeable intelligence and I had scarcely received it an hour when Capt Simblet brought me your favour of the 25th October inclosing a Bill of Loading for more New Negroes on your Accot which must also be exported but I have not time by this conveyance to say more than to assure you of my endeavours to dispose of them for your Interest as if my own was wholly concern'd therein. . . .

289. HENRY LAURENS TO JAMES PENMAN AND WILLIAM MAKDOUGALL, 1767.

21st Nov. 1767.

per Capt. Harris
James Penman and William Makdougall, *St. Augustine*

Gentlemen, In compliance with your favour of the 8th Inst. I have wrote two Letters of Credit, one to Barbadoes and one to St. Christophers, in your favour for Two thousand Pounds Sterling each, the former to John and Thomas Tipping Esqr.[1] and the latter to Messrs. Smith and Baillies, either or both of which you may make use of and you will receive the Letters here inclosed. St. Christophers I take to be the best Island in the West Indies to purchase Negroes at, tho the Barbadoes gives you a double chance by having all the rest under your Lee. Antigua is not a proper place—very few Guinea Men stop there—the Gentlemen to whom I have wrote are Men of honour and integrity and are also the principal African Houses in those Islands respectively. I wish you much success in the enterprize and

[288] [1] On Oct. 26 Laurens wrote to Clay and Habersham of Savannah that he was sending to them for sale, since they could not be sold in Charleston, thirteen new negroes from Smith and Baillies, and three from Peter Gordon of Grenada. Georgia had in 1762 imposed a tax of £2. 10 on every £100 value imported by transient merchants. In addition such merchants must pay fees to the comptroller and the treasurer. *Ga. Col. Recs.*, XVIII. 484-488.

[289] [1] This letter is accompanied by one to this house, explaining that Penman and Makdougall are stocking a plantation in East Florida upon "a very extensive plan and a sound Capital". Apparently the plan here under consideration was never carried out and the credit which Laurens offered was not used. See Laurens to Ross and Mill, London, May 21, 1768.

have no reason to doubt if the affair is well conducted, but give me leave to ask do you send your Charter'd Vessel away empty, would it not have paid Port charges to take in a mixed Cargo here and made something towards the purchase? Remember to charge your Captain and others to be upon their guard constantly without discovering to the Negroes that they are so. I had a fine Sloop nearly cut off some time ago with only 22 Negroes on board from the West Indies.

I shall send 10 New Negroes by Doran for Sale belonging to Messrs. Smith and Baillies and wish they may suit you at a low price.[2]

290. HENRY LAURENS TO JAMES PENMAN, 1767.

21st Nov. 1767.

per Capt. Harris
James Penman, *St Augustine*

Dear Sir, I have before me your kind Letter of the 8th Inst. inclosing Bills for £69. 8. 7 Sterling. the application of the former set was a mere oversight which shall be now rectified.

You will see by my Letters to your African company and from the Letters of Credit there inclosed that I am heartily inclined to do you all the service in my power. your plan is a good one and if well executed will be attended with much saving to you but I think Hugh[1] has hardly experience enough to make choice of Negroes and may easily be deceived in allotments from a whole Cargo wherefore rely more on the persons to whom you write than upon him in that part of the business, those to whom my Credits are directed are Men of strict honour and will not deceive him or you. remember that Bills in the West Indies given for payment of Negro Sales pass extremely well at instalments of 3-6-9 and even 12 Months sight, hint this to your friends and they will explain the matter to your Brother, and if the Bills are drawn more favourably than the custom of the day a proper consideration should be made. . . .

291. HENRY LAURENS TO JAMES PENMAN, 1767.

23 Novr. 1767.

per Capt. Doran
James Penman, *St Augustine*

. . . I take the Liberty of troubling you with a Bill of Loading inclos'd for ten New Negroes per the *Mary* on account of my said

[2] On the same day Laurens wrote to William Stork of St. Augustine that he hoped some of the ten negroes would suit him.

[290] [1] Hugh was a brother, probably a younger brother, of James Penman.

worthy and good friends [1] which I request you to sell on their Account or put them into the best hands you can to be sold for them on the best Terms the Place will afford without much delay I don't know how they came to make such a Mistake as to send Negroes to Carolina where there is a Prohibition upon their Import—and they are such worthy men and valuable Friends that I woud. do every Thing in my Power to serve them. I wish your Family woud. take them at any tolerable Price of your own fixing and send me Bills for the Amot. if you will not buy them and cannot Trouble yourself with the Sale of them, be so good as to tender them to some other good hand that will do my Friends Justice. . . .

292. Henry Laurens to Governor James Grant, 1767.

23d Nov. 1767.

per Capt. Doran
Governor James Grant, *St. Augustine*

. . . Mr. Oswald will have a fine stock in a few Years from his Nursery of Negroes at Musquito,[1] and the idea of putting some of the large Boys under Mr. Waistcoat if he is a clever fellow, is very lucky, and I should think if half a dozen were distributed to learn to row in Canoes and to manage small Boats for two or three Years it would be a further improvement; I was sorry on Mr. Oswalds Account to hear that Nanny was sold and now she will be much missed by Mr. Alert, I have more than a dozen Women of her Value upon Plantations, some that I would not sell for £600 because I know the use of such people among a large gang of ignorant ones. . . .

293. Henry Laurens to Clay and Habersham, 1767.

25th Nov. 1767.

per Mr. Peace
Clay and Habersham, *Savanna*

Gentlemen, Your favour of the 31st October and 14th Inst. are now before me, the former was 15 days in its passage and the latter reached me only 21st. I was in great hopes that you might have obtained a reasonable price for the Negroes consigned to you in the *Broughton Island* Packet and such payments as mentioned in my former Letter, but seeing that cannot be done it only remains that I desire you to sell them up on the best terms your Market will

[291] [1] Smith and Baillies of St. Christopher. On Dec. 24 Laurens wrote expressing his satisfaction with Penman's sale of these negroes, for which he (Penman) was to receive five per cent. commission from Smith and Baillies.

[292] [1] Oswald may have owned land on the Mosquito Coast, a narrow strip of land in Nicaragua facing the Caribbean Sea, or this may refer to land in East Florida, where he possessed more than 8000 acres. Wallace, *Laurens*, p. 127.

admit of and into such hands as you will guarantee, keeping and transmitting to me the Accounts distinctly of the two parcels and be so good as to advise Messrs. Smith and Baillies of the same and transmit Accounts to them also. if a certificate is necessary those Gentlemen will be careful to send you one or two in order to guard against your high duty. please to finish the Sale as soon as possible and embrace the first opportunity of writing to those Gentlemen and if you have an inclination for doing business in their way, their friendship is worth cultivating being a principle House in St. Kitts, and men of integrity and generosity.[1] . . .

294. Henry Laurens to Lachlan McIntosh, 1767.[1]

9th Decr. 1767.

per Mr. Wm. Price
Lachlan McIntosh, *Darien in Georgia.*

Dear Sir, I wrote to you not long since by Mr. Peace, this will be forwarded to you by Mr. Wm. Price who is going to Georgia in order to sell a Cargo of Angola Negroes Men Women and Boys the most sightly that have been imported for many Years and in all appearance the most healthy.

If you have an Inclination to deal with him, I shall in remembrance of my Promise be your Surety so far as to borrow Three hundred and fifty to four hundred Pounds Sterling for you and your offer of Carolina Currency or Bills of Exchange within Three Months must intitle you to some consideration in the purchase. in case you accept of this your presence may be necessary in Charles Town sometime before the Day of Payment. . . .

295. Henry Laurens to Captain John Doran, 1767.

24th December 1767.

Capt. John Doran, of the Schooner *Mary*

Sir, The Negro Man that I have put on board the *Mary* and consign'd to you for Sale at St. Augustine, was part of a Remittance made to the owners of the Ship *Henry* and as such Negroes cannot Legally be sold in this Province I beg the Favour of you to sell him for the most you can obtain in Ready Money or a Bill of Exchange on London or this Place, but not less than £30 Sterlg. clear of Freight your Commission and Charges if any. As to the Negroes Qualities, good or bad, I know nothing of them. I never saw him

[293] [1] On Nov. 28, 1768, Laurens wrote to this firm that this letter, and one of Feb. 9, 1768, remained unanswered, and that he had heard nothing of the fifteen negroes consigned to them from Smith and Baillies and Peter Gordon.

[294] [1] Lachlan McIntosh had at one time been in the counting-house of Henry Laurens or that of his father. See Wallace, p. 126, n. 2.

but once and then very transiently. If you cannot obtain the Price above mentioned and my Schooner is at Augustine put him on board and desire Capt. Peacock to leave him at Broughton Island.[1] if the Schooner is not there leave him with Capt. Adam Bachop or Mr. Alexander Gray. . . .

296. Henry Laurens to Smith and Baillies, 1768.

15th Janry. 1768.

per Capt. Lightburn
Smith and Baillies, *St. Christophers*

. . . Upon Capt. Chilcotts arrival I did every thing in my power to put your Negroes and his into the best hands in Georgia, there happen'd to be in Charles town at that time Mr. McGillivray of the House of Messrs. Graham and Co. and Mr. Hall of the House of Inglis and Hall to each of whom I applied. the former would come to no terms, the latter proposed to sell them upon the best terms of that Market and to remit in 4, 8, 12 and 16 Months. I urged to them the good quality of the Cargo and the terms upon which I had always sold Negroes, to Wit, to remit according to the times agreed upon with the purchasers for Payments but all in vain, they were inflexible. I then took another method and recommended to the House of Price, Hest, and Head to go to Georgia and undertake the Sale upon my terms, which they agreed to. Mr. Price went thither but upon his arrival was intimidated by a transient duty which subjected him as a Stranger to 2½ per Ct. on the Sale and induced him to relinquish the consignment to Messrs. Graham and Co. who sent an Express to my freinds Penman and Co. at St. Augustine who immediately went to Savanna and purchased about 80 of the Cargo of which I understand 38 were yours, at an average of £36. 11. 6 Georgia Money, equal to £33. 13/ Sterling or thereabout payable in Bills upon London at 90 days, but Mr. Price and Capt. Chilcott inform me that Mr. Graham had agreed to remit in 4, 8 and 12 Months which in [*torn*] opinion is ungenerous and I am heartily vexed at it. I resign[ed] the Commission to Mr. Price thinking he would do the [busi]ness as well as any House there and because it was impossi[ble] for me to go to Georgia; without asking or expecting the [*torn*] gratuity or acknowledgement. it has been hinted to me [that] he partakes of the Commission yonder. if this shall be confirm'd to me for fact, I shall be very much displeased that [*torn*] I spoke to him. upon the hold [whole] my good friends I have done all in my power to serve you and am sorry that your affairs have not been managed more to your advantage. the House at Savanna will no doubt advise you fully and I have desired Capt.

[295] [1] Laurens owned 900 acres of land on Broughton Island. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

Chi[l]cotts to write to them immediately to forward your Bills, for so many Negroes as are sold otherwise they may be long delay'd on Account of two or three unsold.

The Gentlemen in Georgia have not wrote a word to me for some time pass about your 10 and Mr. Gordons 3 Negroes but I hope they have been more careful to advise you of their doings as I desir'd them to miss no opportunity. the 10 Negroes which you consign'd to me by Capt. Simblet I sent to Mr. Penman at St. Augustine who sold them for £350 Stg. and has remitted me so much in a Bill upon this Town and another in London. I do his business here without charging him a commission and therefore I suppose he has charged me none up on that Sale and you shall be the gainers by it. The Rice that I ship'd you by Capt. Bell with the Insurance added Amounting to £2236.2.8, together with sundry charges on your Negroes as per Accot. below which please to note to my Credit £379. 10. more will overbalance the said Sale of 10 Negroes.

If you can send 30 or 40 likely unblemished Negroes soon after this reaches you at a price not exceeding £25 Sterling per head for Angola, or £27 for Gambia or Gold Coast consign'd to me on our joint Account, I will undertake the sale of them to the Southward and make you satisfactory remittances for the whole, if they are all Males they will be more valuable by 20/ or 40/ Sterling per head but you give too great a Freight for them. Capt. Chilcott's Negroes were far superior to yours and I am told have yeilded £4 or £5 Sterling per head more than yours. if you make such a Shipment give the Negroes some covering, charge the Master in whose Vessel they are Ship'd to be very careful of them and by all means give me previous advice if possible. . . .

Next Tuesday we determine in the House of Assembly upon the further continuance of the prohibition upon Negroes and you shall soon hear on which side the Majority is found.[1]

297. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald, 1768.

24th May 1768.

per Capt. Jordan
Richard Oswald Esq., *London*

. . . The high duty upon Negroes expires with the present year and I make no doubt that this will be the best Market for Africans

[296] [1] Jan. 28, 1768, Laurens to John Moultrie: "Yesterday a Motion was made in the House for continuing the prohibitory Duty (intended to expire with 1768) for a longer Term—carried in the Negative the folks who play'd Cat in Pan to get the Duty laid to suit particular purposes, and now want to serve the same purpose by taking it off—kept out of the way, for obvious reasons."

"Upon a motion for continuing the additional duty on negroes imported, a majority appeared against it, by which the Prohibition will cease the first of January next." *S. C. Gazette*, Feb. 1, 1768.

all the next, of any in America. You will have offers enough of service in that branch, I shall only presume to say that if I am upon the spot when any of your Vessels arrive here you may command and depend upon my best advice and assistance to the Masters in agreeing with the most proper house, the benefit (I say this *entre nos*) resulting from the modern practice of remitting in the bottom at 3-6- and 9 Months or 3-6- and 12 have been improved far beyond anything that Austin and Laurens ever experienced—their mode for remittance was fairest—the other way is full of temptation—what I would never enter into altho I have known my neighbours making 13 per Ct. Commission sometimes more—when mine never exceeded Nine per Ct.—on Sales and returns. if a Man is honest you may depend upon his remitting according to the times of Payment set forth in the Sales if he is tricky and avaricious you can't depend upon him at all.[1] . . .

298. Henry Laurens to Smith and Baillies, 1768.

4th July 1768.

per Mr. Price

Smith and Baillies, *St. Christophers*

. . . This goes by the hands of Mr. William Price a Gentleman who has been in trade some Years and is at the head of that House that undertook the Sale of Capt. Chilcott's Negroes last Winter upon more equitable terms than was offer'd by any other. He is going to transact affairs of the partnership in the West Indies and may perhaps call at St. Christophers; if he does and shall enter into any engagement with you, for fourscore or an hundred Negroes of the first quality, I will be answerable for such part as he may take upon his Account and mine admitting the same to be 2/3ds or 3/4ths and make a satisfactory remittance for the Amount as soon as I shall be advis'd of the terms and also for remitting for your part if you shall chuse to hold 1/3d or one quarter punctually when the Nt. proceed shall become due, and likewise do everything in my power that shall be needful to make a good Sale. I am of opinion that such Slaves as I have hinted to Mr. Price, taken such care of on the Voyage as he shall direct will sell for good prices and command a great deal of ready Money. . . .

P. S. As my principal motive to the above proposition is to assist my friends Price, Hest, and Head it will [be] equally agreeable to me to be excluded from a share in the purchase of Negroes and I shall be answerable for the performance of any engagements on their part in the same manner as is express'd in the preceding Letter.

[297] [1] In a letter written the next day, May 25, to Thomas and Richard Millerson and Co. of Lancaster, also sent by Captain Jordan, Laurens, after proffering his advisory services in the market soon to be opened, added, "I have not resolved upon that Trade again or not".

299. Henry Laurens to Ross and Mill, 1768.

2d Septem. 1768.

per Capt. Simblet
Ross and Mill, *London*

. . . In my Letter of the 13th July [1] I promised to write more fully up on the African Trade meaning to enlarge upon the Subject of remittances. It was the constant practice of our House Austin and Laurens to Note upon each Accot. of Sale the terms of payment under different heads as such payments became due, and at each period to remit the full Sum then due. from that method we acted simply as Factors; transacting the business of our constituents for a certain known Commission of 5 per Ct. upon Sales and returns which Netted upon both about 8½ to 9 per Ct. some of our Neighbours in those days endeavour'd to persuade us to fall into a New way which had been proposed and I believe in some measure forced upon them of remitting the Net Proceed of each Cargo in Bills in the Bottom payable in certain proportions and at distant periods, as 3-6-9 to 3-6-12- and 15 Months, but we would not deviate from our plan altho we have known 14 to 17 per Ct. made the other way. I think it my duty in return for the friendly preference that you are pleased to offer me, to hint this much to you. You may learn from our old Accounts from Messrs. Oswald and Co. what remittances we made to them and such or nearly such may always be made while the Negro Trade is worth your attention in Carolina. The Market in this Country does not continue as in the West Indies long at a Medium price, our prices are (almost without exception) either high or too low to make tolerable profits by. in the West Indies terms of payment and prices do not greatly vary, you have a chance of going easily from one Island to another and the Merchant undertakes to turn out the Cargo at so much per head at least; upon such terms of remittance, whence the objection that I make to such remittances from this place is no objection in the Islands, nor any where else where a stated price for the Cargo is fixed. The Owner reaps all the benefit from better prices and the Merchant enjoys all the profits he can make from speedy payments. this is fair and understood by each party. If the House you consign to here, consist of candid and ingenuous Men you may depend upon having strict justice done in Accounts in what I call the old way—if you have any doubts of their integrity they are not fit to correspond with—but take Men as Men, consider how much more you are in the power

[299] [1] Laurens had also written to this house on July 26, expressing in his letter some apprehension over political conditions: "the good Sales of Negroes will depend very much upon the prospect we may have by and by of concord with our friends on your side the Water."

of a House when remittances are to be made by Bill, in the bottom at long periods and no stated price for the average of a Cargo than you are when business is transacted for you at a certain Commission and the Remittances to be made on your Account as the payments become due. I do not mean by these observations to censure anybody nor to impute the mode of remittance, which I so much dislike, to the invention of our Carolina Merchants. I rather think it was forced upon them from your side of the Water by some Gentlemen who said that Bills in the bottom kept the wheel in motion. that is well enough when there is not other strength to turn it, but it is at the same time paying dear for such assistance.[2]

It is very uncertain whether I shall ever sell or be concern'd in the Sale of another Cargo of Negroes, I am determined barring extraordinary accidents to go to England in the Spring of Next Year and if any Negroes shall in the mean time come consign'd [to me] I shall transfer the consignment to Messrs. Thomas Loughton Smith and Roger Smith, the Sons of Benjamin Smith and Thomas Smith Esq. who have both retired from Trade.

The connexions, capital, and application to business of those Younger Gentlemen together with the aid of their Fathers and other able friends will give them an Ascendant over some Houses and enable them to do as much for the Interest of their Constituents in the African branch as any House in the place, both in obtaining good prices and making faithful remittances; they are ready to give good Security for performance of their engagements. when Austin, Laurens, and Appleby recommended Smith, Brewton, and Smith to their old benefactors and correspondant in the Negro Trade, it arose (next to a knowledge of the ability of that House) from a consideration of favours often received in their own Negro Sales and upon other occasions from Mr. Benjamin Smith and the same considerations attach me at present to the Interest of his Son and his Nephew, without meaning or intending to injure or by any means disparage Mr. Brewton and his new connexions whom I wish very well.[3] I believe that great Sales will be made next Year of Negroes in this place, if no extraordinary interruption by public disputes shall prevent our progress. I cannot form a compitent judgement of the Temper of the times, nor can I expect that great things will be done in our favour to make us quiet while you are in such confusion at home but you will have the first opportunity of seeing into public measures and will shape your own accordingly. We have a prospect of a large Crop of Rice and great plenty of Negro Provision which is no small inducement to planters to purchase Negroes and the Crop of Indigo tho

[2] A letter of the same tenor was written to Henry Bright Aug. 25, 1768.
[3] Brewton's new partner was Doyley.

not very large will make a considerable addition to our Remittances and besides all that the old Crop of Rice is wound up at 75/ per Ct., many Planters out of debt and full of Money which they must spend in the Horse Races if they cant lay it out in Negroes.[4]

300. Henry Laurens to William Fisher, 1768.[1]

9th November 1768.

per Capt. Mason, returned and went by a Schooner
from Messrs Johnson and Simpson
William Fisher, *Philadelphia*

. . . I have been largely concern'd in the African Trade. I quitted the Profits arising from that gainful Branch principally because of many Acts from the Masters and others concern'd toward the wretched Negroes from the Time of purchasing to that of selling them again some of which, altho within my knowledge were uncontrolable. Yet I never saw an Instance of Cruelty in Ten or twelve Years experience in that branch equal to the cruelty exercised upon those poor Irish, who are to be I suppose the Subject of Mr. Jackson's Application. No! Self Interest [causes] the baptized Heathen to take some Care of their wretched Slaves for a Market—but no other care was taken of those poor Protestant Christians from Ireland but to deliver as many as possible alive on Shoar upon the cheapest Terms. . . .

301. Henry Laurens to Captain Hinson Todd, 1768.

15 Novem. 1768.

Capt. Hinson Tood of the Sloop *Montague*
now bound to *Jamaica*

. . . You are to vest the Net Proceeds of the Sales all in good Jamaica Rum provided you can purchase full proof at a price not exceeding 2/9 per Gallon—as much lower as you can—if Rum is not to be had at or under 2/9 per Gallon don't purchase above 15 or 20 Hogsds. and lay out the remainder of the Proceeds in likely Negroes not exceeding £45 Jamaica Money per head for young Men and Wom-

[4] On Oct. 15 Laurens wrote again of the need for caution because of political difficulties: "if we are thrown into confusion by political disputes and contentions for Liberty, our Market must be a very bad one at such times for the Sale of Negroes." On Oct. 21 he added: "Just as I was going to close the above Copy of my last the 15th Inst. your obliging favour of the 12th Augt. came to hand. You may rest assured of my utmost endeavours for your Interest when any of your Guinea Men arrive here. the unlimited confidence that you are pleased to repose in me demands it, but my inclination to do you all the service in my power added thereto secures to you a friendship that is wholly disinterested and I beg that you will not in return make any appoligies."

[300] [1] William Fisher was a Quaker merchant of Philadelphia, and in 1773 mayor.

en or in Sugar, Coffee or Dollars as you shall upon due consideration think will be most for the benefit of the Concern'd. . . .

302. Henry Laurens to Ross and Mill, 1768.

24th December 1768.

per Capt. Hooper
Ross and Mill, *London*

. . . Here are about 150 Negroes imported in different bottoms from West Indies waiting for the opening of 1769—which is now near at hand [1] and I do suppose there will soon be ten Times as many. the Planters are full of Money, and their Rice commands Money wherefore 'tis probable that the Sale of Slaves will be very advantageous at this Market until we are overstock'd, or interrupted by any broils with King's Officers the latter I hope is at a much greater distance than the period of my Life—but yet—the aspect of the Times is exceedingly unpleasant.

[302] [1] "Charleston. The additional duty of £100 currency a head on negroes imported into this province, expiring the last day of this month, negroes for sale are already arriving here." *Ga. Gazette,* Dec. 14, 1768.

303. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1769.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 12	Jan. 17	Sl. *Ranger*	Horace Wood	St. Kitts		Wm. Somarsall
" 26	" 31	*Betsey*[1]	John Lesuer	Barbados		Wilson, Coram, Wayne, and Co.
Feb. 2	Feb. 9			West Indies	36[2]	Savage and Leger
Mar. 7	Mar. 13	*Ruby*	Thos. Bragg	Barbados	50[3]	Jas. Graham and Co.
" 23	" 29	*Sally*	Geo. Evans	Cape Mount[4]	296	Thos.-Loughton and Roger Smith
" "	" "	*Shelburne*	Jas. Clark	Senegal	138	Thos.-Loughton and Roger Smith
" 30	" 30	*Charming Polly*	Jas. Robinson	Antigua	40	Torrans, Poaug, and Co.
Apr. 6	Apr. 13	*Squirrel*[5]	Thos. Fisher	Gambia	114	Brewton, Doyley, and Brewton
" "	" 17	*Royal George*	Thos. Blundell	Angola	360	Brewton, Doyley, and Brewton
" "	" 13			Guinea	40[6]	Ed. Lightwood
" "	" "	*Corker*	John Allenby	Gambia	127	Thos.-Loughton and Roger Smith
" 27	May 3	*Neptune*	Ebenezer Price	Anamabo	340	Brewton, Doyley, and Brewton
" "	" 17	*Fly*	Alex. Taylor	Grain Coast	130	Inglis and Hall[7]
May 4	" 10	*James*	Henry Billings	Cape Mount[8]	300	Brewton, Doyley, and Brewton
" "	" 9	*Aston*	James Caird[9]	Gambia	126	Edmund Head[10]
" "	" 10	*Countess of Sussex*	Thos. Davies[11]	"	250	John Chapman and Co.[12]
" 11	" 17	*Shark*	John Ashburn	Gabon Coast		Robert Smyth[12]
" 18	" 24	*Jenny*	Rich. Webster	Rice and Grain Coast	200	John Edwards
" "	" "	"	"	" " "	11	Nath. Russell
" 25	June 6	*Lilly*	—— Scrogham	Bassa[13]	120	John Chapman and Co.
June 1	" 7	*St. John*	John Clifton	Angola	216[14]	Thos.-Loughton and Roger Smith
" 5	" 14	*Harriat*	Thos. Rymer	West Coast	157	Thos.-Loughton and Roger Smith
" "	" "	*Mercury*	—— Maxwell	Angola	252	Brewton, Doyley, and Brewton
" 15	" 26	*King George*	Wm. Graham	Bance Island	120[15]	Thos.-Loughton and Roger Smith
" 22	" 27	*Edgar*	Henry Madden	Africa	275[16]	Brewton, Doyley, and Brewton
" "	July 13	*Jenny*	Richard Webster		20	Prioleau, jr.[17]
July 27	Aug. 3	*Dembia*	Francis Bare	Sierra Leone	94[18]	David and John Deas

Aug. 31	Sept. 7	*John*	John Fletcher	Windward and Gold Coast	280	Brewton, Doyley, and Brewton
Sept. 14	" 25	*Cato*	Wm. Gill	Benin	210[19]	Robert Smyth

[303] [1] Prime slaves, among whom is an "excellent house wench".

[2] "New negroes", will exchange for rice.

[3] "Being picked out of three large cargoes lately arrived from the Coast."

[4] "Cape Mount, (a Rice Country) on the Windward Coast, after a short passage of five weeks." This cargo was the property of Henry Bright of Bristol.

[5] "N. B. This is not the Vessel that had the Small Pox on board."

[6] "Forty Remarkably Fine Negro Women."

[7] "To Be Sold in the Town of Savannah."

[8] "On the West Coast, which is in the Center of a Rice Country."

[9] The notice of entry of this vessel gave the captain as James Aston, which was probably a mistake, as the *Gazette* of May 25 contained the notice of the death of James Caird, master of the *Aston* of Liverpool.

[10] "In the Yard of the House possessed by Mr. John Narney, the South End of the Bay."

[11] "The Small-Pox having made its appearance on some of the Negroes on board the vessel, soon after she left the coast, the remainder were immediately inoculated, and at the time of her arrival here, on the 31st of March last, only six had then the disorder, and they upon the recovery; Every necessary precaution hath since been taken, to cleanse both ship and cargo, and no danger from infection can be justly apprehended."

[12] "Bills of Exchange on London will be accepted as cash."

[13] "On the Windward Coast of Africa." The care which advertisers took to see that potential buyers knew the region of Africa from which cargoes came, is noticeable throughout the entire history of the South Carolina trade.

[14] "Upwards of 110 of the above Slaves, are Likely Young Men."

[15] "To Be Sold, On Monday the 26th Instant, A remarkable fine healthy Cargo of Negroes, Chose from the Factory at Bance Island, Consisting of One Hundred and Twenty stout able Men and Women, and Thirty likely Boys and Girls, from 10 to 15 years of age; arrived yesterday, in the ship *King-George*, Capt. William Graham, after a very short passage, by THOMAS-L. and ROGER SMITH. The above Slaves are from a country much esteemed and not inferior to any imported."

[16] "One half of this cargo are Boys and Girls."

[17] "To Be Sold at auction, at the usual place in Charles-Town, on Thursday the 13th July next, at eleven o'clock, for ready money; Twenty Valuable Negroes, (Lately imported in the ship *Jenny*, Richard Webster, Master, from Africa) Belonging to the estate of Thomas Fowler, deceased: most part of them can speak English, having been the property of the said Thomas Fowler, for some years past, on the Rice or Grain Coast, *viz*, two men, five women, twelve boys, from 12 to 18 years of age, and one girl. N. B. Three of the above boys are bound to Mr. Paul Pritchard, shipwright, for five years, and two for seven years, which must be sold under that incumbrance, and at the risk of the purchaser. SAMUEL PRIOLEAU, jun. and Comp."

[18] In the collection of papers relating to the slave trade owned by Mr. George Plimpton is a broadside announcing the sale of this cargo, and intended to be distributed through the country. "Charlestown, July 24th, 1769. To Be Sold, On Thursday the third Day of August next, A Cargo of Ninety-Four Prime, Healthy Negroes, Consisting of Thirty-nine Men, Fifteen Boys Twenty-four Women, and Sixteen Girls Just Arrived, In the Brigantine *Dambia*, Francis Bare, Master from Sierra Leon, by DAVID and JOHN DEAS."

[19] "All of whom have had the Small Pox." The *Gazette* of May 31, 1773, gives the importation for 1769 as 4612. From Jan. 1 to July 1, 4233 are reported. See *post*, no. 308, also no. 310.

304. Henry Laurens to Ross and Mill, 1769.[1]

11th March 1769.

per Capt. Bound
Ross and Mill, *London*

. . . Several small parcels of Negroes have been imported here from the West India Islands and the best of them have sold pretty well but there is generally a mixture of refuse Negroes amongst such and therefore after the very best are disposed of, the bulk remains often times upon hand and do not yeild great prices, therefore no opinion can be formed from such adventure what a fine Cargo directly from the Coast would sell for, and indeed from the despondency of many People here on Account of the late Revenue Laws, from whence many were or pretended to be resolv'd against purchasing Negroes [2] I have not thought it for your Interest to Give Capt. Gray any encouragement to come to this Market. If such resolution shall be formed and adhered to by the Planters your friends will have a very difficult Card to play in order to save you from very great Losses and in such case you may rely upon the most strenuous exertion of my abilities to serve you. but I hope our next intelligence from Great Britain will clear away the gloom which at present hangs on our minds, otherwise depend upon it necessity will drive us to wear our old Cloaths over again until new ones can be wrought from our own manufactures. this is the general voice of the People; a very sensible Publication lately appeared in one of our Gazettes dissuading the Planters from purchasing Negroes and I am told it is much regarded in the Country.[3] I shall observe what happens at the first large Sale and if the bent of the Planter is really against purchasing Negroes until better times come, shall write to every Island from Barbadoes downward to prevent if possible any of your Interest from coming hither. . . .

305. Henry Laurens to Ross and Mill, 1769.

31st March 1769.

per Capt. Simblet
Ross and Mill, *London*

Gentlemen, The preceding is duplicate of my last under the 11th Instant, since which two African Vessels directly from the Coast with

[304] [1] Laurens's letters for this year give little idea of the amount of importation going on. No longer actively engaged in it, he either knew less of its details or was less concerned to transmit them to foreign correspondents.

[2] This suggests that the non-importation agreement of July was already being informally discussed.

[3] It is possible that Laurens refers to the following sentence, which had appeared in the *Gazette* of Mar. 2: "A Calculation having been made of the Amount of the Purchase Money of Slaves expected here the present Year, it is computed at £270,000 Sterling, which Sum will by that Means be drained from this Province."

upwards of 400 Negroes arrived to Messrs. Thomas and Roger Smith. some wealthy young Planters, and family connexions purchased a good many at £300 for Men and £270 for Women but there were not so many planters appear'd as used in former days to appear at such Sales nor did they discover that eagerness for buying as might be expected from the abundance of their Crops and the high prices obtained for them and Mr. Smith fears that his Sales will not average much above £31 or £32 and yet both Cargoes were very fine and no House in Town more capable of Selling Negroes to advantage. Such Cargoes in the present prosperous state of our Planters if they had not been under the dread of New Taxes the weight of which they cannot judge of until the demand is made, would have gone off upon very different terms. indeed it may be said that many of them stand off in hopes of purchasing cheaper a Month or two hence and I believe there is truth in that observation, but it is as certain that all the most sensible people act with more caution and restrict their expenses more than they would otherwise do, on Account of the present attempts of the Ministry to burthen us with Taxes of every kind.

306. Henry Laurens to Henry Bright and Company, 1769.

2d June 1769.

per Capt. Blundell—with the papers mentio[n]ed therein
Henry Bright Esq and Co.
Owners of the Ship *Sally, Bristol*

. . . The second best Negro Man of the Nine Slaves imported in the *Sally* fell down from the Ship's Main Deck to the very bottom of a swept hold and after lingring a few days the poor Wretch died. one of the Survivors is a likely fellow, one a likely Man boy; one an ordinary Boy, one a Meagre sickly and elderly Man, two ordinary Young Women and two likely Girls. there are so many Negroes of various Cargoes remaining on the Merchants hands and often selling at Vendue that nobody will at present offer prime Cost for yours. I have therefore sent them into the Country, shall recruit them and they will be a little Seasoned and then perhaps somebody may buy them. There are two of them that would not by a forced Sale yeild £10. Stg. per head.[1] Your late project in demanding Remittances in the bottoms of your Guinea Men at stated periods will account for the unexpected low averages at our Market. our Merchants here are by no means to blame,

[306] [1]Laurens was apparently lending assistance to Thomas-Loughton and Roger Smith in disposing of the unsold residuum of the *Sally's* cargo, despite his positive statement that he had wholly retired from the African business. Laurens to Richard Millerson, June 3, 1769.

those on your side have forced such terms upon them and may ascribe the consequences to their own policy. in the days of A and L I used to reckon our Commissions on Sales and returns about 9 per Ct. and never would consent to fall into the Measures alluded to above altho I clearly saw some of my Neighbours pocket without risque 14 to 17 per Ct.[2] . . .

307. HENRY LAURENS TO OSWALD, GRANT, AND COMPANY, 1769.

14th June 1769.

per Capt. Lowley
Oswald, Grant and Co., *London*

Gentlemen, Yesterday I received a Letter from Messrs. Knight and Davidson your Agents at Bance Island inclosing a Bill of Loading for 150 Slaves on board the Ship *King George,* William Graham Master, on your Account now arrived within this port, and in the Evening your much esteemed favour of the 5th April by the Packet together with a duplicate of the 23d January and an inclosed Letter all came to hand. I am under great obligations to you for these intended consignments and shall never think I can do too much to serve you in return, altho it is not in my power consistently with my regard for your Interest to reap the benefits of them. my present plan of business renders me incapable of selling Negroes to such advantage as I used to do. I live a little remote from town, am very often in the Country and by an inattention to mercantile affairs for some Years past have lost a great many of my old Country acquaintance but besides these impediments I am endeavouring to go to England some time in next Month and shall do so if I possibly can put my affairs in order to admit of my absence. I have therefore recommended this Cargo to the care of Messrs. Thos. L. and Roger Smith whose interest and connexions are such as enables them to make (in my opinion) the best Sales in Charlestown. I shall talk to them upon the head of remittances and make no doubt that everything will be done by them to give you satisfaction and as I have no Interest in the Sale directly or indirectly save only to serve you and them so I can speak to them with the greater freedom and Mr. Thos. Smith will be with you very soon after you receive this. he leaves in his absence two excellent substitutes his own and his Partner's Father.

Docter Gordon from on board the *King George* writes to me that five of the Slaves died on the Passage, the remainder much

[2] On Oct. 31 Laurens wrote that the negroes had brought £1426. 8. 8, or £400 more than if he had sold them at once. To what he had already written of the cargo he added: "a third poor pining creature hanged herself with a piece of a small Vine which shews that her carcass was not very weighty. . . . Who that views the above Picture can love the Affrican trade?"

improved since they left Bance Island and in general very healthy. When Capt. Stevens arrives you may depend upon my utmost endeavours to serve him in every respect and as he is very sensible and well acquainted with People here I shall put him in the way to make the most advantageous contract the times will admit of. I am told prime Negroes, say Men, sell quick at £300 per head others (ordinary ones excepted) in proportion.

308. News Item relating to Slave Trade, 1769.[1]

Upon examining the Imports of Negroes, from the year 1756 to 1766, it appears, that 23,743 were brought into this Province in that Period; the Medium of which is 2374 a Year; but if the last of those Years is taken off, (when 6701 were poured in upon us, on Account of the high Duty that was to take Place the Year following, and which did put an entire Stop to the Importation til last January) the Medium is then only 1894. From the 1st of January last to the 1st Instant, no less than 4233 have been imported, and near as many more, we hear, are expected, before the close of the Year, notwithstanding several Vessels that were intended here, have met, and will meet with Orders in the West-Indies, to sell there. There surely needs no Comment upon this; every Man's own mind must suggest the Consequences of such enormous Importations, in every view, especially at this Time.

309. Non-importation Agreement, 1769.[1]

July 22, 1769.

IV. That from and after the 1st Day of January, 1770, we will not Import, Buy, or Sell, any Negroes that shall be brought into this Province from Africa; nor after the 1st Day of October next, any Negroes that shall be imported from the West-Indies or Any Other Place, excepting Africa as aforesaid: And that, if any Negroes shall be sent to us, contrary to our Agreement in this Subscription, such Goods shall be Re-shipped or Stored, and Such Negroes Re-shipped from this Province, and not, By any Means, offered for Sale therein.

[308] [1] *S. C. Gazette,* July 6, 1769.

[309] [1] *S. C. Gazette,* May 3, 1770. In the original form in which the non-importation agreement appeared in the *Gazette* negroes were not mentioned, but the enlarged agreement presented to the meeting of Charleston inhabitants July 22, 1769, contained the paragraph here printed. The agreement was signed by 142 merchants and importers and enforced by a committee containing, among others, the following merchants: John Neufville, Daniel D'Oyley, Thomas Shirley, Peter Bacot, Roger Smith, and William Price (*ibid.,* July 27, 1769; *Boston News Letter,* Aug. 17, 1769). For an account of the controversies over the adoption of the agreement see McCrady. *Royal Government,* pp. 645-658; Sellers, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the Revolution,* pp. 203-209.

310. Lieutenant Governor William Bull to Secretary Hillsborough, 1769.[1]

December 6, 1769.

. . . The only Article of Import I shall mention is that of Negroes as they increase the means of Agriculture. Since the 1st of January last at which time expired the prohibition to import them 5435 negroes have been imported which being mostly Adults for immediate Service sold upon an average near £40 Sterling each amounting to the great sum of £200,000 sterling purchased in Africa chiefly by british merchants residing in London, Bristol and Liverpool.[2]

311. Henry Laurens to Ross and Mill, 1770.

14th April 1770.

per Capt. Chamberlain
Ross and Mill, *London*

. . . When I recommended the House of Messrs. T. L. and Roger Smith for the Sale of your African Cargoes be assured Gentlemen I had your Interest solely in view. I thought that from their connections and particularly from the great assistance, which they might have from their respective Fathers both in person and purse no House in Town was better qualified to make advantageous Sales. all that I have gain'd by it is ill Will from some who would gladly have given me a part of the Commissions for the business and downright ungrateful Language from one a Young Man [1] who used to live with me, to whom I have done every proper service in my power but could not think as he did, that he was equally well qualified to sell Negro Cargoes as more established Houses. I mention so much because it really grieves me to think that after such disinterested measures as I took to serve you, you have not received that satisfaction from the conduct of my friends which you had a good right to expect but I still hope Mr. T. L. Smith has explain'd the Account in such manner as to convince you that their was nothing unfair in the transactions of his House. I told you long ago that I did not approve the mode adopted for the Sale of Negroes in this Province, but if each party is satisfied at making the contract and the

[310] [1] Br. Trans., XXXII. 129. In a similar letter written by Bull to the Board of Trade, Dec. 5, he gives the number of negroes imported as 5438. *Ibid.*, XXXII. 122.

[2] This corresponds with the estimate in the *Gazette* of Mar. 29, 1770: "But for the General Resolutions entered into by the Inhabitants of this Province, it is computed, that the British Merchants would have drawn from us this Year, no less a Sum than Two Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling, for the Article of Slaves Alone, purchased chiefly with British Manufactures."

[311] [1] This may have been either Felix Warley, or Head, both of whom Laurens had befriended.

Selling party here complies with his or their engagements no blame can justly be laid to them. If you and I, had half an hours conversation I could I think I could put you in a way to have advantageous Sales made here and give a very acceptable Commission to your Factor.

I have not the least doubt but Negroes will sell extremely well here as soon as the market is open and if your first Cargo come under my care I will try to do you a piece of service by employing a friend (perhaps the same House) to sell it in the old way. . . .

312. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1770.[1]

May 3, 1770.

In the Brigt. *Tartar* Capt. McCall, (arrived here the 11th past from Jamaica) 40 Negroes were imported, which, agreeable to our Resolutions, must be re-shipped from this Province, and not, by any Means, offered for Sale therein. Another Parcel of Slaves arrived here last Tuesday, in the Ship *Africa,* Capt. Sewell, from Grenada, under the same Circumstances. And the Ship *Sally,* of Liverpoole, Capt. Evans, from Africa, arrived Yesterday, with 300 more.

May 10, 1770.

A Part of the Negroes lately imported here, are, Agreeable to the Resolutions, re-shipped from this Province, and gone for Georgia; whither the rest will soon follow.

May 17, 1770.[2]

Yesterday sailed for Georgia the Ship *Sally,* George Evans Master, which arrived here the 2d Instant, with 345 Slaves from the Coast of Africa. Captain Evans had been to Georgia by Land, and returned a few Days before the above General Meeting, where he attended, intending to propose "to stay her about two Months; to repair his Vessel, and see if any Change of Affairs might happen in his Favour; and to offer Security that he would not, in the mean Time sell any Part of his Cargo in this Province;" But when he saw the People assembled, he thought it most adviseable, to decline his intended Proposal, to fill his Water-Casks the Day following and Sail the next, with his whole Cargo, tho' he has no Prospect of a good Sale where he is gone.

[312] [1] *S. C. Gazette,* for the dates given. The first item also appears in the *Ga. Gazette,* May 10, 1770, and in the *Mass. Gazette and News Letter,* June 7. South Carolina apparently made a very genuine effort to enforce the agreement. The *Gazette* reports a meeting called Jan. 1 or before, to enquire of the committee "whether any negroes have been imported from the West-Indies since the 1st day of October last, and sold here; and by whom (if any) purchased?" (*S. C. Gazette,* Dec. 21, 1769). In March "a meeting of Merchants and Factors framed an agreement to prevent masters of vessels from importing and clandestinely selling goods, wine and slaves". *Ibid.,* Mar. 8, 1770.

[2] In the Supplement to the *Gazette,* May 17, 1770.

If it is possible, that any Planter in this Province can be so destitute of public Virtue, as to countenance the unfeeling Merchants of Georgia (while they counter-act our Resolutions, and remain dead to every Thing but their own Interest) by purchasing Slaves in That Province, and introducing them over Land into This; he will do well to consider, that Every Slave so introduced, is liable to Seizure and Forfeiture, One Half to the Informer; that he will be so narrowly watched, even by his Brethren, as well as Overseers and others, that it will be almost impossible to secure one such Slave; and that there is a Resolution taken, to inflict the highest public Censure upon such Offenders, particularly and to treat them with a Contempt equal to the Atrociousness of the Offence—as Enemies to the Liberties of America.[3]

July 19, 1770.

We are informed, that a Seizure has already been made at Beaufort, Port-Royal, of some Negroes clandestinely brought into this Province, for not having paid the Duties and that three or four other Purchasers are obliged to conceal theirs, to avert the same Inconveniency, being narrowly watched by some Resolutioners.[4]

313. Nathaniel Russell to Aaron Lopez, 1770.[1]

Charlestown 28th May 1770.

Dear Sir, . . . the State of Markits here are much the same as when I wrote. Rice continues at 45/, here has been several Vessells with Negroes but none sold they are Oblig'd to carry them to Other Provinces most of them are gone to Georgia if they could be sold here they would command a very good Price at this time. . . .

314. Henry Laurens to John Holman, 1770.

8th Septem. 1770.

per Favour of Capt. Savery
John Holman, *Island of Delos, Africa*

. . . If you send any Slaves to this place consign'd to me, you may depend upon it, that I shall either sell them myself, or put them

[3] This paragraph was repeated in the *Gazette* of May 24.

[4] On Sept. 22 Laurens wrote to a Dominican correspondent: "The Negroe which you have sent cannot possibly be landed in this Province for several Reasons—perhaps Capt. Hoggat may find some Opportunity to dispose of him for immediate Exportation to some neighboring province—otherwise you must expect to see him return in the Vessel."

[313] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., Lopez Letter-Book, no. 631, p. 11. For further information concerning Russell and Lopez see this work, vol. III., index.

into such hands as will do you the most Service in the Sale and the most perfect Justice in every Respect, but send none but young ones. I don't mean Children, when a small parcel of old or ordinary Slaves come to hand it is exceedingly difficult to dispose of them at any Rate. . . .

P. S. To Mr. Holman's Letter. I refer you to Capt. Savery for an Account of the Restriction laid on the Importation of Slaves into this province, by the Resolution of the people and it is my opinion that the Market will not be open again until April next, and that will depend entirely on the Repeal of certain Acts of Parliament, which we Americans complain of as unjust, oppressive and unconstitutional—and if you come to reside here, you will thank us for the bold opposition—which Duty to our latest posterity has obliged us to make against a Ministry who after having drained the Wealth of G. Britain and Ireland are endeavouring to subject America to the payment of pensions for their mignions of both sides. But we will not bow.[1]

[314] [1] On Sept. 10 Laurens wrote to Richard Oswald: "these Resolutions remain a Bar to the Importation of Negroes. . . . Our planters are out of Debt and in general have large Funds for purchasing Negroes, which they will do very eagerly whenever an Importation takes place." On Sept. 29 he wrote to Alexander, James, and Evan Baillie of St. Christopher: "Negroes would make not only a saving but a gainful Remittance if our Resolutions did not prohibit the Importation . . . Whenever the parliament will enable us to depart from our present Resolutions, you may depend upon it that our Market will be the best in America for fine Negroes." News of the defection of Rhode Island reached Charleston in the summer. Later, word arrived that New York and Pennsylvania had abandoned the agreement. At a general meeting held Dec. 13 the inhabitants of Charleston declared non-importation at an end. McCrady, *Royal Government*, p. 679.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Feb. 7	Feb. 16	*Greyhound*	Geo. Catton		40[1]	John Darrell
" "	" "	"	" "	St. Kitts	39	Sam. Prioleau, jr.
Apr. 4	Apr. 11	*Ottley*	Wm. Higgs	Antigua and St. Kitts	80[2]	Geo. Smith
" "	" "	*Friendship*	John Wooster	Africa	105[3]	Elias Vanderhorst and Felix Warley
" "	"	15	*Benjamin*	Nat. Dickinson	Barbados	92	Ed. Lake and Savage and Legare
" 25	May 7	*Aurora*	Sam. Spinks	Barbados (Gold Coast)	80	John Edwards and Co.
May 2	" "	*Adventure*	Clement Conyers	Antigua	49[4]	Geo. Smith / Smith and Darrell
" 30	June 11	*Hector*	Wm. Lewellin	Angola	280	Miles Brewton
" "	" "	*New Britannia*	Stephen Deane	Gambia	90	" "
June 6	" 19	*Betsey*	Wm. Morgan	Angola[5]	280	" "
" "	" "	*Saville*	Jas. Kendall	Sierra Leone	172[6]	Andrew Lord
" 27	July 9	*Sally*	Geo. Evans	Cape Mount[7]	290	Thos.-Loughton and Roger Smith
July 25	" 30	*Bance Island*	Geo. Smith	Sierre Leone[8]	230	Alex. Inglis, Nath. Hall
Aug. 1	Aug. 13	*Mars*	F. Holland	Windward Coast	200	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
Sept. 5	Sept. 10	*Two Brothers*	Hugh Glen	Gambia	200	Andrew Lord
" "	" 17	*Bance Island*	James Tosh	Bance Island	118[9]	Thos.-Loughton and Roger Smith
Oct. 3	Oct. 15	*Gambia*	Jas. Willis	Gambia	133	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
" 17	" 22	*Warren*	John Thompson	Sierra Leone	120	" " " "
Dec. 5	Dec. 24	*Friendship*	John Wooster	Barbados	90	John Edwards and Elias Vanderhorst

[315] [1] "At Roper's Wharf, for present Payment either in Cash, Rice, or Bills of Exchange on London . . . . consisting of Men and Women from the Age of Fifteen to Twenty-Four Years who have had the Small Pox in their Country." The first sale of these negroes was apparently not successful, for on Feb. 28 and Mar. 7 the following advertisement appeared in the *Gazette:* "To be Sold, either for Cash, Rice, or Pork, At Colonel Beale's Wharf, Twenty New Negroes, consisting of Men and Women, from 15 to 25 Years of Age, who have had the Small-Pox in Guiney, just imported in the *Greyhound,* George Katon, Master."

[2] "Picked out of a large cargo."

[3] "Being chiefly of the Coromantee and Fantee Country, or what are commonly called Guiney Negroes, just imported . . . in the Yard of Mr. Robert Dillon's House in Broad Street."

[4] From the Windward Coast, 25 men, 5 women, 13 boys, 6 girls.

[5] "Mostly of the Masse-Congo country, and are esteemed equal to the Gold Coast and Gambia slaves."

[6] "Not one sick on Board . . . in seven Weeks and three Days." [7] "A Rice Country on the Windward Coast."

[8] "Being the Choice of the Factory at Bance Island." This sale was to take place in Savannah, not in Charleston. "Yesterday Mr. Waldron, one of our Pilots, spoke with the Snow *Bance Island,* George Smith Master, from Sierra-Leon, with Slaves, bound for Georgia, all well on board" (*S. C. Gazette,* July 18, 1771). The *Gazette* (May 9, 1771) also reported the arrival in Savannah of 120 slaves in May.

[9] "Being chosen for a particular Purpose from the Factory." The vessel bringing this cargo was not the *Bance Island,* which had come in July, but the *Charlotte.* See *post,* no. 320.

316. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald, 1771.

4th February 1771.

per Capt. Ball
Richard Oswald, *London*

Dear Sir, I was informed this morning by an accident, that a Snow which had delivered Negroes at St. Augustine and had been laying off the Bar of that place had been driven from her Anchors and was put into our Port in distress. it struck me immediately that she belonged to you and therefore thought it my duty to make some further enquiry.

I find her to be the *Charlotte* or *Charlotta,* James Tosh Master, that Capt. Tosh had landed 115 good Slaves at St. Augustine and was on shoar there with them, that he left the Pilot on board with orders to carry the Vessel into Port if possible; she had been at Anchor six days without an opportunity of going in, when a Gale of Wind drove her from all her Anchors which together with two of her cables are in all probability totally lost. the Mate Joshua Fox says he attempted to go into Tybee but finding it impracticable he bore away and with some difficulty (for we have had extreme tempestuous weather) he Entered this Port safely. the Vessel must have two or three New Anchors with Cables and Halsers and all her upper works require caulking which shall be done with dispatch and frugality and she may be in readiness for Sea when the Master arrives here. a small Vessel is to sail for Augustine to morrow and I shall embrace that opportunity for writing to Capt Tosh and he in all probability will be here in the course of this Month.[1] the Vessel has not one White Seaman, the Mate excepted, on board, and it will take up a fortnight to put her in order for Sea, therefore I think upon the whole it will be best to detain her in Port until the Master shall arrive or transmit orders to his mate. I understand from the latter that the Snow is to return directly to Bance Island, if that is the case I shall advise the master to take from hence a few articles which may be wanted at the Factory or may be disposed of on Your Account to advantage.

Mr. Gervais is now in Town with his little Crop of Indigo. he hopes to remit you One hundred Pounds Sterling and will give such security for the Balance of his Account as you require. I hear your *Bance Island* is on her Passage hither, if she brings a fine Cargo of Negroes you may expect to have a good account of the Sale barring a declaration of War and a greater fall in the price of Rice which is now at 45/ per Cwt.

[316] [1] On Mar. 8 Laurens wrote that Captain Tosh had arrived five or six days before that date. The *Gazette,* Mar. 7, 1771, reported the arrival of this vessel in Africa. See introduction, p. 245n.

317. Henry Laurens to John Hopton, 1771.

8th April 1771.

per Capt. Baker
John Hopton

In order the more effectually, to enable you to make offers and accept the Sale of African Cargoes We hereby bind ourselves, to become your Sureties in the Sum of Ten Thousand Pounds Sterling for due Performance of any Contract which you may make for the Sale of such Cargoes, assuring our Friends generally and particularly Richard Oswald Esqr., Oswald, Grant and Co., Proprietors of Bance Island, and Messrs. Ross and Mill in London that we think you in all Respects capable of rendering as good Accounts of Sales for Negroes as any Gentleman in Charles Town, of your Age and Experience—to which you and those Friends who shall be pleased to intrust you, may depend upon the additional aid of [1]

318. Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald, 1771.

28th May 1771.

Per Capt. Alexander
Richard Oswald, Esquire, *London*

. . . My Son John will, if he lives, Sail for England some day in next Month. I am endeavouring to accompany him and hope to accomplish my wish and gratify the desires of my best friends, in such case I shall see none of your Guinea Men but I shall leave such directions as may be useful to the Master or Masters of them. a Cargo of 110 Negroes amongst whom were no less than 37 Boys and Girls was lately consign'd to me, I transfer'd the favour into the hands of a Neighbor who had been unfortunate and a young Gentleman who still lives in my House and became their Security.[1] they tell me that their Sale averages £275. 13. 4 Each—700 per Cent—and their latest remittance 9 Months. . . .

319. Henry Laurens to William Cowles and Company, 1771.

29th May 1771.

per Capt. Alexander
William Cowles and Co. *Bristol*

Gentlemen, In order to serve a neighbor of mine and a Young Gentleman who has lived with me some Years, and behaved very well, I became their security for an African Vessel which they under-

[317] [1] Signed "W. H." and "H. L."
[318] [1] Elias Vanderhorst and Felix Warley, who sold the cargo of the *Friendship*. On Apr. 20 Laurens had written that several parcels from the West Indies had sold at great prices, sometimes averaging as much as £40 stg.

took to dispose of in this Port, and further to serve them and to satisfy the other Party, I drew in terms of their engagement for Balance (I believe) of their Account, on you payable in London to their Order *Vizt.* to the order of Elias Vanderhorst and Felix Warley in three sets dated 23d. 24th. 25th. Inst. at Three, Six and Nine Months sight for One Thousand and Ninety six Pounds each set—say £1096 Sterling each set—which Bills I recommend to your favor for acceptance, and desire you to Charge the Amount under the title of Elias Vanderhorst and Felix Warley or any other, distinct and separate from my ordinary Accot. with you, and you may be assured that you shall be put in Cash time enough to discharge each Bill on the day it shall fall due—for it is my intention while I serve those Gentlemen without any motive of gain to myself—to give you no other trouble than to accept and pay the Bills with their money, and to draw the customary Commission and Postage. . . .

320. John Hopton to Richard Oswald, 1771.[1]

6th Septem. 1771.

per Capt. Turner of the Ship *Carolina* Packet
Richard Oswald, *London*

Sir, Your much esteem'd favour to Mr. Laurens of the 25th May last came safe to hand a few days after His departure from this. He is gone to the Northward with his Elder and Younger Sons, and from thence He intends to accompany them to England, where he expects to be by the latter end of the next Month, but left directions with me relative to your Guinea Men in case they should arrive, in what manner I was to proceed.

Yesterday afternoon Capt. James Tosh in your Snow *Charlotte* arrived here in eight weeks from Bance Island with a Cargo of 118 as likely and healthy young Negroes as ever were seen in this Province. I immediately after perusing your Instructions to the Captain and agreeable to Mr. Laurens's orders to me; waited on Messrs. Thomas Loughton and Roger Smith to make them the offer of the Cargo which they readily accepted of and promised to do all the needful for your Interest.

I am informed that your *Bance Island* arrived at Georgia upwards of seven Weeks past and Sold her Cargo very well. I am in hopes that this Cargo will turn out full as well.

[320] [1] The next day the same writer reported to James Burnett of Jamaica the difficulty he had encountered in disposing of a small cargo from Jamaica on which he had been obliged to pay the £60 (£50 plus £10) duty on seasoned negroes. On Sept. 21 he wrote to Oswald that the cargo of the *Charlotte* had been sold on the 17th.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Apr. 23	Apr. 28	*Prince George*	Thos. Davis	Windward or Grain Coast	123	Powell, Hopton, and Co.[1]
May 7	May 14	*Mary*	Wm. Laverdy	Sierra Leone	197	Andrew Lord
" "	" 15	*Molly*	John Moore	Gambia	101	" "[2]
June 4	June 11	*Betsey Hendy*	John Dow		140	Edwards, Fisher and Co.[3]
" 11	" 19	*Two Brothers*	Hugh Glen	Gambia[4]	203	Andrew Lord
" 18	" 20	*Henrieta*	Benj. Steel	Windward Coast	98	Ed. Blake
" "	" 30	*New Britannia*	—— Deane	Gambia	220	Miles Brewton
" "	" 26	*Apollo*	Ed. Fisher	Cape Mount	147	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
July 2	July 9	Sh. *Friendship*	Jas. Cuming	Gold Coast	350	Miles Brewton
" "	" 6	*Africa*	—— Wallace	Sierra Leone	218	John Lewis Gervais
" "	" 8	*B. Friendship*	Rich. Wooster	Barbados	110[5]	Alex. Rose
" 9	" 23	*Fly*	Eglesfield Griffith	Grain Coast	138	Inglis and Lloyd
" 30	Aug. 5	*Beggar's Benison*	David Dunn	Cape Coast	100	David and John Deas
" "	" "	*Unity*	Robt. Norris	Whydah[6]	315	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
Aug. 10	" 18	*Thomas and Anthony*	Solomon Gibbs	Gambia	200	Wm. Somarsall
Sept. 3	Sept. 15	*Betsey*	Wm. Morgan	Angola	285	Miles Brewton
" 10	" 25	*Lovely Jenny*	Lawrence Harvey		100	Ed. Fisher and Co.
" 17	" "			Barbados	45	Ed. Blake and Sam. Legare
Oct. 15	Oct. 21	*Content*	Downing Wilkinson	Barbados (Angola)	116	Ed. Fisher and Co. and Ed. Blake
" "	" "			Gold Coast	20	Savage and Legare
" "	" 21	*Suky and Nancy*	Thos. Newbold	" "	120	Ed. Lightwood and Thos. Eveleigh
" 29	Nov. 5	*Hector*	—— Lewellin	Angola	300	Miles Brewton
Nov. 5	" 13	*Warren*	John Thompson	Sierra Leone[7]	130	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
" "	" 12	*Jamaica* Packet	John Young		19	Wm. Hinckley
" 12	" 14	*Eloisa*	John Foster	Antigua	30	John Simpson and Co.
Dec. 24	Jan. 5	*Providence*	Ramsay	St. Kitts	25	David and John Deas

[321] [1] "No Preference will be given before the Day of Sale."
[2] "Twelve Months Credit (without Interest) will be given."
[3] "Proper Allowance will be made for Cash, and good Bills of Exchange which will be taken at Par."
[4] "A Rice Country." Both Andrew Lord and Edward Blake offer three months' credit without interest. The *Two Brothers* was regarded as having made a remarkably quick voyage, as it was but four months out from England.
[5] "Being the First Choice of a Cargo of Five Hundred which came in a very short Passage from the Coast to Barbados"; Negroes of the "Coromantee and Fantee Countries".
[6] "N. B. Whidah is esteemed to be the finest Country in Africa and Slaves from thence, usually sell in all the West-India Islands. for Five Pounds Sterling per Head more than Negroes of any other Country."
[7] "A Rice Country on the Grain Coast."

322. John Hopton to James Burnett, 1772.

22 January 1772.

per Mr. McDuffy
James Burnett, *Jamaica*

Sir, The beginning of this present month I had the pleasure to receive your much esteem'd favour of the 28th October, and I am truly sorry, that the amount of the Negroes which I had Sold and mentioned to you in my last of the 7th September, did not answer your expectation, but I do assure you upon my honor that my endeavours were not wanting in order to render an Advantageous Sale of said Slaves; and were they my own property I could not have done more in the disposal of them, than I have done for you or the proprietor, for the people here as I mentioned to you before, seem prejudiced against West India Negroes, that, with the heavy Duty laid on all season'd Slaves imported into this Province, have been a means of lessening the Value of them prodigiously.

Please now to receive under this cover an Account Sale of the said Negroes, Net Proceed of which is £930. 7. 8 Current money, together with an Account Current annexed finally balanced (free of Commission) by my Bill of this date on John Tarleton Esquire,[1] Leverpoole, Payable in London to the order of Charles Jackman Esquire, £137 Sterling at 679 per Cr. Each and remitted to him this day agreeable to your request—per the *Swallow* Packet, William Copeland, Esquire Commander.

You will also receive inclosed, the separate Doctors Bills for the cure of Rosetta which I send in order that you, or the Proprietor of said Wench may be better convinced of the Condition She must have been in, for to remain so long a time under their hands as to raise such extravagant Accounts before she was perfectly cured. These Charges also helps to prejudice the Value of the Negroes very much. Doctor Tucker who was the first person employed for this Negro Woman at her arrival attended and sent medicines for her for at least two Months and at the end thereof, She seem'd to complain of her Disorder as much as ever. She was really disagreeable about our House and as the Doctor would not take her to his own house, where in fact she should have been at first I was obliged to send her to the Hospital here and put her under two other Practitioners in order that they might perfect the cure of her as speedily as possible. There the said Wench remain'd upwards of two Months more before she was well enough to be discharged. I would have sent you the Sales of the Negroes before now but was deprived by the

[322] [1] See this work, vol. III., index.

long Illness of Rosetta who I was fortunate enough to Sell, I think extremely well, considering her late circumstances.

With regard to the Entry of these Negroes as season'd Slaves, in which you apprehend the Captains were in fault, I will relate to you in as few words as I possibly can, to shew that they are blameless. Capt. Newbold by whom I received the first Two Wenches was obliged by his Owners here to have them Enter'd as Season'd Slaves. Capt. Henry who brought in the last, had Enter'd them as New Negroes, but as I knew they were not and that had Mr. Laurens been on the spot at the time he would not have received them before they were properly Enter'd, I therefore consulted some of his friends here about them, who advised me by all means not to take Charge of said Negroes without I intend to Enter them as season'd as they are liable to be seized at any time within the course of a Twelve Months. in consequence of their advice I received and Enter'd the said Negroes as season'd and paid the Duty accordingly. I am fully convinced of the hardship 'tis to the Proprietor of them and I am heartily sorry that it was not in my power to render a more pleasing Account Sale. Turpentine is very scarce just now and not to be had without paying an extravagant price of 20 per Ct. which is too high for your Market, otherwise I would have remitted you the Net Proceed of said Negroes in that commodity. I am greatly obliged to you for your kind offers of service to me and I shall at all times take great pleasure in rendering you those of mine.

323. Henry Laurens to James Laurens, 1772.

Bristol 6th Feby. 1772.

Sent to Mr Snoxell
James Laurens, *Charles Town*

. . . I have already refused the Offers (unask'd by me) and without Security, of Negro Cargoes from three Houses, and have not yet been at Leverpoole or Lancaster. might I not accumulate Business, if I was to lay out for it? but these Branches, the most profitable, I have quitted to people who are more eager for them. You know that I have given up many Thousands of pounds, which I might have added to my Stock in that way.[1] . . .

[323] [1] On Feb. 3 Laurens wrote to Felix Warley in the same vein, evidently greatly pleased with his treatment in England: "Mr. Oswald will send his African Ships to me, or to whomever I please. The mayor of Bristol [probably Henry Bright, who was mayor in 1771] says, Mr. Laurens, I have a Ship with Five hundred and fifty Negroes going to Carolina—will you have her? or who will you advise me to send her to—and if I was to lay myself out for the purpose I might obtain many other such offers."

324. Henry Laurens to Samuel Brailsford, 1772.

Westminster 25th Feby. 1772.

Samuel Brailsford, *Bristol*

. . . I must inform you, what I have learn'd from Mr. Oswald, of Mr. Hopton's addresses to him, and his answers relative to the Consignment of his African Vessels at Charles Town

Mr. Oswald says, that upon Mr. Hopton's first Application, and shewing a Letter of Credit from me, he received him with proper marks of Respect that when Mr. Hopton introduced the African Trade into Conversation he replied, that such Ships as he should send to Carolina, should always go to Mr. Laurens, and that he might do as he pleased with them that Mr. Hopton call'd upon him a second time, and then ask'd him or to use Mr. Oswald's very words seemed to wish that he would consign such African Vessels as had been talk'd of, to the House, in which he was newly concern'd.[1] But Mr. Oswald was not very well pleased with such importunity and declined or refused it. this is what Mr. Oswald has inform'd me of, after taking time to recollect what had pass'd, with the assistance of Mr. Herries his partner, and Mrs. Oswald, who were present, and it seems to be fully confirm'd by Mr. Hopton's Letter to me of the 22d May 1771—which I here inclose, for your perusal—added to this paragraph as below *—and had been never so much inclined, to have complimented my own Brother with the Sale of the Cargo, I do not think that I could have done so, consistently with honour, because Mr. Oswald in the earliest Advice of his Intention, to send an African Vessel to Carolina, had mentioned the name of Thos. Ln. [Loughton] Smith, as an alternative in case of my Refusal, and I believe had taken Security from Mr. Nutt on his Account in consequence thereof I had informed Mr. Smith, some time before I left the province, that such Guinea Men would probably fall into his hands. Mr. Oswald view'd the Credit which in Conjunction with the elder Mr. Hopton, I had given to the younger Mr. Hopton, in its true Light as a means of introducing him into Business, as opportunities should offer but not by any means, as even intimating a Resignation of any Branch of Business on my part.

If therefore, he told you, that I had resign'd or intended to resign Business in his favour, and that Mr. Oswald had promised him any of his African Consignments, I am sure he was mistaken, in the former, and there appears from the above Representation, the highest probability of his being also mistaken in the latter. . . . Mr. Oswald has not determined, to whom he shall consign his Ships, the present Year. his Partner Mr. Herries tells me that Mr. Nutt has

[324] [1] Probably Powell, Hopton, and Co., whose first advertisement appeared in the *Gazette* of Aug. 1, 1771.

long since been about him, on Account of Mr. Thos. Ln. Smith, and I am persuaded that you are a Man of too much Generosity, to desire to interpose to his Disadvantage, considering he transacted the Business last year, made good Sales, and gave Satisfaction, but Mr. Oswald himself, gave me no Opportunity of mentioning any Name or House, before he at our first meeting had told me, he had an inclination to try the Abilities of a Gentleman in Carolina, sent and recommended there by himself, and in which plan he is so particularly interested, as seems fairly to supercede all other Considerations. what therefore he will finally determine upon, I shall know some time in the Course of this Month.[2] . . .

* if I had told Mr. Hopton that I had resigned or intended to resign business in his favour, he would not have admitted (as he did in that letter) the possibility or probability of my selling Mr. Oswald's African Cargo. if Mr. Oswald had given Mr. Hopton any assurance that such Cargoes should fall into his hands next to mine, in the event of my refusal to sell them, neither you nor I can doubt, but that Mr. Hopton would have inform'd me thereof in words much more explicit than those in which he has now, as it were, recommended the House you had taken him into as being capable "of doing such business upon at least as good terms as any other". this general recommendation, without claiming a preference (much less any preference from promises, which had never been made on my side) was pertinent and proper from him to me, and in due time, it should and would have produced some good effects, all the good effects that could reasonably have been hoped for. I am sincerely grieved at his miscarriage, by going beyond that style, when he introduced himself to you, but with respect to that African Vessel of Mr. Oswald's, which did arrive at Charles Town and the other if she had arrived; if I had been on the Spot.[3]

325. Henry Laurens to John Lewis Gervais, 1772.

Westminster, 28th Feby. 1772.

Per Truman from Bristol
John Lewis Gervais, Esqr. *Herenhausen*

. . . You will find under Cover hereof, a Letter from that Gentleman [Mr. Oswald], advising you of a Consignment of Negroes for the Sale of which, and Dispatch of the Vessel to Africa again it will be necessary for you to make immediately provision—that is

[2] The reference is to John Lewis Gervais, who had been recommended by Oswald to Laurens in 1764.

[3] At this point the letter abruptly ends.

to say as to the 1st pt. Apply to your good Friend Mr. Trapier, and to Collo. Heyward and to every other Friend who can be of Service to you, in the Country and inform them in a proper way of your expectation. The Messrs. Bales and Messrs. Harlestons and many others of my old Friends, you may speak to, with good Success, by taking a casual Ride Round to Mepkin [1] but I need not tell you, that barely mentioning that you expect soon, to have a Cargo or two, of Negroes, from the Windward Coast for Sale, and that you shall be glad to have an Opportunity of serving their Wants, will be sufficient and perhaps prevent Inconveniencies, which sometimes follow pressing Intreaties. to Mr. Trapier, you may write fully, it will be in his Power to retain and recommend a great many valuable purchasers, and I make no doubt, but that he will appear at any of your Sales, and give you the most friendly and effectual Assistance. Mr. Manigault and my Brother, will leave no reasonable thing in their power undone to assist you in Charles Town and there you have also many other Friends, of your own and mine to apply to, as you shall see occasion. Mr. Warley will be ready to help you in every Article, from the Arrival of the Vessel, to the Completion of the Sale, and Reloading; for which you may compliment him, if you please, with fifty or Sixty Guineas, on each Vessel and no more. I take the Liberty of restricting this, because I have thrown very handsome Commissions, already in his way—and shall have Opportunities of doing more for him—and because I wish the Commission on Mr. Oswald's Vessel or Vessels to be as ample as the Cargoes will admit of, to your own Benefit. The measure lately adopted in Charles Town, for the Sale of Negroes, is to give three Months Credit, to Purchasers with Interest from the Date, in most Cases, I would recommend to you to pay no Regard to this Rule. endeavour to obtain full as good prices as any other House—as much Cash, and Bills of Exchange in payment, as you possibly can—and deal with each Man who shall require Credit, according to the Length of Credit required but none beyond four or six Months and you will in such Cases, either receive a price in proportion to the Credit, or include Interest from the Day, if you obtain no more than the ready Money price. the Old Accounts of Sale of Austin and Laurens'—which my Brother will readily put into your hands—will serve you as a Guide for modelling your Accounts. These are the best Hints I can at present give you for the Sale of a Cargo of Negroes. I should have included one, to be early, and extensive as possible, in Advertizing the whole Country of your intended Sale. But as the Alterations which are introduced into particular Branches of Trade from time to time

[325] [1] Mepkin was about thirty miles from Charleston, on the north bank of the Cooper River. Here Laurens had purchased an estate of three thousand acres in 1762. Wallace, *Laurens*, p. 125.

demand in many Instances, a Conformity to the Ruling Mode So you will receive what I have said under this Head, only as Hints and govern yourself finally by the Advice of your Friends on the Spot.

Now with regard to Remittances, I refer you likewise to the practice of Austin and Laurens; that House remitted, as the payments on each Sale of Negroes became due. I have suggested to Mr Oswald, that it may not be in your Power to comply exactly with such Terms, for want of such a Capital, as that on which they traded, to which he very generously replied, that he should not be at all uneasy on that head, but then on your part, You will observe, that if you are not able to remit, when the payments become due, The Interest arising on the Bonds, will certainly become, and ought to be remitted as the property of your Constituent. As it is a part of the Negro Contract for the Factor to stand to all bad Debts, so you will for your own Safety, call in the Debts as speedily as possible, and I hope, in such a prosperous Year as this is for the planters, You will be enabled to make a very large Remittance, soon after the Close of the Sale, from Cash and Bills, paid down by purchasers and that you may also, exchange many good Bonds for Bills on London, in which Mr. Manigault may be very assistant to you, and at the same time make an agreeable Exchange to himself. by all means endeavour to compleat your Remittances without Delay, for tho Mr. Oswald is pleased to say, that it is a matter of no great Consequence to him, whether the Remittances are made immediately or not, yet I know that nothing is more disagreeable than long depending Accounts, in America, and that no Man however large his Capital may be, will go chearfully into a new Years Account, before that of the old is settled. At whatever Rate of Discount you purchase Bills of Exchange remit them. the Advantage is fairly due to your Friend here. By observing these Rules, Your whole Commission may not be so large, as if you were to adopt some new Methods, but they will be large enough and probably increase. I proposed to Mr. Oswald to be your Security if he requir'd it, which he likewise generously declined. I need not say to a Man of your good Sense and Gratitude of Heart, that he is entitled to your best services. . . .

I hope you enter upon and go through the above intended Business with Credit to yourself and Satisfaction to Mr. Oswald and that your Plantation Affairs will be put into, and conducted by such hands as will admit of your Absence a few Months without Loss, and that next Year, you will repay that Gentn. all the Money advanced for you, and Interest thereon, but if it shall so happen, that from any Cause, you are incapable of undertaking the same then Mr. Manigault and my Brother to whom I shall write, and to whom I shall direct this Letter in your Absence will put Mr. Oswalds Ship or

Ships, into the hands of Gentlemen in Charles Town, who will do him Justice.[2] I wish they may find a House that will transact the Business on the same plan which Austin and Laurens used to do. Such House [and] our worthy Friend on this Side will be mutually benefited, and that is what he at present desires from you. If you transact the Business as I hope you will, guard against any Embarrassment to Mr. Oswald, in case of your Death, By entring and declaring all the Bonds [*illegible*] to the full Amount of his Balance to be his absolute Property and your Affairs to rest in the hands of Mr. Manigault and my Brother.[3] . . .

326. Henry Laurens to Gabriel Manigault, 1772.

Westminster 2d March 1772.

per Capt. Wm. Curling
Gabriel Manigault Esqr. *Charles Town*

. . . My worthy Friend Richd. Oswald Esqr. who first recommended Mr. Gervais to me in the Year 1764, lately proposed to make a Trial of his Abilities, in the Sale of one or more of his African Cargoes, in order to give him an Opportunity by Commissions arising from thence, to cancel a Debt for Money which Mr. Oswald had advanced; and if he Mr. Gervais acquits himself tolerably well in this Business, it will be attended with a present benefit of 1000 or 1500 Guineas to him, and may be the Foundation of large future Fortune.

When my worthy Friend first made this proposition to me, tho' I had before spoke very handsomely of Mr. Gervais's Character in general, yet it alarm'd me, with the appearance of being an Engagement, of too much Weight and Importance, for the Experience and Capital of my Friend on your Side, I therefore took the liberty to suggest to Mr. Oswald, that as Messrs. T and R Smith had given him Satisfaction, in the Sale of a Cargo which they made last year, it might be better for all parties, to address his Cargoes of the present Year, to those Gentlemen in such a manner, as would leave it optional to them, to act conjunctly with Mr. Gervais, upon Terms consistent with the Dignity and Honour of Merchants, or to relinquish to him. my Interposition in this Case pleas'd Mr. Oswald, and it

[2] Whether Gervais sold the cargo of the *Charlotte* we do not know; he advertised that of the *Africa* on July 2.

[3] This letter was accompanied by one to James Laurens, giving most explicit directions as to the course to be followed in case Gervais was unable or unwilling to undertake the sale of the cargo. He likewise wrote advising Felix Warley to do all in his power to aid Gervais. The Letter-Book also contains a long letter to Gervais, inscribed "not sent", which explains in great detail the reasons why a negro cargo was sent to him. From Laurens's change of mind about sending this letter one may surmise that he thought better of having the detailed circumstances known in Charleston, since the story reflected some discredit on a well-known Charleston house. An abbreviated account of the transaction is to be found in the letter which follows.

was his Intention to have address'd one half of about 400 Negroes in two Cargoes, or the largest of the two Cargoes to those Gentlemen. I happen'd to mention this Circumstance to Mr. John Nutt their correspondent, and as his own Interest was to have been concern'd in it, I did suppose that the Intelligence would have been very acceptable to him, but it fell out quite otherwise, he express'd much Dissatisfaction, and said he would speak to Mr. Oswald himself, to which I could have no reasonable objection, notwithstanding it seem'd to supercede my Interest with that Gentleman and my good Wishes for Messrs. Smith; accordingly, he applied to Mr. Oswald, and some part of his Address I believe disgusted my Friend, who does not love many Words—and induced him to send me a Note signifying his Determination to trust both Cargoes in Mr. Gervais's hands, upon the most generous Terms, without Security or particular Restrictions for Remittances. I beg leave to refer you to a letter which I have wrote to Mr. Gervais on this Subject, which he will lay before you. and now Good Sir! the Favour which I have to ask on his Behalf, is your friendly Advice and such Assistance to him, as you can render, without incommoding yourself, as Mr. Oswald introduced Mr. Gervais's name without the Addition of any other, altho' I knew he would consign his Vessels, to whomsoever I should desire, I would not venture to add the Name of Mr. Warley, nor indeed of my own Brother, lest there be the smallest Appearance of Self Interestedness on my Part; but you will see that I have desired Mr. Gervais to employ him, and to make some proper Consideration for his Trouble. Mr. Oswald has seen what I have wrote on this head; and has express'd great Satisfaction with the whole. . . .

327. Nathaniel Russell to Aaron Lopez, 1772.[1]

Charlestown [14] July 1772.

Dear Sir, . . . their has been a Great many negroes imported here this Summer and many more Expected; they continue at very Great Prices, a Cargo of 220 very Prime Slaves Averag'd Last week £52 Stlg. which is the highest ever known here, they are at Least £10 Stlg. higher here than in the West Indies notwithstanding they are much higher there than usual, if you should order a Cargo here Next Summer and favour me with the Sale of them I make no Doubt but I should give you satisfaction the Terms they are sold on this year

[327] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., Lopez Letter-Book, no. 633, p. 56. On June 6 John Hopton wrote to a Bristol firm: "Several Guinea Men having arrived lately has occasion'd a greater demand for Bills than was expected and should they continue to drop in as they have done for some days past, Bills will certainly be at par before long." Reference to the list of arriving vessels (*ante*, no. 321) shows that vessels continued to arrive frequently throughout the summer.

are Bills at 3, 6, 9, and 12 Months sight Remitted in the Bottom. . . .[2]

328. NATHANIEL RUSSELL TO AARON LOPEZ, 1772.[1]

CHARLESTOWN 1st Sept. 1772.

Dear Sir, . . . I am very sorry that I Did not acquaint you Earlier that slaves were Likely to be high here this Summer but no body Expected Last winter that they would have sold at the Prices they have done and now do, their has been about 3500 imported[2] and the Poorest Cargo Averaged £40 Stlg. and the Greatest part from £46 to £50, the Prices next year will Depend much on the price of the Present Crop, Negroes from 15 to 25 years of Age sute this market Best. . . .

329. JOHN HOPTON TO JOHN HOLMAN, 1772.[1]

8th September 1772.

per Capt. Wallace of Ship *Africa*
John Holman, *Island of Delos, Africa*

Sir, Your favour of the 6th April last to Mr. Laurens I received with a Bill of Loading for 30 New Negroes per the Ship *Africa*, Capt. Wallace, Consign'd to him on your Account; but Mr. Laurens being in England His Attornies could not possibly comply with what you requested in your said Letter, therefore they thought it most proper for your Interest as Negroes were in great demand to put those of yours into the hands of John Lewis Gervais, Esquire, Merchant here, to be disposed of for your Account. Mr. Gervais informs me they average upwards of £45 Stg. per head, which is great and will no doubt be satisfactory to you. He intends to send you by this same conveyance an Account Sale of said Negroes together with your Account Current, the Balance of which he will if agreeable to you pay into the hands of Mr. Laurens on your Account at his arrival here, which is expected in about three months. . . .

330. LEVINIUS CLARKSON TO WILLIAM NEALE, 1772.[1]

CHARLES TOWN SO. CAROLINA Decer. 5th 1772.

Sir, I have already advised you of my determination of settling in this place chiefly with a view of transacting Business in the Com-

[2] On May 1 Russell had written to Lopez that prime slaves were selling at £360 and £370. Lopez Letter-Book, no. 632, p. 40.

[328] [1] Newport Hist. Soc., Lopez Letter-Book, no. 633, p. 71.

[2] The *Gazette*, Aug. 20, 1772, stated that 3076 new negroes had been imported since Oct. 30, 1771; that prime slaves had sold for double the price ten years earlier; and that the Virginians had petitioned to be allowed to restrict importation.

[329] [1] Laurens Letter-Book.

[330] [1] Library of Congress, Levinius Clarkson Letters. Addressed, "Mr. William Neale Merchant, London".

mission way, since that determination I have had from different Merchants offers of several Guineamen being address'd to me annually provided my Bills for their Cargoes were garanteed by any House in London of which they approv'd. Nothing is wanting to complete those Consignments but a support in England. The mode of disposing of those Slave Cargoes is this, Three Months Credit is given the Purchaser who gives his Bond (with Security if required) payable in that time, which bears 8 pC. Interest from the date until paid, and the Factor Charges a Commission of 10 pC. on the Sale, the Owners are paid for the Proceeds of their Cargoes in Bills of Exchange on London, If the proceeds of a Cargo amount to a considerable Sum (say £4000 Sterlg.) the Bills in payment thereof are divided into four sets, that is to say, the first set for £1000 is drawn at three Months sight, the second set six, third nine, and the fourth at twelve Months. therefore by depositing £1000 in your hands together with the £500 Credit my Father in Law [2] has given me on you will be sufficient to pay my first drafts supposing them to be more than above stated, which perhaps they may, and before the other three sets of Exchange become due I shall have it in my power, by receiving the purchase Money of the Slaves, and otherwise, to remit you in Rice and Indigo or Bills at a short sight their Amount and probably more, but admitting there shoud. not be in your hands Effects of mine sufficient to answer the second and third drafts I will allow you at the rate of 6. pC. Int't for whatever Sum you advance on my account, besides the usual Comn. for honoring my drafts, and for whatever Sum of mine that may be in your hands I shall expect to be allowed 5 pC. Int't which you know is customary. Upon the whole, shoud. this meet with your approbation, you will please by the earliest opportunity to advise Mr. Vanhorne that you will Guarantee or accept such Bills (mentioning to what amount) as I may in future draw on you, for the Proceeds of Guinea Cargoes which will be communicated by him to those Guinea Adventurers with whom he is acquainted, but before Mr. Vanhorne mentions it to them he shall see that £1000 Sterg. is deposited in your hands. Rice is now Sold at £3 and it is generally believd that it will be as low as 45/ before the end of next Month. Freights to Cowes and a Market £3—to London, £2:10 p T. and from the few Shipping in Port and the great Crops there is no doubt of their continuing high during the Season.[3]

[2] David Van Horne of New York, in 1764 a correspondent of Nicholas Brown of Providence, R. I. *New England Quarterly*, III. 491-492, n. 88.

[3] On Feb. 18, 1773, William Neale, in a letter to Van Horne, agreed to give Clarkson credit to the amount of £1000.

331. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1773.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Feb. 8	Feb. 16	*Mary*	And. White	Gambia	300	Samuel Chollett[1]
Apr. 6	Apr. 14	*Sebenia*	James Clark	Senegal	200	Smith and Inglis, and Roger Smith
" "	" "	*Roseau*	Walter Clark	"		Smith and Inglis, and Roger Smith
" 12	" 19	*Cavendish*	Thos. Williams	Gambia and Gold Coast	300	Sam. Chollett
May 3	May 12	*Mentor*	Thos. Reynolds	St. Kitts	52[2]	Miles Brewton
" "	" "	*Charlotte*	Thos. Powell	Sierra Leon	110[3]	Andrew and Geo. Lord
" 24	June 1	*Blossom*	William Briggs	Cape Mounte	270	Robt., John, and J. Smyth
" 31	" 8	*Swift*	Step. Deane[4]	Gambia	65	Miles Brewton
" "	" "	*Liberty*	Geo. Crump	Whydah	175	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
" "	" "	*Stanley*	John Abson	Sierra Leon	155	" " " "[5]
" "	" "	*Africa*	Gavin Fraser	Africa	190	Inglis and Lloyd
" "	" 7	*Venus*	Thos. Goodwin	Gold Coast	350	Roger Smith and Alex. Inglis
" "	" 8	*Greyhound*	Terence O'Neal	Africa	130	" " " "
" "	" "				160	Edwards, Fisher, and Co.
" "	" "	*Friendship*	And. MacKenzie	Gold Coast	140	John Simpson and Co.
" "	" "	*Thomas*[6]	Ed. Lyon	Angola	160	Edwards, Fisher and Co.
" "	" 11	*Robert*	Luke Mann	Gold Coast	130	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
" "	" "	*Little-Ben*	Thos. Milling	Windward Coast	106	" " " "
" "	" 8	*Gambia*	Jas. Willis	Gambia	170	Roger Smith and Alex. Inglis
" "	" 10	*Maesgwyn*	Windsor Brown	Anamabo	270	Powell, Hopton, and Co.

[331] [1] "The Terms of Payment will be made entirely agreeable to the Purchasers."

[2] "N. B. They are really the First Choice of a large Cargo the above Vessel brought from the Coast."

[3] "All in Perfect Health."

[4] "On Wednesday last arrived here, in the Sloop *Swift* from Gambia, Capt. Stephen Deane, late Master of the Snow *New Britannia*, whose Vessel was blown up, on the 24th of February last, in the River, with 236 Slaves, 96 Free Negroes, all his Crew, and one Capt. Thomas Davies, on board; himself and only one man more escaping, by their having providentially got into the Boat but a few Minutes before, to take up some Slaves who had thrown themselves over board." *S. C. Gazette*, May 31, 1773.

[5] "Both the above-mentioned Cargoes are directly from the Coast. The Slaves likely and in good Order."

[6] This is probably the vessel unnamed above.

[*Negroes imported into South Carolina*—continued:]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
June 14	June 23	*Fanny*	Benj. Hicks	Gold Coast	206[7]	Miles Brewton
" "	" 17	*Edward*	Henry Grayson	Africa	180	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
" "	" 23	*Hazard*	Jos. Hughes	Grain Coast	165	Robt., John, and J. Smyth
July 5	July 13	*York*	Robt. Wilson	Guinea	125	" " " " "
" "	" "	*Betty and Jenny*	Alex. Thomson	Gambia	180[8]	John Simpson and Co.
" 12	" 16	*Corsican Hero*	Clement Noble	Anamabo	210	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
" "	" "	*Molly*	John Read	Sierra Leone	100	" " " "
" "	" 20	*Betsy*	Wm. Morgan	Gambia	150	Miles Brewton
" 26	" 29	*John*	Jos. Montany	Sierra Leone	86	" "
" "	" "	*Hope*	John Tunnard	Gambia	100	Sam. Chollett[9]
" "	" 30	*Catharine*	James Fraser	Angola	200	John Neufville
Aug. 2	Aug. 11	*Jason*[10]	Geo. Merrick	"	200	Miles Brewton
" 16	" 25	*Two Brothers*	Hugh Glen	Gambia	160[11]	And. and Geo. Lord
" 23	" 26	*Heart of Oak*	Robt. Patterson	Senegal	104	Miles Brewton
Sept. 6	Sept. 10	*Nelly*	Jas. Maychel	Sierra Leone	180	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
" 13	" 21	*Briton*	Wm. Clift	Senegal	150	Roger Smith and Alex. Inglis
" 27	Oct. 1	*Hawke*	Thos. Ralph	Windward and Grain Coast	250	Robt., John, and J. Smith
" "	" 5	*Nancy*	Thos. Blower	Cape Mount	100	Edwards, Fisher, and Co.
" "	" 6	*King George*	Wm. Graham	Senegal	150	Miles Brewton
Nov. 8	Nov. 17	*Prudence* [*Providence?*]	Robt. Aynstie	Gambia	130	" "
" 22	Dec. 1	*Prince George*	Thos. Davis	Sierra Leone	80	Powell, Hopton, and Co.

[7] "N. B. Not one Sick Negro on Board."
[8] "Mostly Stout Young Men." This cargo made the passage in 33 days.
[9] The sale of this cargo was also announced for Aug. 20.
[10] The *Gazette* refers to the *Jason* as the "34th Guineaman to arrive this season". If that is the case the above list is not complete.
[11] "N. B. Only Two died on the Passage, and now not One Sick on Board."

332. Henry Laurens to John Lewis Gervais, 1773.[1]

Westminster 20th January 1773.

sent to Mr. Groube at *Falmouth*
Jno. Lewis Gervais, *Charles town*

. . . Mr. Oswald was withdrawing himself wholly from business, that therefore you could not depend upon a long continuance of African consignments from him. . . . you will receive the *Africa* again in May next and probably that worthless Wretch Wallace will be continued because they dare not discharge him in Africa.[2] Mr. Oswald is endeavoring to sell out his Interest in Bance Island, but he does not yet speak it publicly therefore it is between ourselves. when his hands are cleared from that engagement he will withdraw wholly from Trade and you will commend his resolution.

333. Henry Laurens to John Lewis Gervais, 1773.[1]

31st Jany. to 13 March, 1773.

per Capt. Gunn[2]
John Lewis Gervais, *South Carolina*

. . . Once I was at Messrs. B and C's[3] and was to have met them again by appointment to adjust some of their African engagements with Mr. Barber but the Doctor forbid me going abroad. I therefore, in addition to my sentiments delivered at the former meeting sent them a cautionary hint in a Note, against Warranting Remittances to be made at any fixed Exchange, which to make a proper Impression on them I said might be the Ruin of a Young House. I have for some Months past thought I foresaw the Trade of Carolina falling into difficulties the common consequences of great sudden prosperity. . . .

He [Oswald] has got your Letter of the 25th Decem., which has shewn me the foundation for certain applications by the Resident Partner of Capt. Wallace's Securities to our worthy friend for his African Consignments at two several times which he gave me intimations of. The attemp[t]s were ungenerous and no doubt from our friends conduct he esteems the Attempters as he does their Acts. It would be a matter for Investigation if the prosecution against Wal-

[332] [1] Gervais and Chollet were forming a partnership.

[2] The only *Africa* advertised is not commanded by Wallace nor advertised by Gervais. A further reference to the misdeeds of Wallace will be found in no. 333.

[333] [1] The allusions in this letter are nowhere in the correspondence made clear.

[2] By the same captain Laurens wrote to Manigault: "Mr. Gervais will inform you what has been done by his friends on this side on his behalf. He will find a good establishment provided. The Patrons of the New York House are not too kind in procuring African Consignments upon dangerous Conditions of Remittance." One wonders whether the New York house was that of Levinius Clarkson.

[3] Probably Messrs. Bourdieu and Chollet of Liverpool.

lace for Murder should be suppressed. You will keep your Eye upon it.

. . . if you have, as I believe you will have, a superabundant Importation of Negroes this Year, some Houses on both sides will be shook to the Foundation. look well about you lest you should unhappily find a change for the worse contrary to all prospect and the Wishes of your Dearest Friends.[4] . . .

334. Levinius Clarkson to David Van Horne, 1773.[1]

Charles Town So. Carolina Febry. 23d. 1773.

Honord Sir, In conversing with Mr. Ray of this place, relative to Negro Cargoes, I find his relation Mr. Henry Bogert had offered him the Consignment of his part of the Cargoes of two Vessels that are expected here; but as Mr. Ray assures me he intends quitting this place soon, You'll very much oblige me if you will please to wait on the owners of these Vessels, Messrs. Henry Bogert, John Cortlandt and John Reade and offer them my services on terms equal to any given here. You can mention to them what Security I can give. You make no mention to me in what manner you have back'd my proposal to Mr. Neale, As to any doubt those Gentln. may have of my being a Stranger to the Business, I can assure them I have not been idle in attending to the mode of disposing of Negroes and I may venture to say that I have as many friends among the Planters as any Merchant in the place some of whom have already assured me that I shall have the preference when they purchase Negroes, In case I have any for Sale. It is their Interest to encourage As many Mercantile People settling among them as possible and from the very nervous Letters my friends gave me to this place, particularly those I had for the Planters, they seem extremely anxious for my settlement, tho' they appear a little doubtful of it, not having Mrs. Clarkson.

There is a ship lately arriv'd here from Gambia with 318 Slaves which will average £43 Sterg. it's true they are prime Slaves. Shoud. you meet with any new Negroes who have not been Six Months in any of his Majesty's Colonies (if they have been more than that time they are subject to a Duty of £60 on importation here) you may purchase ten or twelve on our joint Account provided you can get them for £50 or £55 york Cury p. head. they must be Boys or Men from the Age of 14 to 24, likely and Stout made. You must procure a Certificate that they have not been in an English Colony Six Months. If the above mention'd Gentlemn. shoud. conclude to address their

[4] Mar. 8, Laurens to Manigault: "The great prices of Negroes last Year will be the cause of vast Importations the ensuing Summer, the consequences of which may easily be seen and every prudent Man will endeavour to guard against them in time."

[334] [1] L. C., Levinius Clarkson Letters.

Vessels to me it will be necessary that they lodge Letters in my hands for their Captains. Assure them that nothing shall be left undone by me for their Interest. The Captain of the above mention'd Vessel tells me that he left Capt. Richards well on the Coast, he brought Letters from him for his Owners which have been forwarded. I beg you may Embrace the earliest oppty. of Advising me what those Gentn. say on this subject.

[P. S.] Had I Purchas'd 10 or 20 of the Negroes that John Beekman had for sail on my departure for this Place I am Certain I could have cleared 50 pc by them. Should David be Sick of his Purchase wch was one of them you may give him the same price Provided you can Certifie he has not been in your Province 6 Months, Such Lads are daily selling here for £420 to £450 Currancy.[2] . . .

335. Henry Laurens to Lachlan McIntosh, 1773.

Westminster 13 March 1773.

per *Heart of Oak* under cover to J L
Lachn. McIntosh, *Georgia*

. . . With respect to the purchase of "40 Young Slaves to be picked out of a Cargo and at a moderate price", upon Mortgage of uncultivated Land in Georgia I am quite certain none of the Owners of such Cargoes, it would give me more than one Civil hearing if I should make the proposition, and if they would condescend to give me any answer these several obstacles (and you Sir are a very good judge of them) would be opposed, first the taking 40 Young Slaves out of a Cargo would be a great Injury to the Sale, and nothing but a fixed tempting high price could induce them to submit to a measure so minifestly destructive to their Interest unless guarded by such consideration. the indefinite term of Moderate price would induce them to think that I was either very Ignorant of business or not in Earnest,

[2] In an undated letter belonging to 1773 Clarkson wrote: "Yesterday I attended a Negro Sale of 175 Gambia Slaves. tho as Indifferent a Cargo As has been Sold this Season they averadged £47 Stg. Such is the Goodness of this Market for Slaves, After a Saile of near 9000, Mention this to Rivington as it may be asserted as a fact." On Mar. 4 Clarkson wrote, probably to Van Horne, asking him to inquire from Benjamin Mason whether F. and E. Malbone were intending to send him the cargo which Mason had promised. A few days later he asked that John Cortland, John Reade, and Henry Bogart be asked what they would take for "Negroes that are Landed Safe and sound (Men, Women and Children) and the Credit they will give . . . the Usual Credit is 3-6-9 and 12 Month before they remit their payments if sold by a Factor. I have since my Last had several Applications from the Principal Planters to know what I would take for a hundred of Negroes Men Women and Children, and I wish I could be Certain that Messrs. Malbone Intended me a Vessel. If not I would draw my Money out" (Mar. 16, 1773, Clarkson to Van Horne). The Francis Malbone here mentioned is in all likelihood the same Malbone of whom William Almy wrote, after the Revolution: "the last time I conversed with him, he was Violently opposed to the abolition of the Slave Trade, and tho of an open frank disposition yet a rash unregarded Man, to conclude I think there must be a wonderful conversion in his mind to fit him for a Delegate in Congress." Moses Brown Papers, Misc., II. 105 (undated).

lastly one of the most Capital objections would be to the Mode of Payment, that of long Credit on American Security, to avoid which they forego the benefit of 8 per Cent Interest and take Security for the Remittance of Bills in each Bottom tho under manifest disadvantages as to Payment, merely to keep the Wheel going round as they term it, by making such Bills often at 12 and 18 Months sight become a Paper Currency passing in their respective Circles by a proper discount for Cash. Hence Sir, you will perceive the almost Insuperable difficulty which I should have to encounter, if you had transmitted descriptions of your Land, sent me Legal Authorities for pledging it and had been explicit and Liberal in your price for Negroes, as well as the utter impossibility to render you any service upon your present unfixed plan. . . .

336. Henry Laurens to James Laurens, 1773.

Westminster 11 March 1773.

per Capt. Gunn
James Laurens, *So Carolina*

. . . My Mind Indicates to me from reflecting the State of Affairs on both sides of the Water that this and the next will not be the most prosperous Years for Carolina. I have a foreboding of several troublesome Events. In the first place there will probably be a superabundant Importation of Negroes. Charles Town will be thereby in danger of Contagious Distempers which alone are very dreadful. the Amot. of Imports taking in the Arrears of last Year will far exceed that of Exports, the bad Sale of all our produce on this side, will drive Guarantees and Creditors here to push Debtors on the other, Rise of Exchange, Injurious delays of payment and failures where least expected will follow, if you should have unfavourable Seasons, a Hurricane or there should happen a sudden Declaration of War, our Carolina circumstances will be ten times worse, and at best I perceive that we shall have a considerable Balance against us. To guard against the consequences of Infectious disorders if any such should be Introduced by the Importation of Multitudes of Negroes, nothing can be said but what will occur to your Mind upon the first appearance and you are in a good situation, but in such a Calamity the distress of our neighbors is sensibly felt by ourselves. . . .

337. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1773.

Westmr. 17th Mar. 1773.

John Knight, *Leverpoole*

. . . Concerning the African Trade at So. Carolina I am heartily chagrined on that article alone by the delay of my thoughts which I

could wish had been Imparted to you a Month ago. I verily believe that Province will be overstocked by the present Years Importation of Negroes. I view the Crops of 1772 according to the fallen prices and stagnation of Sale both of Rice and Indigo to be Mortgaged or nearly so for the last Years debt. The Debt which will be Incurred by the Sale of 8 perhaps 10 Thousand Negroes in 1773 will Amount to much more than the Balance of another large Crop, after the Debt for European, West India and Madeira Importations, is deducted. this state at best promises difficulty to every Guarantee on this side and threatens a rise of Exchange on the other, which will in so far made [make] a deduction on the Nominal Average of Sale. this appears to me to be the true prospect of the present Year admitting the Crops of Rice and Indigo to be equal to those of the last. But if a great drought, a vast glut of Rain, a Violent Hurricane or only the appearance of a Storm of War, should intervene—what will the consequences be then? As to the prices which Negroes may sell for I can say nothing but that the Value will be in proportion to the Number Imported and the demand for them. this Latter may be much abated by the depreciated Value of Rice and Indigo, which will abate that madness which has appeared in some of the Merchants there for purchasing at any rate, some of whom (or perhaps their constituents) I am assured will sink £10,000 by the Article of Indigo alone.

A vast Importation of Negroes into Charles Town especially in the present relaxed State of Government in So Carolina will greatly expose the Capital to the danger of Infectious Distemper—Small Pox or Fever. Circumstances of this kind are very detrimental to the Sale of Negroes. I have been a Witness of the Loss of £500. or £1000. on a Cargo only from a Report of such Dangers. Upon the whole Sir, if I was concerned in the African Trade I would be cautious this Year of sending many Negroes to Carolina, if the demand is considerable in the West Indies and the prices at and upwards of £40, I should esteem a Sale there as the proverb tells us we should estimate a Bird in hand. if my orders were gone forth for Carolina I would meet my friends with Cautionary hints of the danger of the Rise of Exchange and recommendations to Remit Bills speedily while to be had. I press this particularly to you my Dear Friend, because I apprehend the risque of Exchange will in your Adventures be your own. The Houses in Common will take [like] the rest of Mankind in such Circumstances sit down Easy and make tempor[ar]y Paper Money when they Can. they will draw at their stated periods and trust to the approach of each for refunding their Friends on this side, which will Create a vast demand for Bills in the latter part of the Year. Opportunities which may present in the meantime ought by all practicable means to be embraced by Men of foresight. . . .

338. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1773.

31 March 1773.

John Knight Esqr., *Leverpoole*

Upon Receipt of your very kind favour of the 28th [1] I applied to Messrs. Bourdieu and Chollet who Consented to become surety for the House of Gervais and Chollet for Amount of your African Consignments, but you are not explicit whether you demand full remittances by Bills in each Bottom and are silent on the Periods for payment. it does not appear to me therefore that you mean to insist upon such Returns especially as you refer to, and say you will be Content with transactions equal to those of A and L, who did not remit all Bills in the Bottom. be that as it may, the Gentlemen on this side tho very willing to Enter into Suretyship generally and extremely desirous of cultivating your Friendship do not seem Inclined to accept Bills which may come all in one Remittance lest they should incur too great a Load of Acceptance upon them at one Juncture of Time—their Credit is established upon a firm Basis and they are Wisely tenacious of holding it free even from a Suspicion of being under difficulties, and the subject is of too delicate a Nature to admit the Interposition of my opinion much less of Persuasion or Importunity. . . .

339. Henry Laurens to John Lewis Gervais, 1773.

22d March 1773 to the 7th April 1773.

per *Le Dispenser*

John Lewis Gervais, *So. Carolina*

. . . Some Days ago my Friends Messrs. Ross and Mill intimated to me a dissatisfaction with their Correspondents in Charles Town and their intention to Change, that they had an Opening for any Friend of mine. upon discovering that they were not only disingaged but determined to apply to Mr. Nutt in case of any refusal, I could not do less than recommend your House, and you will in consequence thereof Receive the *Peggy*, Capt. Mill from the Gold Coast with a large Cargo of Negroes, about 400, for which Messrs. Bourdieu and Chollet are Guarantee, the Remittance for the Balance are to be in Bills at 3-6-9 and 12 Months sight—by a Letter which R. and M. have this minute sent me, because our Other friend in Lime Street made a point of my adjusting that part. I was prodigiously surprised at the Recpt. of a Letter the 20 Ulto. from my Old and good friend John Knight Esq., of Leverpoole, in which he inclos'd a Letter for

[338] [1]On the 25th Laurens had written to Knight: "My friend Mr. Oswald first Introduced Mr. Gervais to me and by my recommendation he consigned him 2 African Cargoes last Year and two more the present Year."

Capt. Wotherspoon of his African Ship *Nanny*, desiring me to transmit it to my Friend in Charles Town to whom the Capt. would have Orders to deliver his Cargo, he said Messrs. Head and Giball had dissolved their Copartnership and that he would not consign to either of them separately, but I was not more surprised at the Information then affected and concerned on behalf of my Friend Sir Edmund and also of his partner. I therefore ca[ex]postulated with my Friend in Leverpoole, hoping to reconcile him, at least to a Conditional Consignment to one or both of those Gentlemen but he seemed Galled by something or other and was inflexible, therefore I was in some degree necessitated to recommend you, which when I was about it, I did in the warmest terms, and perfectly consistent with Truth.[1]

You will find inclosed the Letter above mentioned for Capt. Wotherspoon who will deliver his Cargo to Garvais and Chollet. Nothing rejoices me more than doing service to my Friends. but I must confess there is some alloy to my satisfaction when I perceive as in the present Case that other Friends are suffering any kind of disappointment. I wish my Friend Head had put it in my power to serve him, by communicating the change of his Circumstances to me, but of late for what reason I know not he has wholly withdrawn his correspondence, tho I have since my arrival in England not only spoke in his favour when applied to, but have offered to be his surety for an African Cargo or more. but to return—Mr. Knight has insisted upon my making terms for the *Nanny* on one hand, and the Gentlemen in Lime Street on the other Hand are wisely Cautious of engaging too largely in the acceptance of Bills, here I am in a Dilemma. there are but three other men in England from whom I would at this time have accepted a Cargo of Negroes for you, and truly I must say that if this application had not been made in manner aforesaid to me I should not have sought for them, but such Correspondents as Ross and Mill and Mr. Knight are Valuable and ought not to be treated slightly—to have their business and their Good Will is an establishment to a House. You will have much difficulty to strive with in order to keep your Friends here from being in a Very heavy advance, but you must strive with ardour and diligence, and you will succeed, if your Friends perceive you helping yourselves they will help you out in some unavoidable deficiencies; *I would* if I was on the spot and will do all that I can on this side. As Mr. Knights Cargo will be from Bonny not so saleable to good Purchasers nor for Cash as the Gold Coast Cargoes I shall expect that he will be content with Bills, at 6-9 and 12 Months sight which I hope will put you to no difficulty to accomplish, let you[r] Endeavours be to make a good and faith-

[339] [1] In the notices in the *Gazette* for the year 1773 neither the *Peggy* nor the *Nanny* appears.

ful Sale for the benefit of your Constituents but at the same time you must have a Proper regard for your own and the security of your Guarantee, make the Best Sale you can to good Men, take Collatiral Security from every person whose Circumstances are doubtful, Collect as much Cash as Possible and remit to Messrs. Bourdieu and Chollet in such a Manner as to keep them from being in advance, leave no stone unturn'd for that purpose, be continually on the Watch for Bills of Exchange and rather Borrow Money upon Interest to pay for them than be deficient. the Exchange for Remittances must be ascertained at the Current Course when each Sale is made and the Sooner you Remit, the less risque you will run from a variation. . . .

340. Henry Laurens to Gervais and Chollet, 1773.

10 April 1773.

per *Le Dispenser*
Gervais and Chollet, *So. Carolina*

Gentlemen. I beg leave to refer you to what I have already written on African affairs, to your Mr. J L G, whose letter I closed too Soon and omitted to put into it, one which you will find under this cover from my worthy and Dear friend Jno. Knight Esqr. of Leverpoole [1] for Capt. Wotherspoon of the Ship *Nanny,* which opened this opportunity for addressing myself to you. I need not repeat that Mr. Knight is a Gentleman of the first character as a Citizen and a Merchant, he is just and very Liberal and deserves particular attention from all his friends, and I am persuaded that in every Instance of your correspondence with him you will find an Inclination from Gratitude to do rather more for him than you may be Strictly obliged to do by Contract. I speak from an experience of upwards of 24 Years acquaintance.

I am not sure what will be the final adjustment for Remitting the Net Proceed of the *Nannys* Cargo but probably in Bills at Six, eight, and twelve Months Sight and as Much better as you can make them consi[s]tent with your own safety and a grateful attachment to the Interest of your friend.

Excuse my Freedom in recommending to you to Make good Sales tho I would by no means encourage you to give Credit to every Man who may offer to deal with you merely for the Sake of a high price and a flaunting Average, which must end in the prejudice of your Constituents and your own Ruin, yet on the other hand if you consult only your own Safety by Selling to Monied Men who are always careful to

[340] [1] A brief letter to John Knight suggests the difficulty which Laurens is encountering in arranging terms which shall satisfy Knight, Gervais and Chollet, and Bourdieu and Chollet.

obtain full abatement for Cash, you will depreciate your prices to such a degree as you will Injure your friends, the Owners of Cargoes consigned to you, hurt those who have recommended you, and greatly undervalue your own Credit and Reputation. . . .

341. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1773.[1]

May 31, 1773.

Although there are now no less than Twelve Cargoes of Negroes for Sale here (all but two arrived since our last) yet the Number on board does not exceed 1900; most of the vessels having come off the Coast with less than Half the Quantity of Slaves they were sent to purchase. The greatest Quantity we find imported in any one Year, was 7184 in 1765, which is 4457 less than have arrived the present Year:[2] the next greatest Number imported in a Year, were 4865 in 1772, 4612 in 1769, and 3740 in 1760. The whole Quantity of Slaves imported from the 1st of January 1753, to the 1st of January 1773, is 43,965.

June 7, 1773.

Nothing could have happened more injurious to the British Merchants concerned in the Slave Trade, than the recent Stop put to the granting of Lands, at the same Time that the First Cutting of Indico is lost: But for these Events, the Cargoes of Negroes now here (tho' many have arrived almost together)[3] would have been sold at considerably higher Prices than they are now likely to be.

June 14, 1773.

Even now the Number of Negro Slaves imported the present Year, falls short 3066 of what were imported in the Year 1765 and, although not less than 3514 have arrived here since the 1st of May, the Sales have been well kept up, and there are not many on Hand, besides the three Cargoes which are to be exposed for Sale on the 15th, 17th, 23d Instant.

Philadelphia, June 23 [1773].[4]

The Beginning of last Month there was the greatest Number of New-Negroes for Sale at South-Carolina, that perhaps ever was

[341] [1] *S. C. Gazette* for the dates mentioned unless another reference is given.

[2] "In the second paragraph of our last Monday's Charles Town Intelligence, relative to the Importation of negroes, for less read more." *Ibid.*, June 7, 1773, quoted in Sellers, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution*, p. 133.

[3] "1773, June 3. Savannah. Mr. Piercy went this morning to Charleston . . . with Mr. Ambrose Wright, and another friend to purchase negroes, many having arrived there for sale." Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, VI. 230-231.

[4] *Mass. Gazette and News Letter*, July 8, 1773. That this item was copied from Philadelphia into a Boston paper is suggestive of widespread knowledge of and interest in the Charleston importation. The item dated July 26 (*S. C. Gazette*) is to be found in the *News Letter* of Aug. 26.

known at one Time: It being computed that upwards of 2600 had arrived there the latter End of May and Beginning of June. One Cargo was sold for Forty Pounds Sterling a Head.[5]

July 26, 1773.

The whole Number of Negroes imported here, since the 1st of November last, including the Cargoes not yet exposed for Sale is, 6471, *viz.*

From the West Indies (in 26 Vessels	700
The Northern Colonies (in 6 Vessels)	40
Directly from Africa (in 33 Vessels)	5731
Total	6471

Which Number is supposed to have created an extraordinary Demand for upwards of 90,000 Bushels of Indian Corn, the Exportation of which Article is stopped in Georgia, where they have purchased at least 1000 of the Negroes.

September 20, 1773.

The Number of Slaves imported here, since the First Day of November last, now amounts to 7507—6768 of them in 39 Guineymen, directly from the Coast of Africa. The Ship *Hawke*, Captain Ralph, of Liverpoole, took a Pilot on Board last Wednesday, off the Bar, but has not yet got in: This Ship will make the 40th, and is said to have upwards of Three Hundred Negroes on Board.

September 27, 1773.

On Wednesday arrived here the *Hawke*, from Africa, with about 250 Slaves, consigned to Messrs Robert, John and James Smyth; the *Nancy* with about 120 more; to Messrs. Edwards, Fisher, and Company; and on Saturday the *King George*, with about 160, to Miles Brewton, Esqr. These Arrivals have increased the Number of Guineymen to 42, and the Number of Negroes imported to about 8050.

. . .

342. Nathaniel Russell to Christopher Champlin, 1773.[1]

Charleston, So. Carolina, July 28th, 1773.

Sir, I Received your favor by Captain Earl with a Negro fellow for Sale who I have sold for £325 Currency, three months Credit. I have

[5] The *Gazette* for June 28 reported, "Upwards of Three Thousand Eight Hundred Negroes have been imported here since the Beginning of May, yet they are all sold, and the Demand for them continues; which proves a rapid Encrease of Wealth and Inhabitants of late Years in this Province". This item was copied in the *Mass. Gazette and News Letter*, Aug. 5, Suppl.

[342] [1] *Commerce of Rhode Island*, I. 447. For information concerning the trade of Christopher Champlin see this work, vol. III., index.

been fully determin'd for some time past not to sell another Negro except they were enter'd here and Duty paid. I had rather loose the whole commissions I have made on selling Negroes than be detected in smugling one; the Shipper would be no Looser by paying the Duty as the Negro could then be expos'd publickly and no person will give so much for them under those Circumstances, they being always liable to be seized for the Duty. I must beg you never to send me another except you intend to pay the Duty. . . .

343. NATHANIEL RUSSELL TO CHRISTOPHER CHAMPLIN, 1773.[1]

CHARLESTON, 1st December, 1773.

Sir, You have herewith Account Sales of your Negro sent me by Earl, Nett Proceeds £296.15 which I would have sent you by this opportunity but cannot possibly get it chang'd into hard money. Bills of Exchange has been so very scarce that all the Dollars and Heavy Gold has been sent to Great Britain for Remittance. if you can draw on me or order it in produce, if that will not suit you, I will desire Capt. Durfee to pay it you when he is in Cash on my Account. . . .

Sales of a Negro man received per the *Nancy*, Capt. Earl, on Account of Mr. Christopher Champlin of Newport.

1773, August 1. By Wm. Johnson for 1 Negro man £325.

	Charges	
1773.	To Cash paid his passage	£12.
	To my Commission 5 per Ct.	16. 5
	Nett proceeds to your Acct. Curr't.	296.15
		325.

Errors Excepted.
NATHL. RUSSELL

344. HENRY LAURENS TO JOHN KNIGHT, 1773.

WESTMINSTER 2d Decemr. 1773.

John Knight, *Leverpoole*

. . . One of my Attornees in Carolina, presses me in Strong tims [terms] to make a further provision of Labourers for a Tract of my Uncultivated Land,[1] and I would if it was practicable buy about

[343] [1] *Commerce of Rhode Island*, I. 466.

[344] [1] In a letter to Richard Oswald, also written on Dec. 2, Laurens refers to his tract of 13,000 acres at Long Canes, in what was then the Carolina frontier region. Half of this he had given to Gervais for his services in surveying it, half he now pressed on Oswald, suggesting that he stock it with domestic slaves from the Bance Island factory, from which Oswald was at this time withdrawing. Oswald at first accepted the suggestion and careful instructions were sent to Gervais for settling the negroes upon this tract of land and providing for their housing and food, but further consideration led him to alter his plans and consign them to East Florida. Letters of Apr. 9 and May 18, not here printed, deal with this affair.

Fifty, but Suche a Number taken from a good Cargo would leave a pernicious blemish upon the Remainder, therefore I have in contemplation to make a purchase of a whole Cargo of One Hundred or twenty more or less—from Gambia or the Gold Coast—to be delivered to my order in Charles Town at a certain price in Sterling Money per head—free from Duty and Commission.

The first part of the payment, to be by Loading the Vessel according to Order and paying the Captains Coast Commission and Ships disbursements Exchag. at 700 per Cent—no Commission to be charged on either—the remaining Sum to be paid by Bills in London in equal thirds at Three, Six, and twelve Months Sight, to be delivered to the Master of you[r] Vessel or transmitted to you when the Vessel is cleared out for Sailing. The Cargo to be assorted about 50 Men, 40 Women and 20 Boys and Girls from 4 feet to [*blank*] feet high.

Be so obliging Dear Sir to Signify if an engagement of this nature is worth your attention; if it is, we may descend to particulars, respecting the time of delivery, number of privilege Slaves, certain provision if any to Spare at delivering the Negroes, and exceptions in case the Cargo Should prove unhealthy or of improper Sorts. probably when your answer comes I may be out of London but it will Soon overtake me wherever I am and I Shall give the needful reply without delay.

345. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1774.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 21	Jan. 28	*Molly*	George Smith	Bance Island	150	John Lewis Gervais
Mar. 14	Mar. 22[2]	*Prince Tom*	—— Mason	Gambia	150	Roger Smith
June 6	June 18	*Caton*	Jos. Williams	"	230	Andrew and Geo. Lord
" 13	" 21	*Expedition*	John Spence	Senegal	100	Roger Smith
" "	" 17	*Peggy*	Geo. McMain	Rice Coast	140	Edwards, Fisher, and Co.
" 20	" 27	*Fanny*	John Stenton	Gold Coast	60	Levinius Clarkson
" 27	July 5	*Frances*	Ed. Williamson	Senegal	120	Edwards, Fisher, and Co.
" "	" 6	*Hector*	Wm. Llewellin	Angola	280	John Neufville
" "	" 7	*Hope*	Elisha Warner		50	John Smith and Co.
July 11[3]	" 26	*Jenny*	John Thompson	Sierra Leone	120	Powell, Hopton, and Co.
Sept. 26	Oct. 5	*Sebenia*	Walter Clark	Senegal	200	Roger Smith
" "	" 11	*Betsey*	Wm. Morgan	Gambia	128	Dupont, Brewton, and Co.
Oct. 3	" "	*Lord North*	Thomas Cornwall	Senegal	180	Roger Smith
" 24[4]	" 27	*Maria*	Rich. Grinnell[5]	Sierra Leone	36	Powell, Hopton, and Co.

[345] [1] From Nov. 12, 1773, to Jan. 28, 1774, there had been 274 negroes entered. *S. C. Gazette*, Jan. 28, 1774.

[2] "A Correspondent says, 'he is sorry to see Guineymen permitted, at a season when no bad Weather is apprehended, to come up from Rebellion Road, before they have there performed the Quarantine required by Law; by which he apprehends the Inhabitants of the Town may be exposed to some terrible Calamity worse than the Rage to buy Negroes'" (*S. C. Gazette*, May 16, 1774). This suggests that there may have been vessels discharging cargoes in Charleston between Mar. 22 and June 18, 1774, even though none is recorded. Further evidence of this is to be found in the fact that on May 4 Levinius Clarkson wrote to Van Horne: "Times never known to be so dull as at Present. Not a Ship in Port to Load. I am Informed a Sloop is Cutt off on the Coast of Guinea belonging to New York. There is a Guineaman Just arrivd, when she comes up I shall make Enquiries." Levinius Clarkson Letters.

[3] During the summer two slavers bound for Georgia put into Charleston "in distress", the *Charlotte* with 140 slaves, and the *Friends*, William Ross. *S. C. Gazette*, June 13, July 18, 1774.

[4] That these were not the last arrivals of the year may be surmised from a later note in the *Gazette*: "The Ship *Two Brothers*, Capt. Jones, with Slaves, consigned to Messrs. Andrew and George Lord here, was likewise disabled in the above-mentioned Gale, and is put into Georgia, whence the Slaves are sent for." *S. C. Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1774.

[5] Captain Grennel, who had arrived in thirty-seven days from Delos (Isles de Los) brought word of a negro insurrection on a New York brig under Capt. Daniel Darby. *Mass. Gazette and News Letter*, Dec. 1, 1774.

346. Henry Laurens to John Lewis Gervais, 1774.

Westminster 5th Febry. 1774.

per *Sandwich* Packet
John L. Gervais

. . . believe me according to present appleasures [appearances] you will be better off, if you receive only two African Consignments than you would be if you had more.

It Seems to me now as if all parties concluded that your Connexion or intended Connexion with Mr. J Chollet was Barred. I meet Mr. Bourdieu but he never Speaks of the Subject, and I would advise you to trouble your Self no more about it. you are not undeserving my good opinion and you are intitled to it and I told Mr. Herries two days ago that I would be your Security for Ten Thousand pounds if Mr. Oswald Shall require it, and if I did not think it would be injurious to your Interest I would Secure you the Consignment of Several Cargoes of Negroes the present Summer. I am pressed by Some friends on this Side to do it, but for your own Sake I dare not go a Ship further at present. look out for a good Partner, you deserve a good one, and I can make a connexion with you Merit the attention of Some of the best in Charles Town. I will do a great deal to Serve you but Entering into the African Trade is so repugnant to my disposition and my plan for future Life that it Seems as if nothing but dire necessity could drive me to it.

347. Henry Laurens to John Lewis Gervais, 1774.

Westminster, 2d March 1774.

per *Eagle* Packet
John Lewis Gervais, *So. Carolina*

. . . Mr. Oswald's continued absence from Town has hindered me from writing further on African Consignments. You will have his Brigt. the *Amelia* again, and Mr. Knight expects every hour to hear of your having Sold the *Livily's* Cargo,[1] for payment of which I am Surety and I fancy that by a late draught upon me under the name of a Loan he is beginning to Collect part of it betimes. these vessels if you get no more in 1774 will make the pot Boil and the Contracted Circle in my opinion will be most beneficial in these precarious times. . . .

Ha! I congratulate you on the arrival of the *Molly* which I learn by the *Gazette* of 21st January. we had given her up for lost. I hope you will make a good Sale and quick remittances now you will have Negroes enough for one year. . . .

[347] [1] The *Gazette* does not record the sale of a cargo from the *Amelia*, though Laurens writes as though Gervais had already received and sold a consignment by that vessel. It will be seen from the next letter that the *Lively* was not sent to Charleston.

348. Henry Laurens to John Knight, 1774.

Westminster 17th March 1774.

John Knight, *Leverpoole*

. . . Mr. Gervais and I are well off and probably you are not worse, by the diversion of the *Lively* from Charles Town. I don't like the Complexion of the times, there will be trouble and Confusion in America—Carolina will partake of the Evil. if I was an Owner of African Vessels on this Side I would not trust a Cargo there; if a Merchant there, I would not wish to receive a Cargo. Your Guarantees on this Side are Rich in paper. Should there be a Sudden Check to Correspondence, the bottoms, of Some will appear to be but paper. if I might venture to give my opinion to my Dear friend Mr. Knight, it would be to draw in, rather than extend debts in the present State of affairs. . . .

349. Levinius Clarkson to David Van Horne, 1774.[1]

Ch. Town, 18th June 1774.

. . . Since my last Mr. Brewton had a Cargo of 62 Prime Slaves wch I have Consented to dispose of at 4, 8, 12, and 16 Month Sight for the Bills, so that I shall draw on Mr. Neal for a Part, If you chose I shall remit him for it. . . . I am Affraid the Planters and many Merchants will not only come to an Agreement not to Import but also not to Export. . . .

350. Levinius Clarkson to David Van Horne, 1774.[1]

Ch. Town So. Carolina 24 June [1774].

Hon Sir . . . I am Disposing of a Cargo of Slaves wch I Excepted from Mr. Brewton, Since wch I have Recd. a Letter from Mr. John Mawdswell of New Port who infor[ms] me has Order[ed] his Brign. *Mary* John Allen to my address, And that you have given Security for the Same. I should be happy to serve this Gentleman, But as the Present Contest for Liberty is Such in this Province, As to Induce the Worthy Carolinians to Stop Importation as well as [I ?] Surmise they will Exportation. If so In what manner is the Merchant to make his Remittances to his Guarantie. From wch Noble Spirit I shall not Except of his Cargo, But on those Conditions to sell them on his own Acct and Remit the Proceeds to him as it comes to hand in Bills on New York, Cash or Rice. . . . Discourage any Guinea Adventures in your Town from coming here this Season for it is wth the Greatest difficulty to git rid of such a Cargo. Rest Assured

[349] [1] Levinius Clarkson Letters. On June 8 Clarkson wrote that Brewton had offered him a newly arrived cargo of 107 which he had refused.

[350] [1] Levinius Clarkson Letters.

I shall not sell one But to a good Man or Men [?] to the Name of Cash.

351. Non-importation Agreement, 1774.[1]

October 20, 1774.

We will neither import nor purchase, any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which time, we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.[2]

352. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1775.[1]

March 6, 1775.

The same Evening [Saturday] arrived, in the Rebellion-Road, the Ship *Katherine*, of Bristol, Capt. Fraser, with 300 Slaves from Angola, to the Address of Mr. John Neufville, (the worthy Merchant who owns, and to whom the Cargo of the Ship *Charming Sally* abovementioned was consigned): which, as soon as she can be supplied with Provisions and Water for another Voyage, (having Provisions for only 4 Days when she came in) is to proceed for the West-Indies, with the Whole of her Cargo.

[351] [1] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, I. 77. The South Carolina merchants had in a meeting preliminary to the general meeting of July 6 resolved not to accede to any non-importation and non-exportation agreement. In the resolutions entered into July 6, 1774, there was no mention of non-importation. At this meeting however those candidates for delegates to the Philadelphia meeting who were supported by the merchants were defeated. The opposition group believed that the successful delegates were committed to non-importation, should that be the desire of the congress. The general committee appointed by South Carolina to act with the other colonies contained among its fifteen merchants Miles Brewton, Thomas Shirley, John Neufville, Roger Smith, William Savage, and David Deas, all of whom had traded in slaves (*Am. Arch.*, fourth ser., I. 525-526, 531-533). On Aug. 2 the Commons House of Assembly in South Carolina was acquainted with the fact that during the recess of the house, by a general meeting of the inhabitants July 6 and 8, Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, and Edward Rutledge had been appointed deputies to a congress to meet in Philadelphia in September (*Journals*, I. 23-24; Drayton, *Memoirs*, I. 128-131). McCrady says that the merchants continued to oppose non-importation until August (*Royal Government*, p. 411). On July 8 Clarkson wrote to Van Horne: "The Province have been Considering of Proper Measures to relieve their Neighboring Province Boston . . . have las[t] Night Come to a determination to send 5 Gentlemen to Meet a Congress at Philadelphia on Eleven with full Power to [act] as they think most Conducive for the Interest of the Colonys and this Province."

[2] On Jan. 3, 1775, Laurens wrote to Ross and Mill of London: "You have long Since been informed of the proceedings of the American Congress and that a total prohibition to the Importation of Slaves is implied in one of their Resolves." A Liverpool petition to the House of Commons refers to the trade to Africa as threatened with ruin if some remedy is not found (*Am. Arch.*, first ser., I. 1531). One of the effects in Carolina may be surmised from a suggestion of Clarkson to Van Horne on Jan. 24, that the period of non-importation of negroes would be a good time in which to buy a plantation. On Sept. 20, 1776, the resolution of the Continental Congress was read in the Carolina assembly: "Resolved that no Slaves be imported into any of the Thirteen United Colonies." *Journal of the General Assembly of South Carolina, Sept. 17, 1776-Oct. 20, 1776* (ed. Salley, 1909), p. 22; E. C. Burnett, *Letters*, I. 415n.

[352] [1] *S. C. Gazette* for the dates given.

March 27, 1775.

Last Friday the Ship *Katharine*, Capt. Fraser, that arrived here on the 4th Instant, from Angola; with 300 Slaves, (which according to the Continental Association could not be imported or purchased here) sailed for the West-Indies with her whole Cargo

353. Henry Laurens to John Laurens, 1776.[1]

Charleston, S. C., 14th August, 1776.

. . . My negroes there [on Laurens's Georgia plantations, which he had just visited], all to a man, are strongly attached to me—so are all of mine in this country. . . . These negroes were first enslaved by the English; acts of parliament have established the slave trade in favour of the home-residing English, and almost totally prohibited the Americans from reaping any share of it. Men of war, forts, castles, governors, companies and committees are employed and authorized by the English parliament to protect, regulate, and extend the slave trade. Negroes are brought by Englishmen and sold as slaves to Americans. Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, etc., live upon the slave trade. The British parliament now employ their men-of-war to steal those negroes from the Americans to whom they had sold them, pretending to set the poor wretches free, but basely trepan and sell them into tenfold worse slavery in the West Indies, where probably they will become the property of Englishmen again, and of some who sit in parliament.[2] . . .

354. Henry Laurens to John Lewis Gervais, 1783.

London 9th Augt. 1783.

per the *Betsy*, Bloy
J. L. Gervais Esqr., *So. Carolina*

. . . Mr. Oswald unexpectedly came in and asked me to recommend some friend in Charles Town to whom he might consign for sale his East Florida Negroes about 170 in Number, I could not forbear the name of Gervais, tho' I confess not with that warmth I had been formerly accustomed to. our friend had complained and I was conscious he had ground for complaint. Mr. Oswald replied he had not heard from Mr. Gervais since the Year 1775. it would have been kind said he if in the course of so many Years he had embraced some opportunity and certainly many have offered for writing me only a

[353] [1] F. Moore, *Materials for History printed from Original Manuscripts: Correspondence of Henry Laurens of South Carolina* (New York, Zenger Club, 1861). In the letter from which this extract is taken Laurens goes on to express his deep distaste for the institution of slavery and his intention of freeing his own slaves.

[2] During the Revolution importation of slaves into South Carolina ceased.

Line and saying, "I am alive, I hope you are alive". I could say nothing in excuse for your neglect and thinking my friend determined against enlarging his Account with you, I named Mr. John Owen and urged Arguments in his favor warranted by experience and truth. Mr. Oswald paused, then said, it shall be so, I'll send the Consignment to him; soon after, he added—but as my former Consignments to Mr. Gervais were made on your Account I don't wish to affront him, suppose I were to join them. I was extremely well pleased to hear this and therefore closed with the proposition, you will accordingly be addressed in conjunction with Mr. Owen by our worthy old friend.[1] . . .

355. Henry Laurens to Felix Warley, 1783.

London, 11th Augt. 1783.

per the *Betsey,* Bloy
Mr. Felix Warley, *So. Carolina*

. . . Mr. Bloy applied to me to recommend some proper person in Charles Town to whom he might consign cargoes of Negroes. after assuring him of my hearty dissent to further importations of slaves in any of the United States of America and of my hopes that the Trade would be prohibited in South Carolina,[1] I gave him the names of several of my old acquaintance, leaving a choice to himself after conversing with them. your name is in the list and Mr. Bloy will call upon you. Should the African Trade be encouraged in our Country no particular censure can fall upon you for participating.

356. Henry Laurens to Joseph Clay, 1783.

Bath 16th Augt. 1783.

Joseph Clay Esqr., *Savannah in Georgia*

D'r Sir, My very worthy friend Richd. Oswald Esqr. intended applying to you for the prosecution of his Views of withdrawing about

[354] [1] Oswald changed his plans for these negroes not long after this letter was written (see *post,* no. 356). To this letter and also to those from Laurens of Aug. 16 and 26 and Sept. 9 Gervais replied on Dec. 16: "I flatter myself my Letter to our worthy Friend Mr. Oswald the same Month will lessen his displeasure. . . . permit me My Dear Sir to thank you for mentioning my name to him again respecting his East Florida negroes. I had no right to expect he would be inclined to enlarge his accounts with me before the old ones are settled. Therefore I am very well contented that he has been pleased to make it a joint Concern with Mr. Owen." The letter ends with an enumeration of the debts owed to him which his debtors cannot pay, partly because of the action of the British in removing slaves from South Carolina. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Letters of John Lewis Gervais to Henry Laurens.

[355] [1] A bill introduced into the Carolina house in February, forbidding negro importations, had failed to pass. Instead, a law was enacted placing a duty of £3 per head on African negroes over four feet in height, 30*s.* on those under that, and £20 on those from places other than Africa. Cooper, IV. 577; Journals of the House, 1783, pp. 170, 183, 240.

170 Negroes from East Florida and setting them down on a Plantation to be hired in Georgia where they [there] may be houses standing for their Reception and where they may be put immediately to labor. Should either of my plantations, Broughton Island, or New hope on the Altamaha, or Wright's Savanna on the North Side of Savanna River be as fit for the purpose of our friend as any other which may present to your View, it will afford me Satisfaction that you should adopt one of mine because I derive no Rent except barely so much as will pay the public Tax nor even so much as an Exemption from Taxes unless you shall be fully persuaded that the Bargain will be beneficial to Mr. Oswald.[1] . . .

[356] [1] Similar letters were sent to Gervais and to John Owen. To the latter Laurens added: "you are to impute [Oswald's plan] wholly to his humane feelings, his wishes to keep the families together and Reluctance to separate them, however the Scheme may militate against his Interest."

357. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1783.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Sept. 24	Sept. 27	*Polly*	—— Higgins			J. Versey and Co.[2]
" "	Oct. 1	*Eagle*	David Miller		104	J. Ve[r]sey and Co.
Oct. 1	" 10	*Neptune*	George Seymour	Antigua	90	Wm. Somersall
" "	" 8			Gold Coast		Daniel Bourdeau[3]
" 8	" 7	*Roseau*	—— Simpson			[4]
Dec. 11						Hort and Warley[5]

[357] [1] The information to be derived from the advertisements in the *Gazette*, is much more fragmentary than that for the period preceding the Revolution. The character of the sales had apparently changed somewhat, and it seems no longer to be expected that a single sale will dispose of the cargo. The clause, "The sale to continue every fair day (Sundays excepted) until all be sold", becomes a common one. Drayton, in *View of South Carolina* (1802), p. 167, gives the importation from Africa and the West Indies in 1783 as 1003, that from St. Augustine as 167.

[2] These are to be sold "at Mrs. Dewees's, No. 43, Queen-street".

[3] "Will commence at the subscriber's yard, No. 109, King-street."

[4] "At Mr. Manigault's Lot, the Corner of Amen-Street, behind St. Philip's Church." No seller's name is attached to this notice.

[5] "Hort and Warley Have For Sale a Number of very valuable and handsome Negroes (Just Imported) Among whom are Sempstresses, Cooks, Washers, and Ironers and some Field Slaves, which they will dispose of for Cash or Produce at Market Price." *Gazette of State of South Carolina*, Jan. 1, 1784.

358. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1784.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 15	Jan. 23	*Mary*	—— Taylor			A. Wilkinson and Co.
Apr. 15	Apr. 21	*Sally*		Jamaica	20	Lewis McPherson[2]
May 6	May 13	*Betsey*		Gambia		George Garner[3]
" 13	" 17	*Two Brothers*	Jacob Swift	Windward Coast		John Mitchell[4]
" "	" 18	*Bennington*	Josiah Conyers	Gold Coast	90	Smith, Desaussure, and Darrell
" 20	June 1	*Le Leger*	Louis Castandet	Angola	300	Daniel Bourdeaux
June 24	" 29				25	Cudworth and Waller[5]
July 8	July 15	*Antigallican*	William Parke	New Calabar	216	Ball, Jennings, and Co., and Smith, Desaussure and Darrell
" 15		*Old England*	John Garnet	Gold Coast	181	Fisher, Hughes, and Edwards
" "		*Alert*	Thomas Walker	" "	199	" " " "
" 26		*Louisa*	John Court	Gambia	56	Ball, Jennings, and Co., and Smiths, Desaussure and Darrell
" "	Aug. 3	*Count De Norde*	James Penny	Angola	600	Ball, Jennings, and Co., and Smiths, Desaussure and Darrell
Sept. 16				West Indies	6	Smith, DeSaussure and Darrell
Oct. 14	Oct. 18	*Molly*	—— Hort	Windward Coast	150	Fisher, Hughes, and Edwards
Dec. 16	Dec. 21	*Success*	John Conner	Gold Coast	260	Ball, Jennings, and Co., and Smiths, Desaussure and Darrell[6]
" "	" "	*Fanny*	Barton Overton	Africa	137	James and Edward Penman

[358] [1] Most of these advertisements appear a number of times, but only the date of the *Gazette* in which one first appears is given. Drayton (*View of S. C.*, p. 167) gives the importation from Africa and the West Indies as 4020, that from St. Augustine as 1372.

[2] "At Mrs. Dawson's No. 46 Queen-street. All men, from 15 to 22 years of age, imported in the ship *Sally* from Jamaica, at which

[*Notes to no. 358*—continued:]

place they were picked out of a large cargo that had just arrived from Africa. The conditions of the sale are one half Cash, and the other moiety in three months, on bond with approved security. LEWIS MCPHERSON."

[3] "They are allowed by every Gentleman that has seen them, to be the finest Slaves that have been imported these 15 years; these Slaves are well acquainted with the cultivation of Indigo, Rice, and Tobacco; Specimens of which may be seen at the Exchange Coffee House. Conditions of Sale Ready Money or Produce. GEORGE GARNER."

[4] "Negroes for Sale. On Monday the 17th of May instant, Will be exposed to Sale at Eveleigh's Wharf on board the Ship *Two Brothers*, Jacob Swift Commander, A Cargo of prime healthy, stout Slaves, from the Windward Coast of Africa. They are choice slaves, in good order, and fit for immediate service. Conditions of sale, Ready Money, Lumber of all species, Indigo and Rice." The advertisement for this cargo was copied in a London journal, with this introduction: "What must be the feelings of a Philosopher on reading the following advertisement which is copied verbatim from the *South-Carolina Gazette*?" The London item found its way back to South Carolina and appeared in the *Gazette* of Sept. 13.

[5] "At our Auction-Room, Tuesday, 29th of June, Will be sold, precisely at 12 o'Clock, 25 prime New Negroes. Conditions of sale will be made known on the day." These are probably the residuum of some early cargo taken over for sale by Cudworth and Waller.

[6] Negroes at this time must have been disposed of with difficulty for as late as Mar. 10, 1785, the *Gazette* was advertising: "Gold Coast Negroes. On Thursday, the 17th of March instant, Will be exposed to Public Sale, Near the Exchange, (If not before disposed of by Private Contract) The remainder of the Cargo of Negroes imported in the ship *Success*, Captain John Conner, consisting chiefly of likely young boys and girls in good health, and having been through the winter, may be considered in some degree seasoned to the climate. The Conditions of the sale will be credit to the first of January 1786, on giving bond with approved security where required—the Negroes not to be delivered till the terms are complied with. BALL, JENNINGS, and Co., SMITHS, DESSAUSSURE, and DARRELL."

359. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1785.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 13	Jan. 18	*Commerce*	Saltonstall	Gold Coast	117	Winthrop, Tod, and Winthrop
Apr. 21					10[2]	Freeman and Pringle
May 9	May 16	*Little Hornet*	Phillips	Angola	210	Jennings and Woddrop [?][3]
" 19					20[4]	Freeman and Pringle
" 30	June 7	*Mentor*	Wm. Lyttleton	Gambia[5]	152	Robt. Hazlehurst and Co.
June 13	" 23	*Gambia*	Robt. Champlin	Anamabo		Nathaniel Russell[6]
July 4	July 12	*Sisters*[7]	Diedareck Wise	Windward Coast		Robert Norris
" 7	" "	*General Heath*	Koperholt	Windward and Gold Coast		A. Pleym[8]
" 11[9]	" 13	*James*	Forrest	Gambia	230[10]	W. Macleod and Co.
" 20	" 21				20	Laurence Campbell[11]
" 21		*Neptune*	Thomson	Jamaica	30[12]	Dan. Bourdeaux
" 23	" 23				13	Colcock and Gibbons
" 25	Aug. 2	*Mary*	Jas. Bowie	Bance Island		Jas. Anderson, R. and W. Lindsay
" 29	" 8	*Eagle*	Olderman	Isle de Los	260[13]	Scarbrough and Cooke, Theo. Galliard
Aug. 8	" 16	*Commerce*	Thos. Morton	Gold Coast	200	Fisher and Edwards
" 25		*Geheimeraad Gregers Juul*	Lorentz Waaben	Windward and Cold Coast[14]		A. Pleym
Sept. 8		*Eliza*	Robert Bennet	Jamaica[15]		James and Edward Penman
Nov. 28		*Alert*		Gold Coast		Fisher and Edwards

[359] [1] The majority of the notices of sale contain the clause, "continued daily until the whole are sold", and appear in the *Gazette* for four or five weeks. Many of them refer to the familiarity of the negroes with rice planting.

[2] "Ten prime healthy privilege Slaves, just arrived."

[3] "To approved Purchasers . . . great consideration for immediate payment in rice or other produce, or in money." Later the names "Smiths, Desaussure and Darrell" were added to this notice.

[4] These are advertised as "New Negroes" but there is no indication of their origin.

[5] "The Negroes from this part of the coast of Africa are well acquainted with the cultivation of rice and are naturally industrious."

[6] "Gold Coast Negroes. Just arrived in the Brig *Gambia*, Captain Robert Champlin, directly from Anamaboo, And to be sold, On Thursday, the 23d inst. A Cargo of very healthy prime young Negroes, the greatest part of them are fit to be put into the field immediately.

[*Notes to no. 359*—continued:]

The conditions of sale: Bonds payable the first of January, 1786, with interest from the date; a proper discount will be made for ready money. NATHANIEL RUSSELL." *S. C. Gazette*, June 13, 1785.

[7] "For Private Sale, The Ship *Sisters*, With or without her Guinea Materials. She is a stout British built vessel, burthen about 100 tons, exceeding well found, sails fast, and is well calculated for the African or any other trade, and may be sent to sea at a small expence. For further particulars inquire of the Master on board, at Roper's wharf. ROBERT NORRIS and Co." *S. C. Gazette*, Aug. 18, 1785.

[8] On July 11 the original notice of this sale was amplified: "Just arrived in the Danish Ship *General Heath*, Captain Koperholt, And to be Sold, On Friday, the 15th Instant, On board the vessel at Prioleau's wharf, A Choice Cargo of Windward and Gold Coast Negroes, Who have been accustomed to the planting of rice. The appearance of the negroes will sufficiently confute a report which has been circulated of their being much infected with the scurvey. The sale to continue from day to day until the whole are disposed of. The conditions will be as moderate as possible and be made known on the day of sale, by applying to A. PLEYM."

[9] The notices of July 11, 20, and 23 appear in the *Charleston Evening Gazette*.

[10] "Inoculated for small pox and recovered without the loss of one." The Macleod advertising this cargo is probably the defendant in a suit brought in 1797 for failure to deliver 38 new negroes. He pleaded that the legislature had prohibited the importation of negroes but the court held that the contract was not thereby rescinded. Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, II. 279.

[11] This notice and the one of July 23 are of public auctions, in the one case of "New Negroes", in the other of "Gambia Men". On Nov. 18 Laurence Campbell was again advertising new negroes.

[12] "Picked from a cargo of 500."

[13] "160 Men and Men Boys, 30 Boys and Girls, 70 Women." The conditions for this sale were one-third payable in January, for the remainder, credit until Jan. 1, 1787, with interest.

[14] These negroes were advertised as accustomed to the planting of both rice and corn.

[15] "A few prime Gold Coast Negroes picked from a large cargo there."

360. Joseph and Joshua Grafton to Captain Robert Champlin, 1785.[1]

Salem 15th Apr. '85.

Sir, This goes under cover to Mr. Nathl. Russel to whom if you [*illegible*] should not have any further information from us after this we would have you put your Cargo of slaves into his hands to dispose of upon the reasonablest terms you can. you will show him your orders [2] and he will pay you agreeable to them. The Peoples Wages we will pay here to your mate (Mr. Hamilton) is in our Debt for 454 gall. N. E. Rum advanced him for his adventure at 22 *d* and 4 Hogd. for Do. at 22/ Amtg. to £46. 0. 4 Curry. which we somehow or other expect to be paid out of the Voyage. We shall be in immediate want upon your return here of 8 or nine thousand Dollars which you must bring us in Cash or good Bills on London and if the Bills are at 12 months sight they may answer our purpose. If you take Bills you must have one or two good endorsers and let Mr. Russell be one of them. We don't wish for any setts to exceed 2000 Dollars and if not half that Sum so much the better, for small Amts. are much easier disposed of than large ones. After raising 8 or 9000 Dollars the remainder of your Cargo you may have disposed of at one or 2 years Credit provided Mr. Russel will be accountable for bad Debts for which we shall expect to allow him as customary. But if he (Mr. Russel) will not be accountable for bad Debts in this case he must do with our Inst. at [as] with his own. We wrote you on the 19th Ult. by our ship *Africa*, Capt. Robinson at which time we presumed that your family and friends were well, we have this day receed. a Letter from Mr. Champlin confirming it.

361. Nathaniel Russell to Joseph and Joshua Grafton, 1785.[1]

Charleston, 2d July 1785.

In my last of the 13th Ulto. I informed you of the arrival of Captn. Champlin, and that I had undertaken to sell his Cargo, the

[360] [1] Essex Institute, MSS., Slave Trade in Salem. For further knowledge of the Graftons and of Capt. Robert Champlin see this work, vol. III., index. Among these papers are two sheets of accounts of trade at Vintan on the Gambia River, carried on by Capt. Geo. Nelson of the brig *Anthony* between Dec. 17, 1781, and Apr. 10, 1782. There is no evidence as to the owner of the brig, but the other papers in this envelop evidently relate to the business of the Graftons and this may also be one of their ventures.

[2] A copy of Captain Champlin's instructions, signed by the captain but unsigned by the owners, dated Oct. 19, 1784, is to be found among these papers. The captain was to have eight privilege slaves, he was to remember that his number of men was large (but ten are listed), and was to keep his owners informed of his whereabouts for the sake of the insurers. A printed wage agreement for the "Brigantеen *Gamby*, bound from Salem to Africa", thence to Charleston, S. C., and back to Salem, contains the names of the mariners but not the amounts of the wages. The bill of lading contains 1539$\frac{5}{4}$ gallons of New England rum and one cask of tobacco. Slave Trade in Salem.

[361] [1] Essex Institute, MSS., Slave Trade in Salem. The names are supplied by the editor.

sales of which are now enclosed, wth proceeds being £5987. 1, which are the greatest sales ever made in this State or perhaps any where else, They were remarkably healthy and in general very good slaves. The Cargo consisted of an hundred, including an old woman and her grandchild abt. 20 months old, both, not worth half a prime slave. I have taken care to sell them into the very safe hands and if no unforseen accident happens, I do not think that you will loose a shilling by bad debts. I shall enclose you a list of bonds—most of them are pay'b in Jany. '86 and I flatter myself that I shall be able to receive at least one half the amt in the course of the next [*illegible*] that is by the 1st Jan. Every thing will depend on a good season. At present the prospect is flattering. The reason of my selling the last 42 at so great price was, that Melson, who bot them had Mr Stith [?] paper for which he wanted Cash, but it was for so large an amount, that he could not obtain the money from any one person. He was therefore under the necessity of buying Negroes, which he sold at a very great loss; The bond is as good as any that I have.

I have charged you £254. 16. 9 for Captn. Champlain's Coast Comn., being 4 on 104. Have credited your acct wth the am't of your order on Mr. Charles Hamilton £46. 0. 4. Curry equal to £35. 16. 4 stg. you have a list of bonds £5610. 17. 7. the Brigt. *Gambia's* disbursments £118. 14. 8 a Bill on S. A. Otis Esqr. 100 Dollars and Captn. Champlains receipt for £7. 18. 8 being the balance of 3 Negroes sold for Cash. Since I closed the sales 4 large ships have arrived with a great number of negroes [2] and many more daily expected, which must lower the prices and lengthen the credit greatly.

It is not in my power to sell any more of the negroes for Cash unless at very low prices.

You may be assured that I consulted your Interest in the whole of the business and I make no doubt but my conduct will.[3] . . .

362. Debate on the Importation of Negroes, 1785.[1]

September 27, 1785.

In the Committee sitting to consider the State of the Republic, *Mr. Ralph Izard* moved

That a report be made to the house, that it was the opinion of this

[2] This suggests that the list for 1785 is far from complete.

[3] The remainder of the letter is missing.

[362] [1] *Charleston Evening Gazette*, Sept. 28, 1785. "A short sketch of the debate, Sept. 27, in the Committee of Enquiry into the state of the Republic, on a motion that a report should be made to the house, that a bill be brought in to prohibit the importation of negroes into this state for three years". On Mar. 4 John Lewis Gervais wrote to Laurens: "A Bill was brought in the house of Representatives to prevent the importation of negroes and yesterday after a long debate it was rejected 65 to 58 but the Matter is not given up—another Bill will be brought in at the expiration of six days." N. Y. Hist. Soc., Letters of Gervais to Laurens.

committee, a bill ought to be brought in for preventing the importation of negroes into this state for the term of three years

The Honourable Gentleman spoke a few words in favour of his motion, which being read, *Mr. Maurice Simons*, rose to second it. This he said he would do with the most perfect goodwill, and also wished to add an amendment, that such high duties should be laid on articles of luxury, as would amount to prohibition. . . .

Mr. Bee thought a bill prohibiting the importation of slaves, would throw the ballance of trade against us for two years, without receiving from the measure such capital advantages as were expected. . . .

Mr. Izard thanked the hon. member for his support with regard to the motion, but could not by any means admit of the addition proposed, on the contrary, he would vote in the house against the importation of Negroes, for the space of three years, but when the other point came to be discussed he should vote the other way. . . .

Mr. J. Rutledge was against the proposed measure of restricting the importation of Negroes for any given time into this state; he had been of opinion for many years, that Negroes were an increase of our wealth; what number of slaves had been imported since the peace? not above 7000, take these on an average at 50£ a piece, would amount in the whole to about 400,000£ and surely that was not a sum sufficient to have occasioned the present national calamities; was the above sum in any proportion to the immense quantities of dry goods which had been imported, certainly not, it was there the evil originated, and it was there a speedy remedy was necessary; However, as the business to which the House was now confined was what must originate in this committee, and as at present there was nothing before the house, he should vote for the motion, although when the report was made he should be at full liberty to oppose it in the house, if he were so inclined, the report was then read and agreed on.[2] . . .

Mr. Bee . . . thought the manner in which negroes had been lately imported threw the ballance of trade greatly against us, and therefore was the one great cause of our present calamities. He understood that last year we imported negroes to the value of 300,000 £, our exports for that period amounted to 400,000 £ now we had also imported in this time a very extensive quantity of goods, which we had left only 100,000 £ to pay for with. Was this wise, was

[2] On Sept. 28 Judge Pendleton reported to the house that the committee on the state of the republic recommended non-importation of negroes for three years. On Sept. 30 Chancellor Matthews presented a plan for prohibiting importation for four years (*Charleston Evening Gazette*, Sept. 28, 30). The following debate took place in the committee of the whole to consider the bill for non-importation of negroes for three years. Ralph Izard moved the discussion of the question. *Ibid.*, Oct. 1, 1785.

it politic? undoubtedly not. There were articles of foreign production that were indispensibly necessary for us to procure, especially whilst there appeared so great a backwardness amongst the people for establishing manufactories, such as those of the coarser kind, which we must have, but if we went on and imported luxuries, it was unreasonable to suppose we should ever be out of debt. The great quantity of negroes now pouring in upon us, occasions every planter to wish an increase of his stock, the sight of a negroe yard was to[o] great a temptation for a planter to withstand, he could not leave it without purchasing; in short, there seemed to be a rage for negroes, without any consideration how they were to be paid for. He did not object to this increase of slaves when we were out of debt; let that happy period arrive, wait with patience until we can clear ourselves, and then it would be time enough to permit importation. As it would be unreasonable to turn away those vessels that were already on their way for this state, if the proposition should be agreed to by the Committee, he wished the time of its taking place might be fixed for the 1st of January next. . . .

Judge Pendleton: . . . We wanted a large supply of negroes, and superfluities, when we could not devise means to pay for those we were already in possession of. . . . In a debate last year upon this subject, it had been said, and he did not doubt but the argument would be used this day, that negroes should be considered as the riches of a country, but this was an opinion he could by no means assent to. They might indeed constitute the strength of it, but its riches should be estimated by the number of its white inhabitants, for it was upon them that our commerce, our agriculture, and manufacture depended. . . .

General Pinckney went extensively into the question. He made a clear enumeration of the negroes imported, and their value on an average. He thought the strength of this country constituted its riches; that this sort of strength once saved this city, in the war, was the case when Prevost over-ran the country: 'twas true he only looked at us and went away, but what was this owing to—why to the number of bastions hastily thrown up, a service performed entirely by the negroe pioneers. This country was not capable of being cultivated by white men; as appeared on the attempt made in Georgia, during General Oglethorp's administration, but entirely failed, and ended in the white people emigrating from that state into this, where they could have negroes to cultivate their lands. Such part of this country was unhealthy as had not yet been cleared, so that the useful labours of negroes contributed to promote salubrity in the air. Much had been said about our exports being inferior to our imports, but his measure tended to diminish the exports still

more, and of course prevents a great deal of specie from being brought into the state. Negroes were to this country what raw materials were to another country, they increased the staple commodity, a point well worth gentlemen's attention, as was also the large duty paid to the state for negroes imported; being about 3 £ per head. Who was it that wanted negroes? why those brave men that had suffered by the war; they had the general misfortune to find, on being released from captivity, there plantations plundered, and every negroe swept away. Was it not well understood, that no planter could cultivate his land without slaves? and yet is he not oblidged to pay his land tax? Is it not a moral impossibility for any planter to pay that or any other tax when by passing of this proposition they deprive of the means! Another observation of material consequence was, that to shut our ports against the importation of negroes, the whole of our trade would center in Georgia and North Carolina; they would keep their ports open while ours were shut; and so drain us of all our produce—was this the intention of gentlemen? surely not! and yet this would be the consequence if the committee agreed with the proposition. He concluded his speech with a declaration that he would vote against the proposition.

Mr. E. Rutledge made an animated speech for the proposition.

General Pinckney said a paper had been put into his hands, which stated, that in 1783, negroes sold, on an average at 90 £ a head, how they had fallen in price every one knew; this was an evident demonstration of the advantages arising from importation.

Mr. Izard observed that the purchasers of negroes at 90 £ a head had them on a credit, which was a benefit, but the late mode of purchasing was, for planters to give bonds to make speedy payments for their negroes in England with produce.

Mr. Smith wished to know what was become of a memorial, signed by six hundred names, and which had in a great measure occasioned there being convened at this present time: one part of that memorial attributed the poverty in which the country had been involved, to take its source from the importation of negroes, and prayed a check might be given to this increasing calamity. He thought many of the arguments of former speakers applied to our situation in former times, rather than the situation of the country at present. It [had] been already agreed upon by the committee, that it would be improper to emit paper money, and yet should they disagree to the proposition, the introducing more negroes would drive us headlong into that very measure, for paper money must be made to pay for them. Something had been urged as to the policy of increasing the quantity of our negroes, that was a point he would not enter into argument upon at present, he could not help observ-

ing, that the previous consideration ought to be how we could pay for them, this was a duty incumbent upon us to do, if we wished to prove to the world, as he was satisfied we always should do, that we preferred honesty to policy. The legislature were bound in duty to restrain an exuberence in any that had a tendency towards injuring the public interest: food was absolutely necessary for the existence of a man, but was it any reason, that because he has a craving appetite that he shall eat until he burst, An observation had been made that the people had given into an excess of luxury; he thought the imputation was only justly applicable in part, to Charleston, for he knew people in the country lived in a very moderate manner. An honorable friend of his had said, that to stop the importation of negroes would greatly enhance the value of those in the state; he did not coincide with this idea—he rather thought people would look round to their superflous negroes, at present sunk in indolence, and send them to work. He supposed there were at present in Charleston not fewer than 10,000 negroes, of this over-grown number he did not doubt but 7000 could well be spared, if the proposition is agreed to, those families that have about their houses perhaps 25 negroes, will find out that five are sufficient, and send the rest to their plantations. On the whole he was entirely for the proposition, and should vote accordingly; not that he was very anxious about its fate, because he was satisfied that the evil every day would cure itself more and more, the improvident manner in which we contracted debts hastened the loss of credit, and we should cease to purchase, when merchants no longer could be found to trust us.

When the chairman mentioned the first of January, as the time for the act to take place, *Commodore Gillon,* said if the committee were of opinion to stop the importation of negroes, they ought to do it immediately; before the first of January 10,000 negroes might be brought here from the West Indies.

The question being called for, it was put, and the committee divided, when there appeared to be,

For the proposition	47
Against it	51
Majority against the proposition	4

October 5, 1785.[3]

The order of the day being called for, *Mr. E. Rutledge* rose to introduce his promised motion for prohibiting the importation of

[3] On Oct. 3 Mr. M. Simons requested that since four more members had arrived the matter be again discussed in the committee of the whole, and the debate was therefore resumed Oct. 5, on a motion of Mr. E. Rutledge against the importation of negroes. *Charleston Evening Gazette,* Oct. 18, 1785.

negroes during the term of three years. He said although on a former day the question which he now meant to submit for consideration had been discussed much at large, and received a negative, yet from a review of the arguments made use of at that time, and a recollection of the small majority of numbers that defeated the proposition proposed by his honorable and learned friend he was induced still to persevere, not only from a hope that many gentlemen had altered their sentiments, but from a something in his constitution that powerfully stimulated him to persevere to the utmost in accomplishing any measure that had an obvious tendency to promote the public good. He had considered the former arguments divested of prejudice and passion; had weighed them well in his mind for conviction, but he still found the forcible truth of such reasons offered against this destructive importation, and did not doubt but the decision of that day would prove to the world we had become sensible of what really was our natural interest. . . . *Mr. Rutledge* then observed that the true cause of all the misfortune in which this country was involved at present should be attributed entirely to the immense debt, by which we were overwhelmed. That justice had been more regularly administered immediately after the evacuation of this state by the British than it was six months ago, and better six months ago than at present; as people were pressed by their necessities, they became refractory, and finally might be disposed to lay aside all subordination. The only way to relieve ourselves from those distresses, and avoid their evil consequences, would be to extricate ourselves from debt, and he could think of no measure so likely to bring relief as the one which he had had the honor of offering; he hoped therefore it would be taken and executed now, or it might probably be out of our power to do it to any good purpose hereafter. Nor was the measure a new one—it had been adopted by our ancestors more than once;—it had been adopted with success. The war of 1739 had involved this country in distress very similar to those under which she now labors; with this difference indeed that our produce was then scarcely of any value—the executive Officers of the Law were effectually opposed, and a scheme for the valuation of property was set on foot. But the wisdom of our ancestors, in prohibiting the importation of negroes, and by the blessing of providence on their honest endeavors, the public tranquility was again restored, and the faith of private engagements was inviolably preserved. During the war of 1758 few negroes were imported into this country but immediately on the signing of the peace of 1763 the negroe trade was embraced with avidity. There were many men then alive who had smarted under former calamities—they remembered the evils which he had re-

lated—they wisely stept forward, and in some measure checked the evils which they had well grounded reasons to dread—they prohibited the importation of negroes, tho' they were then in a preferable situation in point of debt and trade than at present. Mr. R. then went into a state of the imports of the years 1765, and 1766, and demonstrated that by stopping the importation of negroes the ballance in favor of the country was 71,800 £, sterling. though there had been a failure of crops, and by recurring to the crop same preceding year he shewed that if a full crop had been made in 1776, when the importation of negroes was entirely stopt, the ballance would have been 151,800 £ sterling. He then stated the debt which it was thought was due from this state, and called upon the house to shew what probability there was of there ever being in a better situation than at present if they continued to import negroes. . . . It [had] been strongly urged in a former debate, that negroes were the riches of this state, he did not feel himself inclined to combat this opinion in the fullest extent, he should only at present observe that this supposed wealth could not exist but in better times. The general mode of talking was, we have a large quantity of lands that must lie dormant until we can procure negroes to cultivate them, and for this purpose we will plunge ourselves into difficulties; did not this resemble the conduct of men that were willing to sacrifice all natural comforts and advantages for the aggrandisement of their heirs. Great stress has been laid, in a former debate, on the unhealthiness of our climate, he could not accord with the general opinion on this point, beca[u]se in the course of his observation he had known many persons arrive at a ripe old age, owing to their temperence, which had a salutary influence upon the health of mankind. Fears were also expressed that Georgia would import slaves when we did not, and draw into her bosom all our produce in payment for slaves; but there were material obstructions against that state entering into the African trade; the merchants must possess large capitals to enable them to prosecute the trade with success; such was the disorder prevalent there, and such the diliatory manner of collecting debts (three years time being necessary) that no merchant in Georgia on a sudden could become an importer of negroes; however, allowing the argument in its fullest extent, still he flattered himself that he had a remedy to propose, perfectly efficacious, and unexceptional, this was to render null and void all bonds given in Georgia for negroes during a limited time; such a restriction would compleatly prevent an illicit trade being carried on between the two states, and avert the threatened evils which gentlemen were so much in fear of, he hoped too we had another security in the virtue of the people—he hoped that

when it was understood that the legislature had stopped the prohibition of negroes to relieve our national distress, the people would be emulous in exertions to keep the law; . . .

Chancellor Matthews seconded the motion; as he had given his opinion on the subject when it was before the committee, he should not trouble the house at present.

Mr. Pringle said this republic depended on her produce materially for her national welfare and support, . . . The increase of domestic industry lays the foundation of foreign commerce, but how could we continue industrious if the motion were agreed to for taking the very means of our industry away. it was from our negroes we were capable of cultivating our lands; the labour of a white person in the field under the burning sun in August amounted to very little; whilst the hardy Ethiopian pursued his task without appearing to feel any inconvenience from the heats that rendered his master enervated and useless. . . . With regard to the ballance of trade he had long been of opinion, that it depended on the cheapness of labour; this rule prevailed in other states, why not then in this? and if it did would not a scarcity of necessary labourers tend to enhance the price of labour, and throw the ballance of trade still more against us? not that he thought the late calculations had been on just principles, our imports had indeed been very large, but his was owing to our new situation. . . . In calculating our imports last year at 300,000 £ and our exports at 400,000 £ it was argued that we should be more frugal; he sincerely hoped we would in the introduction of foreign articles of luxury, but negroes were not luxuries; they were a sort of rough journeymen, and from their numbers stimulated our white workmen to a higher degree of exertion than they would otherwise arrive at. What tho' for three years our crops had failed, should we lay our account that they would always be unproductive? in former times our produce commonly amounted to about 100,000 barrels of rice, which at 3 £ per barrel made 300,000 £ exclusive of 50,000 wt. of indico, and other articles, so that what reason appeared for fears that our debts could not be paid. He made other observations, and pressed the house to consider whether it was not probable that if the ports were shut up for three years the Liverpool Merchants might not be induced to quit the African trade entirely, for he understood they were at present undetermined what steps to take.

Mr. Izard. . . . He again entreated gentlemen to consider what the motion was, being simply if under our present enormous load of debt, we could be justified in going any further.

Dr. Ramsey would have supposed himself amongst an assembly of divines, from the great piety with which a political question had

been argued. Since the evacuation 9000 Negroes had been brought into this state; and this importation occasioned us to run largely in debt; our creditors were very pressing, yet what we were about to do, not anxious to become honest by making payment, but studying how to gain greater credit. In former times our negro trade was carried on very differently from what it was at present, much more to our advantage; we could then purchase negroes on a credit of 5 years, and so much did honesty flourish amongst us, that he remembered an instance of a planter, who had taken up some negroes on a credit for a time, but finding himself unable to pay, from bad crops, he brought the negroes back to the merchant and desired to return them, because he found himself unable to keep up to the terms on which they had been purchased: the conduct of the merchant would have graced the primitive times of innocence and virtue; he said to the planter, take back your negroes, and add as many more to them as you please: I shall never distress any man that can satisfy me he is honest, But this mutual confidence no longer existing, no other prudent alternative remained, but to stop importing. . . . He thought little of the opinion that our produce might find its way to Georgia; since the peace that state had only imported one vessel with slaves; but should the shutting up our ports, occasion her merchants to import Negroes, he thought the precaution of rendering bonds void, as recommended, would prevent any clandestine trade being carried on between us and Georgia. It had been observed that great duties were paid for negroes, and therefore we should go on importing; but he could tell the house that although the money did not come into the treasury under the denomination of duties, it would still be paid for taxes; it was frequently the case that a planter on his way to the treasury with his taxes, unluckily stumbled on a negro yard the temptation was too great for his philosophy to withstand, and he purchased negroes with the money that ought to have been devoted to payment of his debts. Much had been said of our unhealthiness, for his part he did not think a greater number of negroes would make our climate in the smallest degree more wholesome; but if it were so, he would rather continue as we were than run more into debt, for he hated a dun infinitely more than he dreaded a fever. A gentleman had said that the Liverpool merchants were at present undetermined what steps they should take with respect to their future trade, and might be induced to discontinue engageing in the slave trade, if we shut up our ports; well let them do so; what loss will this be to us? on the contrary the confederation will profit by it; for the African trade could be carried on by the New England states, he meant as mer-

chants, not as Christians, with as much advantage, as by any country under the sun. . . .[4]

Judge Pendleton approved greatly of the motion, and entered into a defence of it; he then answered several arguments of General Pinckney's, which are in justice omitted. It had been urged that a non importation of negroes might throw that trade into the hands of Georgia, but this was no good reason why we should continue it to our ruin, because a few negroes would probably be introduced amongst us from that state; with equal propriety the commander of a vessel might object against putting to sea, fearing to perish, because he took in a few drops of water. It had been observed, that a man's life was estimated at seven years; this perhaps was a certain calculation in England, where the temperature of the climate was more regular and wholesome than here, but, all disadvantages attending new negroes, being maturely consider'd he did not think the calculation of a negroes life should exceed two years; if he should be right, what became of all those high sounding arguments about national wealth deriving such abundant addition from the importation of slaves, when it was obvious that a man who bought one at the current price, had a balance against him, for no slave could be expected to produce for his master 30 £ per annum. . . .

Mr. Calhoun wondered how it happened that gentlemen argued so strenuously against a measure that they at the same time encouraged; riding to this city from the country he met about 20 fine healthy new negroes; enquiring who they belonged to, he was informed Judge Pendleton; he did not think bonds could be taken in the manner proposed by the honorable gentleman that made the motion; without militating against an article of the confederation, which he read and explained.

Mr. Rutledge explained that article of the confederation, which Mr. Calhoun had read to permit a very different construction than it had received. He made a round, elegant speech in reply to Gen. Pinckney.

The question being put on motion the house divided, when there appeared to be,

For the motion	48
Against it	63

[4] Mr. Smith, General Pinckney, and Chancellor Matthews here spoke but their remarks were not reported.

363. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1786, 1787.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Mar. 22, 1786[1]		*Neptune*	Archibald Thomson	Jamaica (Gold Coast)		Daniel O'Hara
Apr. 3		*Jean*	Amos Minott	" " "		Abram Saspartas
June 27		*Brothers*	Glyn	" " "		J. and E. Penman
July 27	Aug. 3	*Gambia*	Ed. Boss	Gold Coast		Nath. Russell
Aug. 2	" 8	*Industry*	Benj. Hicks	" "		" "
" 23		*Good Intent*	Garner	Gambia		J. and E. Penman
" "		*Triumph*	Dennison			" " " "
Sept. 20	Sept. 25	*Nancy*	Jonson	Gold Coast		Dan. O'Harra and Wm. Trenholm
Oct. 19	Oct. 24	*Collector*	John Carnes	Sierra Leone		Nat. Russell[2]
Jan. 2, 1787[3]		*Perseverance*	Mix		14	Thos. Stewart
Mar. 24	Apr. 2	*Williams*	Hill	Dominica (Gold Coast)		Wilkinson, Cooke, and Peppin[4]
" 31		*Friendship*	Murray	Jamaica	12	Wm. Trenholm

[363] [1] On Feb. 6 Gibbs and Graham and Daniel Hall and Co. offered a few "Prime New Negroes", probably left from cargoes which came in 1785. *S. C. Gazette*, Feb. 6, 1786.

[2] The *Gambia* and *Collector* were New England vessels. See this work, III. 80, 82n.

[3] The items for 1787 are taken from the *Charleston Morning Post*. This paper, on Jan. 18, 1787, copied a Jamaica comment on the Carolina trade which is of some interest: "Kingston, Dec. 5. . . . The Guinea trade both to the Gold and Windward coasts of Africa, is carried on with vigour from Charleston, South Carolina, altho' on a contracted scale, the vessels being now smaller than usual." One explanation of this is probably that a larger proportion of the vessels was owned in America than had been the case before the war. The American-owned vessels had always been the smaller vessels.

[4] "Just arrived in the Ship *William*, Capt. Hill, from Dominica, The pick of a Cargo from the Gold Coast, consisting of prime young Fellows, Wenches and Boys. Conditions, Cash, Paper Medium, or produce. Wilkinson, Cooke and Peppin."

"A report having prevailed that the above cargo of slaves were engaged previous to the day of sale—in justice to our friends and to the public, we declare that no such engagements were made, nor a preference given. The sale is continued at No. 106, Broad street, where we have yet to dispose of some prime fellows, women and boys." *Charleston Morning Post*, Apr. 5, 1787.

364. Accounts of the *Gambia*, 1786.[1]

Sales of a Cargo of Negroes Recd. by the Brigt. "Gambia" Ed. Boss Master from Africa on acct. of Messrs. Joseph and Joshua Grafton, Merchs. in Salem Vizt.

When Sold	To whom sold	Men	Women	Boys and Garls	Pay'ble	What pd. in	Price Sold at	Gross Amount
Aug. 3	Pratt	6				Indico	£70	£ 420. 0
" "	"		2	2		"	£65	260. 0
" "	"			5		"	50	250. 0
" "	Robt. Smyth			1	1 Jany.	Paper		40. 0
" "	John Hart			2			47. 10	95. 0
" "	Wm. Lee			1				52. 10
" "	Augustino Menrech			1				47. 10
" "	Josiah Merick	1	3					271. 10
" "	Dreny Robertson	4					75	300
" "	" "	1						65
" "	Robt. Blair	1		2				157. 10
" "	Wm. Scott						32 Specie 3 paper	35
" "	Robt. Hazelhurst			1			Specie	40
" "	Debin Timpson	2	1				do.	160
" 5	Robt. Cochran	1					paper	65
" 8	Joshua Lock-wood	1						65
" "	Tobin Wilson	4	1					300
" 10	Eliza. Cochran	1					Specie £40 for £10	50
	do.	2			1st Jan'y	Paper	60	120.1[0]
" "	Paul Tripp	2					60	120.
" 11	Wm. Wyllis	1						60
" "	Christn William	1						60
	Wm. Wilkie			1				75. 10
	Wade Hampton	6	5		half 1 Jany.	and Half	50	650
" 15	John Horlbeek	1			Jany. 1			50
" "	" "	1						47. 10
" 29	Henry Cope	1						44.
" 30	Danl [?] De Saussiere		2	1				120
" 31	Lewis Listersitte Vendue	1						40
	Gibbs and Graham	1	4	Sick				98. 19. 2
		1	1					49. 4. 10
Sept. 4	Ripley Singelton	2			1 Jany.			105. 10
	Wm. Chambers			1				45
	Wm. Seall			1				40
	Gibbs and Graham Vendue		1					31. 10. 9
								£4412. 14. 9[2]

[364] [1] Essex Institute, MSS, Slave Trade in Salem. See this work, III. 81, for a letter of the Graftons to Captain Boss.

[2] A mistaken transcription is probably responsible for the discrepancy in these figures.

[*Accounts of the "Gambia"*—continued:]

Charges		
Duty on 87 Negroes at 6o/	£261	
3 ps. Stripd Linning	4 15 11	
6 Blankets for Sick Negroes	2. 8	
Rum Sugar and Limes	1. 17	
Nursing and Bord'g Sick Negroes	1. 11. 3	
Gibbs and Graham Vendue Charge	6. 14. 4½	
Advertisement	2. 4	
Doctr Logans bill attend'g Sick Vist'g Vessell	7. 6. 6	
Commissions on £4412. 14. 9 at 5/ per Ct.	220. 12. 8	
Neet Proceeds Carried to Acct. Curr.	3904. 8. o	£4412. 14. 9

CHARLESTON 7th Sept. 1786
E. E. etc.

365. Debate on the Importation of Negroes, 1787.[1]

March 22, 1787.

When the house came to the clause relative to negroes, where the Senate had inserted "three months".[2]

Commodore Gillon opposed any time being allowed, because a great number of negroes could be brought from the West Indies.

Mr. E Rutledge would rather vote to strike out this clause together; for if this ruinous and impolitic species of importation went, even for a short time, the legislature would be called on next year to pass another Instalment law. Indeed this was the only good clause in the bill, and tended to do away [with] those misfortunes which reduced them to the necessity of passing it.

Judge Burke thought some attention should be paid to the situation of those merchants who had already sent vessels to bring slaves; if the house did not admit some exception, they were actually making an *ex post facto* law?

Mr. Darrel asked whether all acts for paying debts by instalments were not *ex post facto* laws? If merchants had sent for negroes they might find a market for them in the several ports of the West Indies. If importations were not immediately stopt, the clause would do very little if any good, as a proof, a vessel had recently arrived at North Carolina, with 100 slaves, who were intended to be sent here.

Dr. Ramsey opposed any time. He made a jocose remark, that every man went to church last Sunday, and said his prayers, was bound by a spiritual obligation to refuse the importation of slaves.

[365] [1] *Charleston Morning Post*, Mar. 23, 1787, debate in the House of Representatives, S. C., over a bill to prohibit the importation of negroes. On Feb. 18 Gillon had introduced a bill for the recovery of debts which was first read on Mar. 13. On the 17th leave was given to add a clause forbidding the importation of negroes for three years. It is the debate on the third reading which is here reported. Meanwhile the senate, which had had the bill under consideration since the 17th, suggested amendments which the house, on Mar. 24, refused to accept. Jour. of House, S. C., 1787, pp. 96, 272, 298, 300, 325, 334, 350-351.

[2] Before the prohibition of importation was to take effect.

They had devoutly prayed not to be led into temptation, and negroes were a temptation too great to be resisted.

Mr. Simpkins was unwilling to stop the importation of slaves by a legislative interference; not that he wanted the practice to continue, but rather wished to have a clause in the constitution, prohibiting the importation of negroes altogether. To do it in any other way opened a door for persons to speculate. Suppose negroes were imported into North Carolina or Georgia, could they not be very easily smuggled into this state, and then we should lose the duties.

Mr. M. Winn hoped importation of negroes to be stopped immediately, or not at all. They had been told an instance of a man refusing to pay any part of his debts, alledging his inability, and a few days afterwards he purchased 15 slaves! It was their duty as legislators to prevent such people from going on in this line of dishonesty, which operated more to the disadvantage of their constituents than the loss of any part of the duties.

Mr. Hunter wanted the time extended to five months, with a view of giving the merchants time to dispose of their slaves. This law was intended to restrain imprudent persons, but this clause had a tendency to injure prudent persons.

Col. Anderson would not admit of an hour's delay. Why had the house agreed to this iniquitous law? was it not to relieve those who had made purchases, and were not able to pay? It was too notorious to be denied that we were still anxious to purchase negroes, and in five months a great number could be imported, which must be sold on credit, or kept until those prudent men came down to buy them for cash. In the mean time what was to become of debtors that wanted to sell property to pay their debts? Where could they find purchasers? This was the very reason that obliged the legislature to stoop so low as to pass restraining laws, and if they did not prevent importations of negroes, more such laws would be necessary. If this clause did not stand in its original form they had better throw out the bill at once, than hold out to creditors such a deception as that they were going to receive their debts in three years. What was the house to sanction such injustice to serve a few individual[s]? No, surely not. Rather let those monied men go and purchase from persons who were obliged to sell.

Commodore Gillon had another reason against the importation, which was, that negroes would rise in value, and the debtor who sold slaves had a better chance of satisfying his creditors.

The question being put generally for any importation of negroes, the yeas and nays were called, when there appeared to be for the importation 56, against 74.

Then the house agreed to strike out the three months.[3]

366. Act for penalizing the Importation of Negroes, 1787.[1]

March 28, 1787.

An Ordinance to impose a Penalty on any person who shall import into this State any Negroes, contrary to the Installment Act.

1. Be it ordained, by the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives, met in General Assembly, and by the authority of the same, That any person importing or bringing into this State a negro slave, contrary to the Act to regulate the recovery of debts and prohibiting the importation of negroes, shall besides the forfeiture of such negro or slave, be liable to a penalty of one hundred pounds, to the use of the State, for every such negro or slave so imported and brought in, in addition to the forfeiture in and by the said Act prescribed.[2]

367. Voyage of Joseph Hawkins, 1793-1795.[1]

We sailed from Charleston the 1st of Dec. 1793, on board the ship *Charleston,* J. Connelly master, burthen 400 Tons; and after a passage partly boisterous, and frequently becalmed for several days, we made the isles of Delos on the 17th January 1794.[2]

[3] The text of the act, "to regulate the recovery and payment of debts and for prohibiting the importation of negroes for the time therein mentioned", is to be found in the *Charleston Morning Post* (Mar. 29, 1787). It forbade importation for three years, and made the importer liable to a fine of £100 for each slave imported. His slaves were forfeited to the informer.

[366] [1] McCord, VII. 430; Mar. 28, 1787, Jour. of House, pp. 398, 399.

[2] The prohibition act, referred to above as the "installment act", began a policy of exclusion which, by the extension of the law from time to time, was maintained until the end of 1803 (DuBois, pp. 229, 238, 239, 240; McCord, VII. 433-434, 436, 444, 447, 449). "Yesterday the ship *Maria,* Capt. Dennison, from Anamabo, with 204 negroes on board, was seized, under authority of the law which prohibits the importation of slaves for three years" (*Charleston Morning Post,* June 16, 1787; *New Haven Gazette and Connecticut Magazine,* II. 172). The uncertainty during this period as to whether from time to time Charleston was or would be a market for slaves is illustrated in the case of Anderson *v.* Moncrieff (1810). On Oct. 6, 1799, the Andersons had consigned 45 negroes from Bance Island by the schooner *Phoebe* to M'Leod of Charleston, who was instructed to direct the slaves of the complainants, along with his own, to Havana if they could not be sold in Carolina. Catterall, *Judicial Cases,* II. 294.

[367] [1] Joseph Hawkins, *Voyage to the Coast of Africa* (1797). Joseph Hawkins had come to Charleston from New York, searching for an opportunity to earn a living. Not long after his arrival he was offered the position of supercargo on board the Guinea vessel *Charleston.* Such accounts as his of the process of purchasing the negroes in Africa are rare in the annals of the American traders.

[2] This account, as well as occasional items from other sources, suggests that though no slaves could legally be brought into Charleston, Charleston vessels were carrying them to other ports. The *Salem Gazette* (Jan. 31, 1792) reported the loss of the "*Eliza,* Olderman, from Charleston", on the coast of Africa; it may be remembered that Mungo Park in 1797 embarked in a Charleston slaver (this work, II. 640). A letter

These islands are nine in number, and afford harbours and safe anchorage in deep water for ships of any burthen; they are six leagues from the main land of Africa, in 12 deg. 30 min. south lat. they are inhabited by French and English factors, who find their account in living on those islands in preference to the main, particularly from the circumstances of accommodation for their ships, which lye here with the greatest safety in all weathers, and that their slaves cannot easily escape. The slaves are in those islands suffered to go at large, without chains, contrary to the customs on the continent. The surface of the islands is barren and rocky, but there is abundance of fine fresh water; and provisions are procured with facility.

From the factors here we learned that the Ebo and Golo Kings had been at war, the latter of whom having been defeated, and a great part of his army had fallen into the hands of the conqueror, they therefore advised us to proceed for the Reyo-pongo river, about 25 leagues south westward, and from thence the access to the Ebo nation would be easily secured, by a passage up that river and from thence by land, about three hundred miles from the mouth of this river; they furnished us with further directions, and assured us of a certain and good trade.

Agreeably to this information, we provided ourselves with such necessaries as the factors could afford us, and proceeded for the Reyo-pongo, which we made on the 5th of February, and after chusing a proper situation, came to anchor in a handsome harbour within the northern bank (pp. 12-14). . . .

On the 6th February we were visited by numbers of the natives, who offered to barter with us fruit and ivory for our hardwares; but finding after we had exchanged a few articles, that they belonged to a nation which had been before represented to us as thinly inhabited, and that we could not accommodate ourselves here as we wished, we made use of them to obtain information concerning the country of the Ebo king. We fortunately found an interpreter acquainted with that country and the trade, him we engaged, and an expedition was immediately determined upon by the captain (pp. 15-16).[3] . . . . . he proposed that I should go and see the prisoners; we accordingly crossed to the southeastern side of the rivulet, where at the lower side of the town, we found them confined in a large

of Samuel Hodgden to Timothy Pickering, July 10, 1800, refers to the capture of a Charleston vessel with eighty slaves on board (Mass. Hist. Soc., Pickering Papers, vol. 42, pp. 239-240). In December, 1803, the schooner *Ann*, with a cargo of slaves, was captured by the French. Though her captain called himself a Danish subject and was sailing with Danish papers, the vessel was the property of Mann and Foltz of Charleston (Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, II. 285). See also *post*, no. 368. For further information concerning the American trade with the Delos Islands see this work, vol. III., index.

[3] Hawkins, in spite of his inexperience, was chosen to lead the expedition. The next sixty pages recount his overland journey and his reception by the Ebo king.

area within a thick stockade, on the outside of which was a trench: the inside was divided into parcels, and huts irregularly constructed, and the entrance as well as the whole circuit, was guarded by men with spears.

We commonly find ourselves impressed with emotions of horror or compassion, on entering places where our fellow men are doomed to punishment or thraldom. In the scene before me, the ear was not indeed dinned with the clanking of heavy fetters, but was horrible in its peculiar way. The captives were destitute for the most part of even their necessary covering, and bound indiscriminately together by the hands and legs, the cords being again fastened to the ground by stakes; they were loosed a few at a time once every day, when each was permitted to eat the only meal they were allowed, consisting of rice and palm oil. Benevolence, however, sometimes broke through the rigours of a savage life, and occasionally alleviated the sufferings of the weakly, or the wounded with milk or other necessaries: their condition was on the whole deplorable.

I had often in the course of the voyage, and of the journey, rebuked myself for having embarked in the African trade, but found a consolation in the reflection, that it was not from a malicious inclination or avaricious disposition, that I had embarked in it, but from the pressing call of necessity, and at a time when my dissent could not alter or obstruct the undertaking. On the present occasion, however, I was fully convinced the removal of these poor wretches even into the slavery of the West-Indies, would be an act of humanity, rather than one exposed to censure.

We passed through the whole range of the place of confinement, the old chief pointing out to me those who were the greatest warriors of the Galla nation. He then intimated to me that I might chuse such of them as I should think proper and agree on what he was to receive in return. I agreed to do so, but requested that I might have an opportunity of conversing with them, and chusing such as would go with me voluntarily, if any could be found. To this he readily assented; and for the next week I continued to visit them daily, and took occasion through my interpreter, to exhibit as flattering a prospect to their future situation in America, should they go with me, as I thought was just in itself, and favorable to their wishes. . . .

Having arranged matters on this subject to my mind, I mentioned to the old king the several articles which I proposed exchanging with him, and shewing specimens of such few articles as I had brought, proposed dispatching a person to the ship with a letter, directing the Captain to send a shallop with goods to the mouth of the little Congo, and that rafts should be ready with hands to convey them up the rest of the way. The Galla nation having suffered so much by their last

war, had now became fearful of molesting or interfering with the Ebo people, a circumstance, which if we had previously known, would have saved us a long circuitous and troublesome journey, which might now be performed with ease in one half the time (pp. 92-96). . . .

On the 3d of April, while I was on an excursion abroad, one of the messengers returned from the ship, and I found him before me at my hut in the evening, with a packet from the Captain, advising me of the goods which he had sent by the shallop, to the mouth of the little Congo, and giving me directions how to proceed.

The information being communicated to the old chief, he informed me he would send a number of experienced old men with me, to chuse such articles as they should approve and after three days, provisions and horses being provided, we set out, the company consisting of six of the deputation, with some of their families, a number of persons to carry provisions and goods, and my two wives. We had nearly 100 miles to go, which engaged us six days; riding proved very unpleasant to me, on account of the heat and the want of a saddle. We found the boats as we were directed, and a cargo of brandy, rum, gin, and tobacco, a few coarse guns, some ammunition, swords, knives, spears, and ornament, such as rings of various kinds, for the legs, arms, and fingers, some gilt and plated breast plates for their warriors, tinsel laces, and some glass-ware. An assortment so extensive and rich in their eyes, had never been there before; and bargains were very soon made for goods, in exchange for 100 slaves, (being ordered not to bring down more) for the rest I procured ivory and gold, in dust and bars. In these dealings I found my wives of more use to me than my companion Hurdee, for they sincerely studied my interest, while he studied to profit himself (pp. 136-138). . . .

The slaves that I had purchased were young men, many of whom being eager to escape from their bondage in Ebo, preferred the evil they "knew not of" to that which they then felt; but the majority were evidently affected with grief at their approaching departure.

Arrangements were made and a sufficient body of the Ebo people undertook to accompany me as a guard to the place of embarkation; provisions were provided for the journey, so that each of the slaves was well fed, and a load of provisions or goods given him to carry. They were tied to poles in rows, four feet apart; a loose wicker bandage round the neck of each, connected him to the pole, and the arms being pinioned by a bandage affixed behind above the elbows, they had sufficient room to feed, but not to loose themselves, or commit any violence; and as the guard was provided with arms, we had nothing to apprehend during the night, as we divided the Ebo people into parties, one of which slept while the other watched. . . .

This journey was extremely different in its nature from that in which I had last passed this way; the giddy pranks of the vain, or the inebriated Ebo, was woefully contrasted by the sullen melancholy, and deep sighs of the poor Galla prisoners; often did they look back with eyes flowing with tears, turn sudden round and gaze, seeming to part with reluctance, even from their former bondage. It was excessively affecting to me, but I considered that death might have been their fate otherwise, and I endeavoured to reconcile them to their condition, by representing flattering accounts of the country to which they were going; that the bonds they then bore were only to prevent their flight; that they should be at liberty where they were going, and have plenty to eat, drink, etc. These assurances occasioned a temporary composure, and we at length arrived at the place of our embarkation; two boats had been brought up, as the shallop drew too much water; the slaves were put on board, and necessarily in irons brought for the purpose. This measure occasioned one of the most affecting scenes I ever witnessed: their hopes with my assurances had buoyed them up on the road; but a change from the cordage to iron fetters, rent their hopes and hearts together: their wailings were torturing beyond what words can express; but delay at this crisis would have been fatal; the boat's crews were acquainted with the duty, and they were all safely embarked (pp. 139-143). . . .

We soon lost sight of them in a winding of the river; and continued going down with the current till night; the slaves seemed every hour to feel their situation more grievously, and I ordered them each a dram of liquor which for a while exhilerated their spirits, and quieted their cares. . . . We furnished the slaves with provisions, but whether through grief or sulleness, very few of them would partake of any refreshments beside water.

As soon as we had light we unmoored, and before noon we reached our shallop, extremely fatigued from the heat and closeness of the air, the banks of each side as we passed, being overgrown with wood and thicket, obstructing its free circulation. We had now another disagreeable piece of duty to execute, *viz.* the removal of the slaves from the small boats into the shallop; they were in want of room, and it was suggested to loose six of them at a time; we accordingly moved to the centre of the river, and being moored by a grapling, began to remove them; they appeared generally more quiet, and willing to act as we directed by the interpreter than usual, and had now all been removed, and placed below, but the last six, whom we suffered to remain on deck; when we had got under weigh, and were passing through a narrow part of the river, two of them found means to jump overboard; a sailor who was in the small boat astern seized one of them by the arms, and the end of a rope being thrown to him, the

slave was taken on board, though not without some difficulty. The others who had been at the oars, seeing their fellows, one of them seized, and the other struck on the head with a pole, set up a scream, which was echoed by the rest below; those that were loose made an effort to throw two of the sailors overboard; the rest, except the one in the boat and at the helm, being asleep: the noise had now aroused them, and the scream had impressed them with some degree of terror; they seized on the guns and bayonets that lay ready, and rushed upon the slaves, five of whom from below had got loose, and were endeavouring to set the rest free, while those we had to deal with above, were threatening to sacrifice us to their despair. These transactions were but the events of a moment; I had neither gun nor sword, and to retire in search of either, would have been to give the slaves a decisive superiority; I laid hold of the palloon stick, and had raised it to strike one of them who had nearly wrested a gun from one of the sailors, but before I could give the blow, I received a stroke of an oar, which severed my little finger from my hand; I know not how it was that I felt nothing of the severe pain for the moment, a slight twitch on the hand was the only sensation I experienced; the blow was broken that I had intended, but I renewed the effort, and with effect, for I levelled the fellow, and the sailor recovered his gun, whom I could not prevent from running the poor negro through the body; the hatch was open, and he fell among his fellows, who had, crouded tied, and ironed as they were, to assist as far as they were able, by holding our legs, encouraging their companions, and shouting whenever those above did any thing that appeared likely to overcome one or other of us. We at length overpowered them; one only having escaped and one being killed, the rest were immediately bound in double irons, and took care from thence till our arrival at the ship, not to suffer any of them to take the air without being made fast. Five of the sailors were considerably, but not dangerously hurt, and of the slaves, those who had been riotous above and below, nine were severely wounded.

We reached the ship in five days from our first embarkation, where we were received with much satisfaction; the officers had all provided themselves with three or four wives each, and rebuked me for not bringing mine along, alledging that they would, according to the account given by their messmates, bring a good price when we arrived in America. I was sorry, however, to find that two of our best seamen had expired during my absence, from the excessive fatigue of the ships duty, and the heat of the climate.

While I was away, the Captain had opened a trade in another channel, he had obtained 100 slaves in the place where he lay, beside gold and ivory; and had contracted with some French and English

factors up the river Reyo Naunus,[4] for the remainder of his cargo, and for his sea stores. We accordingly weighed anchor and stood for that river, which lies about 40 leagues N. of the Reyo Pongo, or in 10 deg. 40 min. south, and on the 16th of May arrived off the Cape, which forms one side of the southern outlet of that river (pp. 145-150). . . .

The whole number of slaves that we had now on board, I found about 500, of whom above 50 were then lying in a dangerous state of illness; it was time for us to depart, being now in the 13th of June, 1795. We accordingly got in our anchors, and procured six of the natives boats, with six men in each, to tow us down night and day, when the tide served (pp. 173-174).[5] . . .

368. Cargo of the *Charlotte*, 1799.[1]

In: Sund's shipp'd by H. J. Jones on board the Scho "Charlotte" Wm. Langster Master, for Africa on Acct. and risk of the Shipper and cons'd to the Master on board.

34 Hhd Tobacco 39691 [c]wt			$7.50	2976.82
9 Casks Whiskey 490 at pr			75	367.50
10 bbls. rice 4205 10/6 barrels at 2/3				144.43
				3488.75
Chgs.				
[*illegible*]	15 Hds.	4.05		
Drayage		19.75		
Whfge		10.43		
				34.23
			Ball	3522.98

E. E.[2] Chston, 24 July 1799.
H. J. Jones

369. Governor James Richardson to the House of Representatives, 1803.[1]

Columbia, Nov. 4, 1803.

To the Speaker and Members of the House of Representatives.

Gentlemen, . . . All possible vigilance and my best exertions, have been used to carry effectually into operation the law prohibiting

[4] Rio Nunez.
[5] On the Middle Passage a fever broke out among the cargo which affected the eyes of its victims and Hawkins lost his eyesight. Where the negroes were delivered Hawkins does not say.

[368] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS.
[2] This is endorsed: "H. J. Jones Invoice of Sundries shipped on board Sch: *Charlotte* Wm. Langster Master 1799." The shipper may have been W. I. Jones.

[369] [1] *Charleston Courier*, Dec. 5, 1803.

the importation of negroes into this state; but it is with concern that I have here to state to you, that it has been without success; whether it must be attributed principally to the ill consequences that are apprehended would result from carrying the law into operation, by emancipating the negroes so brought in (a remedy deemed more mischievous than the evil of their introduction in servitude), or whether the interest of the citizens is so interwoven with the species of property, that it prevents there aiding the law in answering the salutary purposes intended, I will not presume to determine; but I am inclined to believe both causes operate as preventatives, for those people are continued to be brought into the state, beyond the possibility of prevention.[2] In all laws intended for the general benefit, they should be so calculated, that their operation should be found equal in every part of the state; when this is not the case, it evinces that there is some radical defect therein, or it is inimical to the interest of the citizens; with this law, such is the situation; for in the state of things, the citizens in the frontier and sea coast districts, do accumulate this property without the possibility of being detected, while those of the interior and middle districts only, experience the operation of that law; from their remote situation of introducing this property, they are deprived of that security to evade the vigilant eyes of the officers of the government. Whatever defects were experienced in this law, and however ineffectual it has been found, and from whatsoever cause, I was induced to hope that the provisions made in the law of congress to prevent the introduction of that property into such states, where, by their laws the same had been prohibited, would prove successful in its operation, and ensure the desired object of prevention; but that also, has not been productive of the purposes contemplated, from not meeting that due support from the citizens, which the laws of the government ought. This, indeed, is a circumstance to be lamented, but such is the true state of our situation, and therefore becomes a subject worthy of your consideration, and one that I trust will engage your endeavours to render equally energetic in every part of the state, that law, which experience has proved partial in its operation, and is oppressive upon such citizens in the interior districts, as holds it an object of desire, to augment their capital in the accumulation of such property. . . .

[2] On Feb. 14, 1804, Lowndes made the statement that the number of negroes imported into South Carolina during the period of the prohibition was but little less than normal. Mitchell, of New York, computed that during the past twelve months (1804), 20,000 negroes had been transported from Africa to the plantations of Georgia and South Carolina. In spite of the ample reward offered to reformers, there were no convictions in South Carolina during the period of prohibited trade (*Annals of Congress*, 8 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 992, 1000, 1031). Drayton in 1802 referred to the number smuggled into the state both by land and water. *View of South Carolina*, p. 146.

370. Debate on the Importation of Negroes, 1803.[1]

Tuesday, December 6.

On the second reading of this bill, *Mr. Barnwell* opposed it. He maintained that by the immense influx of these persons into the state, the value of this species of property would be considerably diminished, insomuch that he did believe negroes would soon not be worth one half of what they might now be sold for. The value of the produce raised by their labour would in like manner be depreciated. It was well known that the stores of Charleston were now filled with our cotton, and that it could not be sold for any tolerable price. Our trade with the nations of Europe was much interrupted and lessened by the great contest which was now maintained in that quarter of the world; a contest on the issue of which, perhaps, everything dear and valuable to man depended. Was it under these circumstances that we ought to lay out the savings of our industry, the funds accumulated in many years of prosperity and peace, to increase that produce whose value had already fallen so much? He thought not. The permission given by the bill would lead to ruinous speculations. Everyone would purchase negroes. It was well known that those who dealt in this property would sell it at a very long credit. Our citizens would purchase at all hazards, and trust to fortunate crops and favorable markets for making their payments; and it would be found that South Carolina would in a few years, if this trade continued open, be in the same situation of debt, and subject to all the misfortunes which the situation had produced, as at the conclusion of the revolutionary war. The Hon. Member adduced in support of his opinion various other arguments, still more cogent and impressive, which from reasons very obvious we decline making public.

Mr Smith said he would agree to put a stop to the importation of negroes, but he believed it to be impossible. For this reason he would vote for the bill.

On putting the question a majority appeared to be in favor of the importation from any part of the world except the Bahama and West India Islands.[2]

[370] [1] *Charleston Courier,* Dec. 26, 1803. This debate is on a bill permitting the importation of negroes.

[2] "The house agreed to the order of the day, resolved itself into a committee of the whole, on a bill from the senate to alter and amend the several acts respecting the importation or bringing into this state, from beyond the seas and elsewhere, negroes and other persons of colour; also a report of the committee of this house, to enquire whether any, and if any what amendments are necessary in the acts, entitled, an act to prevent negro slaves and persons of colour from being brought into or entering this state, and an act supplementary to the act aforesaid; and on that part of the governor's message relating thereto, Mr. H. Deas in the chair.

"Mr. H. Deas from the committee of the whole house, reported, they have had the same under consideration, and are of opinion that the laws prohibiting the importation of negroes and other persons of colour into this state, can be so amended as to prevent their introduction amongst us, and to recommend that a committee be appointed to report a bill for that purpose on Monday next.

371. Reminiscences of Ebenezer S. Thomas, 1803.[1]

This, and the three following years, my business doubled, and trebled, annually. In November, 1803, I returned from my fourth voyage, with a printed catalogue of fifty thousand volumes of books, in every branch of literature, arts, and sciences, being by far, the largest importation ever made into the United States. I had only got them opened, and arranged for sale three days, when news arrived from Columbia, that the legislature, then in session, had opened the port for the importation of slaves from Africa. The news had not been five hours in the city, before two large British Guineamen, that had been laying off and on the port for several days, expecting it, came up to town; and from that day my business began to decline, although then in a situation to carry it on to three times the extent I had ever done before. Previous to this, the planters had large sums of money laying idle in the banks, which they liberally expended, not only for their actual, but supposed wants. A great change at once took place in every thing. Vessels were fitted out in numbers, for the coast of Africa, and as fast as they returned, their cargoes were bought up with avidity, not only consuming the large funds that had been accumulating, but all that could be procured, and finally exhausting credit, and mortgaging the slaves for payment; many of whom were not redeemed for ten years after, to my knowledge. This state of things continued, until put a stop to by that provision of the Constitution which forbade the trade after the first of January, 1808. So completely absorbed were the funds of the agriculturalists, in many instances, that those who had been in the habit of indulging in every luxury, and paying for it at the moment, took credit for a bundle of quills and a ream of paper. For myself, I was upwards of five years disposing of my large stock, at a sacrifice of more than one half, in all the principal towns, from Augusta, in Georgia, to Boston.[2]

"The above report being immediately considered, was agreed to, and the following gentlemen appointed a committee for that purpose, *viz.* Messrs. Falconer, H. Deas, D. Deas, K. L. Simons and Cheves.

December 13.

"The committee appointed by the house of Representatives on Saturday last, to bring in a bill to prevent the importation of negroes into this state, reported a bill for that purpose yesterday, which was read a first time; when a motion was made to postpone the second reading of the said bill until the 1st day of February next, which was negatived, 41 to 62, and ordered for a second reading to-day" (*Charleston Courier*, Dec. 6, 13, 20, 26, 1803). For the act of 1803 opening the Carolina ports to negroes see McCord, VII. 449.

[371] [1] Ebenezer S. Thomas, *Reminiscences of the Last Sixty-Five Years* (Hartford, 1840), II. 35-36. Ebenezer Thomas of Massachusetts, a nephew of the celebrated printer Isaiah Thomas, was occupied with a book-selling business in Charleston during the years indicated.

[2] Occasional unfavorable comment on the action of South Carolina comes from North Carolina: July 26, 1806, the *Raleigh Register* describes the reopening of the trade as a "detested, short sighted policy, which in order to increase the wealth of a few can impose upon the State the greatest calamity with which any nation has ever been afflicted". Taylor, *Slave Holding in North Carolina*, p. 27.

372. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1804.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Feb. 14	Feb. 20	*Governor Dowdeswell*	E. Williams	Africa	329	Tunno and Cox
" 17		*Martha Crawly*	—— Tate	Congo	100	Mortimer and Heron
" 25		*Neptune*			25	Macbeth, Henry, and Co.[2]
" 29		*Nymph*	John Ross	Angola	212	
Mar. 22	Mar. 26	*Lord Rodney*		"	333	Tunno and Cox, Tunno and John Price
" 24	" 24			"	200	Macbeth, Henry, and Co.
Apr. 13	Apr. 18	*Anna*		"	357	Wm. M'Leod
" 24	" 30	*Esther*		Congo	367	Wm. Boyd
May 19		*Brilliant*[3]	Preble [?]	Windward Coast	148	J. and N. Bixby
" 30				Gambia	100	Napier, Smith, and Co.
June 1	June 7	*Argus*		Windward Coast	279	Jas. Miller, sr.
" 26	July 11	*Thomas*	Bishop		104	Thos. Tunno and John Price
July 12		*Horizon*	Alexander M'Clure	Mozambique[4]	243	Alexander and John M'Clure
" 31	Aug. 2				30	Verree and Blair
Aug. 6		*Eliza*		Africa		
" 7	" 9			Gold Coast	100	Jas. Miller, sr.
" 8		*Harriet*	Welch[5]	Gambia		
" 20					20	James Broadfoot
" 27	Aug. 28	*Alexander*	Thompson	Angola		James Lee [?]
" "	" 30	*Francis*	Jas. Sontar	"	185	John Potter
Sept. 3	Sept. 5			Gold Coast	58	Jas. Miller
" 5	" 10	*Christopher*		Congo	270	Wm. Boyd
" 25	" 25				10	Wm. Holmes and Co.
Oct. 11	Oct. 15	*Macclesfield*		Congo	298	Gibson and Broadfoot
Nov. 5		*Active*	Campbell	Havana		J. S. Adams
" 6		*Susan*	Mackie[6]	Goree (Mandingoes)	107	David M'Kelvey
" 16	Nov. 22	*Hamilton*		Windward Coast		Wm. Boyd
" 26	" 28	*John*		" "		" "
" 30	" 30	*Barbados* Packet		Congo	212	Gibson and Broadfoot
Dec. 12		*Ruby*		"	391	Wm. Boyd
" 15	Dec. 17	*Mary*		Gold Coast	87	Jas. Broadfoot

[372] [1] This list, compiled from the *Charleston Courier,* should be compared with that presented to the Senate in 1820, which follows. Each contains vessels not found in the other. Moreau de Saint Méry, in *Voyage aux États-Unis* (p. 331), gives the number of negroes imported into Carolina in 1804 as 5658; John Lambert, in *Travels through Canada and the United States, 1806, 1807, and 1808* (1813), II. 165, gives 5386.

[2] This notice appeared in at least forty issues of the *Courier.*

[3] "Brig *Brilliant,* Preble, of this port, is lost on the Coast of Africa—Cargo saved." *Charleston Courier,* May 31, 1805.

[4] "On Wednesday, the 18th instant, will commence the sale of the Cargo of the ship *Horizon,* at Frink's Wharf, consisting of 243 Mozambique Slaves. . . . The Conditions of Sale for the Slaves are, one third cash, one third payable the 1st of January, and one third payable the first of June, 1805, with interest included in the Notes, and approved indorsers in Charleston. . . . The character of the Slaves from the East Coast of Africa is now so well known that it is unnecessary to mention the decided preference they have over all other negroes" (*ibid.,* July 14, 1804). The *Horizon* had left Mozambique with 543 slaves but off the Cape of Good Hope she was seized by a French vessel and held nearly a month, during which time about 300 of the negroes died (*ibid.,* July 12, 13, 1804). The next issue of the *Courier* offered the *Horizon* for sale: "The Ship *Horizon* Will also be sold if applied for in ten days; she was built in Charleston in 1800, of the best materials, copper fastened and coppered to the bends, and fitted in the most complete manner for an African voyage. ALEXANDER and JOHN MCLURE."

[5] Captain Welch brought word of a Liverpool vessel, the *Angola,* with 170 slaves for Charleston, which had been captured in the Gambia. *Ibid.,* Aug. 6, 1804.

[6] An item in the *Courier* of Feb. 18, 1804, stated that the schooner *Aurora,* Mackie, from Goree had been seized by a French frigate but released when the French learned that she was an American vessel.

373. Customs Entries, Charleston, 1804.[1]

Vessel's Names	Proprietors	Of what Country
Aurora, Charleston	S. E. Turner	New Eng'd
Ann, British	W. M'Cleod	Scotland
Easter [*Esther?*], do.	W. Boyd	do.
Brilliant, do.	Bixby	Rhode Island
Armed Neutrality, Chas'n	Napier, Smith and Co.	G. B.
Argo [*Argus?*], R. I.	James Miller	Ireland
Thomas, B.	Janus [Tunno] and Price	G. B.
Horizon, Charleston	A. and J. M'Clure	do.
Harriot, F.	James Broadfoot	do.
Eliza, R. I.	James Miller	do.
Alexander, Charleston	W. Broadfoot	do.
Francis, do.	J. Potter	do.
Christopher, B.	Wm. Boyd	do.
Favorite, R. I.	James Millar	do.
M'Lespine [*Macclesfield?*], B.	Gibson and Broadfoot	do.
Susanna, Charleston	S. E. Turner	New Eng.
Active, B.	I. Campbell	G. Britain
Hamilton, B.	W. Boyd	do.
Ruby, Charleston	do.	do.
Mary, Norfolk[2]	J. Broadfoot	do.

[373] [1] In a debate in the Senate in 1820 over the admission of Missouri, Mr. William Smith of South Carolina presented to the Senate a list of vessels importing slaves into South Carolina between 1804 and 1807: "This subject had been forgotten in Carolina. It was supposed to be at an end. However, hearing late in the Summer that the storm was gathering to the north, and that the admission of Missouri into the Union would be opposed on account of slavery, or something springing from that source, he wrote to a friend in Charleston, to apply to the customhouse officer for a full statement of all the ships engaged in that trade during the four years, together with their owners, consignees, their places of residence, country, nation to which they belonged, etc., that he might be able to show the public, who were engaged in it. In answer to his request, he had received from the customhouse books, from the hand of the collector, the following authentic documents. He would present to the Senate, in the first place, the documents, which contained the years of arrival, the names of the vessels, the place to which the vessel belonged, the names of the proprietors, the names of the consignees, their country, and to where they belonged. (Explanation—B. British, F. French, R. I. R. Island.)" (*Annals*, 16 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 72-77). Unfortunately the list as it stands does not do all that Senator Smith promised. We are given the name and country of the proprietor of the cargo, if the caption in the *Annals* is to be accepted, but no names of consignees. In many cases proprietor and consignee are the same but not in all. Comparison of this list with the one which precedes it brings to light many mistakes in the *Annals*. Part of the list was reprinted in the *Newport Mercury*, July 27, 1895, where James C. Swann selected the names of all Newport vessels trading to Charleston between 1804 and 1807. Here he attributed to Newport all Rhode Island vessels, ignoring any part which other Rhode Island ports may have taken in the trade. The *Annals* list was also printed in Dawson and De Saussure, *Census of Charleston* (1848), pp. 136-142.

[2] The Charleston papers also mention the following vessels from Charleston or bound to Charleston as on the African coast or spoken by other vessels somewhere on the voyage: Mar. 12, *Ariadne*; May 14, *Daniel and Mary*; Aug. 6, *Angola*; Aug. 14, *Amazon*.

374. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1804.

January 14, 1804.[1]

Public Auction. On Tuesday, the 17th instant, will be sold before my store, 7 prime African Negroes, just landed, *viz.* Five Boys, about 14 years of age, two Girls, from 15 to 16 years of Age. Conditions Cash. James Scot.

February 8.

Public Auction. On Tuesday, the 14th inst. will be sold by the Subscribers, before their Vendue Store, precisely at 11 o'clock, 70 grown African Negroes. Terms will be declared at the time of Sale. Verree and Blair.

July 12.

This Day, the 12th inst. will be sold before the subscribers Vendue Store, suitable for the African trade: 20 Collars, 6 Deck Chains, 143 Pair Shackles, 6—without bolts.[2] Henry Smerdon.

December 22, 1804.

Public Auction. On Monday next will be sold before my store without reserve, 3 Prime Windward Coast Negroes, Two Men and one Woman merely as a trial to see what New Negroes will bring at vendue and for which cash or produce will be taken at cash price. . . . M. M. Campbell.

[374] [1] These early notices in the *Courier* probably represent small lots rushed into Charleston from the West Indies as soon as the news of the repeal of prohibition reached there. The second notice is repeated in the *Courier* for Feb. 9, with the substitution of the figure 17 for 70, which is more plausible. The number of auction sales, with no vessel's name mentioned, increased steadily during the four years. In many instances the vendor probably took over a small lot of negroes unsold by the consignees of a cargo.

[2] Goods for the slave trade had been advertised in Charleston before the port was opened to negroes: "For the African Trade. A few bales blue Baftas, or Guineas, calculated purposely for the African Trade, just received and for sale, for cash or notes at 60 days. W. and E. Crafts." *Charleston Courier*, Oct. 28, 1803.

375. Negroes imported into South Carolina, 1805.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 17		*Perseverance*	Warren	Angola	330	T. Tunno and J. Price
Feb. 9	Feb. 11	*Yeopum*[2]		Africa	50	M. M. Campbell
" 13				Windward Coast	45	Nathan Bixby
" 20					50	Wm. Boyd
Mar. 21	Mar. 22	*Marquis of Huntley*		Congo	368	" "
" 26	" 27	*Wentworth*	Fotheringham	Windward Coast	228	John Price
Apr. 24	Apr. 30			Windward and Gold Coast		Thos. Baker, Broker and —
" 29	" "	*Neptune*	Sherman	Gold Coast	144	
May 2	May 2	*Republican*[3]	Welsh	Goree		
" 7	" 8	*Nile*		Congo	264	
" "	" "	*Fanny*		"	179	Price
" 8	" "	*Thomas*	Bishop	Windward Coast		Tunno and Cox
" 21	" 21				30	Verree and Blair
" 22					20	" " "
" 24	" 24	*Resource*		Congo	231	Gibson and Br[o]adfoot
" 31	June 1	*Eliza*		Windward Coast	180	J. S. Adams
June 1	" "	*Armed Neutrality*	Mason	Gambia		Napier, Smith and Co.
" 4	" 4				10	M. M. Campbell
" 12		*Love and Unity*	Preble	Windward	40	John S. Adams
" 22	" 24	*Jack Park*		Gold Coast	268	John Price
" "		*Nanny*		" "		Tunno and Cox
July 9					34	M. M. Campbell
" 16	July 17	*Margaret*[4]	Bowes	Congo	200	Wm. Boyd
Aug. 10	Aug. 13	*Æriel*	Paine	Angola	250	" "
" 19	" 22	*Esther*	Erving	Congo	370	" "
Sept. 7	Sept. 9	*Margaret*	Young	"	249	Gibson and Broadfoot
" 10				Rio Pongus	92	Phillips and Gardner
" 27	" 30	*Fox*	Vincent	Windward Coast		Chas. Bishop
Oct. 5	Oct. 5	*Louisiana*		" "	116	Peter Ayrault
" 21		*Commerce*		Congo	260	Wm. Timmons[5]
" 29	" 31	*Hamilton*	Scott	Windward Coast	171	Wm. Boyd
Dec. 2	Dec. 2	*Washington*[6]	Belcher	Windward Coast, Gold Coast, and Bonny	530	Gibson and Broadfoot
" 24[7]	" 30	*Prince William*	Giles	Gold Coast	370	Tunno and Price

[375] [1] The total number of negroes advertised is 5089; Moreau de Saint Méry gives for this year 6727 (*Voyage aux États-Unis*, p. 33); John Lambert, 6790 (*Travels*, II. 165). A few vessels appear in the advertisements which are not to be found in the customs records; many are in those records which have not been found in the newspapers. From the *Courier* the number of negroes entered week by week can occasionally be obtained. The date given is not that of the *Courier* but of the customhouse report, the time included is the week preceding

the date given, the negroes are always from Africa:

May	25,	231	June	22,	549	Aug.	10,	353	Oct.	26,	393	Dec.	7,	530
June	3,	514	July	13,	106	Sept.	28,	147	Nov.	2,	161	Dec.	28,	371
June	15,	59	July	20,	198	Oct.	19,	262	Nov.	9,	130			

[2] The *Yeopum* apparently returned again to the coast, for about a year later appeared the following item: "A letter from Goree, dated December 21, states that the French privateer *General Blandshot* (formerly the brig *Leon*, of this port) capt. Debrux, had entered the River Gambia, and plundered the schooner *Yeopim*, Bixby, of this port, of stores; the *Yeopim* had about 100 slaves on board" (*Charleston Courier*, Jan. 30, 1806). The vessel is later heard of as having gone into Martinique on Apr. 10, in distress for want of hands. *Ibid.*, May 3, 1806.

[3] The arrival at Goree of the *Republican*, owned by Peter Kennedy of Charleston, was reported in the *Courier* of May 29, 1804. The schooner left Goree Jan. 5 and was in Charleston by May 1, 1805. The next year Welsh reached the Carolina coast late in January with 93 negroes. After twenty-five days of futile endeavor to enter the harbor he sailed to Nassau for water and provisions, then made his way to Havana, where he sold his slaves. By Apr. 1 he arrived in Charleston with sugar. *Charleston Courier*, May 29, 1804, Jan. 31, May 1, 1805, Jan. 28, Feb. 4, 6, Apr. 1, 1806.

[4] The *Margaret* shortly before reaching Charleston had encountered two French privateers, which inflicted on the vessel considerable damage and injured 18 slaves and 9 members of the crew. The *Margaret* carried 14 six-pounders, 20 men, and 200 slaves. *Ibid.*, July 8, 11, 12, 1805.

[5] "Also for Sale, A quantity of India Piece Goods, Suitable for the African markets, together with all the stores on board said Brig [*Commerce*] calculated to fit a Vessel for the African trade. Apply as above [WILLIAM TIMMONS]" (*ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1805). It was probably from this cargo that Timmons was still advertising on Dec. 20: "India Goods. Suitable for the African Markets.

130	pieces	blue Bafts (or Guineas)	20	pieces	Blue Romalls
100	"	White "	70	"	Cushetes
170	"	Chellors and Bejdputs	10	"	Allegars.

Also, 30 Elephants' Teeth, of large sizes. All entitled to Drawback. For sale at low prices and a liberal supply of Credit by WILLIAM TIMMONS." William Smith, in a *Letter to Wilberforce* (London, 1807, pp. 36-41), encloses a newspaper clipping which reports that the *Commerce*, Bishop, was destroyed by natives at Cape Mount, and the officers and crew massacred.

[6] "Whereas some evil minded person or persons had fabulously and nefariously set on float, through various parts of the city, an insidious rumour that there prevailed a contagious disorder on board the ship *Washington*, Capt. Belcher, just arrived from the Coast of Africa, with slaves, belonging to us; the following report made to the Medical Society, by a Committee of their body, appointed for the purpose, will, we trust, be deemed a sufficient refutation of a report so void of truth—so injurious in its tendency. GIBSON and BROADFOOT.

"Agreeably to a Resolution of the Medical Society, We the undersigned visited the ship *Washington*, commanded by capt. Belcher, lately arrived in this port from Africa, with Slaves, and having strictly examined the Crew and Slaves on board the said Ship: Do certify, that we did not discover any symtoms of Measles to be present, as was reported to have existed among them, but, on the contrary, that they are healthful, and the ship unusually clean. M. IRVINE, BENJ. B. SIMONS, SAMUEL WILSON, FREDERICK DALCHO, JOSEPH GLOVER.

"CHARLESTON, 3d December, 1805.—Extract from the minutes of the Medical Society of South Carolina, FREDERICK DALCHO, Sec'ry, Dec. 4." *Charleston Courier*, Dec. 7, 1805.

[7] On Dec. 31 the *Courier* reported: "Capt. Brooks left at Matanzas brig *Minerva,* Brookings, and brig *Minerva,* Gernon, of this port. Capt. B. informs us that a Brig has recently been captured by a French privateer and carried into Matanzas, with a cargo of slaves, from Nassau. The Captain had gone to Guadaloupe in the privateer. The crew stated her to be an American, and that she had touched at Nassau on her way from the Coast; but as it did not appear from her Log-Book or Papers that she had been to the Coast, it was conjectured that she was an English vessel, from Nassau bound to Jamaica. Two American schooners have recently arrived at Havanna from the Coast of Africa."

376. Customs Entries, Charleston, 1805.[1]

Vessel's Names	Proprietors	Of what Country
Perseverance, B.	Turner [Tunno] and Price	G. Britain
Kitty, Charleston	G. Parker	Charleston
Lupin, B.	Bixby	Rhode Island
Mary Huntley, B.	Wm. Boyd	Great Britain
Gov. Wentworth, B.	Turner and Price	do.
Experiment, B.	W. Boyd	do.
Eagle, R. I.	Gardner and Phillips	R. I.
Neptune, do.	E. Cook[2]	do.
Fanny, B.	Turner and Price	G. B.
Thomas, Charleston,	do.	do.
Nile, do.	Wm. Boyd	do.
Recourse, B.	Gibson and Broadfoot	do.
Isabella, B.	I. S. Allen	do.
Armed Neutrality, Chas'n	Napier and Smith	do.
Susana, do.	J. Duncan	do.
Love and Unity, B.[3]	S. Adams	R. I.
Jack Park, B.	John Price	Great Britain
Manning, B.	Tunno and Cox	do.
Juliet, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Margaret, B.	W. Boyd	Great Britain
Louisa, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Ariel, B.	W. Boyd	Great Britain
Estor, B.	do.	do.
Margaret, B.	do.	do.
Hiram, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Louisiana, B.	Eddy	R. I.
Maria, B.	Cooper	Great Britain
Hambleton, B.	Wm. Boyd	do.
Rambler, R. I.	E. Sayer	Rhode Island
William, B.	Turner and Price	G. B.

377. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1805.[1]

January 31, 1805.

Capt. Bixby left in the River Gambia brig. *Polly*, of this port. Left at Senegal 5 weeks since, capt. Williams, in a brig from Baltimore; capt. Brumer in a brig from New York; capt. M'Farlane, in a schooner from Philadelphia. The brig —— Kelly, of New York, was lost the day before Capt. B. left Senegal. Left at Goree, Jan. 5, schooner *Republican*, Welsh, from this port.

The brig *Thomas*, Bishop, of this port, had touched at Goree, and proceeded on the Coast.

[376] [1] *Annals*, 16 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 73-74.

[2] This should be C., not E., Cook. Clark Cook went from Newport to Charleston in February, 1805, to meet an incoming slave vessel. See this work, III. 387.

[3] Swann gives this as a Newport vessel. *Newport Mercury*, July 27, 1895.

[377] [1] *Charleston Courier* for the dates given. These items are illustrative of the intelligence communicated to the editor by every incoming captain. Carefully fitted together, such news would make it possible to follow the progress of many of the vessels which left Charleston for Africa throughout their entire voyage.

A great number of American vessels have touched at Goree, for the Coast of Africa—which had made business very dull. Slaves were very high.

March 8, 1805.

Landing at Geyer's Wharf, 75 hhds. New England Rum, suitable for the African Market. Apply to JAMES MILLER, Sen.[2]

April 4, 1805.

In the brig *Maria,* from Havanna, came two seamen belonging to the sloop *Sydney,* capt. Gardner, of this port. The *Sydney* sailed from the River Gambia, about the last of January, with 70 slaves; touched at St. Thomas, where 30 slaves were put on board another vessel—she then sailed for this port, and on the 6th ult. carried away her mast, which tore up the deck, and reduced the vessel to a wreck—two days after, the crew and negroes were taken off the wreck, and carried into Havanna. Capt. Gardner left at Gambia, ship *Armed Neutrality,* Mason, of this port; brig —— White, do.; brig *Polly,* Hovey, do. had been very much shattered by the explosion of a bbl. of gun-powder, by which the second mate, and ten slaves, were killed; schooner *Republican,* Welch, of do.

KINGSTON, (JAM.) September 11 [1805].[3]

The *Montezuma* Guineaman which was sent in on Monday, by the *Rein-Deer* brig. Captain Fyfe, was cleared out in Liverpool, and bound for Charleston, with a choice cargo of 328 slaves, from the River Congo. She was boarded by a privateer, who suffered her to precede unmolested, but afterwards taken, on the 9th of August, by the *Regulator,* of Guadaloupe, who descried her in [the] evening, and ordered her to lay to till the next morning, when she sent a boat's crew on board and took possession. She parted with the privateer on the 20th of the same month, and on the 3rd of September, fell in with the *Rein-Deer,* to whom she surrendered, within four leagues of Barracoa, with little or no resistance. At the time of her recapture she had 18 of the privateer's crew on board; all their provisions, except a sufficiency for two days, were expended. . . .

[2] Various items from the *Courier* indicate the development of other lines of commerce dependent upon the traffic in slaves. This was a feature of the trade fairly new to Charleston, since, in the days before the Revolution, few ships had sailed directly from Carolina to the African coast: "For Sale, on Consignment, for Cash or Approved Notes, 160 quarter barrels Gun-Powder, suitable for the African trade. GREGORIE, jun. and SMITH"; "Per sloop *Alert,* Captain Becket, from Salem, 67 Bales fine Blue Guineas, (or Salempores) Entitled to debenture, suitable for the African Markets, for sale at low prices and on long credit, by THOMAS FLETCHER." *Charleston Courier,* June 3, Dec. 6, 1805.

[3] The *Montezuma,* Captain Ives, was owned by William Maine and Robert Mackey of Savannah. The mate, James Crawford, who arrived in Norfolk Aug. 26, reported that the vessel had had on board 343 slaves when she was captured by the *Regulator. Ibid.,* Sept. 6, 1805.

[November 1, 1805.]

The brig. *Leon* sailed from Charleston and made a voyage to the coast of Africa, and returned to Martinique with Slaves, Mr. John B. de Brux, Supercargo and one half owner, and the other half owner is Mr. Lacoste a merchant in Charleston; he sold his slaves in Martinique and took in Sugars for Charleston; but on his way he put into St. Thomas and sold his Sugars and made a privateer of his brig. . . .[4]

November 18, 1805.

Ship *Margaret*. Wm. Livingston (late commander). The said Vessel, Cargo, and Provisions, is now offered For Sale, as she lies ready for sea, at Geyer's Wharf, and was to have sailed this day, having already shipped her crew, and will be put up at Auction on Thursday next the 21st inst. if not previously sold by private contract. She is about 347 tons burthen; has been completely sheathed, is perfectly equipped for a voyage to Africa, sails uncommonly fast, and is in every respect well calculated for the African trade. Her sails are mostly new, the greatest part being lately made—were of the best canvas; and, notwithstanding inconsistent reports, she is as sound a vessel as any in this port. Any person inclined to purchase her is referred to Mr. William Pritchard, junior, ship-carpenter, who will candidly give his opinion of the said vessel. The whole will be sold a bargain, for an approved note and indorsed with interest included payable at 6, 9, and 12 months. For inventory, very complete, invoice of merchandize, bill of provisions, and terms, apply to

VERREE and BLAIR.[5]

[4] The *Courier* of Nov. 4, 1805, published a detailed account of an act of piracy committed by the *Speedwell*, Captain Cain, with 100 negroes bound from Barbados to Georgia or Carolina. By no means all the vessels which went from Charleston to the African coast reappear in the lists of those bringing slaves to that port: "Capt. Welsh left at Goree, schooner *Young Edward*, Sabb, for this port, to sail next day" (*ibid.*, May 1, 1805); "Schooner *Eagle* Duncan, and schooner *Edward and Edmund*, Shearman, from this port, are arrived on the Coast of Africa" (*ibid.*, June 7); "The Ship *Margaret*, Livingston, of this port, from Mozambique, *via* Barbadoes, has arrived at Havanna, with the loss of half her cargo of slaves, by sickness" (*ibid.*, May 10); "They [French privateer *L'Emerance*, which captured the ship *Two Friends*] stated that one of the Guineamen which they had taken, bound into this port, had 450 slaves" (*ibid.*, June 7); "The Sloop *Independence*, Carlton, from this port, has been lost on the coast of Africa, crew saved" (*ibid.*, May 1). "Capt. Vincent left at Rio Pongos, ship *Maria*, Cooper, of this port, to sail in all August. Capt. Cooper had 40 days passage out; 7 days after leaving this port lost his mate, Mr. Daniel M. Brown." *Ibid.*, Sept. 27, 1805.

[5] On Dec. 13 Verree and Blair advertised for sale the *Hamilton*, "with all her African materials".

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 13	Jan. 14	*Æriel*		Congo	110	Wm. Boyd
" "	" 17	*Minerva*	Laidler	Africa	400[2]	
" 16	" 23	*Mary*	Cowan	Sierra Leone	190	Gibson and Broadfoot
" 17	" 21	*Daphne*[3]	Trenholm	Congo	370	" " "
" 22[4]	" 23	*Kerie*		Gold Coast		Tunno and Cox
" 25	" 27	*America*[5]		Congo and "Gulah"	418	James Broadfoot[6]
" 30	" 31	*Doris*[7]	Davenport		70[8]	Gibson and Broadfoot

[378] [1] Moreau de Saint Méry gives the importation for the year alows: II. 165). By weeks the importation reported in the *Courier* is as fols 8804 (*Voyage aux États-Unis*, p. 331); Lambert as 11,458 (*Travels*,

Jan. 11, 110	Feb. 22, 546	May 10, 74	June 21, 498	Nov. 27, 342
Jan. 18, 450	Mar. 1, 61	May 17, 460	Sept. 20, 307	Dec. 13, 89
Jan. 25, 959	Mar. 15, 109	May 24, 1104	Oct. 18, 205	Dec. 21, 360
Feb. 1, 92	Apr. 5, 323	May 31, 299	Nov. 10, 79	Dec. 27, 626
Feb. 15, 140	May 3, 635	June 14, 457	Nov. 18, 307	

The following items help to answer the question of what became of the stream of slaves pouring into Carolina, certainly far in excess of her need for labor: "Brig *Three Sisters*, Lindsey, from this port for New Orleans, with slaves has put into Havanna in distress—30 of the slaves having died on the passage"; "Philadelphia, September 23. Arrived at the Lazaretto schooner *Fly*, M'Farlan, New-Orleans, August 28, in the Mississippi, spoke the . . . schooner *Lucy*, from Charleston, for Natchez, with slaves. Sept. 8, off Nariel, spoke schooner *Comet*, from Charleston, out 14 days, bound to Natchez with slaves" (*Charleston Courier*, Aug. 11, Sept. 11, Oct. 7, 1806). The *Lucy* had left Charleston July 4, 1806, carrying 50 negroes insured from Charleston to Natchez, the premium 7½ per cent.; the amount of the policy $1800, and 11 negroes for Havana, the premium 5 per cent. On July 24 the *Lucy* was captured and sent into Nassau. When she was acquitted the 11 negroes were removed as lawful prize; also many of the others had died. The remainder were sold in New Orleans "for 3 or 4000 dollars more than they would have yielded at Nassau". While in Nassau $856.60 were expended for clothes and provisions for the cargo. These negroes belonged to citizens of Charleston and of New Orleans. Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, II. 298.

[2] In the *Courier* of Jan. 17 the number is given as 300.

[3] The ships *Cleopatra, Daphne*, and *America* were left at Congo River, and were to be ready for sea a fortnight after the sailing of the *Æriel*. "Ship *Minerva* was at an out port. capt. Hall heard she would sail in a short time after him." *Ibid.*, Jan. 10, 1806; see also Jan. 17.

[4] The *Courier* of Jan. 20 reported the arrival at Nassau of the *Jane*, Munroe, of Bristol, R. I., from Sierra Leone, with 128 slaves for Charleston.

[5] During the year 1806 the following Guineamen were offered for sale in Charleston: *America*, 272 tons; *Daphne*, "with all her African materials"; *Gustavia*; *Rolla*, 310 tons; *Three Friends*, 100 tons; *Sally*, 113 tons; *Mercury*, 80 tons.

[6] "Agent Mein, Mackay and Co., Savannah."

[7] By Apr. 16 the *Doris* was again bound for Africa (*Courier*, Apr. 21, 1806). The suit of Bethune *v.* Gibson, in which the *Doris* and her cargo of slaves were attached, probably relates to this sale. The defendants, who were agents of the owners of the vessel, requested by the master to take charge, ordered provisions and clothing for the negroes and published the advertisement for the sale. Catterall, II. 290.

[8] "Mandingos, Soozees, Ballams, Bagos, Naloofe Negroes." This was probably a Gambia cargo.

[*Negroes imported into South Carolina*—continued:]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Feb. 20	Feb. 21	*Duddon*			173[9]	
" 24	" 26	*Fair American*[10]	Leslie	Gold Coast		J. S. Adams
" 25	" 25	*Amazon*		Windward and Guinea Coast	222	Tunno and Cox and Thos. Tunno and John Price
" 27	" 27	*Hazard*		Windward		J. S. Adams
Mar. 11	Mar. 11	*Reliance*[11]	Miller	"		Jas. Quin
Apr. 7	Apr. 7	*Factor*		Gold Coast	102	
" 26	" 28	*George*		Angola	250	John Watson and Co.
" 30	May 1	*Gustavia*	Hill	East Africa[12]	230	Spencer John Man
May 1	" "	*Neptune*	Hudson	Gold Coast	132	
" "	" 2	*Robert*		Mandingo	241	Gibson and Broadfoot and T. W. Rawlinson
" 12	" 12	*Love and Unity*	Preble	Windward	75	J. S. Adams
" 15	" 15	*Swan*[13]	Smith	Gold Coast	194	Wm. Boyd
" 23	" 24	*Hector*[14]		Angola	240	John Watson and Co.
" 24	" "	*Ruby*		Congo	350	Wm. Boyd
" "	" 26	*Farnham*		"	311	Henry and John Ker
" 27	" 27	*Ceres*		Africa	300	Gibson and Broadfoot
June 13	June 13	*Alert*		Mandingo	240	Wm. Boyd
" 14	" 14	*Hibernia*	Pratt	Cape Mount (Mandingo)	217	Henry and John Ker

[9] "Soozees, Mandingos, and Timmy negroes."

[10] Word reached Charleston Feb. 10 that the *Fair American* had arrived on the African coast and would leave about Feb. 1.

[11] Captain Miller had left at Rio Pongo, *Thomas,* Suter, and *Hibernia,* Pratt, both of Liverpool, *Samuel,* Griffith, of St. Thomas, and the *America.* The *Hope* and *Edward and Edmund* sailed just before he did.

[12] "Will be opened to-morrow the 1st of May, on board, off Gadsden's Wharf, the Sale of 230 Prime Slaves, imported in the ship *Gustavia,* Captain Hill, from Zanquebar, on the Eastern Coast of Africa, being natives of Gondo, Mocoa, and Swabaytie nations, much distinguished by the Planters of Mauretius. SPENCER JOHN MAN" (*Charleston Courier,* Apr. 30, 1806). "A part of the cargo of the Ship *Gustavia,* from the coast of Mozambique, having undergone the Vacine, and now in perfect health, will be exposed for sale on Thursday next, at Gadsden's Wharf." *Ibid.,* June 2, 1806.

[13] "The brig *Swan,* captain Smith, with 200 slaves from the Gold Coast, for this port, got ashore on Bull's on Saturday morning. The brig has sunk, and will be entirely lost; the crew and slaves were taken off the wreck and brought to town yesterday in a small schooner from Norfolk" (*ibid.,* May 12, 1806). "The brig *Swan* . . . on the 10th instant, early in the morning, got aground at the distance of six miles from the shore of Bull's Island, on this coast. She had on board a cargo of 194 slaves. At nine o'clock . . . she was seen by Captain Jerby of the schooner *Victory,* who . . . bore down to the vessel, and . . . agreed to take the crew and cargo of negroes on board his schooner . . . the business was completely effected by eight o'clock in the evening: on the following morning at ten o'clock they all arrived safe in Charleston. The negroes saved have been appraised by order of the court, and are valued, with the consent of parties, at thirty-eight thousand eight hundred dollars. . . . I decree . . . one fifth to the libellant." Catterall, *Judicial Cases,* II. 287-288.

[14] A single issue of the *Courier* (May 31, 1806) contained advertisements of the cargoes of the *Love and Unity, Swan, Hector, Ruby, Farnham, Ceres,* and *Robert.* The *Hector,* a British ship, was reported in the *Courier* of Apr. 26, as at Angola. Another British vessel, the *Fanny,* Kennan, with 207 slaves for Charleston, left the coast about the same time, was captured off the Charleston coast, and was driven to St. Bartholomew. *Ibid.,* Apr. 26, May 5, 6, June 10, 1806.

June 19	June 20	*Port Mary*	Purcell [15] Berry	Congo	360	Wm. Boyd
" 30	" 30	*Three Friends*		Rio Pongus (Mandingo)	40	Thos. Vincent
					80	John Callaghan
July 2	July 3	*Fair Eliza*		Windward Coast		Jas. Miller, sr.
" 24		*Fox*	Edward Smith	" "		John S. Adams
Aug. 11		*Kitty*		Mandingo	20	J. Vincent
Sept. 9	Sept. 9	*Nantasket*	Boothroyd	Gambia	43	
" "	" 10	*John*	Watson	Gold Coast	73	Thos. Tunno, John Price
" 20	" 22	*Gov. Dowdeswell*		Congo	306	Wm. Boyd
Oct. 8	Oct. 16	*Mary-Ann*		Rio Pongus	8 [16]	William Payne
Nov. 11	Nov. 12	*Croyden*		Congo	307	Wm. Boyd
" 21	" 24	*Kate*		"	340	John Watson and Co.
" 24	" "	*Mercury*		Angola	120	M. Kelly
" 28	Dec. 1	*Union*		Congo	312	W. Boyd
Dec. 2	" 2	*Washington*	Patterson	Windward Coast		David M'Kelvey
" 16	" 18	*John*	Philips	Congo	380	T. W. Rawlinson
" 17	" "	*Nicholson*		"	360	Tunno and Cox
						Thos. Cox, John Price
" 23	" 24	*Edward and Edmund*		Mandingo	108	J. Callaghan
" "	" 29	*Mercury*		Angola	400	John Watson and Co.
" 29	" "	*Little Ann*		Gold Coast	81	Charles Christian
" 31 [17]	Jan. 5	*Margaret*		Mandingo	150	T. W. Rawlinson

[15] Captain Purcell died on the coast. The *Port Mary* on her voyage to Carolina was twice detained by French privateers (*Courier*, June 4, 9, 18, 1806). During June several references are made to the presence of a French privateer not far from the Charleston bar, watching for British slavers as they entered or left the Charleston harbor.

[16] This is not the sale of a cargo, "being part of the Estate of McFarlane and Pleyer, bankrupts, and sold by order of the Assignee. Conditions, Cash. WILLIAM PAYNE" (*Charleston Courier*, Oct. 8, 1806). Not long after this the following notice appeared in the *Courier* (Oct. 18): "Wanted, A smart, active, sober, honest, intelligent, and well informed Captain, who is well acquainted with the navigation of the Coast of Africa. One who has been employed in the Congo Trade would be preferred, and will meet with a favorable employ, by proving himself qualified, as above.

"An intelligent Surgeon, for an African voyage, and a Boiler, of about 80 or 90 gallons. Apply to WM. PRITCHARD, jun. Ship-Carpenter, at his Wharf."

[17] During the year an increasing number of advertisements relating to the slave trade may be found: "446 Muskets, fit for the African Trade. Conditions—Cash. M. M. CAMPBELL"; "Just Received, and for sale by the subscribers, 7 Bales India Goods, Suitable for the African Trade, consisting of Blue Gilla, Frockelsoy Ditto, Blue Gurrahs, etc. DAVIS and CARROLL"; "India Goods, Received per Brig *Venus*, Captain Wasson, from New-York and Landing This Day, 156 bales assorted India Goods, Suitable for the African Market, for sale, reasonable, if applied for immediately. ANDREW HOLMES and Co"; "Just received from Baltimore, By ADAM GILCHRIST, No. 12, East-Bay, The following East-India Goods, Suited to the African and West-India Trade, which will be disposed of on reasonable terms, for Cash or Credit. Company's Blue and White Comboys, Blue and White Nicanies, Cuddalore Blue Handkerchiefs (Romals), Blue Cloths (Baʿts), Blue and White Moories, Arcot White Chintzes"; "Scarlet Cloth. Suitable for the African Market, for sale by JOHN GILLESPIE and Co." *Charleston Courier*, Feb. 25, Aug. 21, Sept. 4, Oct. 18, Dec. 8, 1806.

379. Customs Entries, Charleston, 1806.[1]

Vessel's Names	Proprietors	Of what Country
Ariel, B	W. Boyd	Great Britain
Mary, B.	Gibson and Broadfoot	do.
Daphna, Charleston	W. Boyd	do.
Carie, B.	Tunno and Cox	do.
America, B.	James Broadfoot	do.
Davis, Charleston	John Davidson	do.
Lydia, do.	Everingham	N. Jersey
Dudton, B.	Gibson and Broadfoot	G. B.
Amazon, B.	Tunno and Cox	do.
Fair American, Charlest.	J. S. Adam	R. I.
Miller, do.	J. Queen	Ireland
Edward and Edmund, do.	Cooper	Great Britain
Factor, Rhode Island	Sherman	R. I.
Louisa,[2] do.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Commerce, do.	Sesson	do.
Gustavus, Swede	Spencer Man	Charleston
Neptune, R. I.	C. Cook	R. I.
Robert, B.	Gibson and Broadfoot	G. B.
Polly, Rhode Island	Benson	R. I.
Hiram, do.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Samuel, B.	Gilchrist	N. Jersey
Love and Unity, B.	J. S. Adams	R. I.
Three Sisters, R. I.	W. Champlain	do.
Hector, B.	John Watson	G. Britain
Ruby, Charleston	W. Boyd	do.
Farmer, do.	John Carr	do.
Maria, do.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Ceres, B.	Gibson and Broadfoot	G. B.
Independence,[3] Baltimore	Churchill	R. I.
Hibernia, B.	Pratt	Great Britain
Alert, B.	Wm. Boyd	do.
Agent, R. I.	Eddy	R. I.
Mary, Charleston	W. Boyd	Great Britain
Three Friends, B.	J. Calligan	do.
Fair Eliza, R. I.	J. Metter	do.
Fox, Charleston	J. S. Adams	R. I.
Kitty, do.	G. Parker	Charleston
Hope, R. I.	W. Lyon	R. I.
Hope, Charleston	Wm. McCormic	Ireland
Nantasket, do.	Boohorod [Boothroyd?]	Great Britain
John Watson, B.[4]	Tunno and Price	do.
Governor Dodsworth, B.	W. Boyd	do.
Mary Ann,[5] B.	J. Kennedy	do.
Diana, B.	P. Mooney	do.
Davenport, B.	J. Everingham	N. Jersey
Corydon, B.	W. Boyd	Great Britain
Kate, B.	Watson and Co.	do.
Mercury, Charleston	W. Kelly	do.
Union, B.	W. Boyd	do.
Washington, R. I.	D. McKelvey	do.
Louisa, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Nicholson, B.	W. C. Tarmed	G. Britain
Edwd. and Edmund, Charl'n	J. Calligan	do.
Mercury, B.	J. Watson and Co.	do.
Little Ann, R. I.	Christian	Charleston
Margaret, B.[6]	T. Rowlinson	G. Britain

[379] [1] *Annals*, 16 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 74-75.

[2] See this work, III. 383-387.

[3] "By the arrivals yesterday from Africa, the melancholy account of the loss of the ship *Independence*, Churchill, is confirmed. She was blown up at Loango; when her cargo, consisting of about 200 slaves, all the crew, except the captain. one mate, and

380. Reply to Criticism of Slave Trade, 1806.[1]

July 10, 1806.

Editorial: We have, for a considerable time past, seen with the utmost indignation, the many scandalous and scurrilous paragraphs which have appeared in several of the Northern papers, against the citizens of this State, for doing that which the laws of their country permit them to do, and for embarking in a trade which the neccessities of the State require. A more extensive cultivation of land from the increase of our population, renders it necessary that more labourers should be employed to till the soil; the advantages of which not only result in private interest, but the

two seamen, who were on shore at the time, perished" (*Charleston Courier*, July 24, 1807). In the suit of Ingraham *v.* the Insurance Co., decided in 1815, the underwriters were supported in a refusal to pay the claim for the destruction of this vessel. It had been agreed "that the vessel would not go within five hundred miles of Congo, . . . knowing that the people of that part of Africa were much enraged against the captain, and savage-like, would go great lengths to destroy the vessel, on account of his having taken off some of the free natives of that kingdom on his last voyage". Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, II. 300.

[2] One surmises that this was the *John*, Captain Watson, the cargo of which was sold by Tunno and Price on Sept. 22.

[3] Captain Hudson named the *Mary Ann*, Loughton, of Newport, among those vessels which he left at the Gold Coast when he sailed. *Charleston Courier*, Apr. 30, 1806.

[4] Arrivals from Charleston or for Charleston, on the coast of Africa during 1806, as reported in the *Courier*, were:

Jan. 14, *Lydia*, Wilson, Isles de Los
" " *Susan*, Long, " " "
" " *Doris*, Davenport, " " "
" " *Amazon*, Cape Mount
" 15, *Elizabeth*, Latimore, Cape of Good Hope (Negroes from Mozambique)
Feb. 3, *Love and Unity*, Preble
" " *Hazard*, Blanck
" 10, *Fair American*, Leslie
" 14, *Cleopatra*, Brown
" 15, *America*, Washburn
" " *Edward and Edmund*, Shearman
" " *Reliance*, Miller
" " *Hope*, Maguire
Apr. 30, *Margaret*, Milberry, Goree
May 1, *Diana*, Grant, "
" " *Yeopim*, Bixby
" 12, *Two Friends*, Rio Pongo
" " *Fox*, Vincent, " "
" 19, *Commerce*, Bishop, Cape Mount
" 23, *Port Mary*, Purcell, Congo
" " *Independence*, Churchill, "
June 18, *Tarter*, Taylor, Rio Pongus
July 16, *Hope*, Goree
July 21, *Doris*, Davenport, Rio Pongus
Aug. 4, *Venus*, Preble, Gambia
" " *Washington*, Long, Rio Pongus
Norfolk, Marsden, Gambia
(Marston?)
Dolles, "
(R. I.) Bedford, Gambia
James, Preble
Sept. 4, *Eleanor*, Davidson, Gambia
" " *Mary*, Campbell
" 19, *Africa*, Caruth, Angola
Oct. 4, *Washington*, Patterson, Rio Pongus
" " *Eagle*, Wier, " "
" " *Edward and Edmund*, Miller, Rio Pongus
Nov. 10, *Juno*,
" " *Nicholson*,
" " *Maria*, Pike
" 29, *Fourth of July*, Blanck, Rio Pongus
Dec. 1, *Eliza*, Brown, Isles de Los
" " *Dolphin*, Ross, Cape of Good Hope
" " *Young Adam*, Haviland, Cape of Good Hope
" 13, *Three Sisters*, Isle of May

Among the many vessels "spoken" on their voyage to or from Africa the *Courier* of June 23 referred to the *Eleanor*, Davidson, as 22 days from Charleston to Africa on May 9; July 4, the *Minerva*, Gernon, from Charleston bound for Africa. On Oct. 13 it was observed that the *Alcide* and the *Gold Dust* from Charleston had not yet reached Africa.

[380] [1] *Charleston Courier*, July 10, 1806. This is one of a number of editorials which appeared during 1806, which expressed the growing resentment of Carolina against outside criticism of the traffic in slaves, whether it emanated from northern states or from Maryland, Virginia, or North Carolina. See *ibid.*, Jan. 22, July 12, 1806.

public coffers of the nation ultimately feel its beneficial influence. These considerations led to the decision of the Legislature.

It is not for us now to call in question the morality of the trade, for our readers will recollect that we have uniformly opposed the introduction of so many new negroes, as repugnant to the principles of sound policy, as well as of morality; or, in the emphatic language of our Governor, because, "it increases our weakness, and not our strength". The delegates of the people when sitting in solemn general assembly, deemed it essentially necessary for the interest of the state to permit the importation of slaves from Africa, and those merchants who embark in this trade, do no more than carry the intentions and wishes of the government of their country into operation.

Readers! mark the following paragraph, copied from a Philadelphia paper of June 13. After quoting the paragraph from our paper of the 31st of May last, relative to the pardon of Valentine, under the gallows, for negro stealing, the Editor proceeds—"From the same paper we have selected the following advertisements, offering for sale, publicly, and in the face of day, one thousand seven hundred and eleven human beings, Stolen from Africa, and no effort is made to bring to justice the detestable Thieves who dragged them, by violence, from their native homes!" Then follow the advertisements at full length, of Gibson and Broadfoot, Henry and John Ker, John Watson and Co., Wm. Boyd, John S. Adams, T. W. Rawlinson, etc.

The only truth contained in the Editor's observations is, the number of Slaves offered for sale. The rest is a flourish to catch the feelings of the ignorant, at the expense of truth; and as to the epithet of thieves, which he applies to those who bring Slaves from Africa, we shall presently see whether we cannot apply it to the pure, the immaculate, and demure Philadelphian, and some other of the Northern cities, where they are bellowing out, humanity! humanity! humanity! Oh! the rights of dear insulted human nature!

On the 14th of February last there were at Monteveido, in the River Plate, the following vessels, with Slaves from Mozambique and the Gold Coast.

—— Ship *Juliana*, Nicols of Boston
—— *Pigou*, Collet of Philadelphia
—— *Swift*, Mayberry of Newport
—— *Espasia*, Moore of Philadelphia
—— *Ann*, Donaldson of Newport
—— *John*, Watson of Charleston

Out of six slave ships from the coast:
Two belonged to Philadelphia
One to Boston
Two to Newport
One to Charleston

Of these, the one from Charleston was the only one which was authorized to slave by the laws of his country. Neither Philadelphia, Boston, or Newport, are authorized by the laws of their respective states, to equip vessels for slave voyages—and yet it is a fact known to every citizen of Charleston, that where there is one ship belonging to this port, employed in the slave trade, there are three vessels from the northern states. If villainy is to be attached to the characters of those who engage in this trade, under the sanction of the laws of their country, what epithet shall we apply to those reptiles, who, in defiance of the laws of their state, and in defiance of the opinions of their fellow-citizens, engage in, to them, an unlawful and prohibited commerce? Such fellows would set their country in a blaze for money, and then run away by the light of it.[2] . . .

381. Governor Charles Pinckney to the House of Representatives, 1806.[1]

November 26, 1806.

. . . Again, permit me to solicit your attention to the law authorising the importation of Slaves. Were I to address you, gentlemen, in terms suited to all my feelings on this subject, I might perhaps, be considered as expressing myself in some instances, ungraciously, which far be from me; yet using the latitude, which the constitution allows me, I recommend to you most earnestly, a prohibition of this trade. I mentioned in my communication at your last session, that it was draining our country of specie, and involving us in pecuniary distress: Subsequent experience confirms the truth of

[2] The remainder of the editorial attacks an advertisement for the sale of "a German boy" which appeared in the Philadelphia paper under consideration.

[381] [1] *Charleston Courier*, Dec. 1, 1806. A bill prohibiting the importation of foreign negroes was introduced into the house late in the year 1805. The sentiment of the house was strongly in favor of it but it was lost in the senate on Dec. 14 (*ibid.*, Dec. 9, 16, 18, 19, 1805). The debate in the senate was reported by Edward Hooker, sojourning in Columbia. On Dec. 2 the speakers were Keating Simons, Alston, Miles, Taylor, and John Izard Wright, the first two speaking for prohibition of the traffic. The arguments against it were: the material loss to the state by shutting out the negro, the impossibility of preventing smuggling, and the unfairness to the poor man who had as yet been unable to supply himself with negroes. On the 9th the debate was renewed by Izard, who attempted to prove that the scarcity of specie had no relation to the slave trade but was caused by the premium on the East India trade, which drew specie from South Carolina to England and New England. "Diary of Edward Hooker", Am. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1896, I. 867-870, 873-874, 878-880.

this assertion. The eagerness of purchasers, and the failure of crops generally, throughout the state, are in evidence, also, that this trade is becoming every day, more mischievous. Let us, therefore, remove tem[p]tation from the eyes of our citizens, cease to practice what every other state in the union discountenances; and let us shew our moderation by abstaining, while we may of our own will, from a traffic, which it is the attribute of another power, shortly, to interdict, if that power shall so determine. My own mind tells me that it is for very many reasons, wrong. I believe that the general sentiment of the community, is at this time against it; but you gentlemen, will determine, and I doubt not that your decision will be made on principles, not merely of interest, but also of morality. With our laws, such as they should be, and you can make them, an increase of morals throughout the community, and a genuine attachment to our happy constitution must be produced, and with the means of defence in the hands of every man, and a well regulated military system, firmly relying on him, in whose hands are the destinies of nations, fearing no evil or danger, we can confidently await events.[2]

[2] A bill was brought into the house to prevent the introduction of negro slaves, and was carried in its second reading with but two dissenting votes. In the senate it failed to reach a second reading by a tie vote. *Charleston Courier*, Dec. 16, 17, 24, 1806.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Jan. 7	Jan. 7	*Kitty*		Isles de Los		
" 9		*James*[2]	Prebble	Rio Pongus	80	A. Holmes and Co.
" 28		*Speculation*		Congo		Arrived at Beaufort
" 31	Feb. 2	*Cleopatra*		"	300	Wm. Boyd
Feb. 6	" 9	*Tartar*	Mitchell	Angola	240	William Gray
" 7	" "	*Jane*		Windward Coast	98	Chas. Christian
" 13	" 16	*Aspinal*	Hughes	Congo	300	William Gray or William Timmons
Mar. 12	Mar. 14	*Dudon*	Laughton	Windward Coast		Gibson, Broadfoot, and Co.[3]
Apr. 3	Apr. 3	*Anne*		Bonny	368	Tunno and Cox
" 8	" 9	*Alice*		"	364	Thos. Tunno and J. Price
" 18	" 20	*Gov. Claiborne*	Sherwood	Congo	383	Francis Depau
" 25	" 27	*Neptune*	Hudson	Gold Coast	140	C. Cook
"	" "	*Nancy*[4]	Vial	Windward Coast	73	Phillips and Gardner
May 1	May 2	*Morning Star*		" "		Christian and D'Wolf
" "	" "	*Little Watt*		Gold Coast		" " "
" 2	" 4	*Minerva*[5]	Burt	Congo	125	Francis Depau
" 9	" 11	*Factor*		Gold Coast	85	C. Cook
" 18		*Leander*[6]	Vincent	Gambia		Thos. Vincent
" 20	May 21	*Daphne*	Belcher	Congo	460	Wm. Broadfoot
June 1	June 1	*Africa*		"	280	Wm. Boyd
" 2	" 2	*Eliza*	M'Williams	Windward Coast	70	A. Collins
" 4	" 4	*Lark*	Bradford	Gold Coast	95	Christian and D'Wolf

[382] [1] Lambert gives the importation for the year as 15,676 (*Travels*, II. 165). The importation reported in the *Courier* is as follows:

Mar. 21, 62 Apr. 19, 539 May 23, 535 July 4, 242 Aug. 29, 180 Nov. 28, 120 Dec. 19, 120 (Mozambique)
Mar. 28, 233 Apr. 25, 490 May 30, 380 July 11, 204 Nov. 7, 114 Dec. 5, 1101 Dec. 26, 1583
Apr. 4, 368 May 2, 294 June 5, 249 July 25, 571 Nov. 14, 186 Dec. 12, 1447
Apr. 11, 520 May 16, 110 June 27, 350 Aug. 22, 120 Nov. 21, 98 Dec. 19, 640

[2] On July 6, 1806, the *James* was spoken, then 27 days out from Charleston on her voyage to Africa (*Courier*, Aug. 5, 1806). One cargo of forty slaves, insured for $250 each from St. Thomas to Charleston, never reached that port. On Feb. 23, 1807, the captain of the vessel wrote to Teasdale that he had put in to St. Thomas for water and repairs, that his sloop was wrecked and that the negroes had been placed on the *Charlotte* and sold in Havana, his reason being that freight for Charleston commanded extravagant rates because of the danger from French privateers. The 37 that lived to be sold commanded $4685. Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, II. 289-290.

[3] C. W. Jansen, in *The Stranger in America* (1807, p. 359), gives copies of three advertisements of Gibson and Broadfoot, and William Boyd, the total amounting to 880 negroes.

[4] The *Nancy*, Vial, was noted in the *Courier* of Nov. 10 as having sailed from Senegal for Charleston, her second voyage in 1807. On Nov. 28 it was reported that she had been captured and carried into Tortola. For her case, see this work, III. 394-404.

[5] The *Courier* of Apr. 27 reported that the *Minerva* had lost 120 slaves on her passage.

[6] The *Courier*, Nov. 10, 1806, reported the arrival of the *Leander* in Gambia. She was apparently attempting to bring in one more cargo before the market closed.

[*Negroes imported into South Carolina*—continued:]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
June 6	June 6	*Alfred*		Windward Coast	84	Phillips and Gardner
" 11	" 11	*Hiram*	Hudson	" "	105	Christian and D'Wolf
" 12	" 12	*Concord*	Botsworth	Gold Coast	48	" " "
" 15	" 15	*Eliza*	[Miller ?]	Windward Coast	68	John Duncan
" 18	" 18	*Flora*		" "	80	Christian and D'Wolf
" 24	" 24	*Ann and Harriet*		Angola	145	Phillips and Gardner
" 27	" 27	*Monticello*		Windward Coast		Christian and D'Wolf
July 1	July 1	*Juliet*		Gold Coast		Phillips and Gardner
" "	" "	*Baltimore*		Windward Coast	80	Christian and D'Wolf
" 2	" 2	*Meriam*	Muir?	Angola		Francis Depau
" 8	" 9	*Heroine*	Smith	Windward Coast	204	John S. Adams
" 16	" 16	*Ruby*	Caruth	Congo	350	Wm. Boyd
" 21	" 22	*Betsy and Polly*	Philips	Windward Coast	106	Christian and D'Wolf
" 27	" 27	*Ann*	Hill?	Congo	250	Francis Depau
" 29	" 29	*Armed Neutrality*	Muir?	"	213	Wm. Boyd
Aug. 8	Aug. 10	*James*	White?	Gambia		Tunno and Cox
" 11	" 13	*John*	Quay	Congo		Tunno and Price
" 14	" 21	*Hindustan*	Wm. Corlett			Verree and Blair
" 15	" 15	*Nantasket* }	Boothroyd	Gambia	40	Tunno and Cox
" 17	" 17	" }				
" 31	Sept. 1	*Eagle*	Shearman	Gold Coast	180	Christian and D'Wolf
Sept. 26	" 28	*Port Mary*	Bowers	Congo	320	Wm. Boyd
Oct. 22	Oct. 22	*Flora*				M. Kelly
" 23	" 23	*Mary*	Clark			Phillips and Gardner
" "	" 24	*Eagle*		Gold Coast		" " "
Nov. 10		*Active* [*Actor*?]	Welsh	Windward Coast		Gibson, Broadfoot and Co.
" 11	Nov. 11	*Hannah*	Bailley [Bartlet?]	Senegal		Phillips and Gardner
" 16	" 16	*Mary*		Angola	133	J. Egleston
" 24	" 23	*Edward and Edmund*	Hilton	Windward Coast		John Macnamara
" 28	" 30	*Experiment*	Fisher			Phillips and Gardner
Dec. 2	Dec. 3	*Rambler*		Gold Coast		Christian and D'Wolf [7]
" 14 [8]	" 14	*Mercury* [9]		Angola	133	M. Kelly
" 16	" 16	*Venus*	Preble	Windward Coast		Thos. Vincent
" 24 [10]	" 29	*John*		" "	80	Thos. Tunno

[7] Ten years later trouble arose over the sales of Christian and De Wolf in 1807 or 1808. From a cargo assigned to them by Watson they had sold 14 to Whalley, valued at $8280. Whalley, who later failed in England, apparently never paid for his slaves. Catterall, II. 304.

[8] *Courier*, Dec. 7. The *Hindoston, Commerce, Charlotte,* and *Albert*, all from Africa, were anchored off the bar.

[9] It may have been this *Mercury* whose captain was involved in the complicated transactions described in Catterall, II. 305.

[10] During 1807 fifty-six public auctions were announced in the *Courier*, the largest number named being 100 Congo negroes.

383. Customs Entries, Charleston, 1807.[1]

Vessel's Names	Proprietors	Of what Country
Katy [*Kitty?*], Charleston	T. Cassin	Great Britain
James, B.	A. Holmes	do.
Eliza, Charleston	Christian and D'Wolf	R. I.
Cleopatra, do.	W. Boyd	Great Britain
Union, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Tartar, B.	J. Hambleton	G. Britain
Maria, B.	J. Cooper	do.
James, Baltimore	N. Ingraham	Mass.
Mary, B.	J. S. Adams	R. I.
Aspinal, B.	Hamilton and Co.	G. Brit'n.
James, R. I.	C. Christian	Charleston
Norfolk, Charleston	Cushman	Ireland
Fourth of July, B.	G. Parker	Charleston
Dudder [*Duddon*], B.	Gibson and Broadfoot	G. B.
Habit, F.	Delan and Co.	France
Agent, R. I.	T. Eddy	R. I.
Eliza, Charleston	T. Ogin	Great Britain
Ann, B.	Tunno and Cox	do.
Ellis, B.	James and Price	do.
Andromache, R. I.	Drown	R. I.
Gov. Clairborn, R. I.	T. Depau	France
Hiram, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Semiramis, R. I.	do.	do.
Neptune, R. I.	C. Cook	do.
Nancy, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	do.
Minerva, Charleston	T. Depau	France
Columbia, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Factor, R. I.	C. Cook	do.
Lavinia, R. I.	Christian and D'Wolf	do.
Leander, Charleston	T. Vincent	do.
Daphney, do.	W. Broadfoot	G. Britain
Vulture, R. I.	Christian and D'Wolf	R. I.
Africa, B.	W. Boyd	Great Britain
Three Friends, B.	J. Calligan	do.
Eliza, R. I.	J. Christian and D'Wolf	R. I.
Lark, R. I.	W. Bradford	do.
Alfred, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	do.
Louisa, Charleston	J. Duncan	Great Britain
Hiram, R. I.	Norris	R. I.
Concord, do.	Christian and D'Wolf	R. I.
Friendship, do.	Phillips and Gardner	do.
Flora, do.	D'Wolf	do.
Ann and Harriot, do.	Phillips and Gardner	do.
Monticello, do.	D'Wolf	do.
Amazon, B.	Bennet	Great Britain
Baltimore, R. I.	Church	R. I.
Juliet, "	Phillips and Gardner	do.
Miriam, B.	Depau	France
Heron, Connecticut	C. Fitzimons	Ireland
Ruby, Charleston	W. Boyd	Great Britain
Three Sisters, R. I.	D'Wolf	R. I.
Betsey and Sally, do.	do.	do.

[383] [1] *Annals*, 16 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 75-76. The dates in the statement are omitted.

[*Customs Entries, Charleston*—continued:]

Vessel's Names	Proprietors	Of what Country
Armed Neutrality, Charl'n	Boyd	Britain
Anna, do.	Depau	France
John, B. do.	Tunno and Price	Britain
Nantasket, do.	Bousroyd [Boothroyd?]	do.
George Clinton, Britain	Delai and Clement	France
Eagle, R. I.	D'Wolf	R. I.
Port Mary, Charleston	W. Boyd	Britain
Eliza, do.	Christy	Charleston
Mary, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Eagle, R. I.	do.	do.
Actor, Charleston	P. Kennedy	Ireland
Hanna Bartlet, do.	Phillips and Gardner	R. I.
Mary, do.	J. Eglistin	R. I.
Edward and Edmund,[2] "	Hilton	R. I.
Charleston, "	Bailey and Wailer	Britain
Experience, Boston	Fisher	R. I.
Rambler, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	"
Eliza, B.	J. B. Cotton	"
Cleopatra, Charleston	W. Hoyd [Boyd?]	Britain
Hope, R. I.	D'Wolf	R. I.
Charlotte, "	"	"
Albert, Charleston	W. Timmon	S. Carolina
Commerce,[3] R. I.	W. Lyon	R. I.
Hope, Charleston	N. Ingram	Massachusetts
Wealthy Ann, "	D'Wolf	R. I.
Columbia, R. I.	Phillips and Gardner	"
Agenora [*Angenoria?*], R. I.	D'Wolf	"
Mercury, B.	M. Kelly	Ireland
Venus, Charleston	Preble	R. I.
Agent, "	Depau	French
General Claiborne, "	"	"
James, R. I.	D'Wolf	R. I.
Resolution, Charleston	J. S. Adams	Britain
William and Mary, "	H. Kerr	"
Caroline, F.	Synagal	French
Polly, Charleston	J. Stoney	Charleston
Jupiter, Norfolk	J. Willick	Britain
Heart of Oak,[4] Baltimore	J. S. Adams	R. I.
Horizon, B.	" " "	"
Mary Ann, Charleston	S. Miller	"
Mary Ann, Baltimore	Dallas	
Rio, Charleston	O'Harra	Charleston
Sally, B.	C. Graves	"

[2] Swann gives the *Mary* and the *Edward and Edmund* as Rhode Island vessels.

[3] This vessel sailed again for Africa on June 16, 1807, directed not to remain on the coast longer than four months. On Sept. 5 the captain wrote that his goods were unsaleable and that there were no less than 300 sail on the coast. He touched at Senegal and Goree, then traded in the Gambia, where he lost part of his crew and purchased but 86 slaves. Too late to reach the Carolina market, he proceeded to Matanzas. There his vessel was grounded and lost. Catterall, II. 302-303.

[4] "Sierra Leone. Octr. 15th 1807. Deposited in my hands a Native Slave Girl Nam'd Nancy by Captn. Lazarous Lovel for Captn. Pyke which I promise to deliver to Captn. Pyke or order (accidents excepted) on Demand. MALCOLM BRODIE." Pike was captain of the *Heart of Oak*, Lovel was doubtless the captain sent from Salem to the Isles de Los and to Sierra Leone in January, 1806, with instructions not to trade in slaves. Essex Institute, MSS., Slave Trade in Salem.

[*Summary of Entries, 1804-1807.*]

Vessels belonging to[5]

Charleston	Rhode Island	Baltimore	Boston	Norfolk	Connecticut	Swede	British	French	Consignees, Natives of Charleston	Consignees, Natives of Rhode Island	Consignees, Natives of Britain	Consignees, Natives of France	Total
61	59	4	1	2	1	1	70	3	13	88	91	10	202

Slaves imported at Charleston, from Jan. 1, 1804, to Dec. 31, 1807, and by what nation.

British		19,949	
French		1,078	21,027
In American Vessels.			
Charl[e]ston, South Carolina		7723	
Of this number there were, belonging to foreigners		5717-	5717
Leaving, imported by merchants and planters of Charleston and vicinity		2006	
			26,744
Bristol, Rhode Island	3,914		
Newport, "	3,488	7958	
Providence, "	556		
Baltimore		750	
Savannah		300	
Norfolk		287	
Warren		280	
Hartford		250	
Boston		200	
Philadelphia		200	
New Orleans		100	
			[12,231]
			39,075[6]

[5] The vessels of Charleston, from Charleston, or bound to Charleston which were spoken or reported during 1807 and which do not appear in these lists are:

Jan. 10, *Alcade*, Bixby
" 28, *Juno*, Fisher, Angola
Feb. 2, *Lydia*, Brown, Rio Pongo
" 9, *Washington*
Mar. 26, *Three Brothers*, Slocum
" 28, *Emily*
June 1, *Eleanor*
" 11, *General Eaton*, Edes
" 29, *Belvidere*
July 15, *Warren*, Lindsay, Cape Mount
Aug. 17, *Paul Hamilton*, Bixby
" 28, *Farnham*, Burgess
" 31, *Peter*, Milbury
Sept. 14, *Dolphin*
Young Adam, Haviland (These two carried negroes from Mozambique)
Oct. 10, *Croyden*, Williams
Nov. 2, *Eleanor*, Magrath, Rio Pongo
" 10, *Dispatch*, Brown, Gambia
" 12, *Emely*, Brooks
" " *Eleanor*, Vial
Dec. 1, *Susan*, Blanck
" 10, *William*, Cummings
" 11, *Fair American*, Trask
" " *America*, Windsor
" " *Constance*, Squires
" 21, *Fabian*, Burges
" " *Ranger*, Taylor.

[6] "Here, sir, ends the black catalogue. It would show to the Senate, that those people who most deprecate the evils of slavery and traffic in human flesh, when a profitable market can be found, can sell human flesh with as easy a conscience as they sell other articles. The whole number imported by the merchants and planters of Charleston and its vicinity were only two thousand and six. Nor were the slaves imported by the foreigners, and other American vessels and owners, sold to the Carolinians, only in a small part. They were sold to the people of the Western States, Georgia, New Orleans, and a considerable quantity were sent to the West Indies, especially when the market became dull in Carolina" (*Annals*, 16 Cong., 2 sess., p. 73). Lambert's total is 39,310.

384. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1807.[1]

January 6, 1807.

For Sale, Upon accommodating terms, 2 bales blue Gilla Handkerchiefs, 3 do. blue India Checks, 2 do. Luckapore Baftas, Subject to debenture, and suitable for the African Market, also, 1 bale of Ticklenbergs. Apply to A. K. Smedes, at Mrs. Kerr's, Broad street.

February 2, 1807.

Received, per Ship *Pactolus,* Capt. Beckford, from Salem. The following India Goods, Suitable for the African Market, entitled to debenture, *viz.* 60 bales Blue Guineas, (or Salempores) 8 and 9 kall, 4 ditto Ditto Moories, 12 Kall; 3 ditto Handkerchiefs, 1 ditto Ditto Sukertoons, 1 ditto White Ditto.

50 Hhds. and Pipes Cuba Rum, Fit for the African Market, for sale low, by Bills on Boston.

January 31. James Christie.

West-India Rum, Suitable for the African Market, received by the schooner *Centurion,* and for sale a bargain, if taken from the Wharf. 50 puncheons strong proof St. Vincents' Rum. Cohen and Moses.

February 25.

April 8, 1807.[2]

A Jury of Inquest was held on Monday last, on the body of a Negro Man, found floating by Benjamin Johnson's new wharf; supposed to be an African, and thrown overboard from some slave ship in the harbour, to save the expense of burial. The jury brought in a verdict, that he came to his death by the visitation of God.

A Jury of Inquest was held yesterday, on the body of an African

[384] [1] *Charleston Courier,* Jan. 6, 15, Feb. 2, 26, Mar. 5, Apr. 8, 21, 22, June 1, July 23, Dec. 9, 1807. Slavers offered for sale during 1807: Feb. 23, *Rio,* 170 tons, to be sold at Savannah; May 18, *Leander,* capacity, 250 slaves; June 29, schooner *Eliza,* 95 tons; June 30, *Amazon,* 153 tons, with or without her African materials; July 8, *Heroine,* 201 tons, "with all materials complete for that trade", also *James, Speculation, Nancy, Three Friends, Concord, John, Hiram.* An "African boiler", water casks, handcuffs, a "complete Platform carrying negroes, suitable for a vessel of about 100 tons", and prime Georgia tobacco for the African market were all offered for sale during the year. On June 29 Nathan Bixby advertised for a cooper for Africa.

[2] One peculiarly revolting accompaniment of the importation of these years is suggested by a city ordinance which appeared in the *Courier* of Nov. 22, 1805: "Whereas since the importation of Slaves from Africa, several incidents have occured of dead human bodies having been thrown into the waters of the Harbour of Charleston; and whereas such practices are extremely disgraceful, and ought to be prevented by their severest penalties that can be inflicted by the City Council", a fine of $100 was imposed on any person throwing a dead body into any of the rivers of the harbor. See also *Courier,* Aug. 24, 1807.

Negro, found floating in Pritchard's dock. It appeared to be one thrown overboard from one of the slave ships from Africa, now in the harbour. A practice too prevalent among the captains, and disgraceful to humanity. The jury brought in a verdict, that he came to his death by the visitation of God.

April 21, 1807.

A Jury of Inquest was held on Sunday afternoon, on the body of an African negro woman, found floating near the Market dock—it appeared to the jurors, from its having on the usual dress, of a blue flannel frock, to have belonged to one of the slave ships in the harbour, and thrown into the river, to save the expense of burial; a custom too prevalent in this port with the officers of slave ships, and in itself shocking to humanity. The jury brought in a verdict, that she came to her death by the visitation of God. And the coroner begs leave to remind the seamen and petty officers of those ships, that the City Council have passed an Ordinance, prohibiting so inhuman and brutal a custom, and have offered a reward of One Hundred Dollars, to any person or persons, who will give information, so that the offender or offenders, may be prosecuted to conviction, and their names exposed to the good citizens of this state. The Coroner has received information that there are at this time, the bodies of three or more of these poor wretches floating about Hog-Island, and the marshes opposite the city—the effluvia arrising from which, must be very prejudicial to the health of passengers in boats, passing and repassing them daily.

April 22, 1807.

A Jury of Inquest was held yesterday, on the body of an African Negro woman, found floating at Craft's north wharf. The jury brought in a verdict, that she came to her death by the visitation of God—and supposed her to belong to some of the slave ships in this harbour, and thrown into the river, to save expense of burial.

385. Case of the *Cleopatra*, 1807.[1]

January 16, 1807.

We are informed that the crew of the ship *Cleopatra,* Captain Butman, which arrived in this port on Sunday last from the River Congo, have made oath before James Bentham, Esq. of the barbarous and inhuman treatment which they received during their voyage, from Captain Butman and Mr. Lawson, the supercargo. It appears from their evidence, that three seamen were killed on the passage, and that those who have returned are much maimed from their ill-

[385] [1] *Charleston Courier,* Jan. 16, 17, May 29, 1807.

treatment, and that some of them have been burnt in the face with firebrands, and others were beat with hammers: one man had his arm twisted round nearly out of its socket, another was torn by the dogs, which were purposely set upon him. Thirteen of these unfortunate men have been carried to the Marine Hospital, two of whom it is supposed will die—and another is to have his arm amputated. The seamen are foreigners. Captain Butman and Mr. Lawson, are both commited to goal. We feel it to be our duty, as faithful journalist, to lay these circumstances before our readers; we hope for the honor of human nature, that the account will prove to be in some degree exaggerated.

January 17, 1807.

In addition to the statement which we published yesterday, of the cruelties committed upon the crew of the ship *Cleopatra,* we have now to inform our readers, that Daniel Saunders, the boatswain, was yesterday morning committed to goal, upon the affadavit of the Surgeon's Mate, charging him of having killed one of the seamen by the name of Anderson, and that two men have died in the Marine Hospital of the wounds they received on the passage. The Juries of Inquest brought in the following verdicts:

A Jury of Inquest was held on Thursday last, in the Marine Hospital, on the body of Oluff Groning, a native of Sweden, and a mariner of the ship *Cleopatra,* capt. John Butman and R. V. Lawson supercargo, from Africa, with slaves. The Jury brought in the verdict as follows, That said deceased (Oluff Groning) came to his death by cruel and ill-treatment from the said Captain and R. V. Lawson, the supercargo, by severe beatings, and particularly Mr. Lawson—stabbing him under the left arm with the Tormentors, or Cook's Fork; it having entered the thorax, by which he languished and died; there being also the marks of eight blows inflicted on his arms, hand and foot, said to have been received from said Lawson with a billet of fire-wood and the pump-bolt, on board said vessel.

A Jury of Inquest was held yesterday morning on the body of Daniel Meyer, a native of Denmark, and a mariner of the ship *Cleopatra.* The Jury brought in the verdict—That said deceased came to his death by the cruel and ill treatment, wounds and bruises, particularly by the Captain's twisting and bruising his right arm, from which a mortification took place; and a number of bruises on his arms and legs, which deprived him of the use of them—inflicted by Mr. Lawson and the Captain jointly, on board; of which he died in the Marine Hospital on Thursday evening.

May 29, 1807.

We stated in our paper of the 16th January, that the crew of the ship *Cleopatra,* which had just arrived from Africa, had made affidavits before James Bentham, esq. that, in consequence of the cruelties exercised upon them by capt. Butman, the master, and Mr. Lawson, the supercargo of that ship, three men had died on board,

and that the rest were miserably bruised and maimed: we at the same time expressed our hopes that these accounts, given by the seamen, were exaggerated. The trial of Capt. Butman and Mr. Lawson came on in the Circuit Court on Monday last, before their Honours Judges Johnson and Bee, upon three indictments for murder, and several for assault; when it was satisfactorily proved to the Jury, that they were not only innocent of the crime of murder, but that the assaults, to which they pleaded guilty, were, in some measure, rendered necessary by the state of the slaves; That coersive measures were necessarily resorted to, to compel the seamen to do their duty, and that the wounds and bruises which they said had been inflicted on them by their officers, were the effect of disease. They consequently were acquitted. We understand that three of the crew, who were witnesses on the part of the prosecution, have been committed for trial, by the Court, for unlawful conduct during the prosecution.

386. Accounts of the *Mary*, 1807.[1]

Sales of 5 African Negroes received pr Ship "Mary", Joseph Wood Master on acc. and risk Dean Deblois and Martin

		To whom sold	Men	Women	Boys	Girls		
1807								
Nov	21	Durand			1	1	at 250	500
dec	2d	Joseph Pritchard	1		1		100 and 150	250
"	"	Death	1					00
			2		2	1		750
		Charges						
dec	3d	To 5 [*torn*] Cloths at 3					$15	
		" 3 Blankets 2/2					12. 50	
		Commissions on 750 at 5 pc					37. 50	65.00
		Nett proceeds Dollars						685

E E Charleston 3d dec 1807

387. News from the African Coast, 1807.

Report of capt. Street.[1]

December 10, 1807.

Nov. 6, spoke brig *Norfolk,* Marsden, 20 days from Gambia, with 130 slaves, bound for Charleston, in lat. 13, 30. long. 45.

November 11th, was boarded by his B. M. brig *Hercule,* capt.

[386] [1] N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box IV.
[387] [1] *Charleston Courier,* Dec. 10, 1807.

Smith, bound for Barbadoes; treated politely; at 19. 20. long. 52.

List of vessels left at Rio Pongus:

Ship *Eleanor,* M'Grath, to sail for this port 20th Oct.
Ship *Fourth of July,* Brown, uncertain
Ship *Heart of Oak,* ——, unknown
Ship *Tartar,* Taylor, uncertain
Brig *Jupiter,* Beaton, 20th Oct.
Schooner *Tryal,* ——, 20th do.
Schooner *Mary Ann,* Miller, ready for sea
Schooner *Kitty,* M'Cawley, 20th Oct.
Brig *Little Watt,* Clark, Rhode Island, just arrived

Coming over the bar, saw a brig standing in, supposed to be the *Washington,* Grant, from Gambia.

Brig *Sally,* Shearman, was in Rio Noonas; to leave the Coast 1st Nov.

Brig *Venus,* Preble, was to leeward.

Schooner *Aurora,* captain and mate both dead, was to leeward.

Brig *Polly,* Hubbell, of Charleston, from Marseilles, said to be bound to Cape Mount, has arrived at Isle de Los.

The ship *Betsy and Polly,* capt. Bradley, was stranded on the 4th October, near Dr. Butterford's Factory—the ship was taken by the counter tide, when dropping down the river, with boats towing of her, and went upon the rocks; every effort was made to get the ship off before the tide fell, but without effect; when the flood tide made the ship was got off the rocks, but found to be so much injured in her bottom and keel, that there was not a doubt but she would be condemned—the ship had upwards of 300 slaves on board; all saved.

Every vessel in the Rio Pongus is much in want of rice for their slaves and not a ton to be got there. There was no doubt but the greater part would have to go to the Leeward to procure rice, which was very scarce there.

English ship *Hind,* M'Bride, had been laying ten months in the river. Her Doctor, Sailing Master Mate, Second Mate and Boatswain, had attempted to kill the captain, and go off with the ship, but were detected, by the Doctor's confessing every thing, and all were confined in irons. The *Hind* had buried about 70 slaves.

The English brig *Byam,* Williams, had been eight months in the river—most of her people runaway.

[*Reports of other Captains.*][2]

December 18, 1807.

Capt Martin left at Goree, a brig belonging to this port, from Gambia, and schooner ——, Dolles, of this port. . . .

[2] *Charleston Courier,* Dec. 18, 1807.

Capt. Shearman left at Congo, ships *Daphne*, Caruth; and *Africa*, Connelly, for this port. Ship *William and Mary*, Lawson, sailed a few days before the *Governour Claiborne*, for this port. . . .

Accounts from Antigua state, that five Guineamen have been captured by the French Privateers, and sent into Guadaloupe.

Brig *Rio*, Cox, from Cabenda, for this port, with 220 slaves, was to sail 2d ult.

British Vessels left in Congo River, Oct. 14:

Ship *Croydon*, of London, 300 slaves
Ship *Nicholson*, of Liverpool, no slaves
Ship *Mary-Ann*, of do. do.
Ship *Margaret*, of do. do.
Ship 2d *Margaret*, of do. do.
Ship *Hart*, of do. 100 slaves
Ship *George*, of do. 90 slaves

388. Case of the *Amedie*, 1807.[1]

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

The *Amedie*, James Johnson, late Master, Martin Robin, formerly Master.

James Johnson, the Master and Claimant of the Ship and Cargo, consisting of 103 African Slaves, as the sole Property of Samuel Grove, a Citizen of the United States of America — Appellant.

against

James Bennett, Esq. Commander of his Majesty's Ship *Swinger*, the Captor, and Charles Bishop, Esq. His Majesty's Procurator-General — Respondents.

(An Appeal from Tortola.)

Appellant's Case.

This is an American Ship, the sole Property of Samuel Grove, of Charleston, Merchant, a Citizen of the United States of America, by whom she was laden at Charleston, with a Cargo of Dry Goods, and

[388] [1] Vice admiralty briefs in the possession of the Marine Research Society. For the privilege of examining these records and of printing large parts of them the editor is indebted to the great generosity of Mr. George Francis Dow of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. The cases included in this volume are placed by date of the capture of the vessel, not by date of trial or decision.

other Merchandize, also his sole Property, destined to Bonny, on the Coast of Africa, to bring back a Cargo of Slaves, with Directions to the Master, should any Occurrence render it impossible for him to return to Charleston before the 1st of January, 1808, (after which Period the Importation of Slaves into America was prohibited by a Law of the United States), then to proceed to the Port of Matanzas, in the Island of Cuba, where he would receive Instructions to regulate his future Proceedings.

The Vessel arrived at Bonny on or about the 1st October, 1807, where the Cargo was sold, and the Proceeds invested in the Purchase of Slaves for the same Proprietor, with which the Vessel sailed from Bonny, on the 1st November, 1807, destined to Charleston; but the Master, finding he could not possibly reach Charleston before the 1st January, 1808, altered the Course for Matanzas, and, on or about the 20th December, 1807, the Vessel was captured near St. Thomas, by his Majesty's Brig *Swinger,* James Bennett, Esq. Commander, and carried to Tortola, and in the Vice-Admiralty Court there Proceedings were instituted against the Ship and Cargo as Prize.

On the 15th January, 1808, a Claim was given by James Johnson, the Master, for the Ship and Cargo, consisting of 103 African Slaves, as the Property of the said Samuel Grove.

On the 10th February, the Judge pronounced the Ship and Cargo of Slaves to be liable to confiscation, and condemned the Ship as Prize to the Captor, and the Slaves as Prize to the sole Use of His Majesty; and directed 1000 Dollars to be paid out of the Proceeds to the said Master, in lieu of his Privilege and Interest in the said Cargo.

From this Condemnation an Appeal has been duly made by the said Master and Claimant; and an Appearance having been given for the Respondent and the usual Proceedings had, the Cause has been assigned for Sentence.

Preparatory Examinations.

James Johnson, the Master, says, to the 1st Interrogatory, He is a Citizen of the United States.[2]

3. That the Capture was made about sixty Miles to the Southward and Westward of St. Thomas, on the 21st or 22d Day of this present Month; he believes that the Reason of the Capture was owing to the Vessel's being bound to Matanzas, in the Island of Cuba.

4. That he appointed himself to the Command of the Vessel, in Consequence of the Death of Martin Robin, the former Master,

[2] The marginal notes have been omitted throughout this brief. The preliminary examinations took place Dec. 28-30, 1807. Johnson was born in New York but for the past seven years had lived in Charleston.

who died some Days after the Departure of the Vessel from Bonny, on the Coast of Africa; the late Master was appointed by Samuel Groves; took Possession of her in Charleston.[3]

7. That the present Voyage is the only Voyage that the Deponent has been in the Vessel; it was from Charlston to Bonny, on the Coast of Africa; it is a Settlement exclusively the Property of the Natives, and the Deponent did not see nor does he believe that there are any Whites settled there; her last Voyage began at Charleston, in South Carolina, bound to Bonny; at which Port she took on board her present Lading, with which she was proceeding to Matanzas, at which Place he expected to receive Orders from Mr. Samuel Groves respecting the Disposal of the Cargo; when the Vessel left Bonny it was the Intention of the former Master to proceed to Charleston, provided he could have reached there by the 1st Day of the ensuing Month; and it was Deponent's Intention, after the Death of Captain Robin, to get there if possible by the Time before mentioned, but, on the 22d of the present Month (as near as he can recollect), finding that he could not possibly reach Charleston by the 1st of January next, he determined to proceed to Matanzas as before mentioned; he therefore cannot say where the Voyage would have ended.

8. That her Lading consists of 103 Slaves; they were taken on board at the Port of Bonny, between the 12th Day of September, and the 1st Day of November last past.

9. That Samuel Groves was the Owner of the Vessel, which he knows from his having cleared the Vessel out of the Custom-House, at Charleston, in that Quality.

12. That Martin Robin was the Lader of the present Cargo; Samuel Groves was the Owner thereof, and in Case the said Vessel had gone to Charleston, it would have been consigned to him, but at present he does not know who would have been the Consignee, as he does not know to what Port she would have been ordered to dispose of the Cargo; Mr. Groves is a Native of America, as Deponent believes; he lives in Charleston, and carries on Business there as a Merchant; he does not know how long he has resided there, or where he resided before; he does not know at what Port the present Lading would have been delivered at, in consequence of the Vessel being bound to Matanzas, at which Place he expected to find Orders respecting the Vessel and Cargo, and in Case he had not found Orders there on his Arrival, he would have waited for them; Deponent intended to do so, in consequence of Instructions given to the former Master, and which are now in the Possession of the Captors; he does take upon himself to swear, that he believes that at

[3] The vessel, with a burden of 111 tons, was navigated by eleven seamen at the time of her capture. Seven of these were natives of New Orleans. Two seamen, in addition to the master, had died on the voyage.

the Time of Lading the present Cargo, now, and if it shall be restored and unladen at the destined Port, it did, does, and will belong to Samuel Groves before named, and to no other Person; he knows it from his having shipped the outward Cargo, of which the present one is the Return; Captain Robin had a small Boy, besides his wearing Apparel, 18 Doubloons, and a Watch, the Doubloons are in Deponent's possession.

13. That there was no Bill of Lading.

15. That there was no Charter-Party for the Voyage.

20. That in Case the Vessel had arrived at her destined Port, and the Cargo had been there unladen, it would have remained the Property of Samuel Groves, until sold at Matanzas, or at what Port it would have been sold.

29. That the Vessel was steering toward Matanzas when captured; her Course was altered in order to speak the Brig by which she was taken, but not otherwise; her Course was at all Times directed towards the Port of Charleston, to which Place she was destined, to the best of Deponent's Knowledge and Ability, until the 22d Day of the present Month, or thereabouts, when Deponent found that he was not likely to reach Charleston by the 1st Day of the ensuing Month, when he bore up for the Port of Matanzas, agreeably to the Instructions he found on board at the Death of Captain Robin, the former Master.

31. That there are no Guns mounted; there are five or six Muskets, two Blunderbusses, and eight Cutlasses, a Keg of Gunpowder, and some small Shot on board; she was thus armed to keep the Slaves in subjection.[4]

32. That he has declared the Whole of what he knows and believes, according to the best of his Knowledge and Belief, regarding the real and true Property and Destination of the Vessel and her Cargo at the Time of Capture.

33. That the Brig has not sailed under Convoy of any Ship of War or other armed Vessel.

34. That the Brig has not sailed to, or attempted to enter, any blockaded Port.

Joseph Carriere, the Mate,[5] says to the fourth Interrogatory, That the late Master was named Martin Robin; he was appointed to the Command by Samuel Groves, of Charleston, the Owner of the said Brig; that the said Master took Possession of her at Charleston, about five Months ago, and Possession was delivered to him by the said Owner.

[4] This was the usual equipment of the slavers taken as prizes.

[5] The mate was to have received $1000 for his voyage from Charleston to Africa and return.

7. That she sailed from Charleston some Time in the Beginning of August, last, laden with a Cargo of Dry Goods, Invoice at about 12000 Dollars, including all Charges, cleared out for and bound to Bonny, on the Coast of Africa, as her Place of Trade; that she sailed in Company with the Ship *Semiramis,* of Charleston, Collins, Master, and belonging to the same Owner that the present Vessel does; that both Vessels arrived at Bonny about the 1st Day of October following; that a Captain Joseph Scott, who went out from Charleston in the said Ship *Semiramis* to Bonny, acted as the Supercargo of both Vessels, appointed by the Owner; that the said Joseph Scott, upon her Arrival at Bonny, sold the Cargoes of both Vessels, and invested the Proceeds in the Purchase of Slaves; that 110 were purchased as the Cargo of the said Brig, and as the Returns of her outward Cargo; that at Bonny one died, and another was drowned; that they sailed from thence on the 1st Day of November last, with 108 Slaves on board; that five of them died on the Voyage, and one since the Capture; that the Master, Martin Robin, he believes died on the 5th Day after their leaving Bonny; that the said Voyage began at Charleston, and was to have ended there, upon the Return of the said Brig; that the late Master had in his Letter of Instructions from the Owner, that if he could not reach Charleston by the last Day of December, he was to put into Matanzas, in the Island of Cuba, there to meet his further Instructions upon which he was to be guided; that the present is the only Voyage he has been upon in the said Vessel.

8. That two Bales of Dry Goods, Part of her outward Lading, still remain on board, which was not disposed of.

9. That Samuel Grove is the sole Owner of the said Brig; he knows him to be so from his giving Directions concerning her at Charleston, when she was there.

12. That Joseph Scott, above-named, the Supercargo of both Vessels, was the Lader of the said Slaves; that he is an Englishman by Birth, and resides in some Port of Great Britain; that he came out to Charleston, where Mr. Grove offered him the Appointment of Supercargo of the said two Vessels, and he accepted it; that the said Grove is the Owner and Consignee of the said Slaves, but he does not know where they were to be delivered, as the Letter of Instructions to the late Master directed, that in Case he could not reach Charleston by the last day of December, he was to proceed to Matanzas, in the Island of Cuba, there to find further Instructions, by which he was to act; that the said Cargo is on the real Account, Risk, and Benefit, of the said Samuel Grove; that Scott, the Lader, has no Interest in the same beyond the Commission he was to derive thereon to his Knowledge; that both Vessels sailed from Bonny together, under

the same Instructions; that they parted Company of a dark Night, about ten Days after sailing, and never saw each other again; that he does take upon himself to swear, that he believes that at the Time of the Lading the said Cargo of Slaves, now, and if it shall be restored and unladen at Charleston, or any other Port, it did, does, and will belong to the said Samuel Grove, and to none other; that he believes it was the Determination of the present Master to proceed to Matanzas, according to his Instructions, as the Time was growing short, and as he was limited, not to proceed on for Charleston, unless he could make that Port before the last Day of December; that if he arrived after that Day, the Vessel and Cargo, according to a late Law of the United States, would be liable to Confiscation; that he believes the said Grove to be sole Owner of the said Cargo, as he was the Owner and Shipper of the outward Cargo, and the present is in Return for the same, to the best of his Knowledge.

20. That in Case the said Brig had arrived at her destined Port of Charleston, or any other Port, and the Cargo had been there unladen, it would have remained the Property of the said Samuel Grove, until sold; that he was to have taken the Chance of the Market of any Place the said Brig might have gone to, to effect a Sale of the said Slaves.

29. That the Brig was steering due West when she was pursued and taken, with the Wind about East-North-East; that their Course was direct for the West Indies, for the first Land they could make, in order to take their Departure from thence for Matanzas, to meet the Owner's Instructions; her Course was not altered upon the Appearance of the Man of War; that when they sailed from Bonny their Course was directed for Charleston, but as the Time grew short it was altered for Matanzas, according to the Instructions of the Owner before named; that it was about the 15th Day of December they altered their Course for Matanzas, in Consequence of seeing by the Latitude the Distance they had to run, and thinking it impossible to reach Charleston before the last Day of December, the Time they were limited to arrive there.

Rena Jena, a Seaman, says to the 9th Interrogatory, that Mr. De Poe was the Owner of the Vessel at the Time of Capture; he does not know his Christian Name; he knows it from having heard Captain Robin, her former Master, say so; he does not know, but believes that Mr. De Poe is an American by Birth, and he believes it from having heard her late Master say so; he lives in Charleston; he does [not] know if he is married; he does not know how long he has lived there, or where he lived before; he is a Citizen of America.

12. That Captain Robin, the late Master of the Vessel, was the Lader of the present Cargo; Mr. De Poe is the Owner thereof; he

does not know to whom it was consigned; Mr. De Poe is an American by Birth; he lives in Charleston, and carries on Business there as a Merchant; he does not know how long he has lived there, or where he lived before; the present Cargo was to have been delivered at Charleston, upon the real Account, Risk, and Benefit of Mr. De Poe before named; he does take upon himself to swear, that he believes that, at the Time of the Lading the present Cargo, now, and if it shall be restored and unladen at Charleston, the Port of Destination, it did, does, and will belong to Mr. De Poe, and to no other Person or Persons; he grounds his Knowledge thereof from having heard Captain Robin, her former Master say so.

29. That he believes the Vessel was steering for Charleston at the Time of Capture; her Course was not altered upon the Appearance of the Vessel by which she was taken.

Thomas Seaborn, a Mariner, says, to the 9th Interrogatory, That he believes Mr. Groves (does not know his Christian Name) to be the sole Owner of the Brig; he believes so from his shipping and employing Deponent; does not know what Countryman he is by Birth, but he resides and does Business as a Merchant at Charleston.

12. That he believes the former Master, Martin Robin, was the Lader of the said Cargo, and he also believes that Mr. Groves is the Owner and Consignee of the same, and that the Slaves were to be delivered to him at Charleston, on his real Account, Risk, and Benefit; he does not know if the said Lader had any Interest in the said Slaves; that he does take upon himself to swear, that he believes that, at the Time of the lading the said Cargo, now, and if it shall be restored and unladen at the destined Port of Charleston, it did, does, and will belong to the said Mr. Groves, and to none other; that he founds his Knowledge from his being the Shipper and Owner of the outward Cargo, and he believes the present is in return for the same.[6]

. . . . . .

On the Part of the Claimant and Appellant, it is humbly hoped that the Condemnation appealed from will be reversed, and the Ship and Cargo, or the Value thereof, decreed to be restored as claimed, for the following, among other

REASONS,

Because the said Ship and Cargo clearly appear to belong to the American Citizen for whom they are claimed.

Saturday the 28th July 1810,[7] R. DALLAS,
J. H. ARNOLD.

[6] Here follows a list of the Ship Papers, with a summary of a few of them.

[7] The date, the names, and the decisions are added with a pen.

Present
Sir Wm. Grant Knt. Master of the Rolls
Sir Wm. Wynne Knt.
Sir John Nicholl Knt.

Amedie — I. Johnson Wr / Bishop — For Judgment

Townley

The Lords pronounced against the appeal affirmed the Sentance appealed from and remitted the Cause.

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

Amedie, James Johnson, Master.

James Johnson, the Master, Claimant of the Ship and Cargo, consisting of 103 Slaves, as the Property of Samuel Groves, described a Citizen of the United States, — Appellant,

James Bennett, Esq. Commander of His Majesty's Ship *Swinger*, the Captor, and His Majesty's Procurator-General, — Respondents.

Appeal from Tortola.
Respondents' Case.

This Vessel, under American Colours, sailed from Charleston for Bonny, a Settlement on the Coast of Africa, with a Cargo of Dry Goods, Rum, and Gunpowder, which Cargo was bartered there for 103 Slaves, with which the Vessel was proceeding to Matanzas in the Island of Cuba, when she was captured on the 22d December, 1807, by His Majesty's Brig *Swinger,* James Bennett, Esq. Commander, and carried to Tortola, where the usual Proceedings were instituted against the Vessel and Slaves as Prize.

A Claim of James Johnson, the Master, was given for the Vessel and Cargo, as the Property of Samuel Groves, described a Citizen of the United States of America.[8]

The Cause came on for Hearing, when the Judge having heard Counsel on both Sides, assigned the Cause for Sentence whensoever.

The Judge assigned his Reasons, and pronounced the Ship and Cargo of Slaves, Natives of Africa, to have belonged, at the Time of the Capture, to Enemies of Great Britain, and condemned the

[8] The claim was presented Jan. 15, 1808, the hearing was Feb. 8, the pronouncement of the judge Feb. 10.

Ship as Prize to the Captors, and the Slaves to the sole Use of His Majesty; and directed 1000 Dollars to be paid out of the Proceeds to the Master, in lieu of his Privilege and Interest in the Cargo.

From this Sentence the Claimant appealed, and the Evidence in the Cause is as follows:[9]

The Appeal having been proceeded in now comes for Hearing; and it is humbly hoped, on the Part of the Respondents, that your Lordships will be pleased to pronounce against the Appeal, and affirm the Sentence appealed from, with Costs, for the following, among other

REASONS.

1st. Because the Ship was proceeding from Africa, with a Cargo there laden, to Matanzas in the Island of Cuba, being a Port of a Colony then belonging to His Majesty's Enemies, contrary to the Prohibitions of the Order of His Majesty in Council of the 11th Day of November, 1807.

2d. Because the Voyage was contrary to the prohibitory Laws of the United States of America, made for abolishing the Slave Trade, which have been officially notified to your Lordships by the Act of the American Government, in the Case of the *Chance,* Brown Master; and although such Laws of a Foreign State may not amount to a direct or substantive Ground of Condemnation in a Court of Prize, yet they may and ought to exclude an American Claimant from the Benefit of those Relaxations of the Law of War which, in Favour of Neutral States, have been introduced by His Majesty's Instructions, in regard to their Commerce with the Colonies of His Majesty's Enemies; a Privilege which can only be understood to be granted to Neutral Governments as a Branch of their National Commerce, and not as an Invitation to lawless Individuals to engage in a Trade which the Neutral State itself has prohibited, and desires to discourage.

3d. Because Thomas Scott, the Supercargo and Lader of the Slaves, is admitted to have an Interest therein, which is liable to Confiscation, he being a British Subject, by the Stat. 46 George 3d. cap. 52.[10]

4th. Because there is strong Ground to presume that the Case is fraudulent, and that the Property belonged, at the Time of Cap-

[9] Here follow excerpts from the examinations of the master, James Johnson, the mate, Joseph Carriere, sailors, Rena Jena and Thomas Seaborn, and a list of the Ship Papers.

[10] "An Act to prevent the Importation of Slaves by any of his Majesty's Subjects into any Islands, Colonies, Plants, or Territories belonging to any Foreign Sovereign State or Power."

ture, either to His Majesty's Enemies, or to British Subjects trading with the Enemy, contrary to their Allegiance.

CHR. ROBINSON.
V. GIBBS.
JAS. STEPHEN.

Joint Appendix.[11]

On the 28th Day of December 1807.

TORTOLA,
Vice Admiralty Prize Court.

The Brig *Amedie,* Martin Robin, late Master.
James Johnston, present Master.

James Bennett, Lieutenant and Commander of His Majesty's Brig *Swinger,* maketh Oath and saith, That the Papers and Writings hereunto annexed, and marked from No. 1 to No. 80, inclusive, are all the Papers and Passes, Sea-Briefs, Charter-Parties, Bills of Lading, Cockets, Letters, and other Documents and Writings which were delivered up, or otherwise found on board the Brig *Amedie,* whereof the said Martin Robin is Master, lately taken and seized by His Majesty's Brig *Swinger,* whereof James Bennett is Commander, and brought to the Port of Tortola, at which Capture this Deponent was present. And he further maketh Oath, That the said Papers and Writings are brought and delivered in as they were received and taken, without any Fraud, Subduction, Embezzlement, or Addition, saving the numbering as aforesaid. . . .[12]

Claim and Attestation of the Master.

TORTOLA,
Vice-Admiralty Prize Court.

On the 15th Day of January, 1808.

Brig *Amedee,* —— Johnson, Master.

The Claim of James Johnson, a Citizen of the United States of America, and Master of the said Brig *Amedee,* for and on Behalf of Samuel Groves, also a Citizen of the United States of America, the true, lawful, and sole Owner and Proprietor of the said Brig, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, and of the Cargo laden on board,

[11] The formal heading of the brief is here omitted.

[12] This is signed by J. Bennett and endorsed: "Same Day, the said James Bennett was duly sworn to the Truth of this Attestation, before me, James Robertson, J. Filed 12th January, 1808. Mark D. French Dep. Reg." The same endorsement is attached to all the examinations: those of the captain, mate, and two sailors, excerpts from which are printed in the *Appellant's Case.* The testimony *in extenso,* here omitted, adds nothing of importance.

consisting of 103 African Slaves, at the Time of the Capture thereof by His Majesty's Ship *Swinger,* Lieutenant James Bennett, Commander, and brought into the Port of Tortola; for the said Brig, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, and the Cargo so laden on board, as the sole Property of an American Citizen, and as aforesaid, and for all such Freight, Costs, Charges, Damages, Demurrages, and Expences, as have arisen, or shall or may arise, by reason of the Capture and Detention of the same.

SIMPSON, JAMES JOHNSON.

TORTOLA,
Vice Admiralty Prize Court.

On the 15th Day of January 1808.

Brig *Amedee,* —— Johnson, Master.

Appeared personally James Johnson, and made Oath, That he is a Citizen of the United States of America, and was Master of the said Brig *Amedee* at the Time of the Capture thereof by His Majesty's Ship *Swinger,* Lieutenant James Bennett, Commander, and that the said Brig was so captured on or about the 22d Day of December last past, in the Prosecution of her Voyage from Bonny, on the Coast of Africa, to Matanzas, in case he could not make his Voyage to Charlestown, previous to the 31st Day of December last past, when he was to wait for Orders, with a Cargo of 103 African Slaves: And he further made Oath, That Samuel Groves, a Citizen of the United States of America, was, at the said Capture, and now is, and, if restored, will be the true, lawful, and sole Owner and Proprietor of the said Brig, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, and of the Cargo laden on board at the Capture aforesaid: And, lastly, the Deponent saith, That no Person or Persons, being a Subject or Subjects, Citizen or Citizens, of the Republic or Empire of France, or of the King of Denmark, or of the Batavian, or Ligurian, or Italian Republics, or a Subject or Subjects of the King of Spain, or the Elector of Bavaria, their Factors or Agents, or any other Person or Persons, an Enemy or Enemies of the Crown of Great Britain, had at the Time of the Capture, or now have, or, if restored, will have in the said Brig, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, and the Cargo so laden on board, or if the same had arrived at its destined Port, would have had, directly or indirectly, any Right, Title, or Interest in the same, or in any Part thereof; and that the Claim hereunto annexed is a true and just Claim, and he will be able to make due Proof thereof, as he, this Attestant, verily believes.

JAMES JOHNSON.

SHIP PAPERS

No. 70. Certificate of Ownership.

No. 29. Twenty-nine.

(L. S.) SIMEON THEUS, Collector
District of CHARLESTOWN, Port of CHARLESTOWN.

We, Simeon Theus, Collector, and Thomas Waring, Sen. Naval Officer of said District, do hereby certify, that Samuel Groves has taken and subscribed the Oath, that he is a Citizen of the United States, and has sworn that he is the only Owner of the Ship or Vessel called the *Amedie* of Charlestown, whereof Martin Robin is at present Master, and is a Citizen of the United States; and that there is no Subject or Citizen of any foreign Prince or State, directly or indirectly by way of Trust, Confidence, or otherwise, interested therein, or in the Profits or Issues thereof; and Edward Weyman, Surveyor of this District, having certified, that the said Ship or Vessel has one Deck and two Masts, and that her Length is 67 Feet 4 Inches, her Breadth 22 Feet 2 Inches, her Depth 8 Feet 10 Inches, and that She measures 111 36/95 Tons; that she is a square sterned Brig, has no Galleries, and has no Figure Head; and the said Samuel Grove having consented and agreed to the Description and Admeasurement above specified, this Certificate of Ownership for the said Brig, has been issued accordingly at the Port of Charlestown.

Given under our Hand and Seals of Office, at the Port of Charlestown, the 29th Day of June in the Year of our Lord 1807.

(L. S.) THO. WARING, Sen. N. Off.

Sea Letter.

Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States of America.

To all who shall see these Presents greeting; be it known, that Leave and Permission are hereby given to Martin Robin, Master or Commander of the Brig called *Amedie* of Charlestown, of the Burthen of 111 36/95 Tons, or thereabouts, lying at present in the Port of Charlestown, bound for Africa, and laden with Rum, Dry Goods, Iron, Crockery, Muskets, Swords, Rice, etc. to depart and proceed with his said Brig on his said Voyage, such Brig having been visited, and the said Martin Robin having made Oath, before the proper Officer, that the said Brig belongs to one or more of the Citizens of the United States of America, and to him or them only.

In Witness whereof, I have subscribed my Name to these Presents, and affixed the Seal of the United States of America thereto, and

caused the same to be countersigned by Simeon Theus, Collector of Charlestown, this 29th Day of June, in the Year of our Lord Christ 1807.

(L. S.) By the President, TH. JEFFERSON
JAMES MADISON, Secretary of State.

Most Serene, Serene, Most Puissant, Puissant, High, Illustrious, Noble, Honourable, Venerable, Wise and Prudent, Lords, Emperors, Kings, Republics, Princes, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Lords, Burgomasters, Schepens, Counsellors, as also Judges, Officers, Justiciaries, and Regents, of all the good Cities and Places, whether Ecclesiastical or Secular, who shall see these Patents, or hear them read, We, Abraham Crouch, Notary Public, make known, that the Master of the Brig appearing before us, has declared upon Oath, that the Vessel called the *Amedie* of Charlestown, of the Burthen of about 111 36/95 Tons, which he at present navigates, is of the United States of America, and that no Subject of the present belligerent Powers have any Part or Portion therein, directly or indirectly, so may God Almighty help him; And as we wish to see the said Master prosper in his lawful Affairs, our Prayer is to all the before mentioned, and to each of them separately, where the said Master shall arrive with his Vessel and Cargo, that they may please to receive the said Master with Goodness, and to treat him in a becoming Manner, permitting him, upon the usual Tolls and Expences in passing and repassing, to pass, navigate, and frequent the Ports, Passes, and Territories, to the end to transact his Business where and in what Manner he shall judge proper, whereof we shall be willingly indebted. In witness, and for Cause whereof, we affix hereto the Seal of our Office, at CHARLESTOWN, June 29, 1807.

(L. S.) ABRAHAM CROUCH, Notary Public.

No. 78. Mediterranean Pass.

By the President of the United States of America.

Suffer the Brig *Amedee,* Martin Robin, Master or Commander, of the Burthen of 111 36/95ths Tons, or thereabouts, mounted with no Guns, navigated with sixteen Men, to pass with her Company, Passengers, Goods, and Merchandize, without any Hindrance, Seizure, or Molestation, the said Brig appearing by good Testimony to belong to one or more of the Citizens of the United States, and to him or them only.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the United States of America, the 29th Day of June, in the Year of our Lord 1807.
No. 72, seventy-two.

(L. S.) By the President, TH. JEFFERSON.
JAMES MADISON, Secretary of State.

To all Persons whom these may concern.
State of SOUTH CAROLINA, District of CHARLESTOWN,
Countersigned by SIMEON THEUS, Collector

No. 79. Invoice of sundry Merchandize shipped by Samuel Grove, resident Merchant of Charlestown, and Citizen of the United States of America, on board the Brig "Amedie," Martin Robin, Master, bound to Africa, to the Address of Mr. Jos. Scott, Super of the "Semiramis" for Trade and Returns.

37 Puncheons West India Rum		4119 Gallons	
Add one-third for High Proof		1370 [1373]	
		5492 Gallons, or	
87 Hhds. of 63 Gallons each at 50 Cts. [per gal.]			2746
4 Bales blue Goods,	60 Pieces, ea. 240	Pieces at $8	1120
5 Ditto Neccanas,	120 Pieces, ea. 600	Pieces at $4	2400
1 Bale Sooty Romals,	120	Pieces at $4	480
2 Ditto Manilla Ginghams,	120 Pieces, ea. 240	Pieces at $4	960
180 Bars of Iron, 1849 lb.			221.88
3 Crates earthen Ware			111
180 Stone Jugs			90
1 Lot Musquets and Swords			85
18 Barrels Rice			380
			8593.88
2 Boxes Handkerchiefs from *Semiramis*		$1200.75	
64 Pieces Taffetas on board of ditto at $9		576	
40 Kegs Gunpowder on board ditto, 1000 lb.		600	2376.75
			10970.63
Halling, wharfage, shipping, etc.			300
			$11270.63
		Commission	563.53
			$11834.16

CHARLESTOWN, June 29th, 1807.

SAM. GROVE.

Report and Manifest of the Cargo laden at the Port of Charlestown on board the Brig "Amedie," Martin Robin, Master, bound for Africa.

Marks	Numbers	Packages or Articles in Bulk	Contents or Quantities	Value
		Thirty-seven Puncheons	Rum	
		Four Bales Blue	Goods	
		One ditto, Sooty	Romals	
		Five ditto	Nicanees	
		Two ditto	Manilla Ginghams	
		One hundred and eighty	Bars Iron	
		Three Crates	Crockery	
		One hundred and eighty	Stone Jugs	
		Loose, twenty	Muskets	
		Ditto, a Lot	Muskets and Swords	
		Eighteen Tierces	Rice	

(L. S.) SIMEON THEUS, Collector. (L. S.) THO. WARING, Sen. N. Off. District of the Port of CHARLESTOWN, State of SOUTH CAROLINA.

These are to certify all whom it doth concern, That Martin Robin, Master or Commander of the Brig *Amedie,* of Charlestown, Burthen 111 36/95 Tons, or thereabouts, mounted with no Guns, navigated with 16 Men, foreign built, and bound for Africa, having on board Cargo as per annexed Manifest, hath here entered and cleared his said Vessel according to Law.

Given under our Hands and Seals, at the Custom-House of Charlestown, the 29th Day of June 1807, and in the thirty-first Year of the Independence of the United States of America.

Bill of Lading.

1 *a* 37 Puncheons Rum
E 12 Bales India Goods
180 Bars Iron
1 *a* 3 Crates Crockery
180 Stone Jugs
1 *a* 18 Tierces Rice
Loose Musquets and Swords
SAMUEL GROVE

Shipped in good Order, and well conditioned, by Samuel Grove, Esq., in and upon the good Brig called the *Amedie,* whereof is Master for the present Voyage Martin Robin, and now riding at Anchor in the Harbour of Charlestown, and bound for Africa, to say, 37 Puncheons of West India Rum, 4 Bales blue Goods, 1 ditto Sooty Romals, 5 ditto Niceances, 2 ditto Manilla Ginghams, 180 Bars Iron, 3 Crates Crockery, 180 Stone Jugs, 18 Tierces Rice, and a Quantity of Musquets and Swords loose, be-

ing on Account and Risk of the Shipper, a Citizen of the United States, being marked and numbered as in the Margin, and are to be delivered in the like good order, and well conditioned, at the aforesaid Coast of Africa (the Danger of the Seas only excepted) unto Jos. Scott, or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Merchandize nothing, being Owner's Property.

In Witness whereof the Master or Purser of the said Brig hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date, one of which being accomplished, the others to stand void.

MARTIN ROBIN.

Dated CHARLESTOWN, 29th June 1807.

(L. S.) ABM. CROUCH, Not. Pub.

Attestation of Property.

United States of America, State of SOUTH CAROLINA, City of CHARLESTOWN.

Be it known unto all whom it may concern, that on this 30th Day of June, in the Year of our Lord 1807, and in the 31st Year of the Independence of the United States of America, before me, Abraham Crouch, a Justice of the Quorum in and for the said State, and a Notary Public for Charlestown by lawful Authority, duly sworn and commissioned by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the State, and residing in the City and State aforesaid.

Personally appeared Mr. Samuel Grove, Merchant, who being duly sworn according to Law, on his solemn Oath, did declare, that he the said Samuel Grove, is a resident Merchant of Charlestown aforesaid, and a Citizen of the United States of America; that the Merchandize specified in the annexed Bill of Lading, and by him the aforesaid Samuel Grove, here shipped on board of the Brig. *Amedie,* whereof Martin Robin is Master, bound from the Port of Charlestown for Africa, is the sole Property of, and shipped on the sole Account and Risk of him the aforesaid Samuel Grove, a Citizen of the United States of America as aforesaid; and that no Ruler, Citizen, or Subject of any of the present belligerent Powers, or of any foreign Prince or State, directly or indirectly, by way of Trust, Confidence, or otherwise, hath any Right, Title, Part, Share, or Interest therein.

SAMUEL GROVE.

In Testimony whereof the said Appearer hath hereunto subscribed his Name, and I, the said Notary, have also hereunto set my Hand, and affixed my notarial Seal, at this City of Charlestown, in the State of South Carolina, on the Day and Year aforesaid.

State of South Carolina. By his Excellency CHARLES PINCKNEY, Commander in Chief in and over the State aforesaid.

To all to whom these Presents shall come, know ye, that Abraham Crouch, Esquire, whose Seal and Signature appear to the Instrument of Writing hereunto annexed, is one of the Justices of the Quorum, assigned to keep the Peace for the said State, and Notary Public, commissioned by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the State.

Therefore all due Faith, Credit, and Authority is, and ought to be had and given to his Proceedings and Certificates as such.

In Testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my Hand, and caused to be affixed the Seal of the State, in the City of Charlestown, this 30th Day of June, in the Year of our Lord 1807, and in the 31st Year of the Independence of the United States of America.

By the Governor.

STEP. LEE, Jun. Secretary of State.

No. 77. Letter of Instructions from Samuel Grove to Captain Martin Robin.

CHARLESTOWN, June 29th, 1807.

Captain Martin Robin, of the Brig *Amedie.*

Sir, Your having been highly recommended to me as a proper Person to undertake a Voyage to the Coast of Africa, in which Trade I understand you have had much Experience, has induced me to fit out the Brig *Amedie* under your Care, to go in Company with the *Semiramis* to Bonny, to trade there, under the Direction of Mr. Jos. Scott, the Supercargo of the *Semiramis,* and to come back to this Port. From the Experience you have had in the Nature of the Voyage you are about to undertake, and considering in your Discretion and good Conduct, and assisted by the Advice of Mr. Jos. Scott, I do not consider it necessary that I should detail to you the Points which most essentially claim your Attention, as to the putting your Vessel in proper Order, the Precautions required on the Coast, the Care of the Slaves, the Necessity of treating them with Humanity, keeping them amused and in good Spirits, etc. But I have to impress on your Mind the urgent Necessity that you should use every necessary Effort to perform your Voyage within the Time limited by the Laws of this Country, as upon this Event depends the Prospect of a prosperous Adventure. Should any Occurrence intervene to render it

impossible for you to return to this Port before the 1st of January next, you will in that Case proceed by the Way of the old Streights of Bahama to the Port of Matanzas, in the Island of Cuba, where you will meet my Instructions, which will regulate you in your future Proceedings. On the Accomplishment of your Voyage, you will receive your full Commissions as given to Captains being Consignees, agreeable to the Regulations of this Port, although you are to receive the Assistance of a Supercargo on the Coast, whose Commission of two per Cent. on the gross Sales is to be a Charge on the Adventure of the *Amedie,* without any Deduction from your Commission. I have no Doubt but the Adventure will profit by the Aid and Assistance of Mr. Scott in conducting you over the Bar of Bonny, and in trading on the Coast, in Proportion to the Expence of his Commission; and in order the more to secure the Success of the Voyage, should any Accident happen to you or Captain Scott, and that you may contribute one to the other mutual Relief, you have my peremptory Order not to separate, and that you will keep Company with the *Semiramis* until you return to this Port. In the Event of Death, Sickness, or Inability happening to the Supercargo of the *Semiramis,* the Conduct of the said Vessel will devolve on you, in Consideration for which you will receive such a Commission as may be deemed equitable by the Merchants of this Port.

It is customary in Voyages to the Coast of Africa, for the Supercargo or Captain to open a Book of Account on Arrival and commencing Trade, in which is kept a methodical Statement of the Distribution of the Cargo and of the Slaves taken in barter; and I have to request you will comply with these Usages, and that you will render regular Accounts of any Disbursements which may be necessary for your Vessel.

Your Brig being ready for Sea, I furnish you with the necessary Papers in regular Order; and as soon as a favourable Opportunity offers to go over the Bar, you will immediately proceed with the *Semiramis* on the Voyage as above described.

I am, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

SAMUEL GROVE.

(Addressed)

Capt. Mn. Robin, of the Brig *Amedie*, bound to Bonny.

No. 19. Agreement between M. Robin and James Johnson as to Wages.

CHARLESTOWN, June 29th, 1807.

It is hereby agreed between Capt. Martin Robin, Master of the Brig *Amedie*, and Mr. James Johnson, Mate of the said Vessel, That

the said Martin Robin agrees to pay unto the said James Johnson 1000 Dollars for his Services as Mate of the said Vessel, during the Voyage in the said Brig from hence to Africa and back again to Charlestown; and on the said Sum of 1000 Dollars he the said James Johnson is to receive 50 Dollars in advance.

MN. ROBIN.

Extract from the Registry of His Majesty's Vice Admiralty Court at Tortola.

Before James Robertson, Esq. Judge and Commissary of the same Court.

In the Presence of Mark Dyer French, Notary Public and Deputy Registrar.

Brig *Amedie,* Johnson, Master.

Our Sovereign Lord the King against the Brig *Amedie*, whereof James Johnson was Master, and her Lading, taken by His Majesty's Brig *Swinger,* whereof Lieutenant James Bennett is Commander, and brought to Tortola; and also against the said Master, Claimant of the said Vessel and Cargo intervening.

Forbes brought in Attestation, with Ship Papers, and four Preparatory Examinations, and prayed the usual Monition, which the Judge, at his Petition, decreed.

Simpson gave in a Claim of the said Master, for the said Brig, her Tackle, Apparel, Furniture, and for the Cargo laden on board, consisting of 103 African Slaves, on Behalf, and as the Property of Samuel Groves of Charlestown, South Carolina, Merchant, with an Attestation annexed.

On the Admission of the Claim of the said Master, for the said Brig and Cargo, Simpson prayed the same to be admitted, and the said Brig and Cargo to be restored as claimed, with Costs, Expences, etc. Forbes prayed the said Claim to be rejected, and the said Brig and Cargo to be condemmned. The Judge having heard the said Claim and Proofs read, and Advocates and Procters on both Sides thereon, assigned the Cause for Sentence whensoever.

For Sentence.

The Judge assigned his Reasons, and by Interlocutory Decree, pronounced the said Brig *Amedie,* her Tackle, Apparel, Furniture, Boats, Guns, and Cargo of Slaves, Natives of Africa, to have belonged at the Time of the Capture and Seizure thereof, to Enemies of the Crown of Great Britain, and as such, or otherwise, subject and liable to Confiscation, and condemned the said Brig, her Tackle, Apparel, Fu[r]niture, Boats, and Guns, as good and lawful Prize, taken by his Majesty's Brig *Swinger*, James Bennett Commander;

and condemned the said Slaves, Natives of Africa, the Cargo of the said Brig, as Prize of War, to the sole Use of His Majesty, his Heirs, and Successors; directed 1000 Dollars to be paid out of the Proceeds to the said Master, in lieu of his Privilege and Interest in the said Cargo. Simpson notified to the Court, that on the Part of the Claimant, he appealed from the said Sentence of Condemnation. Commission of Appraisement, at the Instance of both Proctors. The Judge then ordered, that the Marshal, with the Assistance of the Appraisers, or any two of them, ascertain and certify to the Court the Number of Male and Female Slaves of the said Cargo, distinguishing those that are in good Health from those that are otherwise, their respective Ages, and those above 14 Years of Age from those of that Age, or under.

MARK D. FRENCH, Not. Pub. and Dep. Reg.

389. NEWS ITEM RELATING TO SLAVE TRADE, 1807.[1]

500 Dollars reward.

Absconded from on board the ship *Cleopatra,* at Gadsden's Wharf, on the night of the 24th inst. Twelve New Negroes, of the Congo or Angola nation.

Peter is about 28 years of age, speaks a little English 5 feet 10 inches high; had on a pair of old black nankeen trowsers, and a red flannel shirt.

Jim is about 24 years old, 5 feet 5 or 6 inches high; dress, red flannel shirt, and blue baft trowsers; has a smooth face, and also speaks English.

Frank a boy of 16 or 17 years of age, has his mouth awry—dress red flannel shirt blue woolen trowsers, and red worsted cap.

Nine other Men and Men-Boys, who cannot speak English. they have all red flannel shirts, and blue cloth trowsers, with red worsted caps.

It is supposed that they have been enticed away, by some persons from the upper country, as one who accompanied them, but who could not keep up with the others, was found yesterday on the road near the quarter house. He says that there was a country born negro with them, and who was persuading them that he was taking them back to their own country. They took from the ship, 5 or 6 muskets, and other arms.

Whoever will give such information as will lead to the recovery of the above slaves, will receive 30 dollars for each; and if to the detection and conviction of the Thief, 500 dollars besides.

WILLIAM BOYD.

December 28.

[389] [1] *Charleston Courier,* Dec. 28, 1807.

390. Case of the *Africa*, 1808.[1]

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

Africa, Jeremiah Connolly, Master.

Lieutenant John Mitchell, Commander of His Majesty's Ship *Haughty*, the Captor, } Appellant,

Jeremiah Connolly, the Master, and Claimant of the Ship and Cargo, as American Property, } Respondent.

Appeal from Tortola.
Appellant's Case.

Captured 30th Jan. 1808. This Ship, under American Colours, laden with a Cargo of Dry Goods, sailed from Charleston on the 27th July, 1807, to the River Congo, on the Coast of Africa, where the said Cargo was bartered for 323 Slaves, with which the Vessel was returning, as represented by the Master, to Charleston, when she was captured on the 30th of January, 1808, by His Majesty's Brig *Haughty*, Lieut. John Mitchell Commander, and carried to Tortola, where Proceedings were instituted against the Vessel and Cargo as Prize.

13th Feb. 1808. A Claim of Jeremiah Connolly, the Master, was given for the Ship and Cargo, as the Property of William Boyd, a Citizen of the United States of America.

14th March. The Cause came on for Hearing, when the Judge, having heard Counsel on both Sides, assigned the Cause for Sentence whensoever.

16th March. The Judge assigned his Reasons, and retained the Claim of the said Master for the said Ship and Cargo, and decreed the same to be restored as claimed; but, considering the peculiar Circumstances of the Case, decreed the Captors not only their Costs, but a Re-imbursement of all the Expences that have been incurred in the Preservation and Safe-keeping the Property in Question.

From this Sentence the following Appeals have been prosecuted.

. . . *1808, 27th May.* An Inhibition was extracted by the King's Proctor on an Appeal from so much of the said Sentence as restored the Ship and Cargo.

1809, 9th March. An Inhibition was extracted on behalf of the Claimant from so much of the said Sentence as decreed the Captors their Costs and Expences. . . .[2]

[390] [1] Vice Admiralty briefs, Marine Research Society. The marginal notes have been inserted in the body of the text in italics.

[2] The summaries of the preparatory examinations which customarily appear in the cases of the appellant and respondent have here been omitted and those examinations

The Consolidated Appeal now comes on for Hearing; and it is humbly hoped, on the Part of the Captor, that your Lordship will reverse the Sentence of Restitution, and condemn the Ship and Cargo as Prize, and otherwise affirm the Sentence appealed from, for the following, among other

REASONS.

Because the Proofs of Property are insufficient.

Because the Voyage was destined to the Colony of an Enemy, under Circumstances, which do not bring the Case within the Intention of the Order of the 24th of June, 1803.

CHR. ROBINSON.
V. GIBBS.

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

The *Africa,* Jeremiah Connolly, Master.

Lieutenant John Mitchell Commander of his Majesty's Brig of War, *Haughty,* the the Captor of the said Ship and the Cargo laden therein, consisting of Slaves,	Appellant from the Restitution of the Ship and Cargo.
and	
Jeremiah Connolly, the Master of the said Ship, and the Claimant of the said Ship and Slaves on behalf of William Boyd, of Charlestown in North America, Merchant, a Citizen of the United States of America, the true, lawful and sole Owner and Proprietor thereof.	Respondent on the said Appeal.
The said Jeremiah Connolly, the Master and Claimant, as aforesaid,	Appellant from the Allowance of Captor's Costs, and Expences.
and	
The aforesaid Lieutenant John Mitchell, Commander as aforesaid,	Respondent on the said Appeal.

in full as they appear in the joint appendix have instead been printed. Those whose testimony is omitted are Jeremiah Connolly, the master, Abraham Perlu, the surgeon, Nicholas Barry, the steward, Thomas Tilly, mate, John Burton, mariner.

On an Appeal from the Vice Admiralty Court of Tortola.
Case on behalf of the Claimant.

This is an American Ship, the sole Property of William Boyd of Charlestown, Merchant, a Citizen of the United States of America, by whom she was laden at Charlestown, with a Cargo of dry Goods and other Merchandize, also his sole Property, destined to the River Congo, on the Coast of Africa, to bring back a Cargo of Slaves, with Directions to the Master, to use every Means to insure his Return to Charlestown before the 1st of January, 1808, on which Day the Act, prohibiting the Importation of Slaves into America, would become operative; sailed from Charlestown in the Month of July, 1807, and having arrived in the River Congo, there disposed of the principal Part of her outward Cargo, and invested the Proceeds in the Purchase of Slaves for the same Proprietor; sailed therewith, and with a few Articles left unsold of her outward Cargo, from Congo, on the 17th December, 1807, destined to Charlestown, but not intending to go into that Port before the Master should have received Advice from his Owner, whether he could be admitted to an Entry or not, and if not, to what other Port he should then proceed, and on the 29th Day of January 1808, was captured by his Majesty's Brig, *Haughty,* Lieutenant John Mitchell, Commander, and carried to Tortola, where Proceedings were commenced, by the Captor, against both Ship and Cargo, as Prize.

On the 13th February, 1808, a Claim was given by Jeremiah Connolly, the Master, for the said Ship and Cargo, consisting of three hundred and ten Slaves, four Boxes, and two Bales of return Goods, and two Pieces of Ivory, as the Property of William Boyd.

On the 16th Day of March, 1808, the Judge was pleased to restore the Ship and Cargo, but decreed that the Captors should be paid, not only their Costs, but also a Reimbursement of all the Expences that had been incurred in the Preservation and safe keeping the Property in Question.

From which Decree two Appeals have been interposed, one by the Captor, from the Restitution of the Ship and Cargo, and the other by the Claimant, from that Part thereof by which the Captor's Expences are decreed to be paid, and from the not condemning him in Costs and Damages, which Appeals have been consolidated and regularly prosecuted, and the same now stand assigned for Sentence.

. . . . . .[3]

On the Part of the Claimant, it is humbly hoped that your Lordships will be pleased to affirm the Sentence of the Court, appealed from, so far as directs Restitution of the Ship and Cargo, and to

[3] Summaries of the preparatory examinations are here omitted, also a list of the Ship Papers and summaries of a few of them.

reverse so much thereof, as has pronounced the Captor's Expences to be due, and to condemn the Captor in Costs and Damages; for among other the following

REASON:

Because the said Ship and Cargo clearly appear to belong to the American Citizen for whom they are claimed, and the Circumstances afforded no Pretext for Seizure as Prize.

R. DALLAS.
M. SWABEY.

Saturday the 17th November 1810 at the Council Chamber WHITEHALL [4]

Present
Sir Wm. Grant Knt. Master of the Rolls
Sir Wm. Wynn Knt.
Sir Wm. Scott Knt.
Sir Jno. Nicholl, Knt.
in the presence of Robt. Jenner Notary Public one of the Deputy Registrars

Africa Bishop	(2 appeals)	J. Connolly Mr. Moore	For Sentence

The Lords pronounced for the Appeal reversed the Sentence appealed from, therein rejected the Claim given in the Court below and now Condemned the said Ship and Cargo as good and lawful prize to the sole use of His Majesty his Heirs and Successors pursuant to Act of Parliament in that Case made and provided and moreover pronounced against the Appeal of the Claimant and at Petition of Bishop decreed a Monition against James Murphy of the Island of St. Thomas and G. D. Dix of Tortola the Sureties to answer the Appeal, to pay or cause to be paid into the Registry of this Court the sum of £21,772. 19. 6 Current Gold and Silver Money of Tortola being the appraised Value of the said ship *Africa* her Tackle Apparel and Furniture and 236 African Slaves remaining of her Cargo.

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

Africa, Jeremiah Connolly, Master

Appeal from Tortola.
Joint Appendix.

On the 13th of February, 1808.

Claim of the Master for Ship and Cargo, sworn 13th Feb. 1808.

The Claim of Jeremiah Connolly, a Citizen of the United States of

[4] The decision of the Lords is inserted with pen.

America, and Master of the Ship *Africa,* on behalf of William Boyd, also a Citizen of the United States of America, the true, lawful, and sole Owner and Proprietor of the said Ship, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, and of the Cargo laden on board at the Time of the Capture thereof by His Majesty's Armed Brig *Haughty* Lieutenant Mitchell Commander, and brought into the Port of Tortola—For the said Ship, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, and the Cargo so laden on board, as the sole Property of an American Citizen, and as aforesaid, and for all such Freight, Costs, Charges, Damages, Demurrages, and Expences as have arisen, or shall or may arise by reason of the Capture and Detention of the same.

C. SIMPSON. JEREMIAH CONNOLLY.

Attestation in Support of Claim.

TORTOLA

Vice-Admiralty Prize Court.

Appeared personally Jeremiah Connolly, and made Oath that he is a Citizen of the United States of America, and was Master of the said Ship *Africa* at the Time of the Capture thereof by His Majesty's Armed Brig *Haughty,* Lieutenant Mitchell Commander; and that the said Ship was so captured on the 30th Day of January last past, in the Prosecution of her Voyage from Congo on the Coast of Africa to Charleston, with a Cargo of 310 Slaves, 4 Boxes, and 2 Bales of Return Goods, and 2 Pieces of Ivory, and brought into the Port of Tortola. And he further made Oath that William Boyd, of Charleston, also a Citizen of the United States of America, was at the said Capture, and now is, and if restored will be, the true, lawful, and sole Owner and Proprietor of the said Ship, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, and of the Cargo so laden on board at the Capture aforesaid. And lastly this Deponent saith, that no Person or Persons being a Subject or Subjects, Citizen or Citizens of the Republic or Empire of France, or of the Batavian, or Ligurian or Italian Republics, or a Subject or Subjects of the King of Denmark, or of the King of Spain, or the Elector of Bavaria, their Factors or Agents, or any other Person or Persons an Enemy or Enemies of the Crown of Great Britain, had, at the Time of the Capture, or now, have, or if restored will have, in the said Ship, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, or in the Cargo so laden on board, or if the same had arrived at its destined Port would have had, directly or indirectly, any Right, Title, or Interest in the same, or in any Part thereof; and that the Claim hereunto annexed is a true and just Claim, and he will be able to make due Proof thereof, as he this Attestant verily believes.

JEREMIAH CONNOLLY.

Same Day sworn before me, JAMES ROBERTSON, J.
Filed 13th Feb. 1808,
MARK D. FRENCH, Dep. Registrar.[5]

Preparatory Examinations.

The Examination of Abraham Perlu, Surgeon of the said Ship, aged Twenty-Two Years, a Witness produced and sworn.

1st. That he was born in the County of Somerset, State of New Jersey, in North America; it has always been his Place of Residence until about Three Years ago, when he left it; that he has lived Two Years since in New York, and the last Year he has been travelling to the Southern States of North America, once to the West Indies to Port au Prince in St. Domingo, and the last Six Months he has been on the present Voyage; that New York was his last Place of Abode, and he considers it so still, when not at Sea; he has lived there Two Years of the last Seven; he is a Citizen of the United States; has never been admitted a Burgher or Freeman of any Place; that he is not married.

2d. That he was on board the said Ship when she was taken; she had no Commission.

3d. That the Capture was made in about the Latitude of 22 or 23, on the 29th Day of January last: he does not know upon what Pretence it was done; the said Ship was conducted into this Port on the 5th Instant; she sailed under American Colours, and had no other on board besides her private Signal, a Blue Burgee with a White Cross, and an American Pendant hoisted over it, as the Merchant's private Signal, made no Resistance; was taken by his Majesty's Brig *Haughty*; no other Vessel was in Sight at the Time to his Knowledge.

4th. That the late Master of the captured Ship was named John Connolly; he died at Sea on the 1st Instant, of the Gout in his Stomach; he knew him for about Seven or Eight Months last past; he was appointed to the Command by William Boyd, of Charleston, South Carolina, Merchant, the Owner of the said Ship; he took Possession of her there in the Month of June last, and it was delivered by the said Owner; that the said Master's Place of Abode was in Charleston; he does not know how long he lived there; he informed Deponent he was born in Ireland; that he was a Citizen of the United States; he does not know when he became a Citizen thereof, but Deponent has heard him say, he has sailed out of the United States in that Employ for Fifteen or Twenty Years; that the said Master was married, and his Widow and Children reside in Charleston; that in consequence of the Death of the said Master,

[5] This attachment is hereafter omitted.

Jeremiah Connolly, the Chief Mate, is now to be considered the Master of the said Ship; Deponent has only known him for the present Voyage; that he lives at Charleston; does not know how long he has done so; does not know where he was born, but believes in Ireland; he is a Citizen of the United States, is not married.

5th. That he believes the said Ship is registered 175 Tons; she was navigated by Twenty-three Persons in all, when taken, including the Master, who died Two or Three Days since the Capture; that the Crew consists of different Nations; about Five or Six of them are Americans, the rest are English, Spanish, Dutch, Prussian, and One Italian; they all came on board at Charleston; the late Master shipped and hired them there some Time in the Month of July last; that one of the Crew also died since the said Ship sailed from Congo on the present Voyage.

6th. That neither himself, the late Master, or any of the Officers or Mariners, had or have any Share or Interest in the said Ship or her Cargo; that the deceased Master, he believes, had Two or Three of the Slaves as his Privilege; Jeremiah Connolly, the Master, he believes has also One; he knows of no other Privilege Slaves; Deponent belonged to the said Ship, when taken, in quality of Surgeon, appointed by William Boyd the Owner; he has only known her for the present Voyage; first saw her at Charleston; he believes she was built at Bermuda.

7th. That her Name is the *Africa*; he does not [know] how long she has been so called, he never knew her by any other; that she had a Passport and Sea-Letter on board, obtained at Charleston, South Carolina, aforesaid; she sailed from there on the present Voyage on the 27th Day of July last, laden with Dry Goods, Hard Ware, Crockery Ware, Gunpowder, Muskets, and Rum; cleared out for and bound to Congo, on the Coast of Africa, as her Place of Trade; that she arrived there some Time in the Month of October following, where the late Master bartered the Cargo he carried out for Slaves, save a small Part that remains on board; that he believes 326 or 327 were purchased, which Number they sailed from Congo with some Time in December last; that the Voyage began at Charleston, but he does not know where it was to have ended; the present is the only Voyage he has been upon in the said Ship; that he has understood at Charleston she made Three Voyages from there to Congo; he believes Two of her Return Cargoes were sold at the Havannah, and one she returned with to Charleston; that he also believes the said Voyages all ended at Charleston, from whence they commenced; the said Ship is under the Direction and Management of Mr. Boyd, the Owner, as to her Employment in Trade; Deponent does not corre-

spond with any Person on the Concerns of the said Ship or her Cargo.[6]

8th. That the Outward Lading consisted of Dry Goods; he believes principally of India Goods, Hard Ware, Crockery Ware, Gunpowder, Muskets, and Rum; he knows not the Quantity thereof, or the Invoice Amount; he believes there might have been as many as from 500 to 700 Muskets; that the present Cargo consists of from 307 to 310 Slaves; that 326 or 327 were purchased as the Cargo, but about 19 of them have died since the Voyage commenced; that the said Slaves were put on board from about the Month of October, when they arrived down, to December when they sailed.

9th. That William Boyd is the sole Owner of the said Ship to the best of his Knowledge; he believes him to be a Scotchman by Birth; he resides at Charleston, and carries on Business there as a Merchant; that he is not married; he does not know how long he has lived there, or where he lived before; that he is a Citizen of the United States, but how long he does not know; that he has heard the said Owner himself say that he was a Scotchman by Birth.

10th. That he knows of no Bill of Sale of the said Ship to the Owner.

11th. That the Slaves were all purchased at Congo, and put on board there.

12th. That the deceased Master was the Lader of the present Cargo; William Boyd, above described, is the sole Owner of the same to the best of his Knowledge, but does not know who was the Consignee thereof, what Countryman he is, or any thing about him, neither does he know where the Slaves were to be delivered, but he believes wherever they were delivered it would have been on the real Account, Risk, and Benefit of Mr. Boyd; that after the Capture, as the Master, who was then living, and the Lieutenant commanding the Brig, were overhauling the Ship's Papers together, the said Master took up a Chart and said, "This is the Chart I have to carry me to New Providence"; that he never heard, previous thereto, where the said Ship was bound, neither does he know what she was going to New Providence for, but he apprehends it was to wait there for Orders from the Owner, or in Expectation to receive them there on

[6] Thomas Tilly, in answering the 7th question, was more explicit: "the first Voyage he made in the Vessel was from London to the Coast of Africa, carried Dry Goods, which were bartered with the Natives at Congo River for Slaves; at that Place took on board 325 Slaves, and went with them to Havannah, at which Place they were sold, and returned to London in Ballast; the next Voyage was from London with Dry Goods, which they carried to Congo River, and at that Place bartered them with the Natives for 320 Slaves, which they carried to the Havannah, and disposed of them at that Place; there took on board a Load of Sugar, which they carried to Charleston and delivered it there; the third Voyage was from Charleston to Congo River again; carried Dry Goods, which were bartered with the Natives for 320 Slaves, which they carried back to Charleston, where they were landed and sold; the present is the next voyage."

her Arrival; he does not know for what other Purpose she was going there, or where the said Voyage was to have ended; that he does not know if the late Master had any Interest in the said Cargo, besides the 2 or 3 Slaves, he believes were his Privilege, and the Commissions he was to derive on the Voyage; that he does take upon himself to swear that to the best of his Knowledge, that at the Time of the lading the said Cargo, now, and if it shall be restored and unladen at any Port, it did, does, and will belong to the said William Boyd, and to none other, save and except the Priv[i]lege Slaves for the former Master and Mate.

13th. That he knows of no Bills of Lading being signed for the said Cargo.

14th. That he believes the Papers regarding the said Ship and Cargo to be in this Country, in the Possession or Power of the Captors.

15th. That there is no Charter-Party.

16th. That he cannot specify the Papers which were on board the said Ship when she took her Departure from Congo, he believes they have all been delivered up, or taken Possession of by the Captors; none have, to his Knowledge, been burnt, torn, thrown overboard, destroyed, or cancelled, concealed, or attempted so to be dealt with.

17th. That he does not know if the said Ship has ever been taken and condemned as Prize.

18th. That he has not sustained any Losses yet by the said Capture; that about 4 of the Slaves have died since they were captured, and a Six-oared Cutter destroyed, which was on one of the Quarters of the Ship; no Indemnity or Promise of Satisfaction has been made for the said Loss, or any thing further that might be sustained by the said Capture.

19th. That he heard the deceased Master mention, when at Congo, that the said Ship and Cargo were insured at Lloyd's, but he does not know at what Premium, or the Nature of the Insurance, as the said Master did not mention.

20th. That he believes in case the said Ship had arrived at New Providence, or at any other Port, and the Cargo been unladen, it would have remained the Property of William Boyd above named; he does not know what Market he was to have taken the Chance of for the Sale of the said Cargo.

21st. That the Slaves are all Natives of Africa.

22d. That the whole of them were brought from the Shore of the River Congo.

23d. That he knows of no Papers being in any other Country besides this, or on board any other Vessel regarding the said Ship or her Cargo.

24th. That no Papers were delivered out of the said Ship but to the Captor.

25th. That Bulk has not been broken, otherwise than to get rid of the dead Slaves.

26th. That there were no Passengers on board.

27th. That he believes the Papers found on board to be true and fair, there is nothing to his Knowledge, to affect their Credit.

28th. That he has not written or signed any Letters or Papers concerning the said Ship or her Cargo, except in signing the Ship's Articles in his Capacity as Surgeon.

29th. That he believes the Ship was steering for New Providence when taken, there to receive or wait for Orders from the Owners as he apprehends; her Course was not altered upon the Appearance of the Man of War; but to bear down to speak her upon Sight of her, in order to ascertain the Longitude; it was at all other Times directed, as he apprehends, for New Providence, after leaving Congo.

30th. That he knows nothing concerning the Sales and Transfers of the said Ship.

31st. That there are Two Four-Pounders mounted; they have about One Dozen Muskets, the like Number of Cutlasses, Two or Three Brace of Pistols, and Two Blunderbusses, some Powder and Shot to serve the said Guns, and some ready-made Musket Cartridges; she was so armed for self Preservation, and to keep the Slaves in Subjection.

32d. That he has declared the whole of what he knows and believes regarding the real and true Property and Destination of the said Ship and her Cargo at the Time of Capture.

33d. That the said Ship has never, to his Knowledge, sailed under Convoy.

34th. That she has never sailed to or at[t]empted to enter any Port that he knows of.

ABR'M PERLU.

The Examination of the said Master, aged Twenty-five Years, a Witness produced and sworn.

1st. That he was born in Ireland; he has lived in Charl[e]ston, in South Carolina, for the last Seven Years; he lives there at present, and has been living there for the last Ten Years; he was formerly a Subject of his Britannic Majesty, he now considers himself a Citizen of the United States; he was admitted a Citizen of the United States in December, 1800, and at that Time took the Oaths to that Government, before Fed[e]ral Court, held at Charleston; he has lived at and been sailing out of Charleston ever since his Admission; he paid Twenty-two Dollars for his Admission; he is not married.

2d. That he was on board the Ship at the Time of Capture; she had no Warlike Commission.

3d. That the Capture was made on the 30th Day of this present Month, in Lat. 22 deg. 50 min. or thereabouts; he was informed that the Capture was owing to the Laws of America not allowing them to import Slaves after the 1st Day of January, this present Year; the Vessel was sent into this Port; she sailed under American Colours, and had none of any other Sort on board; made no Resistance; the Capture was made by His Majesty's Brig *Haughty*; there was no other Vessel in Sight at the Time of Capture.

4th. That he is himself at present the Master of the Ship, the former Master, John Connolly, having died on the 2d Day of this present Month, and previous to his Death he appointed Deponent to the Command of the Ship; the former Master was appointed to Command of the Ship by William Boyd; he took the Possession in Charleston on the 2d Day of June last, Mr. Boyd delivered him the Possession; he lives in Charleston; the Master's fixed Place of Abode was at Charleston, he had been living there upwards of Sixteen Years; he was born in Ireland; he was married, and his Family lived in Charleston.

5th. That he does not know the Tonnage of the Vessel; she was navigated by Twenty Persons besides himself, Thirteen of them are Americans, the others are Danes and Swedes, they all came on board at the Port of Charleston on the 25th or 26th Day of July last past; the former Master shipped them.

6th. That neither himself, or any of the Officers or Crew of the Vessel, have any Part, Share, or Interest in her or her Lading; he has heard the late Master say that he had an Interest in the Cargo, but he does not know what it is; Deponent has One Slave as an Adventure, the Doctor has One Slave, and the Third Mate has Two Slaves; he belonged to the Vessel at the Time of her Capture in Quality of Mate; he has known her about Four Years, he first saw her about that Time in Charleston; she was built in Bermuda.

7th. That the Name of the Ship is the *Africa*; he does not know, but believes she has always been called by that Name; she had a Sea Letter on board; it was obtained from the Custom House at Charleston; the first Voyage he made in the Vessel was from Charleston in South Carolina to the River Congo; carried Dry Goods, which were sold at that Place, and there took on board a Cargo consisting of 323 Slaves and 2 Teeth of Ivory, and returned direct to Charleston, w[h]ere they were sold; the present is the next Voyage, it was from Charleston to a Place called Talltrees in the River Congo, at which Place the Cargo, consisting of Dry Goods, was delivered, and the present Cargo, consisting of 323 Slaves, and 1 or 2 Ivory Teeth, were

taken onboard, with which he was proceeding to Charleston when taken; it was not the Intention of the former Master to go into that Port before he had received Advice from the Owner respecting their admitting him to an Entry, Charleston or not; in case they had not been admitted to an Entry at Charleston he supposes they would have gone to the Havannah to dispose of the Cargo, from the Circumstance of her having sold Two Cargos of Slaves there some short Time before he shipped on board her; the last Voyage began at Charleston and it was to have ended there; the Vessel sailed from Talltrees on the 17th Day of December last past, as near as he can recollect; the Vessel sails under the Management and Direction of William Boyd with respect to her Employment in Trade; he does not correspond with any Person upon the Concerns of the Vessel or her Cargo; she was built at Bermuda.

8th. That the Lading which the Vessel carried out on her first setting sail on her last Voyage consisted of Dry Goods; her present Cargo consists of 323 Slaves; they were taken on board between the 1st Day of November and Middle of December last past.

9th. That William Boyd was the Owner of the Vessel at the Time of the Capture; he knows it from his having employed Deponent; Mr. Boyd is a Native of Scotland; he lives in Charleston; he is not married; he has been living at that Place Twelve Years to Deponent's Knowledge; he does not know where he lived before; he is a Citizen of America.

10th. That there was a Bill of Sale for the Vessel to her aforesaid Owner; he does not know when it was made; it was made at Charleston; he does not know who were the Witnesses thereto; there was no Engagement entered into concerning the Purchase further than what appears upon the Bill of Sale; he believes it is among the Papers given up to the Captors.

11th. That the whole Cargo was taken on board at Talltrees, in the River Congo, between the 1st November and Middle of December last.

12th. That John Connolly, the former Master, was the Lader of the present Cargo, William Boyd was the Owner and Consignee thereof; the Lader was a Native of Ireland, the Owner and Consignee a Native of Scotland; he lives and carries on Business in Charleston; he has been living there Twelve Years to Deponent's Knowledge, he does not know where he resided before; the whole of the Lading was to have been delivered at the Port of Charleston in South Carolina, as far as Deponent knows, has heard, or believes, and on the real Account, Risk, and Benefit of William Boyd aforesaid; but in case she would not be admitted to an Entry at the Port of Charleston he believes that she would have been ordered by the

Owner to proceed to the Havannah, to dispose of the Slaves; it was the Intention of the former Master (as far as he knows) to proceed to Charleston, and had the Vessel not been captured Deponent, after succeeding to the Command, would have continued on to Charleston, to abide the Orders of the Owners;[7] he does take upon himself to swear that he believes, that at the Time of the lading the present Cargo, now, and if it shall be restored and unladen at the destined Port, it did, does, and will belong to the Person before asserted to be the Owner thereof, and to none others; he grounds his Knowledge thereof from his having been the Owner of the Outward Cargo, of which the present one is the Proceeds.

13th. That there were no Bills of Lading for the Cargo.

14th. That he believes all the Papers respecting the Vessel and her Cargo are in this Island.

15th. That there was no Charter-Party for the Voyage.

16th. That he does not know what Papers were on board the Vessel when she sailed from the River Congo; none have been burnt, torn, thrown overboard, destroyed, or cancelled, concealed, or attempted to be so dealt with by himself or any other Person, to his Knowledge.

17th. That he has heard and believes that the Vessel was taken and condemned at Guadaloupe some Time ago (he does not know when) on account of her having been English Property.

18th. That he has not sustained any Loss by the Capture; the Ship has lost a Long Boat by being cut away by Orders of the Captor; the Commander of the Brig has promised to pay for her if the Ship is given up; he has received no Indemnity or further Promise of Satisfaction for any thing he may lose thereby.

19th. That he does not know if the Vessel or her Cargo are insured.

20th. That in case the Ship had arrived at Charleston, her Port of Destination, and the Cargo had been there unladen, it would have remained the Property of William Boyd until sold.

21st. That the Cargoes are Natives of Africa.

22d. That the whole of the Slaves were taken from the Shore of the Kingdom of Emmbooma.

23d. That all the Papers respecting the Vessel and her Cargo are in this Island.

[7] Thomas Tilly's statement was: "it was the intention of Captain John Connolly to go into the Port of Charleston with the Slaves, although he had understood upon the Coast of Africa that Vessels with Slaves would not be permitted to an Entry at Charleston after the 1st Day of January last, and he at the same Time observed to Deponent that he expected to be seized by the Custom-House Officers at Charleston, but was in hopes of getting clear by protesting against Wind and Weather, which occasioned a longer Passage than he expected."

24th. That no Papers have been delivered out of the Vessel at Sea, or carried away in any Manner, except those given up to the Captors; every Paper has been given up.

25th. That Bulk has not been broken.

26th. That there are no Passengers.

27th. That all the Papers found on board the Vessel are entirely true and fair, none of them false or colourable; he knows of no Matter or Circumstance to affect their Credit; William Boyd obtained the Sea Letter for the Vessel from the Custom-House at Charleston for this Vessel only, and upon his own Oath; it is to last as long as she remains his Property; he does not know what Fee was paid for it; the Ship was at Charleston when the Sea Letter was obtained; no Person on board had a Let-Pass or Letter of Safe Conduct.

28th. That he has not written or signed any Letters or Papers respecting the Vessel or her Cargo.

29th. That the Ship was steering the best Course she could for Charleston when taken; her Course was not altered upon the Appearance of the Vessel by which she was taken, except to speak her, for which Purpose they bore up; her Course was at all Times, when the Weather would permit, directed to the Port of Charleston; the Ship was not sailing beyond or wide of the Port of Charleston, her Port of Destination, at the Time of Capture, or at any Time before.

30th. That he does not know who sold the Vessel to her present Owner, or when it was done, but he believes it was about Four Years last September, it was at Charleston; he believes that it was for 9000 Dollars; he believes in his Conscience that the Sale and Transfer has been fairly and truly made, and not done for the Purpose of covering or concealing the real Property; and he verily believes that if restored she will belong to Mr. Boyd and to no other Person or Persons; there is no private Agreement to return the Vessel to her former Owner at the Conclusion of the War, or at any other Period.

31st. That there are Two Guns mounted, Seventeen Muskets and some Pistols on board, and also some Powder; she was thus armed in order to keep the Slaves in Subjection.

32d. That he has declared the whole of what he knows and believes, according to the best of his Knowledge and Belief, regarding the real and true Property and Destination of the Vessel and her Cargo at the Time of Capture.

33d. That the Ship has not sailed under Convoy of any Ship of War or other armed Vessel.

34th. That the Ship has not sailed to or attempted to enter any blockaded Port.

JEREMIAH CONNOLLY.[8]

[8] The examinations of Nicholas Barry, steward, Thomas Tilly, trading mate, and John Burton, seaman, follow. Barry was born in Dublin, had sailed out of Charles-

Sea Letter.

Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, of America.
To all who shall see these Presents, Greeting.

Be it known, that Leave and Permission are hereby given to John Connolly, Master or Commander of the Ship called *Africa,* of Charleston, of the Burthen of 178 40/95ths Tons, or thereabouts, lying at present in the Port of Charleston, bound for Africa, and laden with Dry Goods, Gunpowder, Spirits, Cutlery, Iron, Rice, etc. to depart and proceed with his said Ship on his said Voyage, such Ship having been visited, and the said John Connolly having made Oath before the proper Officer that the said Ship belongs to one or more of the Citizens of the United States of America, and to him or them only.

In witness whereof I have subscribed my Name to these Presents, and affixed the Seal of the United States of America thereto, and caused the same to be countersigned by Simeon Theus, Collector at Charleston, the 23d Day of July, in the Year of our Lord Christ 1807.

By the President, TH. JEFFERSON.
(L.S.) JAMES MADDISON, Secretary of State.

Most Serene, Serene, Most Puissant, Puissant, High, Illustrius, Noble, Honorable, Venerable, Wise, and Prudent Lords, Emperors, Kings, Republics, Princes, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Lords, Burgomasters, Schepens, Counsellors, as also Judges, Officers, Justiciaries, and Regents of all the good Cities and Places, whether Ecclesiastical or Secular, who shall see these Presents, or hear them read. We, Abraham Crouch, Notary Public, make known, that the Master of the Ship appearing before us, has declared upon Oath that the Vessel called the *Africa,* of Charleston, of the Burthen of about 178 40/95ths Tons, which he at present navigates, is of the United States of America, and that no Subject of the present Belligerent Powers have any Part or Portion therein, directly nor indirectly, so may God Almighty help him: And as we wish to see the said Master prosper in his lawful Affairs, our Prayer is to all the before mentioned, and to each of them separately, where the said Master shall arrive with his Vessel and Cargo, that they may please to receive

ton for seven years but resided in Georgia. Tilly was born in Bristol, England, had lived in Charleston three years; Burton was born and lived in New Jersey. Burton testified that the present master was a nephew of the former one; Tilly, that William Boyd, the owner, was a Scotsman who had lived in Charleston about twenty-five years; Burton, that he believed the cargo was to be delivered at New Providence on the account of Boyd. Otherwise their evidence differs but little from that of the surgeon and master. Affidavits as to the Ship Papers, and the certificate of ownership of the vessel, are also omitted.

the said Master with Goodness, and to treat him in a becoming Manner, permitting him, upon the usual Tolls and Expences in passing and repassing, to pass, navigate, and frequent the Ports, Passes, and Territories to the end to transact his Business where and in what Manner he shall judge proper; whereof we shall be willingly indebted.

In Witness and for Cause whereof we affix hereto the Seal of our Office at CHARLESTON, July 23d, 1807.

(L.S.) AB'M CROUCH, Not. Pub.

Mediterranean Pass.

By the President of the United States of America.

Suffer the Ship *Africa,* of Charleston, Peter Caruth Master or Commander, of the Burthen of 178 50/95ths Tons, or thereabouts, mounted with Two Guns, navigated by Twenty-seven Men, to pass, with her Company, Passengers, Goods, and Merchandize, without any Hindrance, Seizure, or Molestation, the said Ship appearing by good Testimony to belong to one or more of the Citizens of the United States, and to him or them only.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the United States of America the 25th Day of November, in the Year of our Lord 1806.

By the President, TH. JEFFERSON.
JAMES MADDISON, Secretary of State.

No. 78. Seventy-eight.

(L.S.)

State of SOUTH CAROLINA, District of CHARLESTON.
Countersigned by SIMEON THEUS, Collector.

To all Persons whom these may concern.

(Indorsed)

District and Port of CHARLESTON, July 23d, 1807.

John Connolly having taken the Oath required by Law, is now Master of the within named Vessel in lieu of Peter Caruth, late Master.

SIMEON THEUS, Collector.
TH. WARING, Sr N. Off.

Invoice of the Outward Cargo.

Invoice of Sundries shipped by William Boyd on board the Ship *Africa,* Captain John Connolly, for the Coast of Africa (River Congo) on Account and Risk of the Shipper, a Citizen of the United States of America, consigned to the said Captain John Connolly, for the Purchase of Slaves, Ivory, etc. being marked and numbered as per Margin.

[Then follow the Marks and Numbers.]

Total Amount			34949	16
Charges.				
Bills of Lading, Certificates, etc.	12	25		
Wharfage, Drayage, Storage, etc.	215	0		
Cooperage and Negro Hire	132	60		
Drawbacks, Entries, Bonds, Certificates	20	0	379	85
£8243 8 9		Dollars	35329	1

Errors excepted,

WM. BOYD.[9]

CHARLESTON, July 25th, 1810.

Bill of Lading of Outward Cargo.

WB 5 15	2	Pipes Brandy
A 1 *a* 18	18	Puncheons Rum
A 1 *a* 58	58	Bales India Goods
59	1	" Cloth
60	1	" Baize
61 *a* 66	1	"
67 *a* 69	3	Chests } Manchester Goods
70 *a* 71	2	Bales } Manchester Goods
72	1	Trunk } Manchester Goods
73	1	Truss Caps
74 *a* 76	3	Bales Slops
77	1	Truss Bandannas
78	1	" Britannias
79	1	Bale Plains
80	1	" Cloth
81	1	" Umbrellas
(H)4853—92	3	Crates E'n Ware
A 1 *a* 16	16	Cases Guns
	120	Kegs } Powder
	10	Barrels } Powder
	250	Powder Kegs
A 5	1	Barrel Padlocks
	1	Cask Knives
WB	1	Keg Spoons
A 1	1	Box Pipes
	603	Iron Bars
	600	Stone Jugs
1 *a* 25	25	Barrels } Rice
	11	Half " } Rice
	12,849	lbs New Bread
	150	Bushels White Beans
	8	Barrels Flour
	6	" Mackerel

Shipped in good Order, and well-conditioned, by William Boyd, in and upon the good Ship called the *Africa*, whereof is Master for the present Voyage John Connolly, and now riding at Anchor in the Harbour of Charleston, and bound for the River Congo (Africa), to say, Sundry Merchandize, on Account and Risk of the Shipper, a Citizen of the United States of America, being marked and numbered as in the Margin, and are to be delivered in the like good Order, and well-conditioned at the aforesaid Port of Congo River, (the Danger of the Seas only excepted) unto the said Captain John Connolly, for the Purchase of Slaves, Ivory, etc. or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Cargo nothing, being Owner's Property, with Primage and Average accustomed.

In Witness whereof the Master or Purser of the said Ship hath affirmed to Three Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date, one of which being accomplished the others to stand void. Dated CHARLESTON, July 25, 1807.

JOHN CONNOLLY.[10]
WILLIAM BOYD, Shipper.

[9] The affidavit of property of the cargo, the manifest, and the clearance papers from Charleston are omitted.

[10] The attestation of property is here omitted.

Letter of Instructions to the Master

CHARL[E]STON, 24th July, 1807.

Captain John Connolly.

Dear Sir,

The Ship *Africa,* under your Command, being cleared, and ready to proceed on a Voyage to Angola for Slaves, I have to call your Attention to the following Instructions for your Government in conducting the same.

Herewith you have Invoice and Bill of Lading of a well assorted Cargo, for the Purchase of at least 350 Slaves in the River Congo, for which River you will proceed the first Opportunity.

From the very ample Investment with which you are provided I flatter myself you will be able to command the Trade over any other Vessel that may be in the River at the same Time; which I beg you will endeavour to do by every Means possible, so as to insure your Return here previous to the 1st of January, on which Day the Act prohibiting the Importation of Slaves goes into Operation, as there is not a Moment to be lost. I do not mean when I mention the Number of Slaves the Cargo is equal to purchase to bind you down to that Number, but leave this, as well as every thing else that may tend to insure Dispatch, to your own Discretion, and the Time that may remain for completing the Voyage.

I wish you to purchase as many young Men and Men Boys, and as few Females and small Slaves, as possible; in this, however, you must also in a great Degree be regulated according to Circumstances, but on no Account bring any old Men or fallen-breasted Women. It is better to return without Slaves than to croud the Ship with such.

I would by all means recommend your leaving Africa at latest by the 15th November, in which Case, from the *Africa's* fast sailing, there can be no Doubt of your reaching this in due Time. If however you should be on the Coast, and from contrary Winds unable to make Charleston, you will in that Case bear away for any Port you can fetch in the United States before the 1st of January, and report the Ship at the nearest Custom-House, as bound here, but put in by Stress of Weather, and by so doing the Prohibitory Act will not attach to the *Africa,* although she may not reach Charl[e]ston until after that Day. You will take Care to bring with you a Certificate from the Custom-House, where you may have reported of having done so.

During the Purchase and Middle Passage you will no doubt see the Propriety of treating the Slaves with every Attention and Indulgence that Humanity requires and Safety will permit.

The Ship's Articles will point out the Wages that you, your Officers, and Ship's Crew are to receive; in Addition to which you are to receive 5 per Cent. on the Gro. Sales of the Slaves, (out of which you are however to allow, on your own Account, to Mr. Tilly, the Trade Mate, £100;) also I am to allow him Two averaged Slaves of the Cargo, Mr. Connolly, the Chief Mate, one, Doctor Perlu one, and 50 per Cent. Head Money for each Slave, etc. Besides the foregoing it must be perfectly understood that you, the Officers, and Crew, are to have no other Privileges, nor is any private Trade Adventures to be carried on during the Voyage.

By the Invoice you will observe there is Cloathing already made up for 280 Slaves, and likewise a Quantity of Negro Cloth sufficient to make at least 80 other Suits, which you will have ready previous to your coming on the Coast.

Omit no Opportunity of writing me, mentioning your Proceedings, the Number of Slaves on board, Quantity of Cargo expended, etc. Also, after having completed your Purchase, write me by every Vessel that may be in the River bound either here or to the West Indies, covering a Bill of Lading for the whole Number of Negroes and other Cargo then on board, so as to enable me to recover the Loss from the Underwriters in case of Accident to the *Africa.*

Wishing you Health and every thing agreeable during the Voyage.

I remain, dear Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
WM. BOYD.

N. B. There is a Mistake in the Articles respecting your Wages: You are to have the same as Captain Caruth had, say £6 per Month.

Extracted from the Registry of His Majesty's Vice Admiralty Court at Tortola.

Before James Robertson, Esquire, Judge and Commissary of the same Court,

In the Presence of Mark Dyer French, Notary Public and Deputy Registrar.

Ship *Africa,* Jeremiah Connolly, Master.

Our Sovereign Lord the King against the Ship *Africa,* Jeremiah Connolly Master, and her Cargo, consisting of African Slaves, taken by His Majesty's Brig *Haughty,* Lieutenant John Mitchell, Commander, and brought to Tortola; and also against the said Master, Claimant of the said Ship and Cargo, intervening.

10th February, 1808. Forbes brought in Two Attestations, with Ship's Papers and Five Preparatory Examinations, and prayed the usual Monition, which the Judge, at his Petition, decreed.

13th. Simpson gave in a Claim of the said Master for the said Ship, her Tackle, Apparel, Furniture, and Cargo, on behalf and as the Property of William Boyd, of Charleston, South Carolina, Merchant, with an Attestation annexed.

Monday, 14th March. On the Admission of the Claim of the said Master for the said Ship and Cargo,

Simpson prayed the same to be admitted, and the said Ship and Cargo to be restored as claimed, with Costs and Expences, etc.

Forbes prayed the same Claim to be rejected and the said Ship and Cargo to be condemned. The Judge, having heard the said Claim and Proofs read, and Advocates and Proctors on both Sides thereon, assigned the Cause for Sentence whensoever.

For Sentence.

Wednesday, 16th March. The Judge assigned his Reasons, retained the Claim of the said Master for the said Ship and Cargo, and decreed the same to be restored as claimed, but considering the peculiar Circumstances of the Case, decreed the Captors not only their Costs, but a Reimbursement of all the Expences that have been incurred in the Preservation and safe keeping the Property in question.

Forbes notified to the Court, that on the Part of the Captor he appealed from the said Sentence of Restoration.

Simpson notified also, that he appealed from that Part of the said Sentence which made against his Party. Commission of Appraisement at the Instance of both Proctors.

MARK D. FRENCH, Not. Pub. and Dep. Registrar.

391. CASE OF THE *TARTAR*, 1808.[1]

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

Tartar, James Taylor, Master.

Daniel Hooffstetter, of London, Merchant, the Claimant of the said Ship and her Cargo, on Behalf of Frederic Tavel, of Charlestown, Merchant, a Citizen of the United States of America, — Appellant.

Against

J. W. Neesham, Esq. Commander of His Majesty's Ship of War *Ulysses,* the Captor, and Charles Bishop, Esq. His Majesty's Procurator General, — Respondents.

[391] [1] Vice Admiralty briefs, in the possession of the Marine Research Society.

(On an Appeal from the Court of Vice-Admiralty of the Island of Barbadoes.)

Case on Behalf of the Appellant.

This is an American Ship which sailed from Charlestown on the 22d Nov. 1806, (long before the Act prohibitory of the Slave Trade passed in America,) bound to Rio Pougas, on the Coast of Africa, there to trade for Slaves, Bees Wax, and other Productions of the Coast, and return therewith to Charlestown. She arrived at Rio Pongas, in the latter End of January, 1807, and remained trading until January in the following Year, the Master being able to procure only 72 Slaves on Account of his Owner, but having taken upwards of 90 on Freight.

On the 2nd of February 1808, when proceeding for the Island of Martinique (the Importation of Slaves into America being prohibited from the 1st January) the said Ship was captured by His Majesty's Ship of War *Ulysses,* J. W. Neesham, Esq. Commander, and carried into Barbadoes.

Proceedings were commenced in the Court of Vice Admiralty at that Place against the Ship and Cargo.

1808, 15th Feb. A Claim was given for the Ship and Cargo as the Property of Fredireck Tavel of Charlestown, Merchant, a Citizen of the United States of America, and for Freight, etc.

9th March. The Cause came on to be heard, when the Judge was pleased to condemn the Ship and Cargo as Prize.

It is understood that the Slaves on Freight, the Property of the Master, Supercargo, and Passengers on-board, were given up to them upon Payment of Freight, which the Captors received under this Decree.

17th October. Daniel Hooffstetter, of London, Merchant, gave a Claim in this Court, on Behalf of the said F. Tavel, for the Ship and Cargo, and interposed an Appeal, which has been duly prosecuted, and now stands assigned for Sentence before your Lordships. . . .[2]

The Proctor of the Appellant will humbly pray your Lordships to pronounce for the Appeal, to reverse the Sentence appealed from, to retain the principal Cause, and therein to admit the Claim of Mr. Hooffstetter, and to decree the Ship and 72 Slaves to be restored, or the Value thereof paid, and to pronounce Freight to be due, on the Remainder of the Cargo, for (among many others) the following

[2] Brief extracts from the evidence of James Taylor, M'Guire, J. P. White, and I. Williams are here omitted, also the list of Ship Papers, letter of instruction, and bill of lading.

REASONS:

Because the same clearly appear to be the Property of the American Citizen, for whom they are claimed, and engaged in lawful Trade.

R. DALLAS.
J. H. ARNOLD.

17 Nov. 1810

Tartar — J. Taylor, Bishop } For Sentence
Addance [?]

The Lords pronounced against the Appeal Affirmed the Sentence Appealed from and remitted the Cause.

Respondents' Case.[3]

Captured, 2d Feb. 1808. This Vessel, under American Colours, sailed from Charleston on the 22d November, 1806, laden with Tobacco, Brandy, and India Stuffs, bound for Rio Pungos, on the Coast of Africa, where she arrived on the 24th of January, 1807, and disposed of the said Cargo, and in return took in 168 Slaves, and sailed from Rio Pungos on the 9th of January, 1808, and was captured on the 2d February following, whilst proceeding to Martinique, by His Majesty's Ship *Ulysses,* C. J. W. Nesham, Esquire, Commander, and carried to Barbadoes, where Proceedings were instituted against the Vessel and Cargo as Prize.

1808. Feb. 15th. A Claim of Thomas Sandford was given for the Vessel and Cargo, as the Property of Frederick Tavel, of Charleston.

March 9th. The Cause came on for Hearing, when the Judge at Barbadoes was pleased to condemn this Ship and Cargo as Prize to the Captors.

Proceedings in this Court.

1808. 7th October. An Inhibition was extracted on an Appeal of Daniel Hoofstetter, of London, Merchant, Claimant of the Ship and Cargo as the Property of the aforesaid Frederick Tavel, and such Appeal has been proceeded in.[4] . . .

The Appeal having been proceeded in, now comes on for Hearing; and it is humbly hoped, on the Part of the Respondents, that your Lordships will be pleased to pronounce against the Appeal, and affirm the Sentence appealed from, with Costs, for the following, among other

[3] The usual introductory statement of appellant and respondent is here omitted.
[4] The evidence presented, consisting of extracts from the examinations of James Taylor, Patrick M'Guire, J. P. White, and Isaac Williams, and the Ship Papers are omitted. These extracts are not identical with those in the case of the appellant.

REASONS.

Because the Ship was proceeding from Africa with a Cargo of Slaves to the Enemy's Colony, under a false Destination to Charleston.

Because such a Trade, under any Circumstances, is contrary to the Laws of America, and not within the Order of Council of 24th June, 1803.

Because Part of the Cargo is admitted to belong to a British Subject, and is as such liable to Confiscation by Stat. 46 Geo. III. ch. 52.

CHR. ROBINSON.
V. GIBBS.

Joint Appendix[5]

Claim of Mr. Hooffstetter, given in this Court. 27th October 1808.

The Claim of Daniel Hooffstetter, of London, Merchant, for and on Behalf of Frederick Tavel, of Charlestown, Merchant, a Citizen of the United States of America, the true, lawful, sole Owner and Proprietor of the said Ship, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, and the Goods, Wares and Merchandizes therein laden, at the Time the same were seized and taken as Prize by His Majesty's Ship of War *Ulysses,* C. J. W. Neesham, Esq. Commander, and carried into Barbadoes, in the Vice Admiralty Court of which Place they were, on or about the Month of March last past, but within Twelve Months of the present Time, condemned. For the said Ship and Goods, as the true, lawful, sole and entire Property of the said Frederick Tavel, and for all such Loss, Costs, Charges, Damages, and Expences, as have arisen and been incurred, or shall or may arise and be incurred, by Reason of the Capture, Detention, and subsequent Condemnation thereof, as aforesaid.

DANIEL HOOFFSTETTER.

Affidavit in Verification annexed.

Appeared Personally, Daniel Hooffstetter, of London, Merchant, and made Oath that he is duly authorized to make the Claim hereto annexed, and that he verily believes that the said Ship, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, and the Goods, Wares, and Merchandize therein laden, at the Time the same were seized and taken as Prize by His Majesty's Ship of War *Ulysses,* C. J. W. Neesham, Esquire, Commander, and carried into Barbadoes, in the Vice Admiralty Court of which Place the same were, in or about the Month of March last past, but within Twelve Months of the present Time condemned, were and now are the true, lawful, sole and entire Property

[5] The statement of appellant and respondent is here omitted.

of Frederick Tavel, of Charlestown, Merchant, a Citizen of the United States of America, on whose Behalf the same are claimed, and that no Person or Persons, belonging to or being a Subject or Subjects of, or inhabiting within any of the Territories of the French or Batavian Governments, or the Countries now or lately styling themselves the Italian and Ligurian Republics, the Kings of Spain, Prussia, or Denmark, the Emperor of Russia, the Ports and Territories of Tuscany, the Kingdom of Naples, the Port and Territory of Ragusa, or those of the Islands lately composing the Republic of the Seven Islands, and all other the Ports and Places in the Mediterranean and Adriatic Seas, which are occupied by the Arms of France, or her Allies, their Factors or Agents, or any Person or Persons whomsoever, Enemies of the Crown of Great Britain and Ireland, had at the Time of the Capture aforesaid, or now have, any Right, Title, or interest in the said Ship or Goods, or any Part thereof. And he lastly saith, he verily believes the Claim hereto annexed to be a true and just Claim, and that he shall be able to make due Proof and Specification thereof.

DANIEL HOOFSTETTER.

Same day, the said Daniel Hooffstetter was duly
sworn to the Truth of this Affidavit,
before me
HERBERT JENNER, Surr.

Claim of Thomas Sandford, given in the Court below.

The Claim of Thomas Sandford, of the Island abovesaid, Esq. on Behalf of Frederick Tavel, of Charlestown, South Carolina, in North America, the true and lawful Owner and Proprietor of the said Brigantine or Vessel *Tartar,* with the Cargo on board her at the Time of her Capture and Detention, by His Majesty's Ship of War *Ulysses,* for the said Brigantine or Vessel, with her Cargo on board, as the sole Property of the said Frederick Tavel, a Citizen of the United States of America, and for all such Freight, Costs, Charges, Damages, Demurrage, and Expences, as have arisen, or shall or may arise, by Reason of the Capture and Detention aforesaid of the said Vessel *Tartar* and her Cargo.

Affidavit annexed to the said Claim. Dated Feb. 15, 1808.

On the fifteenth Day of February, one thousand eight hundred and eight, appeared personally James Taylor, Master of the said Brigantine, and made Oath, that he is a Citizen of the United States of America, and that on the second Day of February, in the present Year, the said Brigantine was captured and detained by His Maj-

esty's Ship of War *Ulysses*, and sent into Carlisle Bay, in this Island, and he saith that Frederick Tavel, of Charlestown, South Carolina, in North America, is the true and lawful Owner of the said Brigantine or Vessel, with the Cargo on board, excepting twenty-nine Slaves, belonging to Deponent and the Supercargo; and he further made Oath and saith, that the Claim hereto annexed is just and true, and that due Proof thereof, as he believes, can be made.

(Signed) J. P. MARYES.
THOMAS SANDFORD.

Same Day, before me,
(Signed) JNO. C. STRAKER.

Examinations in Preparatory.

First Witness, James Taylor, the Master. Deponent for Answer to the first Interrogatory saith, That he was born in Boston, in America, and has been living for these last Seven Years past in Charles Town; has lived there eight or nine Years; is a Citizen of the United States of America, is not a Burgher of any Town or City in the World, is a S[i]ngle Man.

To the second, Was present when the Brig of which Deponent is now examined was seized and taken; she had not any Commission of War.

To the third, Saith that in Latitude 13° 24′, on or about the 2nd of February instant, said Vessel was seized; cannot state on what Pretence or for what Reason she was so taken, as none was assigned; was brought into Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes; sailed under American Colours, and had none other on board; made no Resistance; was taken by His Majesty's Ship *Ulysses*; two other of His Majesty's Ships of War were in sight at the Time of the Capture.

To the fourth, Deponent is himself Master of the Vessel taken; was appointed to the Command of said Brig by Frederick Tavel; took Possession of her at New York, in February 1806; was given Possession by said Tavel; he lives in Charles Town in America.

To the fifth, Saith the Vessel is one hundred and sixty Tons Burthen; the Number of Mariners, including Officers, seven; three shipped at Charles Town, in November 1807, the rest in Africa, at Rio Pongas, were hired by this Deponent.

To the sixth, That he hath no Interest in the Vessel; hath an Interest in the Cargo of thirteen Slaves on board her, which are his Property; the Super Cargo has fifteen Slaves on board; no other Officers or Mariners have any Property in Vessel or Cargo; this Deponent belonged to the Vessel in Capacity of Master; has known her for three or four Years; first saw her in Charles Town, three or four Years ago; cannot state where she may have been built.

To the seventh, That the Name of this Vessel is *Tartar*; she has been so called ever since she was built; she had not a Passport or Sea-brief on-board; she touched at the Rio Pongas in Africa, during the Voyage in which she was taken; her last Voyage began at Charlestown, and was to have ended there; the first Voyage this Ship has made since Deponent being Master, was from Charlestown in America, to the Rio Pongas in Africa, laden with Tobacco and Rum; she sailed from Charlestown on the 21st February, 1806, and arrived in Rio Pongas, on the 4th April, in the same Year; the Cargo was delivered at Rio Pongas; she there took on-board one hundred and one Slaves or thereabouts, and sailed from thence on the 6th Day of August 1806, to Charlestown, where she arrived on the 3d Day of October in the same Year; the said Cargo of Slaves was there put on Shore; she sailed last from the Rio Pongas in Africa, on the 7th Day of January, in the present Year 1808.

To the eighth, That the Lading on-board at the Time of her setting Sail on her present Voyage from Charlestown, consisted in Tobacco, Brandy, and India Stuffs, the Quantities of each Sort this Deponent cannot set forth; laden with this Cargo she left Charlestown on the 22nd of November 1806, bound to the Rio Pongas, in Africa, where she arrived on the 24th Day of January 1807, the Cargo was there unladen and bartered for Slaves; saith that 168 Slaves were then laden on-board the Ship; with them on board she left the Rio Pongas on the ninth of January, in the present Year 1808, and was seized and detained as aforesaid with said Slaves; a very small Proportion of Ivory on-board.

To the ninth, That Frederick Tavel is the Name of the Owner of this Vessel at the Time she was seized and taken; he knows so by the Papers of the Vessel, and from having sailed in said Frederick Tavel's employ betwixt four and five Years; believes that Tavel is a Native of Switzerland; he resides with his Wife and Family at three Miles distant from Charlestown in America; Deponent has known him to be living there six Years; cannot say where he may have resided before; is a Citizen of the United States of America.

To the tenth, That there was a Bill of Sale made for this Vessel from a Mr. Hemly to Mr. Tavel, at Charlestown, in November 1805; that said Bill of Sale was drawn by a Notary-Public, whose Name is Crouch, at the Custom House, Charlestown; cannot say in the Presence of what Witness it may have been signed; no further Engagement was entered into concerning the Purchase, than what may appear upon the Bill of Sale; saith that 5500 Dollars was the Amount of the Purchase Money; Deponent last saw the aforesaid Bill of Sale in Charlestown, and believes it to be in the Possession of said Mr. Tavel there.

To the eleventh, Saith the outward-bound Cargo was put on-board at Charlestown, during the Space of three or four Days the Slaves were put on-board at the Rio Pongas, on the Coast of Africa, at different Times during the Space of twelve Months and upwards.

To the twelfth, That aforesaid Frederick Tavel, a Mr. Holman, a Mr. Llangley, and Deponent, were Laders and Owners of the outward-bound Cargo, consisting in Tobacco, Brandy, and India Stuffs; Mr. Tavel's Property was consigned to the Supercargo, Francis Roux; Messrs. Holman and Langley were Passengers on board the said Ship from Charlestown to the Coast, and took Charge of their own Property; Mr. Tavel is a Native of Switzerland as aforesaid; Mr. Holman was born in Africa, and is now resident there; Mr. Langley was by birth an American; since died on the Coast of Africa; that the said Lading was delivered on the Coast of Africa, on the real Account of the Shippers; that the Slaves now on-board belong to Mr. Tavel, Mr. M'Guire, Patrick Kearson, Samuel Sammo, Mr. White, the Supercargo Mr. Roux, and Deponent; that said Tavel is an American Citizen; he cannot state where he was born; that Patrick Kearson is also an American Citizen; the Place of his Birth is unknown to Deponent; that Mr. M'Guire is, Deponent believes, also an American Citizen; Samual Sammo is by Birth an Englishman, as Deponent believes, and resident on the Coast of Africa; though a naturalized American; Francis Roux was born in Saint Domingo, though a naturalized American; Mr. White is an American Citizen, the Place of his birth unknown to Deponent; the distinct Interest of each of the aforesaid Persons as follows, Mr. Tavel's Proportion between sixty and seventy Slaves, Mr. M'Guire's thirty-three, Mr. Kearson's ten, Mr. Sammo's fifteen, Mr. White's six, Mr. Roux fifteen, Deponent thirteen; Deponent can take upon himself to swear, that at the Time of Lading said Slaves, and at the present Time, and also if they be restored, they did, do, and will belong to the Persons asserted in the Answer to this Interrogatory to be the Owners thereof, and none other.

To the thirteenth, Saith each of the aforesaid Shippers had three Sets of Bills of Lading, all of same Tenor and Date, signed by Deponent for their respective Number of Slaves, on-board the said Ship, none of those were false or colourable, and none were signed in any Manner different from those which were on-board the Ship at the Time she was taken.

To the fourteenth, Saith that there are not in Great Britain any Letters, Bills of Lading, Invoices, or Instruments relating to this Ship and the Slaves on-board her, to Deponent's Knowledge.

To the fifteenth, Saith there was not any Charterparty signed for this Voyage in which the said Ship was taken.

To the sixteenth, That the usual Ship Papers, and some Private Letters, were on-board at the Time of the Seizure of the Ship; no Papers whatsoever were burnt, torn, thrown overboard, or concealed at such Time.

To the seventeenth, Saith he hath heard and believes that this Vessel has been seized as Prize by a French Privateer while in St. Domingo, and tried and condemned as such in the Island of Cuba.

To the eighteenth, Deponent hath as yet sustained no Loss by the Seizure and Detention of this Ship.

To the nineteenth, Cannot answer if the said Ship and Goods, or any Part, be insured or not.

To the twentieth, In case the Ship had arrived at the destined Port, the Cargo, on being unladen, would still have been the Property of the aforementioned Persons already asserted to be the Owners.

To the twenty-first, Saith the Slaves are all Natives of the Windward Coast of Africa.

To the twenty-second, Saith that the outward-bound Cargo was taken from the Shore at Charlestown, the Slaves were taken also from the Shore in Africa, and neither transhipped from any Vessel.

To the twenty-third, Saith that he believes there are in America some Letters and Papers relating to this Ship and the Cargo; he Deponent hath written two or three Letters to Mr. Tavel aforesaid, previous to and since the Capture.

To the twenty-fourth, Saith that the Whole of the Papers were taken away by the Captain at the Time of Capture, being delivered up by him, Deponent.

To the twenty-fifth, Saith that some of the Slaves have been put on Shore since the Capture of the Vessel in this Port, by an Application to the Court of Vice Admiralty in this Island for that Purpose made.

To the twenty-sixth, Saith that the aforesaid M'Guire and White, mentioned in Deponent's Answer to the twelfth Interrogatory in this his Examination, as part Owners of the Slaves on-board, were Passengers on-board said Ship, at the Time of the Capture thereof; cannot say what may be their Occupation; they came on board at the Rio Pongas, in Africa, and were destined to Charlestown, upon what Business Deponent doth not know; they had an Interest as aforesaid in the Slaves on-board.

To the twenty-seventh, Saith that all the Papers were true and fair, that he Deponent knows of no Matter or Circumstance to affect their Credit.

To the twenty-eighth, Nothing.

To the twenty-ninth, Saith that the Ship was steering towards Martinique at the Time she was pursued and taken; that her Course was not altered upon the Appearance of the Vessel by which she was taken; that her Course was not directed to the Port to which she appears destined by the Ship's Papers; that the Reason of altering the Destination to Martinique was, that after leaving Rio Pongas, the Vessel was becalmed, and Deponent concluding from this Circumstance that the Slaves and Crew on-board would be in Want of Food and Provisions, if the Ship continued the Course for Charlestown, determined to bear away for Martinique; that she was distant from Martinique about Twelve Leagues.

To the thirtieth, Saith that he only knows of the Transfer of this Vessel from Mr. Hamly aforesaid, to her present Owner, Frederick Tavel, for the Consideration of 5500 Dollars as aforesaid; that he believes that Sum to have been actually paid, and the Transfer duly made, and not for the Purpose of covering the Property, and that if she be restored she will belong to said Mr. Tavel and none other.

To the thirty-first, That a few Muskets, some Cutlasses, two or three Pistols, and a small Quantity of Powder, were on-board at the Time of Capture, and no other warlike Stores.

To the thirty-second, Saith that the real and true Property of said Vessel is American, and the Destination Charlestown, in America; the Deponent saith that if he could have met with an advantageous Offer, he would have sold his Proportion of Slaves at Martinique, the Vessel being destined to that Island, for the Purpose of procuring Food and Provisions as aforesaid.

(Signed) JAMES TAYLOR.

Taken and sworn before me on the 20th Day of Feby. 1808.

(Signed) JNO. C. STRAKER, Registrar.

[6] . . . . . .

Bill of Lading of Goods shipped by John L'Engle on the outward Voyage. Dated 15th Nov. 1806.

Bill of Lading of Goods shipped by John L'Engle, on the outward Voyage. Dated 15th Nov. 1806.
F. and F.
L. No. 1, 2, 3.

Shipped by the Grace of God, in good Order and well-conditioned, by John L'Engle, in and upon the Brig called the *Tartar*, whereof is Master under God for this present Voyage James Taylor, and now riding at Anchor in Charleston, and by God's Grace bound for Africa, Pongas River, to say, No. 28, 83. two Boxes Checks, containing 200

[6] The evidence of Patrick M'Guire and J. P. White, passengers taken on board in Africa, and of Isaac Williams, seaman, also the attestations of John Williams, mate of the *Ulysses*, and Tavel, owner, are omitted. M'Guire was the owner of 33 of the slaves on board, White owned 6.

K.R.M. No. 240

O.W. and Co. 273

B. and L. 3, No. 14

The whole going on sole Account and Risk of the Shipper, a Citizen of the United States of America, John L'Engle.

Pieces; one hundred thirty-nine Bars Iron, Weighing 5430; thirty-five Bundles do. Eighteen Kegs Gun-Powder, F. and F; three small Bales Blue Inkerchiefts; B. 1. Ps. one Bale blue Bafts, containing 60 Pieces; one do. Hamons, containing 100 Pieces; one Box Checks, containing 50 Pieces; low Pipes, containing 10 Dozen; one Box White Hats, containing 2 Dozen; thirty Bags Shot; being marked and numbered as in the Margin, and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well-conditioned at the aforesaid Port of Pongas River, the Danger of the Seas only excepted, unto John L'Engle, or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for said Goods, one hundred and seventy-five Bars of Iron, with Primage and Average accustomed. In Witness thereof, the Master or Purser of the said Ship hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date, the one of which three Bills being accomplished, the other two to stand void; And so God send the good Ship to her desired Port in Safety, Amen. Dated at CHARLESTON, November 15th, 1806; I do say one hundred and seventy-five Bars Freight.[7]

Manifest of the Outward Cargo.

Report and Manifest of the Cargo laden on-board the Brig "Tartar", James Taylor Master, from the Port of Charleston, bound for Rio Pongo, Port of Africa.

Marks	Numbers	Packages or Articles in Bulk	Contents or Qualities
FF.	1 *a* 48	Forty-eight Hogsheads	Tobacco
E.T.	Same	Fifteen Pipes	Brandy
A.C.H.	"	Six Hogsheads	Tobacco
TR.	70, 77, 45, 16, 47, 46, 4, 39	Eight Casks	Claret
		Forty Barrels	Pitch and Tar
		Twenty Barrels	Flour
		1 Cask 6 Barrels	Vinegar
		24 Barrels	Gun Powder
O.W. and Co.	23 and 273	Two Bales	Humhums
W. and F.	174, 175, 176	Three Bales	Chints
	2 and 5	Two Tierces	Slops
T.L.	1 *a* 4	Four Hhds	Tobacco
		Two Bales	Blue Baffts
		Bundles	Bar Iron
K.R.M.	240	One Bale	Buffts
		Three Boxes	Checks
L.	1 *a* 3	3 Packages	Handkerchiefs
		Two Boxes	Negro Pipes
		One Box	Hats

CHARLESTON, November 15th, 1806.

[7] The attestation of L'Engle, which follows, and Taylor's signatures are here omitted.

It is agreed between the Master Seamen or Mariners of the American Brig "Tartar", James Taylor, Master, now bound from the Port of Charlestown, in the State of South Carolina, for Rio Pongas, in Africa, and from thence back to any Port in the United States of America.

Time of Entry	Names	Quality	Places of Birth	Residence	Citizen or Subject of	Advance Wages Dol's	Wages Monthly Dol's	Witnesses to their Signing
1806, Nov. 15	James Taylor	Master	Massachusetts	Charleston	the United States	50	50	(Signed) ABRAHAM CROUCH, Not. Public. (Signed) WILLIAM GREENLAND.
Thomas Ring	Daniel Ingerson, decd. his	Mate	Maryland	Baltimore	" " "	45	45	
	Hugh X Erving Mark his	2d Mate	South Carolina	Charleston	" " "	40	40	
	Anders X Aberg Mark his	Mariner	Sweden	Helsingfors	Sweden	30	30	
	J. H. X Holm Mark his	"	Denmark	Charleston	Denmark	30	30	
	John X Jervison Mark his	"	South Carolina	"	the United States	30	30	
	Isaac X Williams Mark his	"	Maryland	"	" " "	30	30	
	Pedro X Bronsary Mark	"	Ragusa	"	Ragusa	30	30	
	Cornelis Smith[9]	"	Russia	Embden	Prussia	30	30	
	Dominique Godels his	Cooper	St. Domingo	Charleston	a Freeman	34	34	
	George X Sammener Mark	Cook	Africa	Rio Pongus	C "	20	20	
	L'Conuet his	Physician	France	Charleston	the United States		35	
	John X Walton Mark his	Seaman	Virginia	"	" " "		30	
1807, Oct. 23	Justice X Williams Mark	"	New York	"	" " "			

[8] Clearance papers are here omitted.

[9] In a list of the crew among the Ship Papers, the birthplace of Cornelius Smith is given as Prussia, and the two names which follow are Godets and Lammener.

Bill of Lading of Goods shipped by F. Tavel, in the outward Voyage. Dated 15th Nov. 1806.

F. 1 *a* 48; 48 Hhds Tobacco
A C H, 6 Hhds. Do.
F T, 15 Pipes Brandy
TR, 8 Casks Claret
40 Bbls. Pitch and Tar
20 Bbls. Flour
7 Vinegar
8 Kegs Gunpowder
O.W. and Co. 23-1 Bale
W and F, 174, 175, 176, 3 Bale Chints 2 and 5. 2 Tierces Slops.
2 Bales Blue Boffs
160 Packages
Shipper
P. F. Tavel

Shipped in good Order and well-conditioned by Frederick Tavel, on his own Account and Risk, in and upon the good Brig, called the *Tartar*, whereof is Master for this present Voyage James Taylor, and now lying in the Port of Charleston, and bound for Rio Pongas, to say, fifty-four Hogsheads Tobacco, fifteen Pipes Brandy, eight Casks Claret, forty Barrels Naval Stores, twenty Barrels Flour, five Bales Dry Goods, as per Margin, going on Account and Risk of the Shipper, a Citizen of the United States of America, being marked and numbered as in the Margin, and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well-conditioned, at the aforesaid Port of Rio Pongas, the Danger of the Seas only excepted, unto Francis Roux, Supercargo, or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Goods nothing, being the Owner's Property, with Primage and Average accustomed. In Witness whereof the Master or Purser of the said Brig hath affirmed to four Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date, the one of which four Bills being accomplished, the other three to stand void. Dated in CHARLESTON, November 15, 1806.

(Signed) JAMES TAYLOR.

Bills of Lading of the Present Cargo.

Shipped in good Order and well-conditioned, by Patrick Maguire, a Citizen of the United States of America, in and upon the good Brig called the *Tartar*, whereof is Master for this present Voyage James Taylor, and now riding at Anchor in the Harbour of Rio Pongas, and bound for Charleston, to say, three Prime Slaves, two Women Girls and one Woman, being shipped at the Risque and on Account of Messrs. Ingraham and M'Cormick, being marked and numbered as in the Margin,[10] and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well-conditioned at the aforesaid Port of Charleston, the Danger of the Seas and Mortality excepted, unto Messrs. Ingraham and

[10] "Marked O on the right Thigh."

M'Cormick, or to their Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Slaves Thirty Dollars per Head, with Primage and Average accustomed. In Witness whereof, the Master or Purser of the said Ship hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date, one of which being accomplished, the others to stand void. Dated November 8, 1807.

(Signed) JAMES TAYLOR.[11]

Shipped in good Order and well-conditioned, in and upon the good Brig called the *Tartar*, whereof James Taylor is Master for the present Voyage, To say, Eight Men, two Women, two Girls, and three Boys, per Account and Risk of Samuel Samos, a Citizen of the United States, and consigned to Mr. Francis Roux, and to be delivered in the like good Order, the Dangers of the Seas and Mortality excepted, at the Port of Charleston, or any other Port, he or they paying Freight for the same at the Rate of Thirty Dollars each.

Shipped in good Order and well-conditioned, in and upon the good Brig called the *Tartar*, whereof James Taylor is Master, to say, Three Men, two Boys and one Girl, marked and numbered as per Margin,[12] and to be delivered in the like good Order and well-conditioned, the Dangers of the Seas and Mortality only excepted, to him or his Assigns, he or they paying Freight at the Rate of thirty Dollars each.

Shipped in good Order and well-conditioned by Robert W. Cunningham on Account and Risque of Patrick Coffin, Citizen of the United States of America, in and upon the good Brig called the *Tartar*, whereof is Master for this present Voyage, James Taylor, and now lying in the River Riopongas, and bound for the West Indies, or a Market; to say, Ten Prime Slaves, seven Men, two Boys, and one Girl, being marked and numbered as in the Margin,[13] and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well-conditioned at the aforesaid Port of Delivery, say West Indies, the Dangers of the Seas, Mortality, and Insurrection only excepted, unto the said Master, or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Goods, Slaves, at the Rate of twenty-five Dollars per Head. In Witness whereof the Master or Purser of the said Brig hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date, the one of which three Bills of Lading being accomplished, the other two to stand void. Dated in RIO PONGAS, January 5, 1808.

Shipped in good Order and well-conditioned by I. James Taylor, on his own Account and Risk, in and upon the good Brig *Tartar*, whereof is Master for this present Voyage, and now lying in the River Pongas,

[11] From the bills which follow, Taylor's signature has been here omitted.
[12] "O on the Right Shoulder."
[13] "Marked with a Pipe on the left Hipp."

and bound for Charleston, or any other Port, to say, Thirteen Slaves, going on the sole Account and Risk of the Shipper, a Citizen of the United States of America, being marked and numbered as in the Margin, and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well-conditioned at the aforesaid Port of Charleston, or any other Port, the Danger of Seas only excepted, unto I. James Taylor, or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the Slaves thirty Dollars per Head. In Witness whereof, the Master or Purser of the said Brig hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading all of this Tenor and Date, the one of which three Bills being accomplished, the other to stand void. Dated in RIOPONGAS, January 5, 1808.

Shipped in good Order and well-conditioned by Francis Roux, on his own Account and Risk, in and upon the good Brig called the *Tartar*, whereof is Master for this present Voyage James Taylor, and now lying in the Port of Charleston, and bound for Charleston, or any other Port, to say, fifteen Slaves, going on the sole Account and Risk of the Shipper, a Citizen of the United States of America, being marked and numbered as in the Margin,[14] and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well-conditioned at the aforesaid Ports of Charleston, or any other Port, the Danger of the Seas only excepted, unto Francis Roux, or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Slaves thirty Dollars per Head. In Witness whereof, the Master or Purser of the said Brig hath affirmed to two Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date, the one of which one Bills being accomplished, the other one to stand void. Dated in RIO PONGAS, 5th January, 1808.

Shipped in good Order and well-conditioned, by Patrick Maguire, a Citizen of the United States of America, in and upon the good Brig called the *Tartar*, whereof is Master for this present Voyage James Taylor, and now riding at Anchor in the Harbour of Rio Pongas, and bound for Charleston, or any other Port, to say, thirty-three Slaves, being marked and numbered as in the Margin,[15] and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well-conditioned at the aforesaid Port of Charleston, the Mortality and Danger of the Seas only excepted, unto Patrick Maguire, or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Slaves, to say, thirty-five Dollars, with Primage and Average accustomed. In Witness whereof, the Master or Purser of the said Brig *Tartar* hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date, one of which being accomplished, the others to stand void. Dated 5th January, 1808.

[14] "Five Boys, Five Women, Five Men, marked left Arm O. Shipper Fs. Roux."
[15] "Men 19, Boys 5, Women 2, Girls 7. Marked with a Pipe Bowl on the Left Shoulder, except three without Mark."

Shipped in good Order and well-conditioned, by Francis Roux, a Citizen of the United States, in and upon the good Brig called the *Tartar,* whereof is Master for this present Voyage James Taylor, and now lying in the River Riopongas and bound for Charleston, South Carolina, or any other Port, *viz.* Seventy-two Slaves, the same being shipt on the Account and Risk of Frederick Tavel, also a Citizen of the United States, being marked and numbered as in the Margin, and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well-conditioned, at the aforesaid Port of Charleston, or any other Port, the Danger of Seas, Insurrection, and Mortality only excepted, unto Francis Tavel or to their Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Slaves Freight free, Owner's Property. In Witness whereof the Master or Purser of the said Brig hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date, the one of which Bills being accomplished, the other two to stand void. Dated in RIO PONGO, 5th January, 1808.[16]

Instructions from F. Tavel to F. Roux, the Supercargo. Dated 15th Nov. 1806.

For Francis Roux, Supercargo on board the Brig *Tartar,* James Taylor, Master, from the Port of Charleston to Rio Pongas, Coast of Africa, and back to Charleston. The Brig *Tartar* is bound direct from Charleston to Rio Pongas. Arrived safe in that River, Francis Roux is hereby instructed to apply immediately to all the Factors there, and make his Trade as quick as possible, with such with whom he may meet the greatest Advantage, and above all the quickest Delivery of Slaves in return of the present Cargo under his care. Francis Roux is directed to make his Trade as much as possible at Rio Pongo, not to any other Places of the Coast except in Cases of absolute Necessity, to say, only when he should find no Possibility of obtaining there Slaves in return, he will avoid as much as it will lay in his Power to deliver his Merchandizes without receiving Returns thereof. He will try to dispose of the Whole of his Cargo at once, for a prompt Delivery of the Slaves in return in such Bargain, with proper Security for its Execution on the Part of the Factors or Factor, Francis Roux will trade liberally. Francis Roux will leave nothing behind him on the Coast, whatever may be the Circumstances. The Brig *Tartar* must bring back the whole Returns of his present Cargo; moreover he will observe my Underwriters not allowing the said Brig more than four Months stay on the Coast of Africa; she must by all Means set sail therefrom before that Time expires. The better to enable Francis Roux to execute and fulfil my Orders for prompt Return, I hereby authorize him to trade for Bees Wax, not exceeding one-third Value of his Cargo. This in Case he should find the Slaves too scarce, and

[16] An attestation of Tavel and the sea-letter of the *Tartar* are omitted.

Bees Wax more easy to be had and at reasonable Price. The Brig having any Room left for Slaves when near his Departure from the Coast, and the whole of mine shipped, will take as many as he can on Freight.

Such as he may take on Freight must be marked or stamped according; none to be taken except their being American Property.

Those belonging to the Cargo must also be marked F T, and those that may be shipped on board by James Taylor, Captain, for Returns of his 4 Hhds. Tobacco, shall bear his Marks, in order to have Mortality, if any, supported by proper concerned.

Whenever one or more Slaves shall be sent on board, James Taylor will give his Receipt thereof per Triplicate, *viz.*

Received on board the Brig *Tartar*, bound from this Place to Charleston, Slaves on Account and Risk of Frederick Tavel, Merchant there, Rio Pongo, ditto. These Receipts must be forwarded by every Opportunity, and one Copy thereof left in the Hands of one Factor at Rio Pongo; this being the only Title which would authorize me to receive for the Underwriters, should any Accident happen to my Brig, either on the Coast or on return Passage.

In the Obligations which Mr. Roux will receive in Payment of his Trade, he will have it stipulated as much as it will lay in his Power.

1st. The Quality of the Slaves to be prime, from the Age of 14 to 20.

2nd. The Obligations on the Part of the Traders to bring themselves their Slaves on board the Vessel.

3rd. To have the Slaves delivered at the shortest Time possible, and express a Penalty in case they should not be delivered in the specified Time.

I particularly recommend to Mr. Roux Quickness of Actions; prime Slaves; liberality in Trade, when those Points can be obtained; Care and good Food for return Cargo; Information by every Opportunity as to his Situation, his Hopes, Success, or Misfortunes.

May the Omnipotent grant him Health and Success.

CHARLESTON, November 15th 1806. (Signed) FREDK. TAVEL.

P. S. Should Mr. Francis Roux meet with his Death on his present Voyage, I hereby appoint Mr. John L'Engle, Passenger on board the Brig *Tartar*, to be his Successor, and to take the Management of my Property on the same.

(Signed) FREDK. TAVEL.[17]

[17] Similar instructions to James Watts, supercargo, dated Feb. 15, 1806, are included among the Ship Papers. Watts was directed to give preference first to John Hollman, and then to Lawrence or Gardner. The final paragraphs of his instructions are not found in those to Roux: "Finally, Captain James Taylor having my full Confidence, as well as Mr. Watts, and wish the latter will confer with the former upon every

Sentence appealed from. Dated March 9, 1808.

The Court being opened in the usual Manner by Proclamation. Brig *Tartar,* James Taylor, a Capture by His Majesty's Vessel of War *Ulysses,* Nesham, Esq. Commander, and brought to Carlisle Bay, within the Jurisdiction of this Honourable Court. On the Part of Captors, in Support of the Allegations, the King's Advocate and Attorney-General Mathew Coulthurst, and John Beckles, Esqrs. On the Part of the Claimant, John Pollard Mayers, Esquire, an Advocate. His Honour the Judge having heard the Arguments of Counsel on either Side, as well on the Part of the Libellant as of the Claimant, was pleased to pronounce the said Brig *Tartar,* her Cargo, Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture, etc. to be subject and liable to Confiscation, and condemned the same as good and lawful Prize accordingly.

GEORGIA

392. Minutes of the Privy Council, 1735.[1]

April 3, 1735.

May it Please Your Majesty, The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America in pursuance of the Powers and in Obedience to the Directions of them Given by Your Majestys Most Gracious Charter Humbly Lay before Your Majesty the following Law Statute and Ordinance which they being for that Purpose Assembled have prepared as fit and necessary for the Government of the said Colony, And which they most Humbly Present under their Common Seal to Your Most Sacred Majesty in Council for Your Majesty's Most Gracious Approbation and Allowance.

An Act for rendering the Colony of Georgia more Defencible by Prohibiting the Importation and use of Black Slaves or Negroes into the same.

Whereas Experience hath Shewn that the manner of Settling Colonys and Plantations with Black Slaves or Negroes hath obstructed the Increase of English and Christian Inhabitants therein who alone can in case of a War be relyed on for the Defence and

Transaction relative to the Question of this Voyage, and they would mutually agree as to its Propriety. . . . I hereby appoint Mr. James Taylor, Captain of the above Brig *Tartar,* as my Representative in this Business and I do authorize him to take the Management of my Cargo and Property under his own Care, whenever he should find it adviseable and convenient; say, whenever the Supercargo should act without Necessity against my above Instructions, or should be taken sick and die."

[392] [1] *Colonial Records of Georgia,* I. 49-52. The Trustees had determined upon the law here quoted, along with one prohibiting the use of rum and brandy, and one for maintaining peace with the Indians, at their meeting on Jan. 9, 1735 (*ibid.,* pp. 197-198). See *ante,* no. 96, for Col. William Byrd's opinion of this action. That there were already negroes in Georgia is shown by the fact that at a meeting of the Trustees on Sept. 3, 1735, £30 was appropriated for a catechist to convert the negroes. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Eighteenth Report, Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont,* II. 192.

Security of the same, and hath Exposed the Colonys so settled to the Insurrections Tumults and Rebellions of such Slaves and Negroes and in Case of a Rupture with any Foreign State who should Encourage and Support such Rebellions might Occasion the utter Ruin and loss of such Colonys, For the preventing therefore of so great inconveniences in the said Colony of Georgia. We the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America humbly beseech Your Majesty That it may be Enacted And be it Enacted that from and after the four and twentieth day of June which shall be in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred and thirty five if any Person or Persons whatsoever shall import or bring or shall cause to be imported or brought or shall sell or Barter or use in any manner or way whatsoever in the said Province or in any Part or Place therein any Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes such Person or Persons for every such Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes so imported or brought or caused to be imported or brought or sold Bartered or used within the said Province Contrary to the intent and meaning of this Act shall forfeit and lose the Sum of fifty pounds Sterling Money of Great Britain to be recovered in manner hereafter mentioned one half to the said Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America to be applied for the Benefit of the said Colony as the Common Council of the said Trustees or the Major part of them for that purpose present and assembled shall think fit and proper and the other half to such person or persons as shall sue for the same. And be it further Enacted that from and after the said four and twentieth day of June in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and thirty five all and every the Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes which shall at any time then after be found in the said Province of Georgia or within any Part or Place thereof in the Custody house or Possession of Whomsoever the same may be shall and may be Seized and taken by such person or persons as for that purpose shall be authorized and Impowered by the said Common Council of the said Trustees or the Major part of them who shall for that purpose be present and Assembled and the said Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes so seized and taken shall be deemed and adjudged and are hereby declared to be the Sole property of and to belong only to the said Trustees and their Successors and shall and may be Exported Sold and disposed of in such manner as the said Common Council of the said Trustees or the Major part of them for that purpose present and Assembled shall think most for the benefit and good of the said Colony Provided always That if any Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes shall run away from his Master or Mistress in Carolina or any other of His Majesty's Dominions into the said Province of Georgia if the person

or persons to whom such Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes shall belong shall within the Space of three months next after such Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes shall have been Seized and taken as aforesaid enter his or their Claim or Claims to such Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes in the Court of the Town of Savanah and shall pay all such Costs and Charges as shall have been expended in apprehending or taking such Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes and also shall make Satisfaction for such Damages and Mischiefs as they or any of them shall have done or Committed on the persons or possessions of any of the Inhabitants whilst within the said Province of Georgia That then and in every such Case the said Court of the Town of Savanah shall and are hereby directed to restore to such owner or owners so claiming as aforesaid all and every such Black or Blacks Negroe or Negroes And be it further Enacted that all Fines Forfeitures and Penaltys which shall be incurred and become forfeited by Virtue of this Act shall and may be recovered in any Court of Record in the said Province of Georgia by Action of Debt Bill Plaint or Information. . . .[2]

393. Diary of the Earl of Egmont, 1735-1738.[1]

Wednesday, 3 [*September 1735*]. The Scots settled at Joseph's Town having applied for the liberty of making use of negro slaves, we acquainted one of their number, who came over to solicit this and other requests made by them to us, that it could not be allowed, the King having passed an Act against it, of which we read part to him. . . .

Monday, 17 [*November 1735*].[2] A letter was read from Mr. Samuel Eveleigh that he had quitted his purpose of settling in Georgia, and was returned to Carolina, because we allow not the use of negro slaves, without which he pretends our Colony will never

[2] The remainder of the act deals with details of enforcement: "Which Act His Majesty thought proper to referr to the Consideration of a Committee of His Majestys most Honourable Privy Council who having received the Opinion of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations thereupon did this day Report to His Majesty as their Opinion that the said Act was proper to receive His Majestys Royal Approbation: His Majesty taking the same into Consideration is hereby pleased with the Advice of his Privy Council to Declare his Approbation of the said Act And pursuant to His Majestys Royal Pleasure thereupon exprest the said Act is hereby Confirmed finally Enacted and Ratified accordingly." *Ga. Col. Recs.*, I. 54.

[393] [1] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Eighteenth Report, Egmont MSS.*, II. 193. From this time for nearly fifteen years, contention over the question of the admission of negro slaves continued. The *Diary of the Earl of Egmont*, in which he summarized discussions of the Trustees, letters and reports received from Georgia, and conversations of those returned from the colony, gives many illustrations of the arguments used to break down the determination of the Trustees or to support their decision. Here Egmont was digesting a discussion of the Trustees.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 204-205. An earlier communication from Eveleigh, a Charleston merchant, on Jan. 7, 1735, stated that the people of Savannah were in good health but "uneasy that they are not allowed the use of negro slaves". *Ibid.*, p. 141.

prove considerable by reason the heat of the climate will not permit white men to labour as the negroes do, especially in raising rice, nor can they endure the wet season when rice is to be gathered in. . . .

Thursday, 24 [November 1737].[3] . . . 8. That Mr. — Mackay had without leave on his own head settled on — Wilmington Island and employed negroes. N. B. Smart care must be taken of this, for many are disposed to follow his example. . . .

Tuesday, 6 [June 1738].[4] One thing sworn by him [James Howell] is that he heard proclamation made in St. Augustine that all negroes who did or should hereafter run away from the English should be made free, which proclamation had effect accordingly, for several negroes who ran away thither, and were sold there, were thereupon made free, and the purchasers lost their money. . . .

This proclamation concerning the negroes shews the prudence of the Trustees in not suffering the use of negroes in Georgia. . . .

394. Remonstrance of the Inhabitants of Savannah, 1738.[1]

Savannah, 9th December, 1738.

To the Honorable the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America.

May it please your Honors: We whose names are underwritten, being all settlers, freeholders and inhabitants in the province of Georgia, and being sensible of the great pains and care exerted by you in endeavoring to settle this colony, since it has been under your protection and management, do unanimously join to lay before you, with the utmost regret, the following particulars.[2] . . . Timber is the only thing we have here which we might export, and notwithstanding we are obliged to fall it in planting our land, yet we cannot manufacture it for a foreign market but at double the expense of other colonies; as for instance, the river of May, which is but twenty miles from us, with the allowance of negroes, load vessels with that commodity at one half of the price that we can do; and what should induce persons to bring ships here, when they can be loaded with one half of the expense so near us; therefore the timber on the land is only a continual charge to the possessors of it,

[3] *Egmont MSS.*, II. 449. Egmont was digesting the journal of Thomas Causton, chief magistrate of Savannah.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 492. The report from a committee of correspondence of an affidavit by Capt. James Howell, before the governor and council of South Carolina, Apr. 21, 1738.

[394] [1] Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, II. 217-220. Egmont's summary of the petition is to be found in *Egmont MSS.*, III. 50-53, and in *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 154.

[2] The protestants first demonstrate that they cannot command a livelihood by the cultivation of the soil; next, that such restrictions have been laid upon trade as to make it impossible for them to gain any advantage from it. The need for negroes is not mentioned until they turn to the possibilities of profit in timber.

though of very great advantage in all the northern colonies, where negroes are allowed, and consequently, labor cheap. We do not in the least doubt but that in time, silk and wine may be produced here, especially the former; but since the cultivation of the land with white servants only, cannot raise provisions for our families as before mentioned, therefore it is likewise impossible to carry on these manufactures according to the present constitution. It is very well known, that Carolina can raise every thing that this colony can, and they having their labor so much cheaper will always ruin our market, unless we are in some measure on a footing with them. . . . Your honors, we imagine, are not insensible of the numbers that have left this province, not being able to support themselves and families any longer. . . .

But we for our parts have entirely relied on and confided in your good intentions, believing you would redress any grievances that should appear; and now, by our long experience, from industry and continual application to improvement of land here, do find it impossible to pursue it, or even to subsist ourselves any longer, according to the present nature of the constitution; and likewise believing you will agree to those measures that are found from experience capable to make this colony succeed, and to promote which we have consumed our money, time and labor; we do, from a sincere regard to its welfare, and in duty both to you and ourselves, beg leave to lay before your immediate consideration, the two following chief causes of these our present misfortunes, and this deplorable state of the colony, and which, we are certain, if granted, would be an infallible remedy for both.[3] . . .

2d. The want of the use of negroes, with proper limitation; which, if granted, would both occasion great numbers of white people to come here, and also render us capable to subsist ourselves, by raising provisions upon our lands, until we could make some produce fit for export, in some measure to balance our importation. We are very sensible of the inconveniences and mischiefs that have already, and do daily arise from an unlimited use of negroes; but we are as sensible that these may be prevented by a due limitation, such as so many to each white man, or so many to such a quantity of land, or in any other manner which your Honors shall think most proper.[4]

[3] The first essential was free title to the land, which the Georgia settlers were not given.

[4] The remonstrance, signed by 117 residents of Savannah, called forth many counter-representations but did not move the Trustees from their position. For their answer, of date June 20, 1739, see Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, II. 232-233.

395. Diary of the Earl of Egmont, 1739.[1]

Wednesday, 17 Jany. 1738/9. 1. Col. Oglethorpe[2] wrote again to the Trustees, to shew further inconveniences arrising from the allowing the use of Negroes, *viz.* 1. That it is against the principles by which the Trustees associated together, which was to releive the distressed, whereas we should occasion the misery of thousands in Africa, by setting Men upon using arts to buy and bring into perpetual slavery the poor people, who now live free there. 2. Instead of strengthning, we should weaken the Frontiers of America. 3. Give away to the Owners of slaves that land which was design'd as a Refuge to persecuted Protestants. 4. Prevent all improvements of silk and wine. 5. And glut the Markets with more of the American Comodities, which do already but too much interfere with the English produce.

396. James Oglethorpe to the Trustees of Georgia, 1739.[1]

Savannah 12th March 1738/9.

Gentlemen, . . . Mr. Williams is very angry, and hath got the poor People of Savannah, many of whom are deeply in Debt to him, to sign the Petition for Negroes, which affirms that white men cannot work in this Province.[2] This Assertion I can disprove by hundreds of Witnesses, all the Saltzburghers, the people at Darien, many at Frederica, and Savannah, and all the Industrious in the Province. The idle ones are indeed for Negroes. If the Petition is countenanced the Province is ruined. Mr. Williams and Doctor Talfeur[3] will buy most of the Lands at Savannah with Debts due to

[395] [1] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 95-96; not under this date in the *Egmont MSS.*

[2] Oglethorpe had been deputy governor of the Royal African Company in 1732 but seems never to have been in sympathy with its trade in blacks. W. B. O. Peabody, in his *Life of James Oglethorpe* (*Library of American Biography*, second ser., II.), pp. 223-224, attributes his aversion to the slave trade to his experience with Job ben Solomon; see this work, II. 420-427.

[396] [1] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, vol. XXII., pt. 2, pp. 111-112.

[2] On Jan. 2, 1739, William Stephens wrote to the Trustees concerning Mr. Williams: "but as to the Use of Negroes, I have some reason to think his Aim is more extensive than appears openly; for as he is in Partnership with his Brother and others at St. Hitts [Kitts] and Bristol, who trade much in importing Negroes into the West Indies; tis not hard to conceive what would follow, in case it were in the Power of the Landholders here to alienate such Lands; who for want of money to purchase Slaves, would not want Credit to get 'em upon Land Security; the consequence whereof need not be named." *Ibid.*, vol. XXII., pt. 1, p. 368.

[3] "There is one Talfeur an Apothecary Surgeon who gives Physick and one Williams of whom I wrote to you formerly, a Merchant who quitted planting to sell rum. To these two, almost all the Town is in debt for Physick and Rum and they have raised a strong spirit to desire that Lands may be alienable and then they would take the Lands for the Debts, monopolize the Countrey and settle it with Negroes." Oglethorpe to the Trustees, July 16, 1739, Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, III. 79-80.

them, and the Inhabitants must go off and be succeeded by Negroes. Yet the very debtors have been weak enough to sign their Desire of Leave to sell.[4]

397. Diary of the Earl of Egmont, 1739-1740.

[*Tuesday*], *13 March 1738/9*.[1] The Saltsburgers at Ebenezer wrote and sign'd a Counter-representation to that sent by the Inhabitants of Savannah, earnestly desiring of Genl. Oglethorpe that Negroes and change of Tenure may not be allow'd of in the Province. In it they express their happy condition, and desire the encouragement they had might be given to others to joyn them.[2] . . .

Saturday, 17 [*March 1738/9*].[3] . . . 4. Mr. Stephens' journal[4] from 21 November to 2 January following, the remarkable of which are. . . .

That the inhabitants of the northern district had likewise framed a representation signed by 110 hands, among which was John Brownfield, our Register, Dr. Tailfer and Robert Williams, which the latter designed to bring with him to England and lay before the Trustees, wherein they take upon them to demonstrate that no person can carry on any improvement of land on the foot they now are without certain loss, and that they must be allowed negroes. . . .

Sunday 29 [*April 1739*].[5] This evening Lieut. Col. Cochrane and Capt. Thompson just arrived from Georgia came to see me. . . .

[4] This refers not to the exclusion of negro slaves but to the form of tenure of the Georgia landholder. It will be seen in the passages which follow how closely united the Trustees and the settlers believed negro ownership and land ownership to be.

[397] [1] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 131; not under this date in *Egmont MSS.*

[2] "The pretended content and satisfaction of the people of Ebenezer, without negroes, will plainly appear to be the dictates of spiritual tyranny, and only the wretched acquiescence of people, who were in truth unacquainted with the privilege of choosing for themselves" ("A Brief Account of the Causes that have retarded the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America", London, 1743, in Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, II. 93). Opposition to the introduction of negroes was also frequently expressed by John Martin Bolzius, pastor at Ebenezer. Mar. 14, 1739, Bolzius to Verelts: "I take the Freedom to beseech the Honourable Trustees not to allow any Negro-man or Woman to be carried to and imploy'd at our place or Neighbourhood, seeing that the Consequences of it would be very bad and the Ruin of poor Labourers. White people, if industrius and to follow the Direction of God Gen: III. 19 [in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread] are capable enough to plant here every sort of Country-Grain without hurting their Health in the Summer season; of which is Witness my whole Congregation." *Ga. Col. Recs.*, vol. XXII., pt. 2, p. 121.

[3] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 37; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 138, where the date is Mar. 16. While the substance of the diary as printed in the *Georgia Records* agrees with that in the *Egmont MSS.*, the wording is seldom identical.

[4] Col. William Stephens was sent to Georgia in 1737, as "Secretary to the Trustees in Georgia". In this office he remained until the government was reorganized in October, 1740, when he was made president of the county of Savannah. A considerable part of his duty was to send to the Trustees a full account of Georgia affairs, and Egmont writes frequently of the receipt of portions of Stephens's journal. The printed *Journal* is to be found in *Ga. Col. Recs.*, IV., and *Supplement*.

[5] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 53, 55-56; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 157-158.

That there are many among them mutinous for negroes, and for leave to have their tenure changed into fee simple, that they may sell or manage [mortgage] them to procure negroes.

That Mr. Robert Williams who indeed has been the best improver of land, has his own private advantage in procuring negroes to be suffered, because he traffics in them, but that as the Spaniards declare all negroes that run from the English free, and as Georgia is so near to Augustine, it would undo the Colony to suffer the people to have negroes, and enslave them to the merchants who should furnish them with negroes. . . .

Mr. Verelts . . . gave me several letters to peruse, brought by Thompson 19th August. . . .

2. A counter petition from the settlers at Darien (now called New Inverness) to that sent us from Savannah for having negroes, wherein these of Darien set forth the inconvenience of having negroes. Signed by 18.

3. A letter from Mr. Oglethorp to the Trustees from the camp at St. Simons, dated 16 January, against the admitting of negroes. . . . . .

6. Captain Hugh Mackay's deposition, 19 January 1738-9, that white men can work in Georgia in the heat of summer without injury or complaint.

7. Captain Demere's deposition to the same effect, 19 January 1738-9.

8. Lieut. George Dunbar's deposition to the same effect, 20 January 1738/9.

Wednesday, May 2 [*1739*, Common Council].[6] . . . We discoursed concerning the late application for negroes from sundry persons in Georgia, and I found everyone present much against it. . . .

Wednesday 9 [*May 1739*].[7] . . . Mr. Oglethorp's letter to me was to exhort the Trustees not to give way to negroes, or to a permission for the people to sell their land. . . .

Mr. Stephens' journal acquainted us that a conspiracy had been discovered in South Carolina (where they were four to one of the white inhabitants) to cut their masters' throats

Wednesday 16 [*May 1739*, Georgia Board].[8] He [Capt. Hugh Mackay] told me . . . they [the people of Frederic and Darien] were not for having negroes, for assuredly if they had they should not be able to prevent their running to the Spaniards.

[6] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 56-57.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 58.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 60; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 170.

Thursday 7 [*June 1739*, Robert Hows in answer to questions].[9] That he had long refused to sign the representation for negroes, because he feared they would take the work from white men's hands and impoverish them, as in the case of Charleston, where the tradesmen are all beggars by that means, and besides, there would be danger from negroes rising and cutting their throats; but the promoters of that application said the negroes should not be allowed to work at anything but producing rice (a labour too hard for white men), and in felling timber. . . . That they [the Scots] prevailed on others to sign on assuring them there should not be above two or three negroes to one white man. He granted on my reasoning with him, that the proposal was indiscreet considering our nearness to the Spaniards to whom the negroes would fly. . . .

Wednesday 27 [*June 1739*].[10] . . . We ordered two hundred copies of the Trust[ee]s' reply to the late application from Savannah for the use of the negroes, to be printed, in order to disperse it in the province.

Wednesday 12 [*September 1739*, Letter received from Hugh Anderson late overseer of the Public Gardens, who soon after moved to Charleston].[11] He said that without negroes and liberty to mortgage their lands for obtaining them the colony must sink; that people had spent all their substance in improving and were beggared by the dearness of wages to white servants, and the small return of their labours. . . .

It appeared to us that it was only calculated to persuade us to agree to a change of tenure and admission of negroes. . . .

Monday 5 [*November 1739*, Talk with Mr. Thomas Stephens].[12] We then talked of negroes, concerning whom he said that the people of Darien and Frederica, and of Ebenezer too, who had remonstrated against negroes, were all in their hearts for having them, but that they had been practised upon to declare against them, and particularly, Mr. Cuthbert, who commands some rangers, had been threatened to be turned out if he did not certify against them; and after he had done it, he wished his hand had been off before he signed.

He said he had read the Trustees' answer to the memorial in favour of negroes, which others who had seen it said was not satisfactory. . . .

[9] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 65-66; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 178. Hows had beeen clerk of the Savannah church.

[10] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 74; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 198. "20 Oct. Genl. Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees. 1. That our printed answer to the Representation from Savannah, and Order relating to Negroes was arrived there and published, and had a very good effect." *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 240, vol. XXII., pt. 2, p. 250.

[11] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 82; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 227.

[12] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 88; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 245-246. Egmont's first conversation with Thomas Stephens was on Oct. 13. *Egmont MSS.*, III. 85; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 235.

Mr. Verelts then coming in we talked no more of these matters. He told me Mr. Williams, the great projector of the remonstrance in favour of negroes, was come, and was to be with him this morning.

. . . . . .

Wednesday 14 [November 1739].[13] Dined . . . with Mr. Ausperger late Surveyor at Frederica . . . as for being allowed to have negroes and liberty to sell, we could not gratify him; but if ever negroes should be allowed, they should be allowed him one of the first. He seemed satisfied, but said that negroes would be an advantage to the colony and might be allowed cautiously, as no more than an equal number to the whites, and to no danger of their cutting the white men's throats. . . .

Monday 4 [February 1740].[14] . . . I asked him [Thos. Stephens] what remedies he had proposed; he replied, the allowance of a limited number of negroes, and a change of our officers.

I said that as to negroes he would not find our Trustee for allowing them, that we wanted them not for the works, labours or produces we intend to carry on, and our nearness to the Spaniards would endanger their cutting the throats of the white men. Besides his father on whose good sense and observation we greatly relied, had ever expressed his aversion to negroes, and certainly, if they had lately rose in Carolina and cut the throats of 34 white men, for which 50 of them were put to death, as the last accounts inform us, how dangerous must it appear to suffer negroes in Georgia, where there are so [few] white men, and at a time when Spain makes all free that fly to Augustine.

He replied, he knew that without negroes the colony must drop: that let our produces be what they will, they cannot turn to account but with their help, and as to his father's opinion, he was afraid to write all the truth, being in fear of Mr. Oglethorpe, who is so ambitious, positive and vindicative that it was dangerous to thwart him in his views. That if an equal number of negroes were allowed in Georgia to that of white men there would be no danger. That laying it down as fact that the colony cannot subsist without them, all arguments of danger should give way thereto.

I said, the people were not able to buy or borrow them if the colony be in truth in so bad a state as he would have one think, and that supposing a man had credit for one he must be answerable to the merchant who should furnish him with one, in case the negro should die or run away, and so be utterly undone.

He said, the chance was not so great, for in four years the work of a negro would pay the price of him, and then the negro would be

[13] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 90; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 250-251.

[14] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 109-110; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 302-304. Just before this conversation the Trustees had been considering a debate in Commons on Georgia affairs. *Egmont MSS.*, III. 107-109; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 299-302.

his own; but should the case happen that the negro ran away or died before, it was only the undoing of one man, while many others would thrive by theirs, . . .

Wednesday 20 [*February 1740*. Present] [15] Mr. Digby, Egmont, Mr. Lapotre, Mr. Sloper, Chr. Towers, Lord Tirconnel, Mr. Vernon, Mr. Smith, Lord Shaftesbury, Sir William Heathcote. . . . There was laid before the gentlemen a computation of the difference between a person employing ten white men and ten negroes, by which young Mr. Stephens who drew it up pretended in figures and by distinct articles to show that by the labour of ten white servants the owner must be a loser in four years time of 119 *l*, but he who employs negroes a gainer of 193 *l*. But several of our gentlemen took notice that the estimate was partially made in favour of negroes, and Captain Dempsey, who was present and is well acquainted with Georgia, assured that white men if industrious could support themselves by their labours without negroes, and that if they were suffered, there would not be 50 out of 500 who would be found remaining after two months, for they would fly to the Spaniards at Augustine, and that it will not be fit to allow of negroes till all Florida be in our hands, for then the negroes will have no place to retire to, the Havannah being so far distant. I observed it was not the inclination of any gentlemen present to favour the admission of negroes. . . .

Friday 9 [*May 1740*].[16] . . . Lieut. Horton dined with me this day, to whom I read the state of Georgia which Mr. Thomas Stephens had wrote so disparagingly to the Trustees, at which he took great offence and said it was full of falsities and slander. . . .

2. That the people of Frederica had prepared a petition against the introduction of negroes and delivered the same into his hands, but that he advised them to drop it as wholly unnecessary since there was a law against it which they might be sure would not be repealed by the Trustees.

3. That there were a few Scots at Darien who wished for negroes, but it was only to satisfy their countrymen in the northern division, for they were such as, if they had negroes, never designed to cultivate.

19. That negroes would absolutely be the destruction of the colony if introduced, and the people were now all sensible of it. . . .

Thursday 26 [*June 1740*. At Georgia Office].[17] . . . We had a debate about contenting the inhabitants of our Province by further

[15] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 116; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 315.

[16] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 139, 140; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 347, 348. On May 7 Horton reported to the Trustees, "That the people are easy as to not having negroes, and those at Frederica would have petitioned against them, but that Colonel Oglethorpe did not think it necessary". *Egmont MSS.*, III. 137.

[17] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 378-379.

alteration of their tenure, and allowing of negroes in some shape or other.

Mr. Lapotre was against it, but Mr. Vernon seemed inclined to do both, alleging as to negroes, that our law concerning them does not forbid free negroes from settling among us, but only the using them as slaves. That the preamble of the Act shows the prohibition is only of slaves, and by the law of England a free negro is as much a subject as a white man, and may set up any trade.

Mr. La Roch said the same, but it ought to be well considered before we allowed of free negroes to come into the province, for under colour of that, slaves flying from Carolina passed through our colony to Augustine, could not be known for slaves and therefore could not be taken up.

I said I was as yet against allowing free negroes for the reason Mr. La Roche gave, and because they working cheaper would thereby discourage and drive away white servants, though possibly being free, they might refuse to hire themselves at a cheaper rate than white men, in which case no prejudice could come, and I thought there was no danger of their running away or making insurrections, since they could go nowhere to better themselves, but on the contrary would be made slaves of.

Tuesday, July 1 [*1740*]. We [Mr. Verelts and Egmont] then discoursed of the admission of free negroes, and it seemed to us on reading the Negro Act that the negro slaves are forbid yet free negroes are not; for though it is forbid to use negroes, yet it is said, contrary to the intent of the Act, and by the preamble it appears the Act was only made against the use of negro slaves. I desired him to get the Attorney General's opinion thereon, for if the use of free negroes were allowed in our Province, they might perhaps hire themselves to the inhabitants at lower wages than the white servants, and it might content the inhabitants without their being slaves, and enable them to cultivate their lands, the dearness of labour being the great complaint.

398. Andrew Grant and others to the Trustees of Georgia, 1740.[1]

10 August 1740.

Honourable Gentlemen. . . . Because our Neighbouring Province (of which you are pleas'd to Take notice) has by an Introduction of Too great Numbers abus'd the use of Negroes: or Because an Un-

[398] [1] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, vol. XXII., pt. 2, pp. 411-412. "19 [Dec. 1740] . . . This day arrived a saucy letter to the Trustees from Savannah, dated 10 August, 1740, and signed by Bailey, Stirling, Grant, and Douglas, vilifying Col. Oglethorpe and divers of the Trust[ees] for refusing them the use of negroes." *Egmont MSS.*, III. 169-170.

doubted property in our Land possessions might prove Detrimental or hurtfull to Idle, profligate and abandon'd people; It does not at all follow, that we should be debarred the use of Negroes for the Feild or the more Laborious parts of Culture, under prudent Limitations.

. . . . . .

We are Surprized that your Honours mention The Representations of the people of the Darien, as a Confirmation of the Unreasonableness of our Demands: For Did your Honours know the motives by which these people were Induc'd to present you with one or more petitions, Contradictory to our Representation, the welfare of the Colony And their own Consciences, we are perswaded you Never would have Offer'd them as Reasons for Rejecting the Representation from Savannah! they were Bought with a Number of Cattle and Extensive promises of Future Rewards. . . . Whereas, the people of this place Duely Sensible of the miserys And Calamities they have Suffered and Do still Labour under, freely and Voluntarily put their hands To the Representation of this part of the province No Artful means were used, to Induce them to it; No Artfull man or men, Negroes Merchants or Others perswaded them to it; Dismal Poverty and the most Absolute Oppression were the True Fountains from whence our Complaints proceeded. . . .

399. Diary of the Earl of Egmont, 1741.

Tuesday 6 [January, 1740/1].[1] . . .

3. He [Thos. Stephens] said, the Scots were gone away undone by not being allow'd negroes. . . .

6. He then said the colony would come to nothing without negroes, and it was impossible for the people to maintain themselves without them. I answer'd his father thought otherwise, and we had many letters from private persons (not to us but to their relations and parents), declaring they could live by their labour: he said, they were hired to write so to their friends, and their friends hired to shew us those letters. . . .

7. He said he had a scheme for improving the silk that would bring tons yearly to England. I told him, I supposed negroes were at the end of it: he reply'd, yes. Then said I, I shall not hearken to it: for I am so sensible that they would cut the inhabitants' throats, I would not for the world be accessory thereto. He said, he would be but for 2 negroes to one white. I said, that was too many; but what must the poor widows and orphans do, how would they be safe? . . .

[399] [1] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 174-175; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 423-427. The *Records* give the date as Jan. 5.

Friday 6 [*February 1740/1*].[2] Richd. Lawley . . . gave me a very bad account of the colony.

1. That every one of the Jews were gone, and that Industrious Man Abraham De Lyon, on whom were all our expectations for cultivating vines and making wine. He said the reason was, the want of negroes, which cost but 6 pence a week to keep, whereas his white servants cost him more than he was able to afford: besides the money the Trustees ordered to be lent him, was paid him by driblets of 5 *l.* or 10 *l.* at a time which did him no service.

4. That the people gone away were really industrious, the Scotch excepted in the Northern division but they found without negroes they were not able to subsist. . . .

7. That every one is sensible of the want of negroes, and Frederica, tho' at first they were by the importunity of Lieut. Horton against having them, yet they afterwards gave him a petition to have negroes, which he would not take. N. B. This is the reverse of what the Lieutenant told the Trustees. . . .

16. . . . the want of negroes to fell trees makes lumber so dear that the Islands will not take it off the inhabitants' hands, so that having nothing to truck with, all trade is lost, and the people reduced to beggary, and discouraged from labour.

18. That if negroes were allowed, the colony would people apace, for 'tis very healthy and pays no taxes, so that Planters would bring their negroes from all quarters, and take up land and cultivate.

19. I said, the 50 acre lott would be destroyed for no merchant would lend them a negro on only 50 acres for security: he answered, the owners might become overseers of the other plantations, and besides, a number of rich planters would find employment for the lesser white men. I said, the negroes would be always running to the Spaniards, since they were assured of being made free and protected: he said, the regiment might guard the rivers and prevent it. . . .

Thursday 19 [*March 1741*].[3] . . . After dinner, Mr. Crockat, a merchant of Charleston (one of the 4 evidences summoned to appear tomorrow to witness against the Trustees) came to us, whom we questioned what he was summoned for. He replied he knew not, but Mr. Stephens had been with him. We asked him his opinion of

1. Negroes in Georgia. He said, the inhabitants should have negroes, and that at a moderate allowance, as 4 negroes to a family of 4 whites: but not as in Carolina, where there are too many, in so much that they had passed a law against introducing more into Charleston.

[2] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 188-189; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 451-453.
[3] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 201-202; *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 475-478.

2. We asked him, what number of negroes and white men in Carolina? He said in 1737 there were 22,000 negroes, and about 5000 whites fighting men.

3. We asked him whether he thought Georgia having no negroes, did not prevent the negroes of Carolina from running to the Spaniards? He replied, he knew of none we had stopt.

4. I said, Captain Gascoign stopt 3, and Mr. Christie two.

5. I asked him the price of a negro. He said, one with another, 20 *l.* I told him a person who settled in Georgia had sold his 2 negroes for 42 *l.* each.[4] He replied, here and there a particular negro might be worth that, and he has one he would not sell for 70 *l.*

6. I asked him if he thought a freeholder in Georgia of 50 acres only could be credited with a negro. He said no. Why then (replied I) what must become of them if landholders of 500 acres should use them, and they have none? He replied they might be overseers to the negroes of the richer men. I said, a few might find that employment, but what must the rest do? He replied, all the white men in Georgia might find that employment in Carolina. I said that would depopulate Georgia. He replied no: for if we allowed negroes, there would a thousand come to settle there, and people who had negroes would help white men to live. That the colony would be stronger with 1000 negroes to 1000 white men, than with 500 white men without negroes.

7. We said, negroes might cut the throats of our people, and run to the Spaniards. He said, if negroes are well used, they never run. We said, negroes who were thought so faithful by their Carolina masters, as to be trusted to be masters of petiaguas, and overseers of others have run: to which he replied nothing. . . .

10. That a man may keep 6 negroes for one white Servant.

11. He owned that where there are negroes, a white man despises to work, saying, what, will you have me a slave and work like a negroe? But he said, if such white man had negroes of his own he would work in the field with them.

12. I told him I knew of 3 white men who left Charleston or some other part of Carolina last year, and came to Georgia to take land, complaining they could not live in Carolina by reason the negroes underwrought them. He said he believed they went for some other reason. . . .

14. He owned that Carolina had too many negroes and the laws against their number were not, neither could be kept to. I said, that would be the case in Georgia, if negroes were allowed there under limitations. . . .

[4] The *Records* (p. 475) gives this as "2 Negroes for 80 £".

16. He said that 40 years ago much silk was made in Carolina, but they had left it because rice was more profitable. I said if negroes were allowed in Georgia the people would also follow rice and not go on the silk. . . .

Saturday 14 [November 1741].[5] . . . Mr. Bofine is very lately returned from his plantation at Purysburg . . . told me. . . .

5. That without negroes they could not cultivate rice.

6. That having no rice, the only thing left for export is lumber, but the West Indies will not take their lumber, because Georgia is not allowed to import rum in exchange, which yet is drunk in as great quantity as if it had free access, on which account the people are very uneasy. . . .

400. Journal of Colonel William Stephens, 1741.[1]

Saturday [Oct. 24, 1741]. Some of the People of Augusta having Plantations on the Carolina Side of the River, as well as in Georgia, where they find it more advantageous to settle, and carry on the Trade with the Indians, together with making great Improvement on their lands; by such Means they have an Opportunity of sliding two or three Negroes now and then at a Pinch into their Plantations, where during their skulking a while (which is not hard to conceive, considering the great extent of the Township of Augusta, by reason of large Tracts of Land) they are not presently to be discovered.

401. Colonel William Stephens to the Trustees of Georgia, 1741.[1]

Savannah Decr. 31st 1741.

. . . What they so positively affirm, that they are at least 100 Negroes made use of by the Inhabitants of Augusta, without which, not one Settler would live on that Side of the River; is another Instance of their Labour to magnify Molehills into Mountains; for notwithstanding their quick Sightedness beyond all others, I could never make such a Discovery: 'tis confess'd, I have had Hints given me of some secret Contrivances that way: and Notice has been taken by what Arts it has been conceal'd: one Remark more particularly was lately made by me, how such Practices crept in by Stealth (*vide* 24th Octr.) but I hope these bold Assertors will not offer to maintain, that any the least Connivance (much less Approbation) has been shewn towards such clandestine Doings; nor deny that they have not only been countenanc'd, but also strictly forbidden, by those in Authority here: and Caution given to prevent it: and is it probable then, that such a Num-

[5] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 229-230.

[400] [1] "Journal of Colonel William Stephens", in *Ga. Col. Recs.*, IV., *Suppl.*, p. 272.

[401] [1] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, XXIII. 185-186.

ber can lay conceal'd like Bays's Army at Knights Bridge in Disguise?
. . . . . .

402. Diary of the Earl of Egmont, 1742.

Saturday 16 [*January 1742*].[1] . . . I found him [Mr. Bofine] now of opinion that it would endanger the Colony to have negroes.

At parting, he desired me to write favourably of him to General Oglethorpe, with whom he desired to live in friendship. I told him I would, and if he would be against negroes in Georgia, the General would soon be his friend. . . .

11 March 1742.[2] Mr. Keneth Baillie . . . inform'd me. . . .

8. That 'twere not safe to allow of Negroes whilst Augustine remains in the Spaniards hands, but if taken it is necessary they should be allow'd, for the white Men are not able to work some hours in the Sumer, and by frequent sickness are so great an expence to the Inhabitants, that their labour will not quit cost. . . .

14. That Benjamin Mackintosh who had left Darien had taken a plantation at Purysburg, and for encouragement had 4 Negroes imediately advanced him. . . .

16. That numbers who had left the Colony would return if Negroes were allow'd, and many from Carolina would do so too.

17. That if allow'd, it would not be so easie for them to run away as we imagine, because generally confind to their Masters Plantation, and unacquainted with the woods: and that they never go but when led by other Negroes who know the roads and passes.

18. That our white Inhabitants are mortified to think that they really fare harder than the Negroes, who being allow'd land and Sunday to work for themselves are no charge to speak of to their Masters, and sell the little produces they raise for money.

403. Colonel William Stephens to Benjamin Martyn, 1742.[1]

Savannah 1 Decr. 1742.

S'r, . . . I do not conceive that from what you are pleased to write in your last, concerning Negros, it is expected I should enter into the Argument of their utility comparatively with white men, and take upon me to give reasons why the honble. Trust[ees] have not thought it hitherto expedient to allow the use of 'em in this Colony; since I find That already done so judiciously, and with such clear Strength of Reason publish'd to the World in the Year 1741; That I think it unanswerable: but for as much as I observe from what you

[402] [1] *Egmont MSS.*, III. 242.
[2] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, V. 605-606.
[403] [1] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, XXIII. 442-447. Benjamin Martyn was secretary to the Trustees.

write, that several Gentlemen of Eminence in Trade had given to the Trust[ees] their Opinion in favour of Negros, under proper Regulations and Restrictions; what they are pleased to expect from me now (I think) is, my opinion how Negros can be admitted here consistently with the safety of the Province: which therefore is the Point I am to stick to.

If tis meant without exception as to time, I apprehend the answer is so obvious, and past all controversy, that twill admit of no disquisition: for during the War we have with the Spaniards, and Augustine remaining in their hands, it is impracticable with Safety to make use of Negros in Georgia; which is a Frontier of such a nature, that I conceive it impossible, even for the General, to prevent their escape to the Enemy; tho' his whole Regiment were appointed to keep a Guard for that purpose; as his Excellence has at this time, divers Troops of Rangers appointed by him, to watch and examine persons of all kinds, passing to, and fro' wherever they are found: nevertheless Negros, seeking for liberty, were they now among us, would soon find means, by untrodden paths thro' a Wilderness of thick Woods, to flee to Augustine so near us as tis; more especially when they will not only obtain their promised freedome, but also have Arms put into their hands, and become a part of their Army to fight against us.

Presuming what I have so far said, to be undeniable; it is next to be considered with what safety they can be admitted in time of Peace. As I have always professed my own natural Aversion to keeping Slaves; and still (were it in my choice) would rather prefer keeping of white Servants, if they might be had for moderate Wages; perhaps I may be looked on as prejudiced in my opinion: but since it has fullyly appeared, that there is little or no likelyhood of supplying this Colony wth a competent number of those, to make such improvement in Cultivation of Land as is to be wishd, and at this very time most of our ablest young people, have rather chosen to go into the Publick Service, (either in Scout boats, or as Rangers etc.) than labour in clearing and improving of Land, which too many of 'em shew an aversion to. For these reasons, if the Use of Negros is admitted after the War; tis natural that I should (among others) be dealing for a few also: and in such case I am to offer such regulations and restrictions as occurr to me necessary to be observed, for the future preservation and advantage of the Colony: which I shall endeavour, with due deference to better Judgments, and with a perfect impartiality.

1. If Augustine remains in the Spaniards hands at the conclusion of this War (the contrary of which must be wishd for, by all good Englishmen, who have experienced already too much what a Thorn they are in our side in times of Peace) it ought not to be supposed but that due care would be taken in a Treaty of Peace, effectually to prevent

any runaway Negros from being received or entertaind by the Spaniards, either at Augustine, or in any other of their Settlements on Florida: wherein too much care can not be had to prevent their eluding such an Article again, as has been formerly practiced, and which they are very fond of. But in case of any future Rupture betwixt the two Nations, and Augustine still in the hands of the Spaniards; what the consequence then might be, of the negro's revolting to the Enemy, who by that time might probably be some thousands in Number; I must leave to the consideration of those, whose capacitys reach far beyond mine.

2. As to the proportion necessary for the safety of the Colony, how many Negros may be allowed towards carrying on Plantation Work; I conceive that any number not exceeding 4 at most will require one white man, of Growth and Strength sufficient for bearing Arms in defence of his King and Country, always to attend; and either work with 'em, or at least constantly inspect 'em: as well to see them properly employd in the Day time, as to secure them at nights: for which reason such white man must make his abode on the Plantation: and in that case, if the Owner himself shall at any time chuse to continue on his Plantation, to see his own Work carried on, he may be understood to be such a White man as here meant; otherwise he must employ one for that purpose: and whether he himself or a Servant under him be so employd; strickt care should be taken, that Arms of all kinds be kept out of the power of Negros coming at them.

3. Whereas the reason given for the use of Negros has been principally, if not wholly, an Impossibility of clearing land to any degree, and cultivating it without 'em: it tacitly implys, that they are not wanted on any other occasion: which indeed I think: and therefore they ought not to be allowd in Towns, or any where, but on Plantation work: under which term it is to be understood, that rowing in a Boat on his Masters Service, or going to and from one Town or place to another, on the same, is included; since it may conduce to the improvemt. of his Plantation: for a greater liberty would be a great discouragement to labouring white people coming to live among us; who by such means would find little Room to work; as many of our Deserters to Carolina have sadly experienced, contrary to their Expectations: where Negros take off all occasion of white men being hired: and if the case is so, with respect to Day labourers only; much more then ought there to be here a total prohibition of Negro's occupying or learning any trade; which must inevitably contribute to the unpeopling of this Colony. Nor should the Master of such Negros be permitted to let them out to hire for wages which would confirm the practice of converting them to no other use, that putting so much money in his pocket, wherewith to live idle, and voluptuously; as tis

most notorious was the case of too many among us formerly who were the first, that upon their Servts. times expiring, and that Fond failing began to be clamorous, and to perswade the World to believe, they were driven hence thro' fear of starving.

These thoughts of mine (such as they are) I have ventured to offer, in Obedience to their Honours commands: humbly submitting it to their Judgments, whether they are of any Validity or not: as also what other determination they'll please to come to, in divers circumstances which will naturally occurr to their considerations; such as what age Negro Children must be of, before they are deemd sufficient to be accounted able Slaves etc.

404. The Reverend John Martin Bolzius to the Reverend George Whitefield, 1745.[1]

Ebenezer Dec. 24th 1745.

Revd. and Dear Sir, Besides the Blessings, the Lord was pleased to impart to my Soul in your and Mrs. Whitefield's Conversation, I felt many Griefs and troubles in my heart Since my Return from Bethesda and Savannah, arising from the unhappy News, I heard at Savannah and from your Self, that you are induced to petition the Honble. Trustees for giving their Consent to the Introduction of Negroes into this our Colony, for which you think to be Under Necessity with Respect to the Maintainance of the Orphan House. Dont be amazed, Sir at my Boldness to write to you in this Secular Affair, in which I would not meddle at all, if not the Love to your Worthy person, to my Congregation and to this Colony Oblidged me to it. For the Introduction of Negroes inconsistent with the prayseworthy Scheme of the Honble. Trustees our Lawful and Bountiful Superiours, will be very Mischievous to the happy Settling of this Colony, and Especially to the poor white Labouring people in many Respects, and the Sighs of them would be unprofitable for you or any other, who joins with the principles and aims of the Wishers for Negroe Overseer. A Common white Labourer white Man of the meaner Sort can get his and his Family's Livelyhood honestly in Carolina, except he embraces the Sorry Imploy of a Negroe Overseers. A Common white Labourer in Charles-Town (I am told) has no more Wages, than a Negroe for his work *Viz.* 7 *s.* Cur. or 12 *d.* Sterl. a Day, for which it is in my Opinion impossible to find Victuals, Lodging and washing, much less Cloaths. In case he would Settle and Cultivate a plantation, is not all good and Convenient Ground at the Sea Coasts and Banks of the Rivers taken up in Large Quantities by the Merchants and Other Gentlemen? Con-

[404] [1] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, XXIV. 434-444. Two years later the Reverend John Bolzius wrote to Benjamin Martyn, "They call me the fountain of all evils, which they fancy to fall upon them on account of the prohibition of Negroes". *Ibid.*, XXV. 200.

sequently the poor white Inhabitants are forced to possess Lands, remote from the Conveniencys of Rivers and from Town to their great Disappointment to Sell their produce. Being not inclined to give their Produce of their Plantations or Other Sort of Work for Such a Low price, as Negroes can afford, they find no market, then they are discouraged and Obliged to Seek their Livelihood in the Garrisons, Forts, Scout-Boats, Trading Boats or to be imploy'd amongst the Negroes upon a Gentleman's Plantation, or they are forced to take Negroes upon Credit, of which they will find in Process of time the Sad Consequences on Account of their Debts. I hear the Negroes in Carolina learn all Sorts of trade, which takes away the bread of a poor white trades' man Like wise.

I have Considered the Strength of your Arguments by which you seem to be induced to promote the Introduction of Negroes, as far as it lyes in your power.

First you think the Providence of God has Appointed this Colony rather for the work of black Slaves than for Europians, because of the hot Climate, to which the Negroes are better used than white people.

But, Dear Sir, give me Leave to say, that every honest Labourer amongst us will testify the Contrary and that in some parts of Germany in the Middle of the Summer being the Only Season there to make Hay, and to bring in their Crop, is as hot as here. And if it be so, that in the 3 Months of the Summer it is too hot for white people to work with the hoe in the field, is it so with the plow Can they not Chuse the Morning and Afternoon Hours for Labouring in the Field? Have they not 9 Months in the Year time Enough to prepare the Ground for Europian and Countrey Grain? Which preference they enjoy not in the Northern Parts, by Reason of the Deep Snow and the Exceeding Cold Weather.[2] . . .

II. Your Second Argument for the Introduction of Negroes was, that the Trustees have laid out about 250,000 Pounds Sterl. for Establishing this Colony, and almost to no purpose.[3] . . . There are so many Thousands of Protestants in Germany, who would embrace eagerly an Invitation to this Colony, if they could meet with Encouragement, as they will in time, and it is a Thousand pity, that you will help to make this Retirement and Refuge for poor persecuted or Necessitous Protestants, a Harbour of Black Slaves, and deprive them of the benefit to be Settled here. . . .

III. Your third Argument was, that you have laid out great Sums of Money for Building and Maintaining the Orphan House, which you

[2] The writer argues that the inhabitants are really better off than those of the northern colonies, where haying must be done in the heat of summer.

[3] Bolzius's answer here is that the colony has been settled with the wrong kind of inhabitants.

could not continue without Negroes, and this be the Case of Other Gentlemen in the Colony.

But let me intreat you, Sir, not to have regard for a Single Orphan House, and to Contribute Some thing Mischievous to the Overthrow of the prayseworthy Scheme of the Trustees with Respect to the whole Colony.[4]

IV. Your Last Argument for Negroes was, as I remember, that you intended to bring them to the Knowledge of Christ.

But, Sir, my Heart wishes, that first the White people in the Colony and Neighbourhood may be brought to the Saving and Experimental Knowledge of Christ. As long as they are for this World, and take Advantage of the poor black Slaves, they will increase the Sins of the Land to a great Heighth. If a Minister had a Call to imploy his Strength and time to Convert Negroes, he has in Carolina a Large Field. Dont believe, Sir, the Language of those persons, who wish the Introduction of Negroes under pretence of promoting their Spiritual Happiness, as well as in a Limited Number and under some Restrictions. I am sure, that if the Trustees allow'd to one thousand White Settlers so many Negroes, in a few Years you would meet in the Streets, So as in Carolina, with many Malattoes, and many Negroe Children, which in process of time will fill the Colony. The Assembly in Carolina have made good Laws and Restrictions in favour of the White people, but how many are, who pay regard and Obedience to them? not better would fare the Restrictions and Good Laws of the Trustees. I will not mention the great Danger, to which we are exposed by the Introduction of Negroes with Respect to the Spaniards, and it is a Groundless thing, to say, that one of the Articles of Peace with Spain must be not to give Shelter to the Negroes at Augustine, who would run away.[5] . . .

405. Repeal of the Act excluding Negroes, 1750.[1]

May it please Your Majesty,

The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America in pursuance of the Powers and in Obedience to the Directions to them

[4] The burden of the writer's answer is that it would be better to sacrifice an orphan's home than to drive from the colony all the poor laboring people.

[5] The danger from the Spanish and the Providence which had thus far preserved the colony occupy the remainder of the letter. Determination to have negroes was waxing in the colony. On June 11, 1746, John Dobell wrote to the Trustees: "My Lord they are stark Mad after Negroes, and this is the Cause that they endeavour to Poison and spoil all the Trustees good Designs. This is the Cause why Coll. Stephens stirred up his son to act openly against the Trustees, and this is the Cause why he continues the same opposition against the Trustees to this Day secretly." *Ga. Col. Recs.*, XXV. 72.

[405] [1] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, I. 56. In May, 1748, the president and assistants of Georgia wrote to Secretary Martyn that some people of South Carolina had petitioned for Georgia lands, intending to introduce negroes, and that already several families had moved into Georgia with their negroes. The order had been given to seize the negroes, but

given by Your Majesty's most Gracious Charter humbly lay before Your Majesty the following Law Statute and Ordinance which they being for that purpose assembled have prepared as fit and necessary for the Government of the said Colony and which They most humbly present under their Common Seal to Your most Sacred Majesty in Council for your Majesty's most Gracious Approbation and Allowance.

> An Act for repealing an Act Intituled (An Act for rendering the Colony of Georgia more defensible by prohibiting the Importation and Use of Black Slaves or Negroes into the same) and for permitting the Importation and Use of them in the Colony under proper Restrictions and Regulations, and for other Purposes therein mentioned.

Whereas an Act was passed by his Majesty in Council in the Eighth Year of his Reign Intituled (an Act for rendering the Colony of Georgia more defensible by prohibiting the Importation and Use of Black Slaves or Negroes into the same) by which Act the Importation and Use of Black Slaves or Negroes in the said Colony was absolutely prohibited and forbid under the Penalty therein mentioned and whereas at the time of passing the said Act the said Colony of Georgia being in its Infancy the Introduction of Black Slaves or Negroes would have been of dangerous Consequence but at present it may be a Benefit to the said Colony and a Convenience and Encouragement to the Inhabitants thereof to permit the Importation and Use of them into the said Colony under proper Restrictions and Regulations without Danger to the said Colony as the late War hath been happily concluded and a General Peace established. Therefore we the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America humbly beseech Your Majesty that it may be Enacted And be it enacted That the said Act and every Clause and Article therein contained be from henceforth repealed and made void and of none Effect and be it Further Enacted that from and after the first day of January in the Year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and fifty it shall and may be lawful to import or bring Black Slaves or Negroes into the Province of Georgia in America and to keep and use the same therein under the Restrictions and Regulations hereinafter mentioned and directed to be observed concerning the same And for that purpose be it Further Enacted that from and after the said first day of January in the Year

if this were done it would drive Georgia inhabitants into Carolina. They advised the Trustees to give up the attempt to exclude negroes (*ibid.*, XXV. 290-294). Of the attitude of the magistrates toward the incursion of negroes Alexander Heron wrote, "Its well known to every one in the Colony that Negroes have been in and about Savannah for these several Years that the Magistrates knew and wink'd at it and that their constant Toast is the one thing needful by which is meant Negroes" (*ibid.*, p. 295). For deliberations preliminary to this repeal see *ibid.*, pp. 347-348.

of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and fifty it shall and may be lawful for every Person inhabiting and holding and cultivating Lands within the said Province of Georgia and having and constantly keeping one white Man Servant on his own Lands capable of bearing Arms and aged between sixteen and sixty five Years to have and keep four Male Negroes or Blacks upon his Plantation there and so in Proportion to the Number of such white Men Servants capable of bearing Arms and of such Age as aforesaid as shall be kept by every Person within the said Province And Be It Further Enacted that every Person who shall from and after the said first day of January in the Year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and fifty have and keep more than four Male Negroes or Blacks to every such Male Servant as aforesaid contrary to the Intent and true Meaning of this Act shall forfeit the Sum of Ten pounds Sterling Money of Great Britain for every such Male Negroe or Black which he shall have and keep above the said Number and shall also forfeit the further Sum of Five pounds of like Money for each Month after during which he shall retain and keep such Male Negroe or Black the said several Sums of Ten pounds and Five pounds to be recovered and applyed in such manner as is hereinafter mentioned and be it Further Enacted that no Artificer within the said Province of Georgia (Coopers only excepted) shall take any Negroe or Black as an Apprentice nor shall any Planter or Planters within the said Providence lend or let out to any other Planter or Planters within the same any Negroe or Negroes Black or Blacks to be employed otherwise than in manuring and cultivating their Plantations in the Country. . . . And be it Further Enacted that all and every Negroe and Negroes Black and Blacks which shall be imported into or born within the said Province of Georgia shall be registered in a proper Office or Offices to be kept for that Purpose within the said Province and that no Sale of any such Negroe or Negroes Black or Blacks shall be good or valid unless the same be duly registered as aforesaid. And that Inquisitions shall be made and taken once in every Year (or oftner if need shall be) into the several Registers thereof by Juries to be impannelled for that purpose within the several Districts of the said Province who shall immediately after such Inquisition make their several Reports and Returns to the President and Magistrates of the said Province and whereas the permitting Ships with Negroes or Blacks to send them on Shore when ill of contagious Distempers (particularly the Yellow Fever) must be of the most dangerous Consequence Therefore for the Prevention of so great a Calamity be it further enacted that no Ship which shall bring any Negroes or Blacks to the said Province shall land any Negroe or Negroes Black or Blacks within the said Province until such Ship shall have been visited by the proper Officer or Officers of the said Province

for that purpose and shall have obtained a Certificate of Health And that no Ship which shall come to the said Province with Negroes or Blacks shall come nearer to the said Province than Cockspur at the Mouth of the River Savannah but that every such Ship shall first anchor and remain there until such Ship shall have been visited by the proper Officer or Officers And if upon Inspection any such Ship shall be found to be infected such Ship shall perform such Quarantine in Tybee Creek in the River Savannah as by the President and Assistants of the said Province shall be from time to time ordered and directed. And to the End that due Care may be taken of the Crews of such infected Ships and of the Negroes brought therein be it further enacted that a Lazaretto be forthwith built within the said Province under the Direction and Inspection of the President and Magistrates thereof on the West Side of Tybee Island in the said River Savannah for the Use and Convenience of the said Colony where the whole Crews of such infected Ships and the Negroes brought therein may be conveniently lodged and assisted with Medecines and accommodated with Refreshments to be provided at the Expence of the Captain of the Ship And in Case any Master of a Ship shall attempt to land any Negroes in any other Part of the Colony except as aforesaid he shall for the said Offence forfeit the Sum of Five hundred pounds Sterling Money of Great Britain And in Case he shall land any Negroes before his Ship is visited and the proper Certificate of Health obtained or not perform the full Quarantine directed he shall for the said Offence not only forfeit the like Sum of Five Hundred pounds but also the Negroes on board the said Ship The said Forfeitures to be recovered and applied in such manner as is herein after mentioned and be it further enacted that if any Person or Persons shall not permit or even oblige his or their Negroe or Negroes Black or Blacks to attend at some time on the Lords Day for Instruction in the Christian Religion in such Place and Places as the Protestant Ministers of the Gospel within the said Province shall be able to attend them contiguous to the Residence of such Negroe or Negroes Black or Blacks such Person or Persons shall for every such Offence forfeit the Sum of Ten pounds Sterling Money of Great Britain to be recovered and applied in such manner as is hereinafter mentioned. . . . To which the Common Seal was affixed the Eighth day of August 1750.

406. Negroes imported into Georgia, 1755-1767.[1]

Ships that have entered Savannah, Georgia, Mar. 25–Dec. 25, 1755

Date	Name	Master	Where and When Built	Where and When Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
May 3	Brig. *Cumberland*	Gidn. Manchester	Warwick 1746	Rhode Island, Feb. 28, 1753	Gidn. Manchester, John Mawney, John Green	8	Jamaica
" "	Coast Schooner *Dove*	Davd. Drummond	S. Carolina 1754	Chas. Town, Feb. 25, 1754	Jacob Bond, Willm. Glen, John Cooper	8	South Carolina
Aug. 4	Coast Schooner *Endeavour*	Davd. Cunningham	Georgia 1747	Georgia, Aug. 21, 1747	Fras. Harris, James Habersham	6	" "
Oct. 6	Coast Schooner *Nancy*	Bryan Foskey	South Carolina 1742	Charles Town, Oct. 24, 1753	Bryan Foskey, James Marsh	9	" "
Nov. 3	Sloop *Margaret*	Telamorr Phenix	New York 1752	New York, Apr. 8, 1752	John West, Eglt. Scoomaker, Philip Borroway	2	New York
Dec. 8	Brigg *Pompey*	Peter Dordin[2]	New England 1753	Rhode Island, Dec. 10, 1753	Robt. Crooke, William Vernon, Peter Dordin	18	Rhode Island

Dec. 25, 1755–Dec. 26, 1756.

Jan. 27	Schooner *Franklin*	Thomas Bruce	New England 1750	Tortolas, Feb. 13, 1755	John Warner, James Park	20	Saint Christopher's
May 18	Sloop *Isabella*	Isaac Martin	" " 1748	Georgia, Dec. 30, 1755	Patr. Mackay	4	Jamaica
" 19	Schoonr. *Pelican*	Daniel Harriott	" " 1742	Saint Christopher, Apr. 12, 1756	Lumley Woodyears, John Warner, Thomas Brucen	38	Saint Christophers
Aug. 25	Sloop *Prince William*	Remington Arnold	" " 1746	Rhode Island, May 4, 1756	Jona. Nichols, Willm. Mumford, Edward Cole	5	Jamaica

[406] [1] C. O. 5: 709. Signed by William Russell, naval officer. The quarterly lists have been combined and the dates adjusted. The *S. C. Gazette*, Mar. 20, 1755, reported that a brigantine carrying negroes infected with smallpox had, a few days before, anchored off the bar, but had since sailed for Georgia.

[2] See this work, vol. III., index.

Dec. 26, 1756–Nov. 19, 1757[3]

Mar. 28	Snow *Bassaterre*	Eliezar Oswald	Taken from his Majesty's Subjects and retaken by the Privateer Brigg *Sally*, Capt. Cook	Saint Christopher, Jan. 25, 1757	Wm. Wells Junr., Thos. Lambert	2	Saint Christopher's
Aug. 17	Schooner *Fair Susannah*	Thomas Bruce	New England 1754	Georgia, Mar. 31, 1757	Thos. Bruce, John Warner, Lum. Woodyears	6	Saint Christopher's

Nov. 4, 1760–Jan. 5, 1761[4]

Nov. 6	Brigg *Milford*	John Blan	Erwin Scotland 1751	Jamaica, Aug. 27, 1760	Jeremiah Meyler, Charles Hall, Alexander Terry	19	Jamaica
" 14	Sloop *Arbuthnot*	John Knox	French Prize	Savannah, July 22, 1760	Francis Gosse	15	Santa-Croix
Dec. 13	Ship *Nancy*	Walter McAulay	" "	Kingston, Jamaica, July 13, 1759	Jeremiah Meyler, Charles Hall, Alexander Terry	17	Jamaica
" 16	Brigg *Elizabeth*	David Gray	" "	Kingston, Jamaica, Nov. 8, 1760 (Licience)	William Ramadge	10	"
" 29	Sloop *Catherine*	Josiah Batchelder	" "	Boston, July 4, 1759	John Tasker, James Freeman	6	St. Christophers

Jan. 5–Apr. 5, 1761

Feb. 19	Schooner *Popes Head*	Willm. Adams	New England 1753	Antigua, Dec. 24, 1760	William Jarvis	2	Antigua

[3] The *Boston News Letter*, July 28, 1757, mentioned a "Mr. Jagger's Vessel who came to settle in Georgia with 60 Negroes". In 1759 Peleg Thurston was informed by a Savannah correspondent that likely young slaves would bring from £37 to £40 per head. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Slavery MSS., box VI.

[4] The reports which follow are signed by John Talley, naval officer.

[*Negroes imported into Georgia*—continued:]

Jan. 5–Apr. 5, 1762

Date	Name	Master	Where and When Built	Where and When Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Mar. 23	Schooner *Rachel and Sally*	Joseph Holmes	New England 1755	New York, Oct. 30, 1761	David Fenton, Joseph Holmes	5	Curacoa
" 31	Brigantine *Betsey*	James Walden	Philadelphia 1754	St. Christophers, Feb. 3, 1762	Edward Tannatt	18	St. Christophers
" "	Sloop *Amherst*	James Dunbar	Rhode Island 1757	St. Christophers, Oct. 14, 1761	James Freeman, James Dunbar	8	St. Martins

Jan. 5, 1763–Jan. 5, 1764

Feb. 7	Sloop *Fanny*	Thos. Stevenson	Prize	St. Christophers, Jan. 6, 1762	Isaac Lyon, Thoms. Stevenson, William Neale	8	St. Christophers
" 21	Sloop *Polly and Betsey*	John Hamer Junr.	Massachusetts Bay 1761	Montseratt, Jan. 13, 1763	John Hamer, Kenedy Mulker	5	Montseratt
Mar. 25	Brig *Darby*	Israel Boardman	Connecticut 1761	New Haven, Conn., Dec. 22, 1761	William Clark, Ebenezar Keany, Phils. Mills	6	St. Christophers
Apr. 6	Brigantine *Betsey*	Daniel Campbell	British Built	Savannah, Oct. 11, 1762	Robert Stewart, Andrew Irvin		St. Croix
" 11	Schooner *Friendship*	John Morey	" purchased the Island of Curracoa	New York, Oct. 20, 1762	James Spencer, John Ellis	10	Curacoa
July 12	Schooner *Friendship*	John Morey	Plantation Built	New York, Oct. 20, 1762	James Spencer, John Ellis	10	"
Aug. 20	Brigantine *Lileah and Susannah*	Jacob Anderson	N. England 1762	Savannah, Apr. 12, 1763	Lewis Johnson, Alexander Wylly	60	St. Kitts
" 30	Schooner *Nancy*	Thomas Banks	" " "	Piscataqua, Dec. 17, 1762	Thomas Parsons, Enoch Poor, Theodore Carleton	2	St. Christophers and St. Martins
Sept. 16	Sloop *Georgia* Packet	Isaac Martin	A Prize	Antigua, Aug. 19, 1762	John Barrow Junr, Edwd. Somerville, Isaac Martin	6	Antigua
Oct. 14	Brigantine *Oxford*	George Anderson	A Prize	the Havannah, Jan. 12, 1763	George Anderson	18	Jamaica
Dec. 26	Schooner *Pope's Head*	William Adams	N. England 1753	Antigua, Dec. 24, 1760	William Jarvis	10	Antigua[a]

[a] The *Georgia Gazette*, Jan. 19, 1764, reported the incoming negroes between Oct. 10, 1763, and Jan. 15, 1764, as 32. The only arrival reported in the Naval Lists between Jan. 5 and Jan. 15 was that of the *Providence*, with ten negroes. The next reports (*Gazette*, Apr. 12, July 19), were Jan. 5 to Apr. 5, 48; Apr. 5 to July 5, 19; July 5 to Oct. 10, 38; Oct. 10 to Jan. 5, 119 (*ibid.*, Oct. 11, Jan. 10, 1765).

Jan. 5–July 5, 1764[6]

Jan. 14	Brig *Providence*	John Higgin	A Prize	Liverpoole, Apr. 13, 1763	James Clemens, Thomas Wyclift, Richard Trafford	10	Montserrat
Feb. 6	Ship *Brotherly Love*	Elisha Bell	River Thames 1750	London, Nov. 17, 1762	George and Elisha Bell	15	Jamaica
" 28	Sloop *Elizabeth*	Obadiah Morgan	Bermuda 1763	Bermuda, May 26, 1763	Obadiah Morgan, Daniel Bascome, Samuel Bascome, Robert Davenport	23	Curracoa
Apr. 16	Sloop *Coecilia*	Andrew Wilson	A Prize	Dec. 23, 1761	Charles Hall, Jeremiah Meyler	6	Jamaica
May 1	Schooner *Robert*	Thomas Banks	Piscataqua 1762	Mar. 20, 1764	Robert Turner, Thomas Sheppard	6	Granada
June 26[7]	Schooner *Friendship*	John Morey	Plantation built	Oct. 20, 1762	James Spencer, John Ellis	7	Curracoa

Ships that have entered Sunbury, Georgia, July 5–Oct. 5, 1764[8]

Aug. 18	Sloop *Recovery*	John Dunscom	Virginia 1760	Tortola, 1764	Ed. Bishop	16	St. Kitts
Sept. 19	Snow "	Joseph Wake	" 1747	Savannah, 1764	Dunbar Young, Simpson, Jo. Wake	4	Jamaica

Ships that have entered Savannah, Georgia, July 5, 1764–Jan. 5, 1765

Aug. 30	Sloop *Betsey*	John Benson	A Prize	Jamaica, May 12, 1764	John Buchanan, David Montaigut	11	Jamaica
Sept. 10	Schooner *Pitt*	Hy. Richardson	Philadelphia 1761	Philadelphia, Dec. 2, 1761	Henry Richardson	1	So. Carolina
" 13	Sloop *Polly*	Wm. Phillips	Bermuda 1760	Montserrat, Nov. 15, 1763	Kennedy Mulkere, Robert King, John Clay	4	Montserrat
" 19	" *Charming Kitty*	John Earle	A Prize	Savannah, June 19, 1764	William Wylly, James Stone, John Earle	28	Tortola
" 24	Ship *Albemarle*	Wm. Tatem	" "	Jamaica, July 14, 1764	Charles Hall, Jeremiah Meyler	5	Jamaica

[6] C. O. 5: 710. The *Gazettes* for 1764 contain many advertisements of "new negroes" for sale but the name of the incoming vessel is seldom given. The advertisers are most frequently Johnson and Wylly, the latter perhaps the Alexander Wylly who was speaker of the Georgia assembly in 1764. The names of George Cuthbert, Andrew Darling, John Graham, Gordon and Netherclift, Cowper and Telfairs are also affixed to notices of sales.

[7] "To be sold at publick vendue, for ready money, on Thursday the 9th inst. at the plantation late John Spencer's five miles from Savannah on the Augusta road, Nine New Negroe Men, as likely as any ever brought into this province, lately imported from the Gold Coast. Any person inclinable to purchase all or any of the said negroes before the day of sale, may apply to the subscribers. The negroes are now, and will continue till the day of sale, at Mr. Wylly's plantation on Savannah river. JOHNSON and WYLLY." *Ga. Gazette*, Aug. 2, 1764.

[8] This report is signed "Fra. Lee, Dep'y N'l Off." Those which follow are signed by Talley.

Date	Name	Master	Where and When Built	Where and When Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Oct. 14	Schooner *Isabella*	Isaac Martin	Condemned for illicit trade	Savannah, June 18, 1764	David Montaigut	6	St. Kitts
" 22	Sloop *Sally*	Benjamin Chapman	Massachusetts Bay 1762	Salem, Nov. 23, 1762	Benjamin Chapman, Spencer Bennett	12	Montserrat [9]
Nov. 20	Schooner *Industry*	Jas. Walden	Virginia 1759	St. Kitts, Nov. 22, 1762	William Hyndman, Neil Jameison	36	St. Kitts [10]
Dec. 15	Schooner *Cicero*	Israel Lovitt	Massachusetts Bay 1763	Salem, Aug. 3, 1764	Timothy Orme, Jonathan Gardner, George Dodge	25	" " [11]
" 18	Sloop *Providence*	Edw. Williams	Bermuda 1756	Bermuda, Sep. 3, 1762	George Geary	17	Curracoa
" 26	Ship *Polly and Deborah*	George Anderson	A Prize	Savannah, Dec. 5, 1763	John Collard, Alexander Fyffe, George Anderson	6	Jamaica
" 28	Snow *Fanny*	Ralph Sampson	Bristol 1756	St. Christophers, Nov. 12, 1764	Archibald Henry	13	St. Kitts
Jan. 4	Sloop *Two Brothers*	John Dunwell	Massachusetts Bay 1764	Rhode Island, Sep. 6, 1764	John Dunwell, James Brown	4	Jamaica
			Jan. 5–Apr. 5, 1765				
Jan. 26	Ship *Adventure*	Patrick Fortune	Philadelphia 1758	Jamaica, Dec. 3, 1764	McDonell, Dromgoole	13	Jamaica
Feb. 19	Sloop *Sally*	George Chalmers [Chambers?]	North Carolina 1757	N. Carolina, June 28, 1763	William Purviane	3	"

[9] "To Be Sold on Thursday next, at publick vendue, Ten Likely Gold Coast New Negroes, Just imported from the West Indies, consisting of eight stout men and two women. To prevent their receiving the infection of the smallpox, they have been kept constantly on board the vessel since they arrived, where they will be sold. Any person inclining to purchase them at private sale may apply to Messrs. JOHNSON and WYLLY." *Ga. Gazette*, Oct. 25, 1764.

[10] "Just Imported, In the Schooner *Industry*, James Walden master from St. Kitts, And to be sold on Monday the 26th instant, at Mr. M'Gillivray's plantation, Vale Royal, A Cargo of about Forty Prime New Negroes, by GEORGE BAILLIE and Co. N. B. The Sale to begin at 10 o'clock in the forenoon." *Ibid.*, Nov. 22, 1764.

[11] "On Friday the 28th inst. Will be Sold at Vendue, at the plantation formerly belonging to the late John Spencer deceased, near Pipemaker's Bridge, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, A Parcel of Choice New Negroes, Lately imported and now on board the schooner *Cicero*, where they will remain until the day of sale, on account of the smallpox, as they have never been ashore since their arrival. As the owner of negroes is obliged to depart this province very soon, the condition of the sale is cash. WILLIAM EWEN V. M." *Ibid.*, Dec. 20, 1764.

Ships that have entered Sunbury, Georgia, Oct. 5, 1764–July 5, 1765[12]

Oct. 20	Sloop *Sally*	George Chambers	Newberry 1757	N. Carolina, 1763	William Purvian	5	Jamaica
June 9[13]	Brig *Experiment*	John Mules	Prize Sept. 21, 1761	Rhode Island, June 18, 1763	John Willet, Willm. Neale	2	St. Croix

Ships that have entered Savannah, Georgia, Jan. 5, 1765–Jan. 5, 1766

Feb. 5	Snow *Leghorn* Galley	John Reid	a Prize	St. Christophers, Sep. 29, 1764	James Lochart, John Reid, London	12	St. Christophers[14]
" 11	Schooner *Nancy*	Joseph Stone	a Retaken Vessel	St. Christophers, Apr. 15, 1762	Thos. Lambert, Daniel Delaney, St. Christophers	7	St. Christophers and Anguilla
" "	Sloop *Prudence*	Thos. Farmer	Connecticut 1760	Montserrat, July 12, 1764	Robt. King, Montserrat	70	Montserrat
" 15	Brigantine *Margaret*	Andrew Elton Wells	a Prize	St. Christophers, July 28, 1763	Pat. Carrick, St. Christopher	6	St. Christopher
" 28	Sloop *Industry*	Richd. Robinson	Bermuda 1759	Savannah, Nov. 29, 1764	Richd. Robinson, Solo. Joell, Geo. " Bermuda	2	St. Christopher
Apr. 27[15]	Sloop *Kitty*	John Austin	A Prize	Barbadoes, Mar. 1, 1763	Hamlet Fairchild, John Austin, Barbadoes	2	Granada
May 27	Schooner *Isabella*	Isaac Martin	" "	Savannah, June 18, 1764	Dav. Montaigut, Savannah	3	"
June 17	Schooner *Friendship*	John Morey	Plantation built	New York, Oct. 20, 1762	Jams. Spencer, John Ellis, New York	10	Curacoa
" 29	Sloop *Henry*	John Todd	Bermuda 1764	Charles Town, Feb. 28, 1765	Hen. Laurens, Henry Todd Junr., Charles Town	50	Kingston Jamaica

[12] The next three lists are signed by Francis Lee, those which follow by David Montaigut, naval officer. For 1765 the *Gazette* reports, Jan. 5 to Apr. 5, 97; Apr. 5 to July 5, 65; July 5 to Oct. 5, 168. *Ga. Gazette*, Apr. 11, July 11, Oct. 17, 1765.

[13] "For sale at Sunbury, on Tuesday the 28th of May, A Parcel of about Fifty Likely Slaves, all in perfect health, and picked out of several large cargoes from Gambia. Sunbury, May 20, 1765. ANDREW DARLING and Co." (*Ga. Gazette*, May 23, 1765). The *Experiment's* entry may have been in 1763, not 1765.

[14] "George Baillie and Co. have just imported in the snow *Leghorn* Galley, from the West-Indies, a Parcel of Prime Grain Coast Slaves. Barreled pork or rice will be taken in payment." *Ibid.*, Feb. 14, 1765.

[15] One vessel which brought negroes to Savannah in April does not appear in this list: "A schooner from Jamaica, Alexander Mills master, is put into this port, having negroes on board with the smallpox. His Excellency the Governor has ordered the negroes to be put on shore at a convenient place in Tybee creek, and the vessel to perform quarantine of ten days, in the mean time using all proper means to cleanse it from the infection." *Ibid.*, Apr. 25, 1765.

[*Negroes imported into Georgia*—continued:]

Date	Name	Master	Where and When Built	Where and When Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Aug. 1	Snow *Leghorn* Galley	John Reid	A Prize	St. Christophers, Sep. 29, 1764	Jams. Lochart, John Reid, London	27	St. Christophers
" 5	Ship *Hawke*	Archd. Duthie	" "	London, Mar. 29, 1764	Willm. Robertson, London	9	Jamaica
" 12	Schooner *Elizabeth*	George Cox	So. Carolina 1750	Charles Town, June 28, 1763	John Edwards, Charles Town	60[16]	So. Carolina
" 27	Brig *Charlotte*	Preserved Alger	A Prize	Savannah, May 7, 1765	Jas. Read, Jas. Mossman, Savannah[17]	30	Jamaica
" 31	Schooner *Nancy*	Joseph Stone	Plantation built	St. Christopher, May 1, 1762	Thos. Lambert, Daniel Delany, St. Christopher	4	St. Christopher
Sept. 14	Schooner *Jonathan*	Jarvis Williams	So. Carolina 1746	Charles Town, Feb. 5, 1763	Thos. Loughton Smith, Miles Brewton, Charles Town	16	So. Carolina
" 16	Sloop *Sally*	Lawrence Clark	Massachusetts Bay 1762	Salem, Nov. 23, 1762	Spencer Bennett, Benjamin Chapman, Salem.	17	Jamaica
" 28	Schooner *Ann*	Benja. Peinston	Bermuda 1765	Bermuda, Feb. 28, 1765	Nath. Tynes, Francis Jones Senr., Bermuda	5	St. Croix
Oct. 12	Schooner *Ogeeche*	Davd. Drummond	Georgia 1762	Savannah, July 22, 1762	James Read, Eliz. Butler, Georgia	5	St. Christophers
" 14	Sloop *Providence*	Marit Gilbert	Bermuda 1756	" Jan. 24, 1765	Benj. and Joseph Lloyd, Savannah	9	Curacoa
" 15	Snow *Pretty Polly*	John Bean	Plant. built	Sav. la Mar, Jama., May 22, 1765	James Lockart, John Barrel, London	4	St. Christophers[18]
" 21	Schooner *Juliana*	John Sullivan	Jamaica 1765	St. Christophers, Sep. 6, 1764	William Downe, Jamaica	1	Jamaica
" 31	" *Industry*	Jonathan Harvey	Virginia 1762	Bristol, Oct. 12, 1763	Jonathan Harvey, Boston	2	Guadaloupe
Dec. 7	Brig *Nelly*	Douglas Campbell	Yarmouth 1761	New York, May 23, 1764	Peter Warren, Robt. Gastside, Dublin; Douglas Campbell, Jams. Bonbonous, Bristol	10	Jamaica

[16] This must have been the cargo advertised in the *Gazette* on Aug. 15: "Just imported, By GEORGE BAILLIE and Co. And to be sold, on Tuesday the 20th instant, A Parcel of about Seventy Prime Healthy Gold Coast Slaves."

[17] "To be sold by the Subscribers, on their wharf, on Tuesday the 9th instant, Between Fifty and Sixty very likely healthy New Negroes, Just arrived from the Gold Coast. READ and MOSSMANN." *Ibid.*, July 4, 1765.

[18] Entered as, "lost Certif. from the Custom house Londo. for the present voyage".

" 24	Ship *Friendship*	James Ogilvie	New York 1764	London, Feb. 4, 1764	James Ogilvie, New York	7	St. Croix
Jan. 2	" *Bance Island*	James Hay	New England 1762		Miles Brewton, Thos. Smith, So. Carolina; Jno. Nutt, Wm. White, London[19]	13	Grenada

Jan. 5–Oct. 10, 1766

Jan. 14	Schooner *Polly*	John Anderson	Virginia 1762	St. Christopher, June 20, 1764	Willm. Henderson, Samuel Phillips, St. Christopher	24	St. Christopher
" 16	" *Mary*	Thomas Dale	Piscataqua 1762	Montserrat, June 27, 1765	John Wood Irwin	10	Montserrat
" 21	Brig. *Jenny*	Robt. Caldwell	Aberdeen 1764	Irwin, July 23, 1764	Robt. Caldwell, Robt. Arthur Irwin	4	St. Christophers
" 25	" *Argyle*	Ch's Cunningham	Maryland 1759	Grenocke, Feb. 27, 1764	Alex. Campbell, Cland Alexander, Arthur Connell, Alex. Campbell, Junr., Glasgow	7	Jamaica
" 27	Snow *Betty*	John Higgin	British built 1760	Liverpoole, Oct. 23, 1764	William Glover, Liverpoole	10	Montserrat
Feb. 4	Sloop *Mary Ann*	Robt. Simpson	Bermuda 1759	St. Christophers, Dec. 31, 1765	Alex. Baillie, Jams Baillie, Jams Smith, St. Christophers	46	St. Christophers
" 10	Ship *Betsey*	John Caton	Prize	Liverpoole, Aug. 3, 1763	Seth Haughton, Alexander Nottingham, Geo. Warren Watts, Wm. Poole, Richd. Estwistle, Edwd. Cropper, Thos. Cropper, Thomas Carter, Liverpoole	16	Montserrat
" "	Sloop *Industry*	Philip Hughes	Massachusetts Bay 1762	Savannah, July 17, 1764	Lewis Johnson, Alex. Wylly, Philip Hughes, Savannah	31	Grenadoes
" 11	" "	Nichs Hinson	Bermuda 1764	Bermuda, Dec. 4, 1764	Jos. Hinson, Gilbert Livingston, Nichs Hinson, Bermuda	21	Jamaica
Mar. 13	Snow *Catherine*	David Lamb	Plant. built	St. Christopher, Feb. 4, 1766	Robt. Adams, London; Wm. Priddie, St. Christophers	15	St. Christophers
" 25	Sloop *Hibernia*	Willm. Grime	Massachusetts Bay 1762	Savannah, Nov. 5, 1765	Thoms. Somerville, Ireland; Jno. Somerville, Georgia	6	Jamaica

[19] The prohibitive act in force in South Carolina after Jan. 1, 1766, accounts for the disposal of these negroes in Savannah. The effect of the Carolina duty on the Georgia market is noticeable in returns here given. There was also direct trade from Savannah to Africa in 1766. The snow *Bance Island*, James Hay, sailed from Savannah for Africa June 30, 1766. *Ibid.*, July 2, 1766.

[*Negroes imported into Georgia*—continued:]

Date	Name	Master	Where and When Built	Where and When Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Mar. 25	Schooner *Pedie*	Thomas Cox	So. Carolina 1750	Charles Town, Aug. 1, 1757	Joseph Cox, So. Carolina	4	So. Carolina
Apr. 9	Sloop *Maryborow*	David Morton	Corke 1760	Liverpoole, Nov. 13, 1764	John Matthew Strong,[20] Liverpoole	78	Senegal, Africa
May 5	" *Mercury*	Joseph Fuller	Prize	St. Christopher, Mar. 15, 1766	Willm. Lyon, Archibald Shanks, St. Christopher	30	St. Christophers
" 9	Brig *Birkbeck*	Robt. Hutchins	Massachusetts Bay 1762	Savannah La Mar, Apr. 19, 1766	Henry Smith, Chas. Hall, Robt. Hutchens, Jamaica	12	Jamaica
" 17	" *Charlotte*	Preserved Alger	Prize	Savannah, May 7, 1765	James Read, James Mossman, Savannah	4	St. Christophers
" 31	Ship *Samuel and Betsey*	Saml. Pierson	Philadelphia 1757	New Castle, Apr. 28, 1763	Samuel Pierson, Bryan Birkbe, London	14	St. Christophers
June 18	Schooner *Esther*	Willm. Williams	Jamaica 1765	Savannah, Oct. 8, 1765	Solomon Levy, Jamaica; James Wright, Georgia	18	Jamaica
" 27	Sloop *Dove*	Thomas Eaton	British built 1764	Lancaster, Mar. 21, 1764	Miles Barber, Lancaster	90[21]	Sierra Leon in Africa
July 31	Brigt *Antelope*	Thomas Paley	" "	Lancaster, Oct. 28, 1763	Rich. and Jno. Watson, Thos. and Richd. Millerson, Robt. Dodson, Henry Lawrence, Thos. Hinde, Lancaster	97	Africa[22]
Aug. 8	Sloop *Nancy*	Thomas Farmer	Massachusetts Bay 1762	Montserat, Feb. 6, 1766	Robert King, Montserrat	5	Guadalupe
" 9	" *Friendship*	John Sutton	New York	Barbadoes, July 13, 1764	John Bayley, Barbadoes	20	Barbadoes
Sept. 5	" *Hope*	Nich. Neilson	Maryland 1751	Savannah, Oct. 4, 1764	Nicholas Neilson, Georgia	1	St. Thomas

[20] See this work, II. 494-495.

[21] "A Cargo of One Hundred Young and Healthy New Negroes, of the Mondingo country, just arrived in a short passage directly from Sierra-Leon, on the Coast of Africa, To Be Sold at Yammacraw, on Tuesday next, by JOHN GRAHAM and Co." (*Ga. Gazette*, July 2, 1766). The customs entries, Apr. 5 to July 5, are 246. *Ibid.*, July 30, 1766.

[22] An item in the *Ga. Gazette*, July 23, 1766, stated that a "brigt. from Africa with slaves", had put into Charleston. This probably referred to the *Antelope*, the cargo of which was announced for sale by Inglis and Hall in the *Gazette* of July 30, 1766.

" 11	" *Mercury*	John Lesslie	Prize	St. Christophers, Mar. 15, 1766	Wm. Lyon, Archibald Shanks, St. Christopher	37	St. Christophers
" 30	" *Mary*	Bernard Romans	Rhode Island 1752	Savannah, Sep. 30, 1766	Bernard Romans, Mariner	3	Isle of Pines Cuba

Ships that have entered Sunbury, Georgia, July 5, 1766–Jan. 5, 1767[23]

July 15	Sloop *Alexander*	Thos. Roberts	1758 Prize, Maryland	Savannah, Feb. 12, 1763	John Maxwell	24	St. Croix
Nov. 20	Brig *Alexander*	John Morris	Rhd. Island 1763	Rh'd. Island, Aug. 4, 1763	Hugh and John Morris	14	" "
" 27	" *James*	Magnus Miller	Plant.	Philadelphia, July 20, 1765	Magnus Miller	4	Jamaica

Ships that have entered Savannah, Georgia, Oct. 10, 1766-Jan. 5, 1767

Oct. 11	Schooner *Fanny*	John McCoy	New England 1760	Charles Town, Mar. 23, 1766	Jno. Graham, Geo. Baillie, Georgia; And. Robertson, John Jamieson, Jams. Graham, Charles Town	2	So. Carolina
" "	Snow *Hannah*	Jams. Cranford	" " 1758	Grenocke, Oct. 20, 1763	Hugh Wyllie, George Anderson, Stephen Bowand, Glasgow	5	Jamaica
" 20	Ship *Woodmanstone*	Benja. Mason	Maryland 1762	London, Apr. 7, 1763	Benjamin Stead, London	110	Gambia[24]
" "	Snow *Granada*	Wm. Robinson	Virginia 1764	Hampton, Oct. 30, 1764	Saml. Allyne, Norfolk, Va.	140	"
" "	Ship *Active*	James Rogers	Plant. Built	London, June 18, 1765	Malcolm Hamilton, Alexander Simpson, Jams. Rogers, London	14	St. Christophers
Nov. 8	Snow *Hopkirk*	John Sprut	Boston 1763	Grenocke, Apr. 26, 1766	Neil and Jno. Campbell, Colin Campbell, Grenade	12	Jamaica
" 19	" *Ann*	Danl. Thomason	British built	Liverpoole, Oct. 23, 1763	Richd. Hetherington, Liverpoole	3	Tortola
Dec. 5	Sloop *Speedwell*	John Buntin	Virginia 1762	Grenadoes, Mar. 14, 1766	Pierre Bernard, Oliver Peter, Lamolie Jean Baptiste La Marque, Grenadoes	20	Grenadoes

[23] The Sunbury lists are signed by Francis Lee.

[24] "To be sold, on Tuesday the 28th October, A Cargo consisting of about One Hundred and Twenty Young and Healthy New Negroes, Just arrived, in the Ship *Woodmanston*, Capt. Benjamin Mason, in a short Passage of seven Weeks, from the River Gambia, By CLAY and HABERSHAM. Savannah, Oct. 20, 1766" (*Ga. Gazette*, Oct. 22, 1766). In the same issue of the *Gazette* John Graham and Co. advertise 140 negroes from the *Granada*.

[*Negroes imported into Georgia*—continued:]

Date	Name	Master	Where and When Built	Where and When Registered	Owners	Negroes	From
Dec. 6	Schooner *Vulcan*	Henry Rogers	So. Carolina 1765	Charles Town, Sep. 7, 1765	Tunis Tebout, Charles Town	8	So. Carolina
" 24	Brigantine *Lively*	Geo. Davidson	Pennsylvania 1764	Savannah la Mar Jama. Nov. 25, 1766	Henry Smith, Jeremiah Meyler, Charles Hall, Jamaica	6	Jamaica
			Ships that have entered Sunbury, Georgia, Jan. 5-July 5, 1767[25]				
Feb. 16	Sloop *Sally*	George Chalmers	No. Carolina 1767	Jamaica, Dec. 20, 1766	Alex. and Geo. Chalmers	3	Jamaica
Mar. 11	Brig. *Petro Nilla*	John Napier	New England 1757	St. Kitts, Dec. 22, 1763	Ja. Dunbar, Ja. Baillie	9	St. Croix
June 24	Schoo. *Nancy*	Joseph Howell	Plantation 1765	Jamaica, Apr. 7, 1766	Nathaniel Grant	2	Providence
			Ships that have entered Savannah, Georgia, Apr. 5-Oct. 10, 1767				
May 2	Ship *Pitt*	John Ross	Virginia 1757	London, Oct. 4, 1764	John Ross, London	15	St. Vincent
" 15	Sloop *Two Friends*	James Aitken	Plant. built	Antigua, Oct. 31, 1766	Baptist Looby, Jos. Farley Junr., Antigua	4	Antigua
" 16	Brigantine *Sally*	Francis King	No. Carolina 1753	Kingston, Jamaica, Sep. 6, 1766	Robert Kendall, Jamaica	1	Jamaica
June 10	Schooner *Friendship*	Samuel Axson	Plant. built	New York, Oct. 10, 1762	Jams. Spencer, John Ellis, New York	1	Curacoa
" 30	Snow *Harriot*	Willm. Boyd	Thames built	Antigua, May 9, 1766	Basil Cowper, Wm. and Edward Telfair, Georgia; William Breckenridge, Antigua	23	Antigua
July 4[26]	Brigantine *Nassau*	Chrisr. Prince	Massachusetts Bay 1766	Boston, Oct. 9, 1766	Thos. Russell, Charles Town, Massachusetts Bay	73	St. Christophers

[25] At the Savannah customhouse 22 negroes were entered between Oct. 10 and Jan. 5, and 28 between Jan. 5 and Apr. 5, 1767 (*Ga. Gazette*, Jan. 14, Apr. 15, 1767). No vessel in this list explains the following: "On Tuesday the 17th inst. will be sold at Savannah, About 40 Likely New Negroes, Consisting mostly of Men and Women, Lately from Gambia and Sierreleon. The conditions of sale will be, payment of one third the value on delivery of the slaves; for the remaining two thirds credit will be given to the first of January, paying interest and giving approved security. ALEX. WYLLY. N. B. Rice will be received in payment at market price, if delivered in 15 days from the days of sale (*ibid.*, Mar. 11, 1767). From another list three may be added to the Savannah entries: Dec. 29, 1766, *Two Friends*, John Bound, owners, Baptist Looby, Jos. Farley, jr., 37 from Antigua; Jan. 2, 1767, *Mary Ann*, Samuel Smith, owners, Jeremiah Pinniston, Samuel Smith, 10 from St. Eustatius; Jan. 3, 1767, *Betty*, John Higgin, owner, William Glover, 10 from Montserrat.

[26] "To be sold, On Monday the 6th day of July instant, Forty New Negroes, chiefly men. They are the likeliest Parcel ever imported into this Province and remarkably healthy. GORDON and NETHERCLIFT." *Ga. Gazette*, July 1, 1767.

July 23	Schooner *Speedwell*	John Weyman	So. Carolina 1756	Charles Town, Oct. 1, 1766	Mary Ellis, Widow, Chs. Town	40	So. Carolina
" 29	Brigantine *Anne Penny*	John Dean	Massachusetts Bay 1767	Boston, Apr. 14, 1767	John Dean, Boston; Timothy Penny, Jamaica	35	Jamaica
Aug. 4	Schooner *Rachel and Mary*	John Waldron	So. Carolina 1760	Charles Town, June 23, 1760	Jacob Waldron Junr., Isaac Waldron, Brunswick	20	So. Carolina
Sept. 14	Brigantine *Prince George*	John Addison	Virginia 1765	Liverpoole, Aug. 11, 1766	Richd. Millerson, Wm. and Jno. Watson, Robt. Dodson, Thos. Millerson, John Addison	154[27]	Gambia and Sierra Leon
Oct. 1	Sloop *Ranger*	John Phillips	Bermuda 1764	St. Christopher, Apr. 20, 1767	Willm. Moore Junr., Richard Moore, Barbadoes	14	St. Eustatius
" "	" *Dove*	Harrison Hudson	Lancaster 1764	Lancaster, Mar. 21, 1764	Miles Barber, Lancaster	51	Africa
" 3[28]	Brigantine *Lively*	Willm. Willburn	Connecticut 1765	Liverpoole, Oct. 29, 1766	Thos. Birch, Thomas Brown, Liverpoole	22	Barbadoes

[27] No vessel here named exactly meets the conditions described in an item which appeared in the *Newport Mercury*, Oct. 5, 1767, and in the *Mass. Gazette and News Letter*, Oct. 8, but the *Prince George* is probably the Guineaman referred to: "From Georgia we learn that a Guineaman is arrived there with two hundred healthy slaves, and had not lost one during the whole voyage from the coast." The cargo of the *Prince George* was sold by Inglis and Hall, who announced it as 160 on its arrival. *Ga. Gazette*, Sept. 9, 1767.

[28] The customs entries in the *Gazette* record the *Jenny*, Cowey, from Africa with slaves, also, "The Schooner *Susannah*, John Huxtable master, arrived at Tybee last night from Charlestown, with upwards of 90 new negroes on board" (*ibid.*, Nov. 25, Dec. 30, 1767). One more vessel we know visited Georgia in 1767: "Capt. Patrick Redmond . . . relates that he sailed from Jamaica master of the Schooner *Beggars Bennison*, with Negroes for Georgia, where he could not sell them, when he left that place for Newbern, but in a storm of the 16th and 17th of October he sprung a leak, which gained on them till she was half full of water, when on the first of November for the preservation of their lives, they run the schooner ashore on Core Bank, about ten miles N. E. of Cape-Lookout, where the vessel is lost, but the people, Negroes and rigging, were saved except three Negroes, who died on the Beach" (*ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1768). On Dec. 16, 1767, were advertised "About Thirty Likely New Negroes to be sold on Wednesday next by Cowper and Telfairs". With the new negroes brought in by ones and twos from the West Indies there is no way of determining their African source. A casual examination of the notices for runaways appearing in the *Gazette* between 1765 and 1769 does not yield much information as to origin: five are designated as of the Angola country, one, of the Gambia country; two are Bamba or Bumba born; one, of the Suroga country; four are Ebo negroes; four Cormantines; one, of the Kishee country; seven from the Congo country (of three of these the advertisement reads, "not Angola's frequently called Congo's"); one, from the Fellah country; sixteen, Guinea born. These are from a total of forty-eight advertisements.

407. Negroes imported into Georgia, 1768.[1]

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
Mar. 23	Apr. 5	*Britannia*	Stephen Deane	Gambia	170	Clay and Habersham
June 1	June 9	*Constantine*	Thos. Gullan	Angola	250	Inglis and Hall
" 29		*Venus*	Thos. Foster	West Indies[2]		
July 6		*Nancy*	John Lowrie	Antigua (Windward Coast)	90	Cowper and Telfairs[3]
Aug. 10		*Fortune*	Beard[4]	Barbados (Gambia)		John Graham and Co.
Sept. 14		*Harlequin*	Thos. Eatton	Africa		
" 28		*Elizabeth*	Jacob Matthews	Antigua		
Oct. 12[5]		*Gambia*	John Keast	Senegambia		

[407] [1] This list and those similar to it which follow have been compiled from the advertisements in the *Georgia Gazette*. A "List of ships cleared in Senegambia, 1767-1778" gives five Georgia vessels, but there is no hint as to whether they were slave vessels (C. O. 5: 150, pp. 681-691). In September, 1768, the *Mercury* of Georgia sailed for Africa. *S. C. Gazette*, Sept. 19, 1768.

[2] The customs entries note the arrival of the *Venus*, the *Harlequin*, and the *Elizabeth* but no advertisements of their cargoes have been discovered. *Ga. Gazette*, July 27, Sept. 14, 28, 1768. The *Venus* itself, was advertised for sale on Aug. 24.

[3] Cowper and Telfairs advertised thirty new negroes for sale on Sept. 30. *Ga. Gazette*, Sept. 21, 1768.

[4] The master was given as William Marr in the customs entries.

[5] The *Georgia Gazette* of Oct. 26 mentioned the arrival of two unnamed schooners and a sloop with slaves, while in the issues of Nov. 2 and 9 Inglis and Hall and John Graham and Co. announce parcels for sale (those of Graham being from Guinea and the Gold Coast), but make no reference to the vessels which brought the negroes. Near the end of the year Georgia placed a duty on incoming negroes that had been more than six months in any of the West India or Continental colonies. The money was to be used to rebuild the lighthouse on Tybee Island. *Ga. Col. Recs.*, XIX. 83; *Ga. Gazette*, Dec. 28, 1768.

[408] For convenience in paging no. 408 appears on p. 626.

409. Negroes imported into Georgia, 1769-1771.

Gazette	Sale	Vessel	Captain	Source	Number	Firm
1769						
Apr. 5	Apr. 11	*Britannia*	Stephen Dean	Gambia	150[2]	Clay and Habersham
" 19	" 26	*Fly*	Alex. Taylor[3]	Grain Coast	130	Inglis and Hall
May 24	May 29	*Friendship*	Benj. Cooper	Grenada		" " "
June 7	June 15	*Gambia*	Nicholas Doyle	Gambia	140	" " "[3]
July 19		*Dembia*	Francis Bare	Sierra Leone	97	" " "[4]
Aug. 2		*Mercury*	Robt. Ainslie	St. Kitts (Gambia)		
Oct. 11				"Just Imported"	"A Few"	Joseph Farley
Dec. 27		*Friendship*	John Wooster	Barbados	15	Reid, Storr, and Reid
1770						
Mar. 21	Mar. 29	*Britannia*	Stephen Dean[5]	Gambia	170	Joseph Clay
May 9	May 15	*Cavendish*	James Penny[6]	Sierraleon	200	John Graham
" 23[7]	" 31	*Sally*	George Evans	Rice Coast	340	{ John Graham { Inglis and Hall
1771[8]						
May 9		*Britannia*	Jones	Gambia	120	
July 18		*Bance Island*	Geo. Smith	Sierra-Leone		

[409] [1] "One hundred and twenty of whom had the small pox on board said vessel before they arrived here, and are now, by order of his Excellency the Governor and Council, performing a quarantain at Tybee." *Ga. Gazette*, Apr. 5, 1769.

[2] "Monday last came on before the Honourable Board of Commissioners for trying offences committed on the high seas, the trial of Capt. Alexander Taylor, of the snow *Fly* belonging to London, for the alledged murder of one John Stephens, late a mariner under his command, on the coast of Africa, and yesterday, after a full, deliberate, and candid hearing of the witnesses on behalf of the crown, and those in favour of Capt. Taylor, he was by the unanimous voice of the Court found not guilty and honourably acquitted." *Ibid.*, May 31, 1769.

[3] "Whereas a report has prevailed that the above Cargo of Negroes is already disposed of, we assure our friends, and the publick, that not a slave is yet sold or agreed for, and that the sale will commence in our yard as usual precisely at 11 o'clock to-morrow. Inglis and Hall." *Ga. Gazette*, June 14, 1769.

[4] There are notices of the arrival of the *Dembia* and the *Mercury*, but no advertisements of sales.

[5] An affidavit of Stephen Dean (Deaux) of the *Britannia*, that Finda Lawrence, a free black woman who is a trader on the Gambia, has come to Georgia for a sojourn, is in the archives of Georgia, Bills of Sale, 1772-1775. Am. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1903, I. 445.

[6] Capt. James Penny was among the witnesses from Liverpool who gave evidence opposed to the prohibition of the slave trade before the committee of the Privy Council in 1789. See this work, II. 597-598.

[7] By the terms of the non-importation agreement, which Georgia adopted, no negroes were to be imported from the West Indies after Jan. 1, 1770, nor from Africa after June 1 of that year. *Ga. Gazette*, Sept. 20, 1769.

[8] *S. C. Gazette*, May 9, July 18, 1771.

408. James Lucena to Aaron Lopez, 1768.[1]

Savannah, in Georgia, 28 June, 1768.

Dear Sir, This will be delivered to you by Captain Nathaniel Waldron. He is to proceed from this port to the Windward Islands there to procure a Cargo of Molasses, and other produce, and then he is to proceed to Rhode Island, and deliver to you what Cargo and money he may have belonging to me, to be invested in Rum, and what you think proper for the intended Voiage to the Coast of Affrica. If Captain Waldron proceeds the Voiage round, he is to have the time he first takes in any part of the Cargo, the customary wages and privelege given in general from Rhode Island to a Master of a Vessell of the burthen of myne. The mate John Brown is also to have the customary wages and privelege of Rhode Island, to begein from the time the Molasses Cargo is delivered.

And neither of them are to receive of you any wages for the west India and Affrica Voiage being agreed the whole to be paid here. I desire you to let me know the time when the alteration of their Wages takes place, as the wages they now go for are very high.

As this Letter will not come to hand this long while, I will take other opportunity to write more at large and Remain, Sir,

P. S. As we are not acquainted what are the customary wages and privelege to the Coast of Affrica is left to you to determine it.

410. Minutes of Meetings of the Council, 1773.[1]

At a Council held at his Honor the Presidents house on Friday the 12th March 1773.

Present: His Excelly. Sir James Wright Baronet

The Honble. { James Habersham, Noble Jones, Jams. Ed. Powell, Grey Elliott, Anthy. Stokes } Esqrs.

His Excelly acquainted the Board, He had received Information, that the Brig *Ann* Zachariah Witherdon Master who Arrived at Tybee on the 10th Inst. with Negroes from the Island of Antigua, has the small Pox on board; And therefore he desired the opinion of the Board thereon, in pursuance of and agreeable to the several Acts of the General Assembly now in force, and such cases provided. His

[408] [1] *Commerce of Rhode Island*, I. 242.
[410] [1] *Ga. Col. Recs.*, XII. 356-359.

Excelly further Acquainted the Board, that Messrs. Joseph Clay and Co. to whom the above Vessell and Negroes are consigned, had applied to him for Permission to have such of the Negroes on board the said Vessell as have not yet had the Disorder Inoculated. In order that the Difficulties and Inconveniency's of a long Quarantine and the danger of Spreading the disorder maybe the more easily Avoided; And also that the said Vessell after landing the Slaves and being well and sufficiently cleansed and fumigated so as to prevent as much as may be the retention or spreading the Infection (And which they Undertake shall be done) might be permitted to come up to Town after such a time as may be thought proper.

The Board taking the several Matters aforsd into Consideration, Were Unanimously of Opinion that, this his Excelly. should permit such Inoculation, and that the Vessell upon proof of her being Cleansed and fumigated, might be allowed to Come up to Town, fourteen days after landing the Negroes, And also Unanimously Advised his Excelly. to Issue the following orders

That the Brign. *Ann* be carried into and Moored in Tybee Creek there to be Cleansed and fumigated and remain during the space of fourteen days, and that the Slaves therein be put on shore at the Lazaretto there to be Inoculated, and there to remain at least 40 days after the last person Infected shall have recovered, and that the Slaves so put on shore be prohibited and restrained from going beyond the Marsh on Tybee Island which divides the publick land from the other part of the Island; and that it be strictly enjoyn'd that such Slaves as may die during the Quarantine be buried in some Convenient place on the publick land, at least five feet beneath the Surface, and that no person or persons whatever be permitted to go on board the said Vessell or to land within the space or limits above described under the pain of being obliged to remain and perform the same Quarantine as the said Vessell, or the Slaves on shore shall perform, and also of the penalty's by Law in such Cases Inflicted. That all provisions and Necessaries that may be wanted by the Crew on board the said Vessell, or the Slaves on Shore be landed at the Oyster bank below the Lazaretto and that when any boat shall be sent down therewith the Commander of the Scout boat be directed to put a proper person on board such boat so sent down, with orders to prevent any person therein from Landing or having any Intercourse with the persons on board the said Vessell, or with those on shore, and that the Commander of the Scout boat and the Keeper of the Lazaretto be appointed to Inforce these orders pursuant to the Quarantine Act. And that the Person or persons who shall Inoculate the Slaves to be landed as aforsd shall

perform a Quarantine of ten days after the last of the said Slaves who may have the small pox is thoroughly recovered.

N B.—Charge copy for Atty. General. . . .

At a Council held at his honor the presidents house on Monday the 15th March 1773.[2]

His Excelly. Acquainted the Board that Messrs. Joseph Clay and Co. to whom the Slaves in the Brig *Ann* Capt. Witherdon, (among whom the Small pox has appeared) are consigned, had made Application to him, that such part of the orders Resolved upon the 12th Instant with respect to the Quarantine of the said Slaves and Vessell as regarded the Person or Persons Inoculating the said Slaves should be Altered, And that the Person or Persons so Inoculating might after the Inoculating be permitted to return up to Town. The Board taking the same Consideration, Advised his Excelly. that the orders should be, that the person or Persons who shall Inoculate the said Slaves be Required and directed, after he or they have Inoculated such of the Slaves as may be thought Necessary, to remain for ten days at Cockspur or Elsewhere, on the sea shore after he or they have Changed his or their Cloaths, before he or they return to Savannah. . . .

411. James Habersham to William Knox, 1773.[1]

August 12, 1773.

Mr. Graham has bought for you 32 Negroes, 17 of them about 6 weeks agoe, which were paid for by bills on you, and of which you have been particularly advised, and now 15 more for which I have with Mr. Graham signed Bils this day for £772. 17. 0.

one sett payable at 3 months sight
for £386. 8. 6 Another sett payable at 6 months for
386. 8. 6

£772. 17. 0 of which Mr. Graham will particularly advise you and of his reasons for so doing.

412. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1774.[1]

Charles Town, June 13 [1774].

The Brigt. *Charlotte*, with about 140 Slaves from Sierra Leon, bound for Georgia, put into this Port last Thursday, in Distress.

July 18 [1774].

On Tuesday last the Snow *Friends*, William Ross, Master, from Africa, bound for Georgia, with a Cargo of Slaves, put into this Port in Distress.

[2] Present, the same members as on the 12th.

[411] [1] Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, VI. 232.

[412] [1] *S. C. Gazette* for the dates given.

413. Sir James Wright to Lord Dartmouth, 1775.[1]

Savannah in Georgia the 16th of Septr. 1775.

My Lord, . . . The Council of Safety Seems to be the Executive Branch in each Colony, Subject to the Provincial Congress, and the General and Parochial Committees Dispense Law, and Exercise the Powers of the Several Courts, just as it seems Right in their own Eyes, for how far they have any Regard to the true Principles of Either Law or Equity; your Lordship will Judge from the following case, which was determined two or three days ago only, *Viz.*, a Ship arrived here from Senegal with a Cargoe of 204 Slaves, the Captain was immediately ordered not to proceed to Town, or to Attempt to land any of the Negroes without leave of the Committee, and he was then Directed to Petition the Parochial Committee which he did, and Although he had not only Law, but many Equitable and Substantial reasons on his side, yet he was Ordered to depart the Port immediately on which he by Petition appealed to the General Committee, and they Affirmed the Orders of the Parochial Committee, and the Captain is Compelled to proceed to Sea just at the Equinox, which may be the loss of the lives of numbers of them as we often have very Tempestuous weather at this Season, and indeed the Vessell and Cargoe may Probably be lost, and all Perish, and if not the Poor Creatures are so dispirited at the thoughts of being carried to sea again that they are growing sickly and many of them will certainly dye before they can get into another Port. The Captain intends for St. Augustine if the weather permits and at best supposes the Loss to the owners will be near if not quite 3000 Sterling. . . .

Savannah in Georgia the 14th of Octr. 1775.

My Lord, . . . On the 25th instant my Lord an Inquiry was made whether the Vessell with the Negroes (mentioned in my letter No. 58) was Sailed, and she having been Prevented from Sailing by contrary winds and bad weather it was hinted by 2 of the General Committee that if another Application was made, Possibly they might be Suffered to land and an application was accordingly made and the next day the 26th a Permit was sent down by the General Committee, to their Officer to let the Negroes be brought up, and on the 28th they were landed. Several had Dyed in the mean time, and many Were then unable to Stir, and the Cargo in General I Suppose one third less in value than when the Vessell arrived and thus Your Lordship sees, how the Kings Port and mens Property are in the Absolute power of these People, Whether this proceeded from a Motive of Humanity or whether from an Apprehension of the Consequences of being

[413] [1] Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, III. 209, 215-216.

hereafter Called to an Account, or what other Reason, I cannot Say. . . . . .

414. Joseph Clay to Scott, Dover, Taylor, and Bell, 1783.[1]

Savannah, April 15, 1783.

. . . The produce of your Island will always bring reasonable prices but Negro's in my opinion will yield a great profit I shoud have no doubt of getting 60 *a* 70 for good Windward Coast Negro Men and for Women or leeward Coast Negro in proportion. . . .

415. Joseph Clay to Joachim Noel Fanning, 1783.[1]

Savannah, April 23, 1783.

. . . Trade will expand here beyond conception Negro's will be in great demand and will bring high prices the best way for you to place your money here will be by Commerce as you may thereby do it with some profit if you choose this mode I will be concern'd with you in any way you please either to dispose of anything you may choose to consign to me on your own Account on Commission, or to take a part with you in the concern as you may think proper. Dry Goods will answer very well Negro's from Africa will do far better, and something may be done from the W. Indies particularly the french Islands. . . .

416. Joseph Clay to James Jackson, 1784.[1]

Savannah, February 16, 1784.

. . . the Negro business is a great object with us, both with a View to our Interest individually, and the general prosperity of this State and its commerce, it is to the Trade of this Country, as the Soul to the Body, and without it no House can gain a proper Stability, the Planter will as far as in his power sacrifice every thing to attain Negroes, and those who have the disposal of them, will always command their Crops, which is every thing to a Merchant; the prices with us are tempting to the adventurer, until importation takes place immediately from the Coast, many will be sent in from the W I. Islands, we have a small Cargo on hand from there at this time, but this is not the Channell we woud wish to attain them

[414] [1] *Letters of Joseph Clay, Merchant of Savannah, 1776-1798* (Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, VIII.), p. 187. On Apr. 22 Clay wrote to George Meade, "the West India Trade must be a great branch, Negro's will also be in great demand here". *Ibid.*, p. 188.

[415] [1] *Letters of Clay* (Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, VIII.), p. 191.

[416] [1] *Letters of Clay* (Ga. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, VIII.), pp. 194-195. Jackson was addressed at "N 5 Igleton Street-London".

through—tis from the Coast only we wish to receive them, and we must request your exertions to gain us a share of that business it will tend to promote your interest as well as ours.[2] . . .

417. J. AND T. H. PERKINS TO W. STEVENSON, 1792.[1]

[BOSTON,] Dec. 1, 1792.

We have agreed with the owners of the Snow *Clarissa* to perform a voyage from one of the Windward Islands to Havanna. Capt. Wm. McNiel (nephew of Daniel) carries a cargo from Georgia and with the proceeds he is to purchase 15 Slaves, in Order to gain admittance into the Havanna. . . . They must be all new Negroes.[2] . . .

[2] In 1789 the *Speed(well)* from St. Croix brought in two new negroes; the *Fanny*, three negro men from Montserrat; in 1790, the *Sally*, three negroes from St. Martins, the *Anne*, twelve from Jamaica. Library of Congress, Savannah Customs Records.

[417] [1] L. V. Briggs, *History and Genealogy of the Cabot Family*, I. 391. Stevenson was a correspondent of the Boston house of Perkins, located in St. Eustatius.

[2] Despite Northern disapproval slaves continued to be imported into Georgia. The *New York Journal* of Sept. 8, 1792, stated that one Georgia paper advertised in a single issue two cargoes, which amounted to 560 negroes. The following is probably one of these: "Savannah August 2. The Ship *America*, Capt. Connolly is arrived here from Sierra Leona, with upwards of 200 slaves, who will soon be exposed for sale. Capt. Connolly informs of a ship having been picked up at sea, between Cape Mount and the river Sierra Leona, with 3 or 4 white men, and 80 or 90 slaves on board, supposed to belong to Rhode Island" (*ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1792). "Savannah, (Georgia) May 31. The master, supercargo, mate, and four seamen, of the schooner *Dolphin* of Boston, have been committed to the jail of this city, for kidnapping Negroes at Martinico, and selling them at this port" (*Salem Gazette*, July 10, 1792). The *Favorite*, J. McIver, owned by G. Howell of London, may have delivered slaves in Georgia during 1792 (Catterall, *Judicial Cases*, II. 276). Meanwhile, South Carolina had renewed its determination not to allow the entry of negroes (*N. Y. Journal*, Sept. 5, 1792). The next year Georgia passed a restrictive act, which did not accomplish complete prohibition. DuBois, p. 236.

418. Manifest of the *Dolphin*, 1794.[1]

Report and Manifest of the Lading of the Schooner "Dolphin" burthen Forty Eight and Thirteen 95th Tons, American built, from Place Goree Africa being the Port from whence she last sailed, Gilbert Fuller Master during the Voyage and Still Remains the present Master, and is owned by Cyprian Sterry and Edward Mitchell of Providence State of Rhode Island.

Marks	Numbers	Contents of each Package, etc or Quantity, if stowed loose	By whom Shipped	Where Destined	To whom Consigned	Port or Place Where Laden
S. D.	1 to 44	Slaves forty four Male and feemale	Gilbert Fuller	Savannah Gerge	Robert Watts	Isle Goree
RSP.	1 to 2	Two Slaves one Man other Girl	" "	" "	Gilbert Fuller	" "
J B	1 to 3	Three Slaves two Woman and one Girl	James Brown	" "	James Brown	" "
B M	No. 1.	One Man Slave	Benjamin Manchester	" "	Benjm. Manchester	" "
B M	No. 1.	One Girl Slave	Benost Munro	" "	Benost Munro	" "
J P.	No. 1.	One Boy Slave	James Pool	" "	James Pool	" "

N. B. Three of the above Slaves Died on the Passage.

Ship Stores 2 Barrels of Beef one of Pork about five Gallons of Rum and one Barrel of Ship Bread.

1794. Gilbert Fuller
August 21.
[Corrected?] by Me A. Tower
Sworn to before
James Habersham Junr.
D'y Collector

[418] [1] L. C., Savannah Customs Records. Endorsed: "Manifest Inward Schooner *Dolphyn* Gilbert Fuller Master from Goree Africa. 24 August 1795. No. 13. *N.O.* 48 13/95 Tons at 6 Cents is 2.88 Two dollars Eighty Eight Cents . . ."

419. Savannah Customs Records, 1796-1798.[1]

Date	Vessel	Master	Source	Number	Owners	Consignees
1796						
May 4	*Friend's Adventure*	James Hewit	Goree	61	Wm. Macleod, Charleston	
" 8	*Genl. Greene*	John Stanton	Delos Isle	88	Cyprian Sterry, Providence, R. I.	Robert Watts
Aug. 8	*Charleston*	John Connolly	Africa	330	Thos. Martin and John Price, Charleston	John Craig and Co.
" 12	*James*	Edward Boss	"	98	Cyprian Sterry	Edward Boss
" 23	*Nancy*	Vincent Hyer	Gambia	64	Wm. Macleod	Anthony Macleod
Sept. 14	*Polly*	Joshua Smith	Goree	40	Cyprian Sterry	Robert Watts[2]
Dec. 29	*Hazard*	Thomas Johnston	Montego Bay, Jamaica	36	Thos. Johnston[3]	Gairdner and Mitchie
1797						
Apr. 4	*Liberty*	Thos. Prentice	Bance Island	95	Amasa Smith and Abijah Potter	Robert Watts Robert Misset [Miffet?]
May 9	*Louisa*	Elijah Briggs	Delos Isle	92	Cyprian Sterry	Robert Watts
" 28	*Polly*	Isaac Carr	" "	37	Young ——, Ebenezer Jenckes	" "
June 17	*Sally*	Isaac Manchester	Anamabo	149	Wm. and John De Wolfe, Bristol	" "
" 21	*Eagle*	John Holland	Bananas[4]	237	John Price, James Hins? John Wordrop	Craig, Macleod, and Co.
1798						
June 11[5]	*Roebuck*	Dennis Dismount	Martinique	133	Wm. G. Hall, Martinique	
Aug. 25	*Edward and Mary*	Wm. Godfrey	"	19		Wm. Godfrey

[419] [1] L. C., Savannah Customs Records, 1795. In 1794 the schooner *Nancy*, Vincent Hyer, owned by William Macleod of Charleston, brought from the Banana Islands 62 negroes. The name of the consignee in this record has completely disintegrated.

[2] The slaves, "laden in River of Gambia", were "shipped by Isaac Gorham for Robert Watts, Savannah".

[3] This schooner, 102 tons, Massachusetts built, belonged to Thomas Johnston, John McCown, and William Sprowl of Bristol (R. I.?).

[4] One assumes that the slaves were loaded at the Bananas, though the maker of the manifest writes it, "Port of Beanunas". The negroes were: 88 men, 48 women, 76 boys, 25 girls. The *Fortunas* of Savanna, Edward Johnston, from Port au Prince, brought in seven slaves for Charleston.

[5] L. C., Savannah Customs Records. In both cases these are recorded as "new negroes".

420. Manifest of the Ship *Liberty*, 1796.[1]

Manifest of the Cargo on Board the Ship "Liberty" Providence R Island registered One hundred 38 75/95 Tons Burthen, Thomas Prentis during the Voyage and at present Master, from Bance Island Africa bound to Savannah. Owners Names, Amasa Smith and Abijah Potter.

By whom Shipped	Marks and Numbers		To whom and where consigned	Ship Stores
Amasa Smith } Abijah Potter }		Ninety five New Negroes Nine Ditto	Robert Watts Robert Misset	One Ton Rice Forty-eight Puncheons with Water
Robert Misset Amasa Smith } Abijah Potter }	SI One to twenty-two	Twenty two Pieces Blue Baftas[2]	Robert Watts	One Barrel Pork
	One to twenty eight	Coarse Callico	Ditto	Two Barrels Ship bread
	One to forty six	Forty six Pieces Romals	Ditto	
	One to two	Two Tons Camwood	Ditto	Half Barrel Loose Tobacco
	One to three	Three teeth Ivory	Ditto	Twenty pound Candles
	One to Ninety-five			

I Thomas Prentis Master of the Ship *Liberty* do solemnly declare and swear, that the foregoing is, to the best of my Knowledge and Belief, a just and true Manifest of the Cargo of the said Ship and that no part of her Lading, since her Departure from Africa has been Landed, or unladed, or otherwise removed, from on Board of her; and that if I shall hereafter discover, or know of any Goods, Wares, or Merchandise, other than those above mentioned, and the Sea Stores before specified, which are not brought or intended as Merchandise, or for Sale, I will forthwith make Report thereof at this Customhouse.

Customhouse, Savannah, April 4th 1796.
Thomas Prentice.

Sworn to before
James Habersham Junr.
Dy. Collector.

[420] [1] L. C., Savannah Customs Records. Endorsed: "Manifest Inward Ship *Liberty* of Rhode Island Thomas Prentice from Basecque Island Africa April 4th 1796. No. 94. *N. O.* 138 75/95 Tons at 6 Cents, 8 Doll., 33 Cts. Eight dollars and Thirty Three Cents. . . . Amount duty, 3 Doll's, 24 Cents." This was accompanied by a receipt from Ben. Wall, for Robert Watts, for camwood and ivory, valued at $32.45, duty $3.24.

[2] The receipt for "baftas, calico, and romals", which accompanies the manifest, describes them as "Manufacture of the United States", "Carried from Providence Rhode Island, and brought back for want of a Market".

421. News Item relating to Slave Trade, 1797.[1]

Savannah, September 14 [1797.].

On the 12th inst. arrived at Cockspur, the schooner *Exuma,* Capt. Daniel Callaghan from New Providence. The 9th inst. in lat. 29 39. long. 79 42, picked up the long boat of the armed ship *General Nichols,* Captain Michael Morrison belonging to Grenada. The *General Nichols* left New-Providence on the 2d inst. with Negroes, supposed for this port, and in a heavy gale of wind on the 18th foundered. The long boat and yawl had hardly time to get from her, when she went down with 122 of the cargo. In the long boat, were saved 5 whites and 35 negroes, and when they got along side the *Exuma,* had nothing to eat or drink. The yawl (having sails) with the Captain, Mr. Peter Morris, Supercargo, five other whites, and three negroes, parted company with the other boat immediately after leaving the ship, and has not yet been heard of. It is hoped, from the favourable weather a few days past, that they may have made some port to the southward.[2]

LOUISIANA

422. Memoir on the Company of the West, 1717 (?).[1]

. . . La traitte des Negres de Guinée avoit toujours esté en compagnie jusqu'au mois de janvier 1716. que sur les instances des négotians la liberté de ce commerce leur fut accordée, mais indépendamment des raisons generalles qui obligent de joindre plusieurs affaires ensemble pour former une compagnie dont les puissances estrangeres ne prissent point d'ombrage, il a esté reconnu que la liberté de ce commerce n'est pas avantageuse aux Colonnies en ce qu'il faut qu'elles soient fournies annuellement d'un nombre de negres suffisant et a peu pres egal ce que l'on estime a six ou sept mil negres par an, la Compagnie du Senegal en fournit 1500. et il convient d'assurer le surplus par un envoy egal en telle sorte qu'il n'en arrive pas trop dans une année et trop peu dans une autre, enfin il faut remarquer que ces trois partyes de commerce qu'on réunit en une mesme compagnie n'ont jamais esté libres, que par une infinité de raisons qui seroient trop longues à expliquer il ne convient pas quelles le soient et que bien loin que cette compagnie gesne le commerce comme elle sera tres considerable et ouverte a tous ceux qui vouderont y entrer personne ne peut avoir sujet de s'en plaindre. . . .

[421] [1] *Newport Mercury,* Oct. 24, 1797.
[2] Importation into Georgia was forbidden in 1798. DuBois, p. 238.

[422] [1] Paris, Affaires Étrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique, 1:302-303. For a brief history of this company and of those French companies which preceded it see this work, I. 95-103, II. xxiii.

423. Instructions to Captain Herpin, 1718.[1]

4 juillet, 1718.

Instruction pour le sr. Herpin Commandant du Vaisseau "L'aurore" destiné pour la Traitte des Negres à la Coste de Guynée.

Le Sr. Herpin Capitaine de la fregatte *L'aurore* mettra à la voille de St. Malo du premier Vent favorable pour aller à la Coste de Guynée y faire la Traitte des Negres;

Ledit sr. herpin fera son premier atterage Entre le Cap de Monte et le Cap Mezurade, il fera son Eau à Mezurade et prendra dans le mesme Lieu du Bois et de l'eau en quantité suffisante pour aller à l'amérique.

Il Evitera d'aller a Festre à cause des dangers auxquels sont Exposés les Chaloupes pour y faire de l'eau.

Aprés avoir fait son Eau et son bois au Cap Mezurade, il continuera sa Route pour Juda,[2] il poura toucher en passant à Cabolahou, Jacques Lahou et Jacques Jacques au Cap Ste. appolonie et y Traitter quelques Negres en observant de ne demeurer que deux a trois jours en chaque endroit, il peut mesme Traitter du Ris dans les Endroits cy dessus nommez.

En partant du cap Ste. appolonie il prendra le large, et ne regagnera la Coste que Vers lampy,[3] auquel lieu il poura demeurer dix à douze jours, et il y Traittera le plus de Negres quil luy sera possible.

dans les differents Endroits ou ledit Sr. herpin fera la Traitte des Negres il fera en sorte d'en Traitter quelques Uns qui sachent cultiver le Ris, il traittera aussy Trois ou quatre Barriques de Ris propre à semer qu'il remettra à son arrivée à la Colonie aux directeurs de la Compagnie.

Led. sr. herpin se rendra Ensuite a Juda et Se concertera avec le sr. Bouchel Tant pour faire les présents ordinaire au Roy que pour achever sa Traitte qu'il fera avec le plus de diligence quil sera possible, observant de ne Traitter aucun Negre ny Negresse qui ayt au dessus de 30 ans, autant qu'il sera possible ni au dessous de huit. Nous estimons qu'elle peut estre de 400 Negres, son Vaisseau estant assez grand pour les Contenir et ayant de marchandises pour les Traitter.

Le Sr. herpin observera de faire toute la diligence possible dans Sa Traitte en quelques lieux quil la fasse, puisqu'il scayt que la santé

[423] [1] Paris, Arch. Nat., Col., B 42bis: 201-204. For an English translation of this document with an excellent introduction see H. P. Dart, "The First Cargo of African Slaves for Louisiana, 1718", *La. Hist. Quar.*, XIV. 163-177. In order to economize space repetitions, headings, and endorsements have been omitted in the French documents.

[2] Whydah. The ports at which the *Aurore* was to touch on the Ivory Coast are familiar ports to the slave trader and are frequently mentioned in the earlier volumes of this work.

[3] Allampo.

des Nègres et la bonté du Voyage dépendent du peu de tems que les Negres sont a Bord.

Il observera Encore pendant le Tems qu'il sera dans le Rade de Juda de faire faire de l'eau pour remplacer celle qui aura été consommée depuis son départ du Cap mezurade, et pour la Consommation qu'il en fera dans ladite Rade.

On Sçay que l 'eau est assez difficile à faire à Juda, mais au moyen d'un Vat et Vient qu'on Etablit à Terre et à la chaloupe que est mouillée en dehors de la Barre on en peut facilement faire deux chaloupées par jour.

Ledit Sr. herpin pendant son sejour à Juda Traittera le mahy [4] dont il croira avoir besoin pour la Nourriture de ses negres.

Quand ledit Sr. herpin aura finy sa Traitte il fera voille pour la Colonie, et nous luy deffendons sous quelque prétexte que ce puisse estre de Toucher aux isles de fernande et de Poo, de Corisque, du Prince, de St. Thome et danabou [5] non plus qu'au Cap de Lopo, les Relaches dans les lieux cy dessus ne sont que pour faire de l'eau et du Bois, nayant besoin ny de l'Un ny de l'autre à son départ de Juda, il allongeroit son voyage et il Exposeroit son Equipage et ses negres aux maladies qui sont ordinaires dans ces lieux la.

Nous ordonnons au s. herpin, a Tous ses officiers et au chirurgien de prendre grand soin de la santé des nègres d'Empescher la débauche des Negresses avec les Negres et l'Equipage, de les faire tous Entretenir proprement de faire nettoyer et grater Tous les jours l'Entrepont afin qu'il ne s'y Engendre point de Corruption.

Comme il est moralement Impossible que le Sr. herpin n'ayt pas besoin de raffraichissement dans la Route de Juda à la Colonie Tant pour son Equipage que pour les Negres, il relachera a la grenade et il prendra les raffraichissements dont il aura besoin et il en tirera des lettres de change sur le Sr. Deshayes Caissier de la Compagnie à Paris.

Led. Sr. herpin Evitera absolument de relacher à la Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Domingue, ny à aucune colonie francoise ou Etrangere.

Il fera le moins de séjour qu'il poura à la Grenade, et il prendra toutes les precautions possibles pour Eviter les forbans.

Comme nous ne doutons pas que le Sr. herpin ne trouve à la Coste de Guynée des Vaisseaux Portugais, il Tachera de traitter avec Eux du Tabac de Bresil jusques à la concurrence de deux à trois cent livres pesant, il en distribuera aux negres avec Economie et il remettra le Reste Entre les mains des directeurs à la Colonie.

Le Sr. herpin arrivé a la Colonie mouillera à l'Isle dauphine, ou à la Vuë de lad'e isle, il Envoyera dabord sa chaloupe à terre avertir

[4] Maize.
[5] Annobon.

les directeurs de son arrivée, Ensuite il leur delivrera ses negres et suivra en tous les ordres quils luy donneront.

Ledit s. herpin fera le moins de sejour qu'il poura à la Colonie Il Embarquera les marchandises qui seront prestes dans les magazins de la Compagnie, et il reviendra directement à la Rochelle, et pour qu'il ne soit point obligé de relacher en revenant il prendra des Vivres pour deux mois et demy.

Il Evitera pendant sa Route soit en allant soit en revenant de reconnaistre aucun Vaisseau et il prendra grand soin de les Eviter tous.

Si pendant le Cours du voyage le Seigneur disposoit du Sr. herpin, nous Etablissons le Sr. Gascherie pour Commander en sa place et au deffaut de Tous les deux ce sera le Troisième qui aura la Commandement du Vaisseau, Nous Enjoignons aux Uns et aux autres d'observer les ordres cy dessus, et aux Equipages de leur obéir.

Nous ordonnons au s. herpin et a Tous autres officers de Régir et Gouverner leur Equipage suivant les ordres du Roy les uz [usages] et coutumes de la mer.

Au surplus, nous recommandons au Sr. herpin et a Tous ses officiers de menager en Tout les mtz [marchandises] de la Compagnie, d'autant qu'ils peuvent compter qu'elle recompensera ceux qui le meriteront, et qu'il le fera punir ceux qui ne se comporteront pas bien.

Dans les Cas non preveus dans les presents ordres la Compagnie s'en Rapporte à la prudence dudit s. herpin.

En cas qu'il reste à M. herpin des marchandises de Traitte après avoir fait sa Carguaison de negres il délivrera lesd. marchandises au directeur du Comptoir de Juda dont il prendra un Receu par duplicata au bas de l'Etat des marchandises qu'il luy aura laissé, Il Emportera Un de ces receus avec luy dans la Colonie, et envoyera l'autre par le premier Vaisseau qui partira de Juda pour france et pour les isles et luy remettra la lettre qu'il trouvera cy joint.[6]

424. Regulations of the Company of the West, 1718.[1]

1718, Mai 27, Paris.

Ordre que la Compagnie d'occident Veut estre observé pour la Vente des Negres qu'elle Envoyera à la Colonie de la Louisianna.

Le Negre de dix sept ans et au dessus Sans deffauts Corporels est réputé pièce d'Inde.

La Négresse de quinze ans et au dessus Jusqu'à 30 sera réputée pièce d'Inde

[6] Similar instructions were given to Sieur de Laudoüine, commander of the *Grand Duc du Maine*. For those to Sieur Du Coulombier of the *St. Louis*, who was to purchase between 450 and 500 negroes in Angola, see *La. Hist. Quar.*, XIV. 175-177.

[424] [1] L. C. Trans., Arch. Nat., Col., B 42bis: 255-256.

Trois Negrillons ou Negrittes de huit à dix ans feront deux pièces d'inde

deux Negrillons au dessous de dix ans pour Une piece d'Inde

Les Negres et Negresses seront lottis avant d'estre Exposés en Vente le plus Egalement qu'il sera possible, mesme ceux que les directeurs generaux Jugeront à propos de garder pour le service de la Compagnie, laquelle Veut bien ne se Réserver aucune préférence sur les habitants.

La Compagnie Veut bien faire aux habitants Un Credit suffisant pour le payement des Nègres qu'elle leur fera fournir, mais Comme Il est Important que la Culture des Terres s'Etablisse dans la Colonie Elle a Reglé le payement desd. Negres de la manière suivante.

Les anciens habitans payeront les Negres moitié Comptant, moitijé à Un an de ferme [terme?]

Il Leur sera libre de payer la première moitié en argent, la piastre à 3 *ll* 12 *s* la pistolle de poids pour quatre piastres,[2] les matières d'or et dargent à proportion ou en marchandises de Traitte du pays, aux prix des Tarifs réglés par les directeurs generaux mesme en Tabac en Manoques bien conditionné sera Receû au prix de 20 *ll.* le quintal Net poids de Marc, quatre pour Cent de bon poids,

Pour la seconde moitié, lesd. anciens habitants feront leurs Billets à l'ordre du Directeur qui aura fait la Livraison des Negres payables un an après en argent ou en Tabac, Bled, froment, Ris ou Soye.

La Compagnie Voulant favoriser les nouveaux habitants qu'elle a desja fait passer et qui passeront à l'avenir, ils payeront les Nègres moitié à un an et moitié à deux ans de Terme dont ils feront pareillement leurs Billets payables à l'ordre du directeur qui leur aura deslivré lesd. Negres,

Les Billets a un an seront payables soit en argent, soit en marchandises de la Traitte du pays, soit en Tabac, Bled froment, Ris ou Soye.

Les Billets à deux ans seront payables en argent, Tabac, froment, Ris ou Soye, sans que les marchandises de la traite du pays puissent estre receues,

Les Nouveaux habitants Seront Censés anciens après deux ans de sejour dans la Colonie et payeront alors les Negres qui leur seront deslivrez, moitié comptant et moitié à un an

Sy aucuns des habitants soit anciens ou Nouveaux Vouloit payer Comptant en Entier les Negres quil acheptera de la Colonie, il luy sera accordé Un Escompte sur la partye dont il auroit pû prendre Credit a raison d'Un demy pour Cent par mois.

fait à PARIS en l'hostel de la Compagnie d'occident le 27 May 1718.

[2] On Jan. 12, 1723, the French government raised the value of the piastre to 7 livres, 10 sols, the same value it had in the West Indies. In 1724 it was reduced to 4 livres, 10 sols.

425. Minutes of the Council of Commerce of Louisiana, 1719.[1]

Deliberation du Conseil de Commerce assemble a l'Isle dauphine le Sisieme Sep'bre 1719.

Vous Soussignés Commandants et Directeurs generaux de la Compagnie D'occident, assemblés pour mettre a execution les ordres de la Compagnie au Sujet de la Vante des Negres, ayant pour cet effet convoqué tous les habitants tant anciens que nouveaux, et Sur la proposition qui leur a été faitte de les payer moitié comptant et l'autre moitié dans un an, comme aussy des lots des Negres tous se sont retirés et l'espace de deux mois et demy s'estant Ecoulés sans qu'aucun des dits Colons soit venu faire des offres, nous avons resolu pour obvier au prejudice que le retardement de la Vente Cause a la Compagnie qui est obligé de les nourrir sans avoir de quoy les occuper sur l'isle Dauphine de faire le present reglement.

Scavoir que pour la Satisfaction de l'habitant qui aimera mieux payer un negrillon qu'il affectionnera qu'un negre p'ce d'Inde, led. negrillon sera vendû sur le pied de p'ce d'Inde affin que la Compagnie puisse d'un autre cotté se dedommager de la perte qu'elle fera sur les macarons.

que pour le payement des dits negres on recevra les billets de la nouvelle Compagnie et ceux du temps de M. Crozat aux conditions suivantes.

Scavoir les billets de la Nouvelle Compagnie payables en argent Seront receus comme argent comptant, et les billets payables en marchandises avec le benefice que la Compagnie doit gagner sur les march's

Que pour ce qui regarde les billets du tems de M. Crozat Ils ne seront receus qu'aux Conditions Suivantes Sçavoir qu'il Sera Stipulé qu'en Cas que la Compagnie dans la Suitte desaprouvat qu'on ayt recu en payement les debtes de M'r Crozat led. habitant Lobligera par son billet de payer ses negres en argent, fruits, ou marchandises du pays ou a restituer ces Negres qui pendant qu'il sera en la puissance dud't habitant Sera pour son compte et risque. Signés Serigny, Bienville De Villardeau et C. lagac [2]

[425] [1] L. C. Trans., Arch. Nat., Col., C 13a, 5: 333-334, no. 3. Endorsed: "1719 Septembre 6, ile Dauphine Déliberation du Conseil de Commerce de la Louisiane au sujet de la vente des négres. C. C." In the margin, "Cie. des Indes, C-31-1". The Company of the West had by this time been incorporated into the Company of the Indies, which had also absorbed the Senegal Company.

[2] Bienville was governor of Louisiana; Serigny, his brother, was commander of the Dauphine Island.

426. Ordinance regarding the Sale of Negroes, 1722.[1]

1722 Mars 12 fort Louis

Ordonnance des directeurs de la Compagnie a la louisianne du 12 mars 1722, sur la vente des nègres.

Nous Commandant et Directeurs generaux de la province pour Eviter les abus quil pouroit y avoir de la part de ceux a qui la Compagnie a vendu et vend journellement des negres pour la Culture des terres, faisons deffences a tous habitants de quelque Condition quils soient, de vendre aucun negre, Sous quelque pretexte que ce puisse être aux Espagnols, n'y autres pour les retirer de la Colonie, Sous peine de mil livres demande et confiscation du nègre la première fois pour le contrevenant, la moitié du tout aplicable au denonciateur, et l'autre moitié au proffit de la compagnie, Ordonnons aussi que les ventes qui se feront desd. negres entre habitants Soient faittes aux mêmes conditions auxquelles l'acquereur Se Soumettra en présence du Commandant et Commis principal, ou garde magasin du poste; et que la presente ordonnance Soit lue, publiée, et affichée, affin que personne n'en ignore, et quelle Soit Executtée Suivant Sa tenue, Donné ou Fort Louis ce 12 mars 1722. Signés Bienville, leblond de la tour, delorme et Dalcourt.

427. Decisions of the Council of the Indies, 1723.[1]

Du 30 Avril, 1723.

Decisions du Conseil des Indes concernant le Commerce d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique. C.C.

Ensuite de la lecture qui a eté faite de chaque article du projet Estimatif des armements a faire par led. Conseil a compter du mois d'avril de la presente année 1723 au mois d'avril 1724, dont l'enregistrement est porté sur le Registre des deliberations du Conseil, led. Conseil des Indes a ordonné. . . .

7° Quant au Commerce de Guinee led. Conseil a Juge a propos pour des Raisons d'Etat d'attendre a Se determiner deffinitivement, il a este Seulement decide par led. Conseil que les partis a prendre la dessus Se bornoient a deux, et qu'il s'agiroit de Statuer dans le temps marque par S. E. Mgr. le Cardinal Premier Ministre Si led. Commerce doit Se faire Exclusivement dans toute Son Extendue, ou S'il ne conviendroit pas mieux a la Situation presente des Choses que la Compagnie Se Restreignant pour quelque temps a la traite Exclusive des Negres dans les Royaumes de Juda et d'ardres, lui accordast pour d'autres contrées quelques permissions sur le pied de tant par teste de Negres ou par tonneau;

[426] [1] L. C. Trans., Arch. Nat., Col., A 23: 35-35v.

[427] [1] Paris, M. des Col., C 2, 15: 216-219; "259, 30 avril 1723. Comp'e des Indes orientales, M. Raudot".

Et en attendant que led. Conseil Eust Statue Sur l'un de ces deux partis. Il a este ordonne d'armer le nombre de vaisseaux Suffisants pour faire passer trois mil Negres lesquels avec Neuf Cens qui doivent estre transportez par les Vaisseaux *L'annibal* et *L'ameriquain,* et *la Neréide,* deux mille qui proviendront de la traite du Senegal, et huit cens a quoy peuvent monter les deux permissions accordees a Mgr le Duc feront le nombre de Six mil Sept cens Negres pour la fourniture aux Colonies de l'annee Courante, et led. nombre a paru d'autant plus Suffisant qu'il a este accorde depuis dix huit mois trente six permissions particulieres.

8 Le Conseil des Indes a ordonne l'execution des dispositions pour la Colonie de la Louisianne Renfermees dans led. projet estimatif mais il a decide a l'Egard des cinq cens Soixante dix Negres qui doivent y estre transportez que les Soixante dix estimez necessaires pour les travaux de la Compagnie et mis en Reserve a dessein d'y estre apliquez, le Conseil de la Louisianne auroit la liberte d'en distribuer une Centaine aux habitant de la Colonie les plus laborieux et les plus attachez a la culture des terres, et que le Surplus Seroit partage aux proprietaires des Concessions de la Louisianne demeurant a Paris, en faisant par lesd. proprietaires leurs Soumissions d'en payer l'achat en deux ans au plus, Soit a la Louisianne en marchandise Soit en franc en argent.[2] . . .

428. Council of Louisiana to the Council of the Indies, 1726.[1]

Du p'er avril 1726.

Le Conseil Envoye le Certifficat de deux cent huit Negres remis à la Loüisianne par le Navire la *Mutine* il y joint l'Etat de la distribution qui en a été faitte et de celle qu'il se propose de faire de la Cargaison du Navire l'*aurore* qu'il attend

Il Envoye aussy les protestations faittes au Greffe par M. De la Chaise contre ces distributions.[2] . . .

[2] Endorsed: "Collationné sur le Registre des Deliberations dudit Conseil. Brinon de Coligny."

[428] [1] Arch. Nat., Col., C 13a, 9: 251. A certificate was returned to France for each cargo of negroes received.

[2] The distribution of negroes continued to be a matter of concern to the company. In October a list of planters who desired negroes was made out, with the numbers they wished and notes as to their fitness to receive them (L. C. Trans., Col., G 1: 464). From time to time orders were sent over directing special consignments: Sept. 20, 1726, 20 negro pièce d'Inde to d'Ausseville; Mar. 19, 1728, two to Sinard de Bellisle; 150 for Le Blanc plantation, to be supplied from different slave ships arriving in 1728 and 1729 (Col., B 43: 653, 743bis; L. C. Trans., Col., B 43: 808); 40 for d'Artaignan, to be taken from the next two slave ships which arrived (L. C. Trans., Col., B 43: 836, 837); 20 to Lusser, *ibid.,* p. 839.

429. Directors of the Company of the Indies to the Comte de Maurepas, 1729.[1]

1729 Octobre 26, Paris.

Les Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes au Comte de Maurepas, Ministre de la Marine, L. S. Gratification demandée par La Rigaudière pour les nègres transportés par lui à la Louisiane.

Monseigneur, Nous avons reçeu la lettre que vous nous avez fait l'honneur de nous Ecrire le 25 de ce mois par laquelle nous voyons que le Sr. de la Rigaudière de la Clisse cy devant capitaine de la *Mutine*, vous a porté ses plaintes de ce que la Compagnie ne luy a payé pour gratification que 5 *ll.* par teste de noir de ceux qu'il a remis à la Louisianne au lieu de 7 *ll.* qu'elle paye ordinairement, et cela sous pretexte qu'il êtoit destiné pour St. Domingue.

Cet officier, Monseigneur, partit de L'Orient au mois de may 1725: Il etoit porteur d'une deliberation de la Compagnie qui fixoit la gratiffication pour les Noirs que les Capitaine remettroient aux Colonies de l'Amerique à 5 *ll.* par tête, il a été payé sur ce pied la somme il en convient.

Il est vray que depuis pour porter les Capitaines à avoir plus d'attention à la conservation des noirs, et a engager même ceux des vaisseaux du Senegal a se rendre directement a la Loüisianne sans relacher, la Compagnie s'est determinée à accorder aux Capitaines qui vont du Senegal à la Loüisianne la même gratiffication de 7 ll. par tête de noir qu'elle accorde aux Capitaines qui vont de Juda aux Colonies d'Amerique, mais il ne s'en suit pas que cette Deliberation qui n'a été prise par la Compagnie que plus de 8 mois apres le depart du Sr. de la Clisse doive avoir un effet retroactif en sa faveur, La Comp'e à executé, les Conditions qu'elle avoit accordé au Sr. de la Clisse lors de son depart quoy qu'elle ait eu lieu de se plaindre de la conduite de cet officier comme nous avons eu l'honneur de vous le faire connoître par un memoire que la Compagnie vous remit par sa lettre du 17 Novembre de l'année derniere, nous vous Suplions de trouver bon, qu'elle rejette sa demande qui tres mal fondée.[2]

[429] [1] M. des Col., C 2, 22: 140-141.

[2] Signed by J. Morin, Fromaget, Deshayes. Endorsed: "Il ny a aucun lieu à sa pretention. Ecrit a M. de la Rigaudière le 10 9bre." One vessel sent out to Louisiana in 1729, *Ameriquain*, created much dissatisfaction by selling her cargo in Martinique. Sept. 19, 1729, M. des Col., C 8, 40, 41; Jan. 3, 1730, Col., B 54: 100.

430. Directors of the Company of the Indies to the Comte de Maurepas, 1730.[1]

1730, Janvier 14, Paris.

Les Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes au Comte de Maurepas, Ministre de la Marine, L. S. Gratification demandée par La Rigaudière pour les nègres transportés par lui à la Louisiane.

M.R. M. Raudot

Les directeurs de la Compage. 1730

Monseigneur, Nous avons reçeu la lettre que vous nous avez fait l'honneur de nous ecrire le 11 de ce mois.

Les nouvelles plaintes du Sr. de la Clisse au Sujet de la gratification qu'il demande sur les Negres qu'il a introduits a la Loüisianne ne sont pas mieux fondées que toutes celles qu'il a cy devant faites: C'est un deffaut de Refflexion en luy de vouloir Etablir son droit sur la deliberation de la Compagnie du 28 Juin 1724 et de pretendre en consequence a 7 *ll* par teste de noir, tandis qu'il n'est fait mention que de 5 *ll.* dans cette même piece qu'il cite comme luy etant avantageuse.

Ce qui est plus certain que tout ce que le Sr. de la Clisse avance, c'est que la Compagnie n'a deliberé d'accorder 7 *ll.* pour les negres qui Seroient introduits du Senegal a la Loüisianne que le 19 du mois de decembre de l'année 1725, avant le Sr. de la Clisse, ainsy que de son tems, et jusques a la datte du 19 décembre 1725, aucun Capitaine n'a eu du Senegal a la Loüisianne plus de 5 *ll.* par teste de noir.

Le Sr. de la Clisse est party de Lorient Le 30 may de la même année 1725; par consequent dans le tems que la Gratiffication n'Etoit que de 5 *ll.* par negre.

Il est encore vray que son vaisseau avoit ordre d'aller a St. Dominigue, et que la Compagnie changea sa destination, parcequ' ayant apres que les habitans de cette isle avoient retenus deux navires negriers qui alloient a la Loüisianne, Elle jugea a propos de remplacer ces Cargaisons par celle du Sr. de la Clisse et du navire *l'aurore,* a qui elle deffendit de toucher a St. Domingue.

L'ordre de ce changement de destination est en datte du 30 may qui est le même jour du depart de Lorient, il fût envoyé au Sr. de la Clisse au Senegal, ou il le reçut au mois de Juillet Suivant, il en partit le 27 9bre de Sorte que touttes ces dattes sont anterieures au 19 Xbre qui est celle de la deliberation des 7 *ll.* par teste de noir, La Compagnie n'a jamais pretendu donner un Effet retroactif a cette disposition, et le Sr. de la Clisse est encore moins fondé que tout autre de se l'imaginer.

Quand bien même toutes ces raisons ne seroient pas invincibles, la Compagnie aura l'honneur, Monseigneur, de vous observer que les

[430] [1] M. des Col., C 2, 23: 38-41.

gratifications qu'Elle accorde pour les negres sont toujours sous la condition qu'Elle sera contente de la conduitte de ses officiers, et non autrement. Il s'en faut de beaucoup qu'Elle ne l'ait Eté de celle du Sr. de la Clisse; ainsy sans rapeller les pieces qu'Elle a eû l'honneur de vous remettre contre luy le 17 9bre 1728. Nous nous croyons obligés de rejetter Sa demande qui ne nous paroist fondée en aucun cas.[2]

431. Proposition made by the Company of the Indies, 1732.[1]

1732, Décembre 13.

Proposition de la Compagnie des Indes de s'acquitter envers le Roi en fournissant des nègres à la Louisiane N. S.

La Compagnie des Indes qui doit payer a la marine du Roy, Suivant l'Etat cy joint, et dans les termes y Enoncés a commencer du premier janvier 1733 Jusqu'au premier Juillet 1741 Inclusivement la Somme de huit cens quatre mil cinq cens dix livres dix huit Sols, propose d'en acquitter partie Successivement et par Compensation au moyen d'un transport equivalent de Noirs du Senegal a la Louisianne, et ce aux conditions suivantes:

1° Chaque cargaison de noirs sera assortie de deux tiers de males et d'un tiers de femelles.

2° Il y en aura aumoins quatre cinquiesmes des ages depuis quinze jusqu'a trente ans, Et il ne pourra y avoir qu'un cinquieme depuis dix ans jusqu'a quinze, que si neamoins dans la totalité d'une Cargaison, Il se trouvoit quelques masles d'un age au dessus de trente ans et de trente cinq ans au plus, Ils ne pourront estre rebutés, sinon dans le cas ou sur cent noirs, Il y en auroit plus de six de l'age au dessus de trente ans.

3° Une negresse enceinte ne Sera point de rebut a moins qu'elle ne fut agée de plus de trente ans.

4° Il en sera de même d'une negresse nourrice, mais la mère et l'enfant a la mamelle ne seront reputés que pour une seule et meme teste.

5° S'il arrivoit qu'il y en eut quelques uns de mis au rebut Ils pourront estre librement rembarqués dans le navire de la Compagnie sans que celuy qui sera preposé a la reception des cargaisons de noirs du Senegal a la Louisianne, ou tels autres quels qu'ils soient, puissent les retenir d'autorité aux prix qu'il leur plairra de les Arbitrer.

[2] Signed by Despremenil, P. Saintard, and Godeheir, directors of the company. Endorsed: "Les directeurs de la Comp'e des Indes, Paris 14 Jan. 1730. Ecrit a N. de la Rigaudiere de la Clisse le 31. dud. Mgr. le Comte de Maurepas."

[431] [1] M. des Col., C 2, 25: 95-96. On Jan. 23, 1731, the company took the first steps toward surrendering its charter, leaving Louisiana with 2500 negroes in a white population of 5000. To find means of supplying the need for negroes was one of the first problems calling for the attention of the new government. L. C. Trans., M. des Col., C 13, 14: 36; Col., C 13b, 1.

6° Chaque noir, negresse, negrillon et negrite sera Exempt de defauts Notables et Essentiels.

7° La livraison s'en fera par teste, sans entrer dans aucune regulation, Et sans autre Egard qu'aux Stipulations cy dessus.

8° Le preposé a la reception sera tenu d'en prendre livraison a l'Isle nominée la Balise, et non ailleurs dans les dix jours a compter du jour de l'arrivée du navire de la Comp'e aud. lieu.

9° Faute par le preposé a la Reception d'en prendre livraison dans led. terme des d. jours, tous noirs, negresses, negrillons et negrites, qui viendront a mourir passé ce tems là, Seront et demeureront pour le Compte de la Marine du Roy; a l'Effet de quoy il en sera dressé proces verbal en bonne et deüe forme par les officiers de l'Etat Major du Navire de la Comp'e.

10° Le navire de la Compagnie des Indes ne pourra estre astraint et obligé qu'a un mois de planche a la Balise, tant pour la livraison de Sa Cargaison que pour son Expedition, ni estre retenu aud. lieu en quelque cas ou pour quelque raison que ce puisse estre.

11° Sera tenu le preposé a la Reception aussitôt aprés la livraison, d'en donner aud. lieu dela Balise, et non ailleurs, son reçû par duplicata et triplicata au Capitaine du Navire de la Compagnie, ou a son defaut, a celuy qui aura fait lad. livraison.

12° Lesdits Noirs, Negresses, Negrillons et Negrites Indistinctement seront payés a la Comp'ie des Indes a raison de Six Cens livres chaque teste.

13° A la seule presentation du reçû du susd. preposé a la reception, le tresorier general de la Marine du Roy en exercice, auquel led. reçû sera remis, sera tenu de delivrer sans delay, pour le montant de lad. livraison Suivant le prix cy dessus, au Caissier general de la Compagnie des Indes quittance en forme de pareille Somme sur celles qui resteront veües, et qui Seront a payer par lad. Compagnie a la Marine de Sa Majesté pour raison de la retrocession de la Louisianne aux termes tant des dites deliberations de lad. Compagnie et de la Soumission de Ses Sindics et directeurs des 24 janvier 25 avril 1731, et 20 aoust 1732, que des arets du Conseil d'Etat des 27 mars 1731, et 2e 7bre 1732, Sur ce Intervenus.

432. Reply to the Proposition of the Company of the Indies, 1732.[1]

1732 Décembre 30.

Réponse du Ministère de la Marine à la proposition de la Compagnie des Indes de s'acquitter envers le Roi en fournissant des nègres à la Louisiane N. S.

[432] [1] M. des Col., C 2, 25: 98-99.

La proposition d'acquitter partie de la somme de 804,510 *ll.* 18 *s.* que la Compagnie des Indes doit payer a la Marine a commencer du p'er Janv 1733 jusqu'au premier Juillet 1741 Inclusivement, paroit pouvoir Egalement Convenir a la Comp'e et a la Colonie; il n'est question que d'en regler les Conditions, et de fixer le tems de cette fourniture, et Sur quels termes de payement elle sera compensée. Les trois premieres parties qui Echoient les pre. Janv. et 1'er Juillet 1733 et le 1'er Janvier 1734 montant a 225,000 *ll.* ne peuvent Entrer dans cette compensation, parcequ'outre qu'il n'y aura point de fourniture avant ce tems, la marine a besoin de ce fonds pour des depenses qui interessent la Sûreté de la Colonie.

Il seroit a Souhaitter que toute la fourniture ne fut pas en negres Senegalais, les habitans ont besoin de negres pour travailler a la terre, on Scait que Ceux du Senegal n'y sont pas propres, Ils sont fort bons domestiques.

L'assortiment proposé de 2/3 de mâles et du tiers de femelles, paroit convenable.

La proposition de 4/5 aumoins depuis 15 Jusqua 30 ans, et le cinquieme de 10 ans Jusqua 15, paroit aussi convenable, pourvu que cela soit assorti.

Les 3 et 4 Art. ne souffrent aucune difficulté.

Les 5 et 6 sont dans le même cas.

Le 7 qui Contient que la livraison l'En fera par terre, Sans entrer dans aucune regulation, ne paroit pas convenir, Il seroit même prejudiciable a la Comp'e, parceque la reception pouvant dependre des officiers preposés par le Roy, Il pourroit arriver que par un motif de zele ou autrement, Ils refuseroint d'en recevoir la plus grande partie, ce qui prejudicieroit a la Compagnie tant par la prolongation de la Negotiation, que par la mortalité des negres qu'il faudroit transporter aux Isles.

Il est d'ailleurs plus regulier de traiter a la Charge de la Regulation, et Cela est plus dans l'ordre, et pour le Roy, Et pour la Comp'e. Cela leve aussi toutes les difficultés.

On ne peut acquiescer a la proposition de recevoir les negres a la Balise, les officiers du Roy qui seront preposés pour la reception, resident a la Nouvelle Orléans, les magasins y sont ainsi que les Secours pour la Nourriture, et c'est la ou se fait le commerce, Il seroit difficile que ces officiers se transportent a la Balise, parcequ'en tous tems leur presence Est Indispensablement necessaire a la Nouvelle Orleans, ou la livraison des negres doit se faire, et non ailleurs; on ne comprend point quels peuvent Estre les motifs de la Comp'e dans cette proposition, elle est contre la bonne regle et elle peut estre prejudiciable a la Comp'e qui ayant encore des effets a recouvrer dans la

Colonie, les prendra d'autant mieux a la nouvelle Orléans, quelle n'y a plus de batimens pour les transporter a la Balise.

Le mois de relache paroit suffisant, pourveu que ce soit a la Nouvelle orleans, et quant a la retenüe des navires, Il n'y a point d'aparence que cela arrive; mais En tout cas Si le service du Roy, et la Seureté de la Colonie Exigeoint qu'on Eut besoin de Vaisseaux de la Comp'e, Il Seroit juste de la dedomager de la depense du retardement.

Le prix de 600 *ll.* demandé par la Comp'e paroit bon pourveu que ce soit par teste de Negre pris d'Inde et non autrement; en le reglant sur ce pied la, la Compagnie y trouvera plus d'avantage que Si elle les vendoit 1000 *ll.* même 1200 aux Isles, parcequ'outre que se payant en france par ses mains, elle ne Courra point les risque des retours, les voyages des vaisseaux seront plus courts, et elle evitera la perte aumoins de 35 ou 40 pour Cent Sur la Vente des Sucres et autres Effets qui Seroint donnés aux Isles En payement des Negres qui ne Seroint d'ailleurs vendus qua terme; ainsi le prix de 600 *ll.* piece d'Inde paroit raisonnable et avantageux a la Comp'e.

Si le Roy se determinoit a Consentir qu'ils fussent Receus Indistinctement par teste, ce qui ne convient pas pour les Raisons expliquées, on Estime que le payement ne pourroit Exceder 400 *ll.* a 450 *ll.*

La proposition qu'il Soit donné quittance a la Comp'e par le tresorier general de la Marine, en justiffiant de la remise des Negres aux officiers preposés pour la perception est juste.

Il sera necessaire Si la Convention a lieu, que la Comp'e prene une deliberation conformement a ce qui sera reglé, Et qu'elle Soit [pr]omologuée par un arret.

433. Memoir of the Company of the Indies, 1733.[1]

1733, Janvier 13.

Mémoire de la Compagnie des Indes au sujet de sa proposition de s'acquitter envers le Roi en fournissant des nègres à la Louisiane. N. S.

Memoire

La proposition, que la Comp'e des Indes a faite a la marine du Roy au sujet d'un transport de Noirs du Senegal a la Louisianne, est fondé sur les plus mûres reflections, l'affaire a été bien pesée et bien examinée; et la campagnie ne S'est fixée en presence de Monseigneur, aux treize articles que la proposition contient, quapres avoir moins consulté sur chaque article son Interest propre, que le desir

[433] [1] M. des Col., C 2, 25: 225. Endorsed: "Envoyé a M. de Maurepas le memoire cy joint reponse au Sien. Sur la proposition de la Compe. de transporter des Negres a la Louisiane, pour s'aquiter envers le Roy."

d'Estre de quelque secours et de quelque utilité a la Colonie de la Louisianne. la Compagnie a fait en cela d'ellemême tout ce qu'elle pouvoit faire; Et il ne semble pas que la proposition conviene a la marine du Roy a en juger par sa reponse que Monseigneur a donné En Communication a la Comp'e. Monseigneur est donc Suplié de permettre a la Comp'e de se desister de toute veüe d'Entrer la dessus en traité avec la Marine de Sa Majesté, ou de Sen tenir Invariablement aux articles proposés, auxquels il ne Sçauroit estre apporté de changement qui ne soit d'un tres grand prejudice pour Elle.

434. Comte de Maurepas to Vaudreuil and Salmon, 1752.[1]

1742, Octobre 22, Versailles.

Le Comte de Maurepas, Ministre de la Marine, à de Vaudreuil, gouverneur, et Salmon, ordonnateur à la Louisiane

M. M., Je reponds a la lettre de M'rs de Bienville et Salmon du 24 mars d'er, concernant le projet des S'rs Du Breüil et Dalcourt pour l'introd'on d'une cargaison de Negres a La Louisianne.

Ce projet n'a pas pu s'executer avec les S'rs Pascaud de la Rochelle, ces Neg's s'estant arrestés a des difficultés qui estoient insurmontables. Le Sr. Dalcourt s'est determiné a f're un armem't pr. son compte et celuy du S'r Du Breüil; mais il s'est trouvé obligé d'en reduire l'objet a une Cargaison de 200 Negres. Il a pour cet effet achepté un Bastiment qu'il doit f're armer a la Rochelle; Et pour luy faciliter la traite des Noirs, j'ay engagé la Comp'ie des Indes a les luy f're livrer dans son comptoir du Senegal, au prix dont il est convenu avec elle, et payable en francs, moytié comptant, et l'autre moytié au mois de Juillet prochain. Il doit se rendre Incessam. a la Rochelle pr. presser son armem't; et je ne sais encore s'il ne prendra pas le party d'aller luy mesme au Senegal. Quoy qu'il en soit, j'ay deux choses a vous prescrire au sujet de cette entreprise.

La p'r est de la favoriser en tout ce qui pourra dependre de vous. Les S'rs Dalcourt et Du Breüil S'y sont sans doute portés dans l'esperance d'y trouver de benefice; mais outre qu'il est juste qu'ils puissent en effet en retirer, c'est que cela est d'ailleurs a desirer pour l'avantage mesme de la Colonie, puisque s'ils venoient malheureusem't a y echouer, il n'en faudroit pas davantage pr. degouter entiérem't les armateurs de france non seulem't de la traite des noirs a La Loüis'e, mais peut estre mesme de tout commerce avec cette Colonie; car enfin il n'est gueres possible que ce comm'ce puisse se soutenir si les retours de la Colonie n'augmentent pas, Et ces retours, loin d' augmenter, ne pourront au contraire que diminuer, si elle ne reçoit pas des Secours de Negres.

[434] [1] Arch. Nat., Col., B 7, 4: 630-630 v., 631-631 v. Dalcour's project for carrying negroes to Louisiana had been under consideration for some time, Sept. 25, Oct. 2, 1741. Col., B 73: 63, 134.

Les avantages que j'ay procurés aux S'rs Dalcourt et Du Breüil doivent vous f're sentir de plus en plus combien cet objet me tient a coeur; je suis persuadé que vous y concourrés de vostre mieux. Je dois ajouter a cet egard qu'en tenant la main a ce que ces deux particuliers n'abusent pas du besoin que les Blancs ont de Negres pour les leur vendre a un prix exorbitant, il convient aussy que vous fassiez entendre aux haans q'ls doivent s'ex'er de leur part non seulem't pr. cette cargaison mais encore pr. celles qu'on pourra leur porter dans la suite, les dep'es et les risques des armemements de cette espece estant d'un objet bien plus considerable pr. la Loüisiane que pour les Isles.

La 2'de chose que j'ay a vous recommander, c'est de veiller a ce que les S'rs Dalcourt et Du Breüil prennent de justes mesures pr f're passer en france les fonds necessaires pr le payem't q'ls doivent faire au mois de Juillet prochain de la 2'de moytié du prix des Negres que la Comp'ie des Indes doit leur faire livrer. Ce payement doit estre de 30m *ll*; Et s'ils n'y satisfaisoient pas, je serois oblige d'y f're suppléer des fonds de la Marine, la Comp'ie ne s'estant determinée a leur faire ce credit, qu'a cette condition. Vous aurés agreable de me rendre compte de ce qu'ils feront sur cela, et M'r Salmon aura Soin de me prevenir particulierement des effets qu'ils feront embarquer Sur le V'au du Roy.

Au Surplus, Soitque cette enterprise reüssisse ou qu'elle echoüe, je suivray les autres vües que j'ay pr. procurer des Negres a La Colonie. J'avois pensé a y en faire introduire une cargaison pr. le compte du Roy, afin de retirer les papiers de Caisse qui ont esté repandus dans le public; Et j'avois demandé a M'rs de Bienville et Salmon de me mettre en estat de prendre un party sur cela, en me faisant Savoir au juste le cours de ces papiers et a quel prix pourroient estre vendus les negres payables avec ces effets. Mais ils ne m'ont pas donné ces ecclaircissements et je sens qu'ils ne pourroient pas le faire par la confusion avec laquelle les papiers de Caisse ont esté repandus dans le public, ce qui est la source du desordre qui regne et dans les finances et dans le Commerce de la Colonie.

J'attens que M. Salmon ayt constaté l'estat des choses a cet esgard, et que vous puissiés satisf're a ce que j'avois demandé sur l'Idée d'un Envoy de Negres pr. le Compte du Roy.[2]

[2] "Dup'ta a Mr. Salmon a V'les le 22, 8bre 1742." Endorsed: "Je reponds, M. a vos lettres des 3 et 4 avril et du 18 Juin d'ers. . . . Vos apprendrés par une depesche commune a vous et a M. de Vaudreüil l'arrangement qui a esté fait par le S'r Dalcourt avec la Comp'ie des Indes p une cargaison de 200 negres. La lettre de change de 30,000 *ll.* luy a esté remise et Sera aquitteé a son echeance." Apparently 182 Guinea slaves were brought in during the next year (Sept. 26, 1743, Vaudreuil to Comte de Maurepas, Col. F 3, 128). Dalcour's negroes, obtained from the Company of the Indies, he had not yet paid for in April, 1745. Comte de Maurepas to the Directors of the Company of the Indies, Col., B 82: 34, 55.

435. Comte de Maurepas to M. de Fulvy, 1742.[1]

1742, Décembre 6, Versailles.

Le Comte de Maurepas, Ministre de la Marine, à de Fulvy.

Le S'r Dalcourt m'a representé, M. qu'au lieu de 200 negres qu'il avoit dabord demandés a la Compagnie des Indes, la fourniture a esté portée à 220; mais que par le traité qui a esté passe a cette occasion il a esté reglé qu'il donneroit des Suretés pour le payem't du prix de ces 20 Negres d'augmentation; Et il m'a demandé de pourvoir a cet objet qui est de 6000 *ll.* Par les mesmes motifs qui m'ont desja fait agir sur cette entreprise je ferai encore agréer au Roy que si le Sr. Dalcourt manquoit de satisfaire au payement du prix de ces 6000 *ll.* dans les termes qui ont esté stipulés par le traité passé avec lui, je pourrai y faire Suppléer par le Tresorier general de la Marine au mois de jan'er de l'année 1744 en mesme temps que je ferai faire le payement des 30,000 *ll.* Supposé que le Sr. Dalcourt n'y satisfit pas, Si cet arrangement convient a la Compagnie, je vous prie de vouloir bien me le marquer.

436. Memoir on the Commerce of Louisiana, 1754.[1]

La Louisiane 1754 [Sept. 15?] Détails sur le commerce á faire a la Louisiane

Memoire de Commérce sur la louisiane avec les opérations qui en Résultent

. . . Mais ce commerce Ne peut se faire avec avantage sans celuy de Negres, dont Je vay proposer les opérations, parce que le pays manqu'ant de Negres, tous les habitants mettent tout En Reserve pour En avoir, Et s'attendent que la Cour ou le commerce leur En Enverront, En sorte qu'on peut s'assurer qu'ils faciliteront une pareille Entréprise, Non Seulement par la preferance de L'achat de leurs Besoins, mais encore en portant leurs Revenus davance, pour Etre assurés d'avoir des negres; Et lon pourroit sassurer d'avoir par la, une Espéce d'Exclusion tacite pour ce commerce; Ils me l'ont fort promis, Et je crois qu'on peut y faire fonds avec assurance.

Peu de tems avant le depart du premier Navire En carguaison pour la Louisiane, Il faut expedier un Navire de 170 Th'x ou Environ de 330 Negres pour guinée a la botte [coste?] dor avec ordre quil prenne de la Junesse autant quil sera possible, sçavoir les deux tiers En malles et l'autre En femmes, quil ny aye pas plus de 15 a 20 Negrillons ou Negrittes, Et que le Reste soit de l'age depuis 15 Jusqua 25 années, Et fournir de bons Vivres pour que les Negres ne souffrent pas, Et qu'il passe au cap pour suivre les avis que le gereur de la louisiane, y aura Laissés pour sa Gouverne; Il prendra un julotte

[435] [1] Arch. Nat., Col., B 75: 169-169v.

[436] [1] Arch. Nat., Col., C 13a, 38: 236-242 fo. Endorsed: "par le sr. Colom," and, "La Louisiane. 1754 [Sept. 15?]. Détails sur le commerce á faire a la Louisiane."

pour la louisiane, pourra Meme faire descendre quelques Negres a terre pour Rassurer le Reste de la carguaison sur leur sort. Et la, leur distribuera a chaqu'un un Rechange, cest a dire une chemise Et une culotte aux malles, Et une chemise Et une Juppe aux femmes, ce petit contentement leur faira Entreprendre avec plus de plaisir la traversée pour la louisiane, ou on leur promettra des les Mieux habiller; Et cet habillement les garantira des Cousins Et de la Bigaille, qu'ils sentiront En montant le fleuve; il Raffraichira ses vivres s'il En est besoin, Et partira le plustot possible pour la louisiane, ou il trouvera a la Balize qui est l'entrée du fleuve, les avis Necessaires du gereur de la louisiane pour Monter promptement sa carguaison, Et d'ou il donnera un Etat Exact de sa carguaison pour que le gereur puisse les Vendre Et distribuer En arrivant.

Voicy donc le compte de L'armement du premier Navire de 330 Negres Pour la coste de Guinée destiné pour la Louisiane

Compte d'armement du Premier Negrier Pour la Louisiane

Mise hors En france			Vente des Retours En France		
Achat du Navire	30,000		1500 de tabac a 30 *ll.*		
Mise hors	15,000		Le %	45,000 *ll.*	
Carguaison pr 330 Negres	80,000	127,500 *ll.*	22,500 indigo . . a 6	125,000	240,000 *ll.*
Commission d'armement	2500		20,000 *ll.* pelléterie a 3 *ll.*	60,000	
assurance d'aller Et Retour a 10 p%		127,500			
Desermement au retour commission etc.		16,000 *ll.*	Lettres de change sur france		10,150
					250,150
desarmement Et de Vente a p%	2560	18,560	Valeur du Navire au Retour		22,500
		158,810			£272,650
		272,650			
Proffit sur cet armément		113,840			

Vente des Negres a la Louisiane		frais Et carguaisons Pr France	
Pour la Vente de 330 Negres qu'on reduit a cause de la mortalité, Evalüé a Environ 10 p%, a 300 Negres Vendus lun dans lautre a 900 *ll.*	270,000 *ll.*	frais'a St. domingue En passant droit des Negres a la louisiane a 2 p%	2000 5400
		frais du Navire a la louisiane	7500
		commission de Vente Recouvrement Et Envoy	
Na. quil a Eté Envoyté 20,000 *ll.* sur 270,000 *ll.* a 6 p% de moins ansy quil a Eté dit Cy devant et dont il sera parlé cy après			16.200
		1500 de tabac a aa *ll.* 10 *s.* Le % 33,750	
		25,000 *ll.* indigo a 5 *ll.* 125,000	208,750
		20,000 *ll.* pelleteries a 50 50,000	
		En Lettres de Change sur france	10,150
			£250,000

Lon Voit par ce compte, qu'on a fait pour 20,000 *ll.* d'Envois de moins que Ne monte la Vente de la carguaison; cette somme servira non seulement a L'achat de partie de L'habitation proposée, mais aussy pour Tenir lieu des deptes Retardées, dont cependant on fait partie de la Remise par le Navire En carguaison pour la Louisiane ainsy quil a Eté Expliqué dans le compte de cet armément En Carguaison

Le compte de cet armément Est doublé sur le tableau En 1755 parce qu'il faut qu'un mois au plus tard apres L'armément du prémier Negrier pour la Louisiane, il en parte un pareil avec les memes opérations affin qu'il puisse arriver avant les froids a la Louisiane; Il en est tres Necessaire de prendre ces précautions dans les Commencement, affin de Mettre En usage tout ce que peut contribuer a la Reussitte de cette Entreprise, par la craintequ'on ne fut découragé s'il arrivoit dans les commencements des accidents qu'on N'auroit pas prevus, mais dans la suitte par les precautions que l'on prendra, et les Etablisséments quon faira sur l'habitation, les Negres pourront arriver En toutte saison.

On voit donc par le Tableau de commerce des Négres, l'armément de deux Negriers, dont le capital Monte a f 280,500 *ll.* sur lequel le proffit Réel est de 227,680 *ll.* les Negres pieces dinde valent jusqu'a 1400 *ll.* cependant Je ne les passe que sur le pied de 900 *ll.* L'un dans L'autre, Ils pourront Rentrer a d'avantage s'ils sont Bien choisis, et qu'on voulut faire quelque credit, ou qu'on ne se pressera pas de les Vendre, ayant, Comme Je L'ay dit, la Ressource d'une habitation pour les Mettre En attendant la Vente: les Retours sur Tout En indigo peuvent donner un proffit Bien plus Considerable, auquel on verra que sur la Vente Jay fait supporter un dechet de 10 p%.

Pour Prouver que les Mises des deux prémieres années suffiront Et au dela, à faire Rouller ce commerce pendant les huit années proposées suivant les Tableaux, on verra que le Net produit En france des Retour des 2 premiers Negriers la 1'ere année 1755 monte a la somme de		508,180 *ll.*
Celuy des 3 Negriers de la 2e année a		813,068 "
Le Net produit de la carguaison		1,321,248 "
de la 1'ere annee 1755 monte a	211,080	
Et celuy de La 2e année 1756 Monte a	208,540	419,620 "
		1,740,868 *ll.*
La mise hors de L'armément des deux Negriers de la premiere anné 1755 Monte a La somme de	280,500	
Celle des 3. Negriers la 2e année a	402,930	
	£683,430	

Celle du Navire En carguaison la 1ere année monte a	221,642 *ll.*		
Et celle de la 2e année 1756 monte a	191,499	413,141	1,096,571
Dont le proffit Est de la Somme de			£ 644,297

avec Le capital de ces Retours Montant a	1,740,868 *ll.*	
Il y aura aisément de quoi faire faire le 3e armément dont la mise hors des quatre Negriers la troisieme année 1757 Mont a la somme de		524,370 *ll.*
Et celle des 2 Navires En Carguaison En 1757 est de		384,419
		908,789 *ll.*

Ainsy l'on voit que le société aura Encore de Reste du net produit en france des Retours de la Louisiane des deux premieres années 1755 Et 1756 montant de l'autre part a La somme de 1,740,868 *ll.* deduction faitte des arméments cy dessus En 1757 montant a—908,789 *ll.* la somme de 832,079 *ll.*

Mais comme dans le commerce on doit prevoir tous les Evénements Et que la Reussitte Ne Repond pas Toujours a notre attente, il sera Nécessaire que les capitalistes prenent des sages precautions, pour En cas de quelque facheux Evénément, pouvoir continuer ce Commerce sur ce plan, Et sur lequel ils peuvent des a present faire un fonds solide, Quand a moy Je Reponds Bien d'apporter tous les soins possibles pour la Reussitte de l'Entreprise, Et Je puis me flatter de conaître asses le pays, et dy etre asses aymé pour pouvoir Espérer qu'on me fournira d'avance les Carguaisons pour Envoyer En france Et a St. domingue soubs les Engagements que je leur faisay de leur fournir des Negres.

Comme les piastres lourdes perdent En france, Il conviendra de N'en Envoyer que le moins qu'il se pourra, Et prendre a la place des Marchandises Sur lesquelles on peut gagner.

Je pense que pour le Bien de L'Entreprise Il convient quil soit choisy une Vintaine de Bons Negres, dont on faira peu a peu des Matelots qui Remplaceront les Matelots qui mourront ou qui desertéront. ces Negres serviront et seroient continuellément occupés a aller Et venir de St. domingue a la Louisiane seulement; ils Epargnéroient considérablement des Gages d'Equipage; Empecheroient le Retardément fautte de Monde; ayderoient a la charge et decharge des Battiments; augmenteroient considerablément de prix, Et seroient dans Touttes les occasions d'une Ressource infinie dont la valeur Retournerois au proffit de la société lors de la liquidation; ces memes Negres dans Loccasion pourront Tranquliser l'esprit des Negres Nouveaux sur leur sort, et leur faire suporter aisement le trajet de St. domingue a la louisiane.

Le Gereur de la Louisiane pourra a L'occasion achetter le Bois de Campetche ou autres danrées des espagnols pour faire des Retours En france soit par Trop de Marchandises Soit En argent.

On peut Regarder sur les tableaux l'article de la prime d'assurance comme un objet qui N'Entre point dans la mise, puisqu'en genéral elle ne se paye qu'au Retour, au Moyen de quoy ce seroit un objet pour les deux premières années sur les Navires En carguaison de la somme de 23,385 *ll.*

Et sur les Navîres Negriers les deux premieres années 62,130 "

qui fourneroient une mise hors de moins de la some de 85,515 *ll.*

[*Memoir on the Commerce of Louisiana*—continued:]

Tablau de comerce de Negres Pour la Louisiane, Et Arméments

Années	Encombrements et Port des Navires	Navires pour Guinée de 330 Negres	Achat des Navires Neufs pour la coste De Guinée	Navires qui ont deja fait des voyages	Prix des Navires qui ont deja fait des voyages	Mise hors des Navires Et avances aux Equipages	Carguaisons des Navires pour la coste de Guinée	Commissions D'armément En france a 2 p %	Assurances Pour Guinée la louisiane Et Retour En france a 10 p %	Total des Mises hors En france pour L'armément des Négriers Pour la Louisiane
1755	170 Thonaux-2		60,000		.....	30,000	160,000	5,000	25,500	280,500
1756	170 Th 1		30,000	2	45,000	45,000	240,000	6,300	36,630	402,930
1757	170 Th 1		30,000	3	58,500	60,000	320,000	8,200	47,670	524,370
1758	170 Th 2		60,000	4	70,500	90,000	480,000	12,600	71,310	784,410
1759	170 Th 4		120,000	6	104,250	150,000	800,000	21,400	119,565	1,311,215
1760	.....		.....	8	132,750	120,000	640,000	15,200	90,795	998,745
1761	.....		.....	7	94,595	105,000	560,000	13,500	77,309	850,404
		10	300,000		505,595	600,000	3,200,000	82,200	468,779	£5,156,574

437. PRIZE NEGROES FROM THE *OPAL* AND THE *FORTUNE*, 1758.[1]

1758 Sept. 27-Octobre 23. N. O.

Proces-verbal de la vente des negres pris aux Anglais par les vaisseaux l'Opale et la Fortune *D. S.*

L'an mil sept cent cinquante huit Le Vingt Septieme Jour de Septembre neuf heures du matin En vertu de L'ordonnance de monsieur de Rochemore Conseiller Du Roy Commissaire general de la marine ordonnateur et premier juge au Conseil superieur de La province de La Louisiane Etant au Bas de La requeste a Lui présentée par le Sr. Pierre Brochard Ecrivain de La marine sur La flutte Du roy *L'Opale* en datte du vingt trois du présent mois a été procédé En présence de M'r Descloseaux Commre. De la marine de M'r Raguet conseiller au conseil y faisant fonction de procureur Du Roy dud. Sr. Brochard, Du Sr. D'Espalliere Ecrivain du Roy sur La flutte du Roy *La fortune* du Sr. Carlier Ecrivain de La marine faisant les fonctions de Controlleur a la vente et adjudication au plus offrant et d'Encherisseur des negres qui ont eté pris sur Les anglois par les d. Vaux. Laquelle vente a été publiée et affichée et rendue publique a son de tambour dans tous les Carrefours de cette ville De la nlle. Orleans et S'Etant Trouvé nombre D'Encherisseurs sous une tante mise exprès dans La cour des Cazernes a eté publié que l'on accorde quinze jours de termes aux acquereurs qui payeront au Bout du tems Le prix de leur adjudication En mains du greffier Ensuitte de quoy il a eté procédé ainsi qu'il en suit

Premierement a eté mis et exposé en vente un negre Lequel après plusieurs criées et Encheres a eté adjugé au Sr. chevalier de Makarti Comme plus offrant et d'er Encherisseur a La somme de Quinze cent livres cy 1500

Item un autre negre adjugé id au Sr. Renaudin a onze cent trente cinq livres cy 1135

Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Garderat a treize cent quatre vingt livres cy 1380

Item un grand negre adjugé au Sr. Dreux Laisné a seize cent soixante dix livres cy 1670

Item Un moyen negre adjugé au Sr. Priou pere a onze cent trente livres cy 1130

Item Un negrillon adjugé au Sr. fusillier a treize cent quarante cinq livres cy 1345

Item un grand negre adjugeau S. Louis harang a dix sept cent livres cy 1700

Item un negre adjugé au Sr. Ornaud a quatorze cent Cinquante livres cy 1450

Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Piat a douze cent trente livres cy 1230

Et attendu qu'il est environ mydy La continuation de La presente vente a ete renvoyée a ce jourd'huy de relevée et ont signé ainsi signé En la minutte des presentes Le Chr De Plas Large Brochard Despallieres Carlier Raguet Bobé Descloseaux et nous greffier sous-signé

CHANTALON Greff

Et les sus dijours mois et an Deux heures de relevée en continuant La susd. vente a la requeste et en presence des cy devant nommés et sy etant trouvé nombre D'Encherisseur a ete procédé ainsi qu'il ensuit

Premierement a ete mis et exposé En vente un negre Lequel après plusieurs criées et encheres a eté adjugé au Sr. Caminade a La somme de seize cent vingt cinq livres cy 1625

[437] [1]L. C. Trans., Arch. Nat., Col., C 13a, 40: 189-198. This account was attached to a letter to M. de Rochemore. The English vessel bound with these negroes for Virginia was taken, July 18, 1758. Min. des M., B 4, 81: 65.

Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Vienne a douze cent soixante et dix livres cy 1270
Item une negresse adjugée au Sr. Portneuf a seize cent soixante livres cy 1660
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Belnost a quinze cent dix livres cy 1510
Item une negresse adjugée au S. Bienvenu a seize cent livres cy 1600
Item un negrillon adjugé au nommé Joseph La flutte a onze cent quatre vingt livres cy 1180
Item une negresse adjugée au Sr. Ducret dt. Belle humeur a quinze cent trente cinq livres cy 1535
Item un negre adjugé au Sr. Pontalba a seize cent Cinquante livres cy 1650
Item une negritte adjugée au Sr. Chevalier de macarti a douze cent livres cy 1200
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Bouée Laisné a onze cent quatre vingt dix livres cy 1190
Item une negresse adjugée au Sr. fromantin a dix sept cent livres cy 1700
Item un negre adjugé au Sr. Dreux le cadet a dix sept cent dix livres cy 1710
Item un negre adjugé au Sr. Germain a seize cent dix livres cy 1610
Item une negresse adjugée au Sr. Bienvenu a seize cent quatre vingt quinze livres cy 1695
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. De Lomer a neuf cent vingt cinq livres cy 925
Item un negre adjugé au Sr. Bienvenu a dix huit cent soixante et dix livres cy 1870
Item une negritte adjugée a M'r DePlas a Mille livres cy 1000
Item un negre et une negresse adjugés au Sr. Boue Le cadet a la somme de trois mille soixante cinq livres cy 3065
Item un negre adjugé au Sr. Ornaud a quatorze cent livres cy 1400

Et attendu qu'il est six heures du soir Lad. vente a ete renvoyée a demain du matin et ont signé ainsi signé Le ch'r De Plas, Large, Brochard Despalieres; carlier Raguet, Bobé, Descloseaux et nous greffier soussigné

CHANTALON Greff

Et le vingt huitieme dud. mois et an neuf heures du matin En presence de mesd. Srs. cy devant Nommé a été procedé a la continuation de La presente vente ainsi qu'il suit

Premierement a été mis et exposé en vente un negre Lequel après plusieurs criées et encheres a été adjugé au nommé Moro habitant a La somme de onze cent cinq livres cy 1105
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Vienne a douze cent livres cy 1200
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Vienne a onze cent dix livres cy 1110
Item un negre adjugé au Sr. Large a La somme de Treize cent livres cy 1300
Item un negrillon adjugé au nommé maroteau a Mille quarante livres cy 1040
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Vienne a onze cent quatre vingt dix neuf livres cy 1199
Item un negre adjugé au Sr. Vienne a seize cent quatre vingt quatre livres cy 1684
Item un negrillon paroissant malade adjugé au Sr. hardy a neuf cent cinq livres cy 905

. . . .[2]

Et attendu qu'il est environ midy La continuation de Lad. vente a ete renvoyée a ce jourdhuy de relevée et ont signé ainsi signé Le ch'er De Plas Large, Brochard Despallieres, carlier, Raguet, Bobé descloseaux et nous greffier soussugné

CHANTALON Greff

Et les susd. Jours mois et an Deux heures de relevée En continuant La susd. vente en presence des personnes Cy devt. nommées et soussignés S'Etant trouvé nombre D'Encherisseurs a ete procédé ainsi qu'il en suit

Premierement a ete mis et exposé en vente un negre Lequel après plusieurs criées et encheres a eté adjugé au Sr. Large a dix sept cent vingt livres cy 1720
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. chevalier de Macarty a mille quinze livres cy 1015
Item un negre adjugé au Sr. Viennea mille soixante livres cy 1060
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Bellami a quatorze cent livres cy 1400
Item un negresse et son enfant a La mammelle adjugée au sr. fontenette a dix huit cent cinq livres cy 1805

. . . .[2]

Item une negritte adjugée au Sr. Bellami a douze cent soixante livres cy 1260
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Triere a douze cent quatre vingt dix livres 1290

[2] The four here omitted are sold for 1335, 1200, 1010, and 600 livres, respectively.

[3] Ten sales, the prices for which were 1504, 1490, 1710, 1600, 1025, 1150, 1230, 3500, 1115, and 1105 livres, respectively, are here omitted.

Item une negritte adjugée au Sr. Bellami a treize cent dix livres cy 1310
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Broutin a mille quatre vingt dix livres cy 1090
Item une negritte adjugée au Sr. Bellami a treize cent vingt cinq livres cy 1325
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Thomassin a mille dix livres cy 1010
Item une negritte adjugée au Sr. Estienne Reine a douze cent livres cy 1200

Et attendu qu'il est six heures du soir La continuation de La presente vente a été renvoyée a demain du matin et ont signé ainsi signé en La minutte, Le ch'r De Plas, Large, Brochard, Depallieres, Carlier, Raguet, Bobé, descloseaux et nous greffier soussigné

CHANTALON Greff

Et le vingt neufieme dud. mois et au neuf heures du matin En continuant La susd. vente a La requeste, Et en presence des personnes Cy devt. nommés sy etant trouvé nombre d'Encherisseurs Lad. vente affichée et publiée a son de tambour dans tous les carrefours de cette ville a eté procedé ainsi qu'il en suit

Premierement a ete mis et exposé en vente un negre et une negresse Lesquels après plusieurs criées et encheres ont eté adjugés au Sr. Dreux Le cadet a La somme de trois mille six cent vingt livres cy. . . .[4] 3620
Item un negre adjugé au sr. Solet a seize cent soixante quinze livres cy 1675
Item une negresse adjugée au Sr. Bracquier a dix sept cent soixante livres cy 1760
Item un negrillon adjugé au sr. De Mandeville a douze cent livres cy 1200

Et attendu qu'il est environ midy La continuation de La presente vente a eté renvoyée a ce jourdhuy deux heures de relevée et ont signé ainsi signé le ch'er De Plas Large Brochard Despallieres Carlier Raguet Bobé descloseaux Et nous greffier Soussignés

CHANTALON Greff

Item une negritte adjugée au Sr. Derneville a quatorze cent livres cy 1400
Item un negrillon adjugé au sr. Tiresand a mille quarante cinq livres cy 1045
Item un negre adjugé au sr. Vienne a dix huit cent livres cy 1800
Item un negrillon adjugé au sr. Broutin a Mille livre cy 1000
Item une negritte adjugée au sr. Avignon a treize cent livres cy 1300
Item un negre adjugé au sr. La Loire fils a dix huit cent quinze livres 1815
. . . .[5]

Et attendu qu'il est six heures Du soir La continuation de la presente vente a été renvoyéé a demain du matin et ont signé ainsi signé le ch'er de Plas, Large, Brochard, Despallieres carlier Raguet, Bobé Descloseaux Et nous greffier soussigné

CHANTALON Greff

Et le trentieme dudmois et au neuf heures du matin a La requeste et en presence des personnes cy devant nommées et soussignés a été procedé ainsy qu'il en suit

Premierement a été mis et exposé en vente un negre Lequel après plusieurs criées et encheres a eté adjugé au sr. Vienne a quatorze cent cinquante cinq Livres cy 1455
Item un autre negre adjugé au sr. Rançon a quinze cent soixante Livres cy 1560
Item un autre negre adjugé au sr. Large a quatorze cent cinquante livres cy 1450
Item une negresse adjugée au sr. Mandeville a quatorze cent vingt cinq livres cy 1425
Item un negre adjugé au sr. Large a quatorze cent cinqante livres cy 1450

Et attendu qu'il est environ midy nous avons renvoyé La continuation de La presente vente a ce Jourdhuy de relevee et ont signé ainsi signé Le ch'er De Plas, Large, Brochard, Despallieres Carlier Raguet Bobé Descloseaux et nous greffier soussigné

CHANTALON Greff

Et les susd. Jour mois et au Deux heures de relevée a été procede a La continuation de La susd. vente ainsi qu'il en suit

Premierement a été mis et exposé en vente un negre Lequel après plusieurs criées et encheres a eté adjugé au sr Large a quatorze cent soixante dix livres cy 1470
Item une negritte adjugée au sr. De Pontalba a Treize cent vingt livres cy[6] 1320
Item un negrillon adjugé au Sr. Thomassin a quinze cent soixante livres cy 1560

Et attendu qu'il est six heures du Soir La Continuation de la d. vente a été renvoyée a Lundy matin et ont signé ainsi signé le Ch'er DePlas, Large, Brochard, despallieres, Carlier Raguet, Bobé descloseaux Et nous greffier soussigné

CHANTALON Greff

[4] Ten items are here omitted, the prices of which were 1475, 1130, 1030, 1085, 660, 1735, 1800, 1500, 900, and 1620 livres. The small negro who went for 660 livres was ill.

[5] The ommited prices are 1325, 1345, 825, 1710, 1705, 1305, 1400, 1450 livres, respectively.

[6] The omitted sale prices are 1660, 1520, 1515, 1440, 1785, 1630, 1055, 1430, 1325, 1600, 4080 (3), 3370 (2).

Et le deuxieme jour D'octobre au d. an neuf heures du matin a eté procedé a La continuation de la d. vente en présence de mesd. Sr. cy devt. nommés ainsi qu'il en suit

Premierement a ete mis et exposé en vente un negre ayant mal aux yeux Lequel après plusieurs criées et encheres a eté adjugé au Sr. ferret chirurgien a La somme de mille quarante livres cy 1040

Qui est tout ce qu'on a présenté a vendre La présente vente montant sauf erreur ou obmission a La somme de cent soixante et dix mille neuf cent onze livres qui sera recouverte par Le greffier soussigné pour estre remise a qui il apartiendra. fait et arresté a la Nlle. Orleans Les susd. Jours, Mois et an et ont signé ainsi signé en la minutte des presentes Le ch'er DePlas, Large, Brochard, Despallieres carlier, Raguet, Bobé desclozeaux, et nous greffier soussigné

Quatrieme Expedition

CHANTALON Greff

Compte que rend Chantalon Greffier charge du recouvrement de la vente des negres pris sur les anglois par les vaisseaux du Roy *L'opale* et *la fortune*

Scavoir

La vente Judiciaire suivant Les procès verbaux est de La somme de cent soixante dix mille neuf cent onze livres cy 170,911 *ll.*

Item se charge Le comptable de la somme de huit mille huit cent livres pour dix negres negresses negrillons ou Negrittes suivant un etat estimatif cy annexé en datte Du deux du present et dont il a fait Le recouvrement cy 8800 "

Total dont le greffier est charge cent soixante dix neuf mille sept cent onze livres cy 179,711 *ll.*

De l' autre part 179,711

Sur laquelle somme alloué au greffier pour toutes ecritures expeditions de procès verbaux et recouvrement de Deniers La vente ayant été faite a terme et ayant fait bon desddeniers a raison de trois et demie pour cent cy 6289. 17. 8

Reste cent soixante trieze mille quatre cent vingt et une Livre deux sols quatre deniers cy 173,421 2. 4

A la NLLE. ORLEANS Le vingt deux Octobre mil sept cent Cinquante huit signé CHANTALON greffier est plus Bas ést ecrit

Vu par nous chevalier Conseiller Du Roy en ses Conseils commissaire général de La marine ordonnateur et Premier Juge au Conseil superieur de La province de La Louisiane Le procès verbal de vente Cy joint L'Etat estimatif y annexé et Le compte d'autre part par Lequel le Sr. chantalon est reliquataire de La somme de cent soixante treize mille quatre cent vingt et une livre deux sols quatre deniers, Nous sans avoir Egard a la forme du Susd. Etat estimatif et pour procurer seulement decharge aud. Sr. chantalon ordonnons qu il Comptera et remettra a M'r Detrehan Tresorier De la marine en cette Colonie la susd. somme de cent soixante treize mille quatre cent vingt et une livre deux sols quatre deniers dont il se chargera en recette et au moyen du reçu qu' il en donnera le d. Sr. Chantalon en Demeurera Bien et valablement dechargé Donné en notre hotel a La Nlle. Orleans Le vingt deuxieme octobre mille sept cent Cinquante huit signe Rochemore et plus Bas est ecrit

Je soussigné Trésorier a La Louisiane Certifie que monsieur chantalon Denominé au procès verbal cy devt. m'a compté La somme de Cent soixante et treize mille quatre cent vingt et Une livre Deux sols quatre denier Dont J'ay fait recette et don Je le quitte a La NLLE. ORLEANS Le vingt trois octobre mil sept cent Cinquante huit signé D'ETREHAN

Pour Quartrieme Expedition

CHANTALON Greff

438. Gilbert Leonard to Governor William C. C. Claiborne, 1804.[1]

New Orleans, January 25, 1804.

Sir: In reply to your excellency's request for information, relative to the arrangement of the Spanish Government of this province, concerning the importation of slaves, I beg leave to represent:

That by an order of His Majesty, dated at Aranjuez, the 24th of January, 1793 [8?], the prohibition which restrained the importation of slaves was expressly removed, free of duties, to favor the commercial interest of His Majesty's subjects, and the said order was promulgated in due form by the Intendant of this province, Don Ramon de Loper[z] y Angulo, on the 29th of November, 1800.

Subsequent to the retrocession of the province to France, but pending the existence and the exercise of the Spanish authorities, three vessels have arrived, and been admitted into this port with slaves for sale, consigned to John Francis Merecu, *viz*: the French brig *African,* Peter Farmuel, master, charged with one hundred and forty-three Africans, the French Brig *La Confiance*, John Louis Sacray, master, charged with one hundred and seventy Africans, and the French brig *Sally*, Augustus Buibert, master, charged with one hundred and fifty Africans.

It is proper for me to observe to your excellency, that the Royal Edict required Spanish bottoms and Spanish masters for this commerce, but the Spanish authorities which existed but after the retrocession had been formally announced, considered it their duty to pursue the obvious spirit of this edict, which had for its object the particular interest and accomodation of His Majesty's marine and his subjects, and therefore they deemed it both reasonable and just, that these privileges and advantages which had been generously intended for Spanish Louisiana should not be withheld from French Louisiana during the existence of their temporary authority.

To this candid exposition of facts, I will beg leave, with great deference, to add the opinion that should a change of policy be found expedient by the Government of the United States, it should be promulgated a reasonable time anterior to the interdiction of such commercial expeditions as may have been projected under and permitted

[438] [1] *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, I. 390. This letter and that of Governor Claiborne, of Jan. 31, 1804, which follows, were sent by Jefferson to Congress on Mar. 8, 1804. During the brief period that Louisiana remained in the hands of the French they were not unmindful of the market for slaves offered by the colony: "Extract of a letter dated London, 13th December, 1802, to a gentleman in this city [Charleston]. 'We have several Frenchmen here, soliciting our African Houses to send eight or ten thousand slaves to Louisiana, and assuring them that they shall be paid in dollars by the return of the vessels—such assurances will not do—the wise men to whom they apply cut the business very short, by saying, we will send you plenty of slaves, but we must have a guarantee in London for the payment of the dollars or pounds sterling.'" *Charleston Courier*, Mar. 17, 1803.

by the Government of France or Spain previous to the sale and transfer of the province by the French Government to the United States.

439. Governor William C. C. Claiborne to the Secretary of State, 1804.[1]

New Orleans, January 31, 1804.

A vessel arrived at this port a few days since, with fifty African negroes for sale. I immediately applied to a Mr. Leonard, the late Spanish *contadore* at this place, a man of great integrity of character for information, as to the laws and customs of Spain, relating to the African trade, and received from him a letter upon the subject, which is herewith enclosed. Finding, from Mr. Leonard's communication, that the bringing of African slaves to Louisiana had been permitted by the Spanish authority, and doubting whether I was vested with power to forbid their sale, the importer has been left to pursue his own wishes.

440. Governor William C. C. Claiborne to James Madison, 1804.[1]

New Orleans, May 8, 1804.

. . . The emigration from the West Indies to Louisiana continues great; few vessels arrive from that quarter, but are crowded with passengers, and among them, many slaves. I am inclined to think that, previous to the 1st of October thousands of African negroes will be imported into this province; for the Citizens seem impressed with an opinion that, a great, very great supply of slaves is essential to the prosperity of Louisiana. Hence, Sir, you may conclude that the prohibition as to the importation, subsequent to the 1st of October is a source of some discontent; [2] Nay Sir, it is at present a

[439] [1] *American State Papers: Misc.*, I. 390.

[440] [1] Robertson, *Louisiana*, II. 263. Claiborne here expressed a more optimistic view than that of his letter to Madison on Mar. 10, 1804, just after unofficial news of the prohibition of negro importation had reached New Orleans. "This intelligence has occasioned great agitation in this city and in the adjacent settlements. The African trade has hitherto been lucrative, and the farmers are desirous of increasing the number of their Slaves. The prohibiting the importation of Negroes therefore, is viewed here as a serious blow at the commercial and agricultural interest of the Province. The admission of Negroes into the State of South Carolina has served to increase the discontent here. The Citizens generally can not be made to understand the present power of the State Authorities with regard to the importation of persons; they suppose that Congress must connive at the importation into South Carolina, and many will be made to believe, that it is done with a view to make South Carolina the sole importer for Louisiana. An adventurer by the name of Tupper, a native of Boston (and if report be true of little respectability) who arrived in this city from France about three weeks ago . . . has proposed a meeting of the people on Monday next, in order to state their grievances to Congress. . . . " Claiborne wrote again Mar. 16, 1804, describing the meeting. *Ibid.*, II. 259, 260.

[2] The act erecting Louisiana into two territories, providing for the temporary government, and limiting the slave trade, was approved Mar. 26, 1804. *Annals of Congress*, 8 Cong., 1 sess., app., pp. 1293-1300.

cause of much clamor, but I am indulge a hope, that the Louisianians will very soon see the justice and policy of the measure.[3] . . .

441. Governor William C. C. Claiborne to James Madison, 1804.[1]

New Orleans, 12 July 1804.

Sir . . . At present I am well assured, there is nothing to fear either from the Mulatto or Negro population: but at some future period, this quarter of the Union must (I fear) experience in some degree the Misfortunes of St. Domingo, and that period will be hastened if the people should be indulged by congress with a continuance of the African Trade.

African Negroes are thought here not to be dangerous; but it ought to be recollected that those of St. Domingo were originally from Africa and that Slavery Where ever it exist is a galling yoke. I find however that an almost universal sentiment exist in Louisiana in favour of the African traffic. I am myself Solicitous for the arrival of the first of October: Slaves are daily introduced from Africa, many direct from this unhappy Country and others by way of the west India Islands. All vessels on board with slaves on bord are stopped at Plaquemine,[2] and are not permitted to pass without my consent. This is done to prevent the bringing in of Slaves that have been concerned in the insurrections of St. Domingo; but while any importations are admitted, many bad characters will be introduced. The citizens of Louisiana are greatly apprehensive of the West India Negroes but no effectual Stop can at present be put to their introduction.

442. Governor William C. C. Claiborne to James Madison, 1804.[1]

New Orleans, Oct. 28th, 1804.

Sir, On yesterday I was informed by a Mr. Dubourg, a respectable Merchant of this City, that a Capt. of his with 40 Negroes on board had entered the Mississippi, Since the 1st of October; that these

[3] On July 1, 1804, the citizens of New Orleans met and agreed upon a memorial to Congress, which, among other things, asked that they be allowed to decide for themselves whether to admit slaves or not, since not only did the climate of their territory require negro labor, but the need for an available supply to keep the banks of the Mississippi in repair was peculiar to them (*Memorial presented to Congress*, 1804, p. 18). This memorial was read in the Senate Jan. 4, 1805 (*Annals*, 8 Cong., 2 sess., p. 30). Claiborne's letters to Madison, of May 29, June 3, 22, reported no modification in the resentment of the inhabitants of Louisiana. Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Official Letter-Books of W. C. C. Claiborne, 1801-1816* (Mississippi, State Dept. of Archives and History, 1917), II. 175, 187, 217.

[441] [1] *Official Letter-Books*, II. 245-246.

[2] A district in the Mississippi delta, lying along the east bank of the river.

[442] [1] *Official Letter-Books*, II. 346-347.

Negroes belonged to his Father Yanothn Inhabitant of Louisiana; that owing to contrary winds and bad weather the vessel was prevented entering the Mississippi until Subsequent to the 1st October.

Mr. Dubourg prayed that the Negroes might be permitted to land, and pledged himself, that they should be forthcoming on the arrival of the Judges in the Territory and that he would await a Judicial decision.

I did not well know how to act on the occasion; It would seem as if it was more particularly the duty of the District attorney to notice and bring before the Court persons who had violated the law; But as neither of the Judges or the attorney General have arrived I esteemed it my province to take measures to enforce the observance of the Law; But on the present occasion, as the Importer was himself the informer, I permitted him to land the Negroes upon giving me an [on] oath their names, and number, and satisfactory assurances, that they should be forthcoming on the arrival of the Judges.

Mr. Dubourg showed a permission which he had procured from the Spanish Governor (Grand Pré) to introduce into the Settlement of Baton Rouge, Sixty Negroes, and intimated an intention to avail himself of said permission. If Negroe Vessels are permitted to pass up to Baton Rouge, the law prohibiting the African Trade in this Territory will in effect be a nullity, and I pray your Instructions whether or not I am to oppose their Passage.

I have understood that several African vessels were sent out in time to return previous to the 1st of October, but from some cause, they have not arrived yet, and their delay is a source of anxiety to the persons concerned! [2]

443. Governor William C. C. Claiborne to the Officer commanding at Plaquemines, 1805.[1]

New Orleans Novr. 11th, 1805.

Sir, I learn from Mr. Brown the Collector, that an English Vessell, with a cargo of African Slaves, is in the Mississippi. You will cause this Vessell to be brought to at the Fort, and not permit the landing of a Negro.

[2] On Nov. 25, 1804, Claiborne wrote: "The late admission of foreign negroes has also been a subject of complaint against me. The Searcher of all hearts knows how little I desire to see another of that wretched race set his foot on the shores of America, and how from my heart I detest the rapacity that would transport them to us. But, on this point, the people here were united as one man. There seemed to be but one sentiment throughout the province. They must import more slaves, or the country was ruined forever. The most respectable characters could not, even in my presence, suppress the agitation of their temper, when a check to that trade was suggested. Under such circumstances, it was not for me, without the authority of previous law, or the instructions of my government, to prohibit the importation."

[443] [1] *Official Letter-Books*, III. 230. On Oct. 14, 1806, Claiborne wrote to Venter and Harman, merchants of New Orleans, that no vessel from a foreign port with negroes on board would be allowed to pass the first military post on the Mississippi. *Ibid.*, IV. 30.

444. News Items relating to Slave Trade, 1806-1807.[1]

Nassau (N. P.), March 18 [1806].

Schr. *Atalanta*, of Charleston, Captain Mitchell, owned by Charles Guiloden, of Orleans, sailed from Charleston on the 9th inst. for New-Orleans, in ballast and some slaves. On Thursday morning got ashore on Pensacola Reef N. E. end of Abaco, and was fallen in with the same day by two wreckers, who saved the people then in her, consisting of the captain and his son, the owner, four passengers, one seaman, and 15 slaves. On the vessel striking, two seamen (foreigners) and three slaves took to the boat, and have not since been heard of. Vessel entirely lost.

December 15, 1806.

The schooner *Hope*, 50 days from Africa, bound to New-Orleans with 71 slaves, was spoken on the 6th ult.

Mar. 23, 1807.

The Schooner *Sally*, Abbot, from this port [Charleston] for New Orleans, with slaves, went ashore on Abacco about 12 days since. The vessel will be lost, negroes saved. The supercargo had arrived at Nassau, and chartered a brig to take the Negroes to New-Orleans.

May 8, 1807.

Brig *Nancy*, Robinson, from New Providence, is arrived at New Orleans, with the slaves and cargo of the schooner *Sally*, captain Abbot, of this port, wrecked on Abaco.

Nov. 11, 1807.

The ship *Heroine*, Wilson, of Hartford, from Charleston bound to New-Orleans, with 85 negroes, was cast away on Wednesday night the 7th ult. in a heavy gale of wind from N. E. to E. on Whale Key, North part of Abaco. The captain, crew, and negroes were saved, with some provisions; they remained on the key 10 days when they were fallen in with by the sch. *Centipede*, Sawyers, and carried to Nassau.

[444] [1] *Charleston Courier*, Mar. 28, 1806; for similar items see *ante*, no. 378n. The remaining items carry the date of the paper in which they appeared. The illicit entry of negroes began immediately and was so flagrant that Claiborne himself was (without doubt unjustly) accused of conniving at it. He had no means of preventing a trade which the inhabitants were eager to encourage and which many traders were entirely willing to attempt. The smuggling of slaves into Louisiana continued on a considerable scale long after the law of 1807 forbade importation into any part of the United States. Indeed, the Louisiana trade of the years subsequent to this were of more significance to the history of the trade than that of any portion of the period preceding prohibition.

FEDERAL PROHIBITION OF THE TRADE

445. Act to prohibit the Importation of Slaves into the United States, 1807.[1]

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.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, it shall not be lawful to import or bring into the United States or the territories thereof from any foreign kingdom, place, or country, any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, with intent to hold, sell, or dispose of such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, as a slave, or to be held to service or labour.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That no citizen or citizens of the United States, or any other person, shall, from and after the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eight, for himself, or themselves, or any other person whatsoever, either as master, factor, or owner, build, fit, equip, load or otherwise prepare any ship or vessel, in any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, nor shall cause any ship or vessel to sail from any port or place within the same, for the purpose of procuring any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, from any foreign kingdom, place, or country, to be transported to any port or place whatsoever, within the jurisdiction of the United States, to be held, sold, or disposed of as slaves, or to be held to service or labour; and if any ship or vessel shall be so fitted out for the purpose aforesaid, or shall be caused to sail so as aforesaid, every such ship or vessel, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, shall be forfeited to the United States, and shall be liable to be seized, prosecuted, and condemned in any of the circuit courts or district courts, for the district where the said ship or vessel may be found or seized.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That all and every person so building, fitting out, equipping, loading, or otherwise preparing or

[445] [1] *U. S. Statutes*, II. 426-430, 9 Cong., 2 sess., ch. 22, 1807. No attempt has been made in these volumes to trace the steps which led to the passage of this act. The progress of federal legislation can be followed in the pages of DuBois and the sources for such a study are easily accessible. The most important preliminary restrictions were the acts of 1794, which forbade the exportation of slaves or the fitting of slavers from the United States, and of 1800, which forbade American citizens to take part in carrying slaves to foreign countries. See DuBois, *Slave Trade*, pp. 71-108, 237-245.

sending away, any ship or vessel, knowing or intending that the same shall be employed in such trade or business, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, or any ways aiding or abetting therein, shall severally forfeit and pay twenty thousand dollars, one moiety thereof to the use of the United States, and the other moiety to the use of any person or persons who shall sue for and prosecute the same to effect.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted*, If any citizen or citizens of the United States or any person resident within the jurisdiction of the same, shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, take on board, receive or transport from any of the coasts or kingdoms of Africa, or from any other foreign kingdom, place, or country, any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, in any ship or vessel, for the purpose of selling them in any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States as slaves, or to be held to service or labour or shall be in any ways aiding or abetting therein, such citizen or citizens, or person, shall severally forfeit and pay five thousand dollars, one moiety thereof to the use of any person or persons who shall sue for and prosecute the same to effect; and every such ship or vessel in which such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, shall have been taken on board, received, or transported as aforesaid, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and the goods and effects which shall be found on board the same, shall be forfeited to the United States, and shall be liable to be seized, prosecuted, and condemned in any of the circuit courts or district courts in the district where the said ship or vessel may be found or seized. And neither the importer, nor any person or persons claiming from or under him, shall hold any right or title whatsoever to any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, nor to the service or labour thereof, who may be imported or brought within the United States, or territories thereof, in violation of this law, but the same shall remain subject to any regulations not contravening the provisions of this act, which the legislatures of the several state or territories at any time hereafter may make, for disposing of any such negro, mulatto, or person of colour.

Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That if any person or persons whatsoever, shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, purchase or sell any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, for a slave, or to be held to service or labour, who shall have been imported, or brought from any foreign kingdom, place, or country, or from the dominions of any foreign state, immediately adjoining to the United States, into any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, after the last day of

December, one thousand eight hundred and seven, knowingly at the time of such purchase or sale, such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, was so brought within the jurisdiction of the United States, as aforesaid, such purchaser and seller shall severally forfeit and pay for every negro, mulatto, or person of colour, so purchased or sold as aforesaid, eight hundred dollars; one moiety thereof to the United States, and the other moiety to the use of any person or persons who shall sue for and prosecute the same to effect: *Provided,* that the aforesaid forfeiture shall not extend to the seller or purchaser of any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, who may be sold or disposed of in virtue of any regulation which may hereafter be made by any of the legislatures of the several states in that respect, in pursuance of this act, and the constitution of the United States.

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Sec. 7. *And be it further enacted,* That if any ship or vessel shall be found, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, in any river, port, bay, or harbor, or on the high seas, within the jurisdiction limits of the United States, or hovering on the coast thereof, having on board any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, for the purpose of selling them as slaves, or with intent to land the same, in any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, contrary to the prohibition of this act, every such ship or vessel, together with her tackle, apparel, and furniture, and the goods and effects which shall be found on board the same, shall be forfeited to the use of the United States, and may be seized, prosecuted, and condemned, in any court of the United States, having jurisdiction thereof. And it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, and he is hereby authorized, should he deem it expedient, to cause any of the armed vessels of the United States, to seize, take, and bring into any port of the United States all such ships or vessels, and moreover to seize, take, and bring into any port of the United States, all ships or vessels of the United States, wheresoever found on the high seas, contravening the provisions of this act, to be proceeded against according to law, and the captain, master, or commander of every such ship or vessel, so found and seized as aforesaid, shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall be liable to be prosecuted before any court of the United States, having jurisdiction thereof; and being thereof convicted, shall be fined not exceeding ten thousand dollars, and be imprisoned not less than two years, and not exceeding four years. And the proceeds of all ships, or vessels, their tackle, apparel, and furniture, and the goods and effects on board of them, which shall be so seized, prosecuted and condemned, shall be divided equally between the United States and the officers and men who shall make such seizure, take, or bring into

port for condemnation, whether such seizure be made by an armed vessel of the United States, or revenue cutters thereof, and the same shall be distributed in like manner, as is provided by law, for the distribution of prizes taken from an enemy: *Provided*, that the officers and men, to be entitled to one half of the proceeds aforesaid, shall safe keep every negro, mulatto, or person of colour, found on board of any ship or vessel so by them seized, taken, or brought into port for condemnation, and shall deliver every such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, to such person or persons as shall be appointed by the respective states, to receive the same; and if no such person or persons shall be appointed by the respective states, they shall deliver every such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, to the overseers of the poor of the port or place where such ship or vessel may be brought or found, and shall immediately transmit to the governor or chief magistrate of the state, an account of their proceedings, together with the number of such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, and a descriptive list of the same, that he may give directions respecting such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour.

Sec. 8. *And be is further enacted,* That no captain, master, or commander of any ship or vessel, of less burthen than forty tons, shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, take on board and transport any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, to any port or place whatsoever, for the purpose of selling or disposing of the same as a slave, or with intent that the same may be sold or disposed of to be held to service or labour, on penalty of forfeiting for every such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, so taken on board and transported, as aforesaid, the sum of eight hundred dollars; one moiety thereof to the use of the United States, and the other moiety to any person or persons who shall sue for, and prosecute the same to effect: *Provided however*, That nothing in this section shall extend to prohibit the taking on board or transporting on any river, or inland bay of the sea, within the jurisdiction of the United States, any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, (not imported contrary to the provisions of this act) in any vessel or species of craft whatever.

Sec. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That the captain, master, or commander of any ship or vessel of the burthen of forty tons or more, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, sailing coastwise, from any port in the United States, to any port or place within the jurisdiction of the same, having on board any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, for the purpose of transporting them to be sold or disposed of as slaves, or to be held to service or labour, shall, previous to the departure of such ship or vessel, make out and subscribe duplicate manifests of every such

negro, mulatto, or person of colour, on board any such ship or vessel, therein specifying the name and sex of each person, their age and stature, as near as may be, and the class to which they respectively belong, whether negro, mulatto, or person of colour, with the name and place of residence of every owner or shipper of the same, and shall deliver such manifests to the collector of the port, if there be one, otherwise to the surveyor, before whom the captain, master, or commander, together with the owner or shipper, shall severally swear or affirm to the best of their knowledge and belief, that the persons therein specified were not imported or brought into the United States, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, and that under the laws of the state, they are held to service or labour; whereupon the said collector or surveyor shall certify the same on the said manifests, one of which he shall return to the said captain, master, or commander, with a permit, specifying thereon the number, names, and general description of such persons, and authorizing him to proceed to the port of his destination. And if any ship or vessel, being laden and destined as aforesaid, shall depart from the port where she may then be, without the captain, master, or commander having first made out and subscribed duplicate manifests, of every negro, mulatto, and person of colour, on board such ship or vessel, as aforesaid, and without having previously delivered the same to the said collector or surveyor, and obtained a permit, in manner as herein required, or shall, previous to her arrival at the port of her destination, take on board any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, other than those specified in the manifests, as aforesaid, every such ship or vessel, together with her tackle, apparel and furniture, shall be forfeited to the use of the United States, and may be seized, prosecuted and condemned in any court of the United States, having jurisdiction thereof; and the captain, master, or commander of every such ship or vessel, shall moreover forfeit, for every such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, so transported or taken on board, contrary to the provisions of this act, the sum of one thousand dollars, one moiety thereof to the United States, and the other moiety to the use of any person or persons who shall sue for and prosecute the same to effect.

Sec. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That the captain, master, or commander, of every ship or vessel, of the burthen of forty tons or more, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, sailing coastwise, and having on board any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, to sell or dispose of as slaves, or to be held to service or labour, and arriving in any port within the jurisdiction of the United States, from any other port within the same, shall,

previous to the unlading or putting on shore any of the persons aforesaid, or suffering them to go on shore, deliver to the collector, if there be one, or if not, to the surveyor residing at the port of her arrival, the manifest certified by the collector or surveyor of the port from whence she sailed, as is herein before directed, to the truth of which, before such officer, he shall swear or affirm, and if the collector or surveyor shall be satisfied therewith, he shall thereupon grant a permit for unlading or suffering such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, to be put on shore, and if the captain, master, or commander of any such ship or vessel being laden as aforesaid, shall neglect or refuse to deliver the manifest at the time and in the manner herein directed, or shall land or put on shore any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, for the purpose aforesaid, before he shall have delivered his manifest as aforesaid, and obtained a permit for that purpose, every such captain, master, or commander, shall forfeit and pay ten thousand dollars, one moiety thereof to the United States, the other moiety to the use of any person or persons who shall sue for and prosecute the same to effect

Approved, March 2, 1807.

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Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America

EDITED BY
ELIZABETH DONNAN
Professor of Economics and Sociology in Wellesley College

VOLUME IV

THE BORDER COLONIES
AND
THE SOUTHERN COLONIES



PUBLISHED BY
CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON
1935