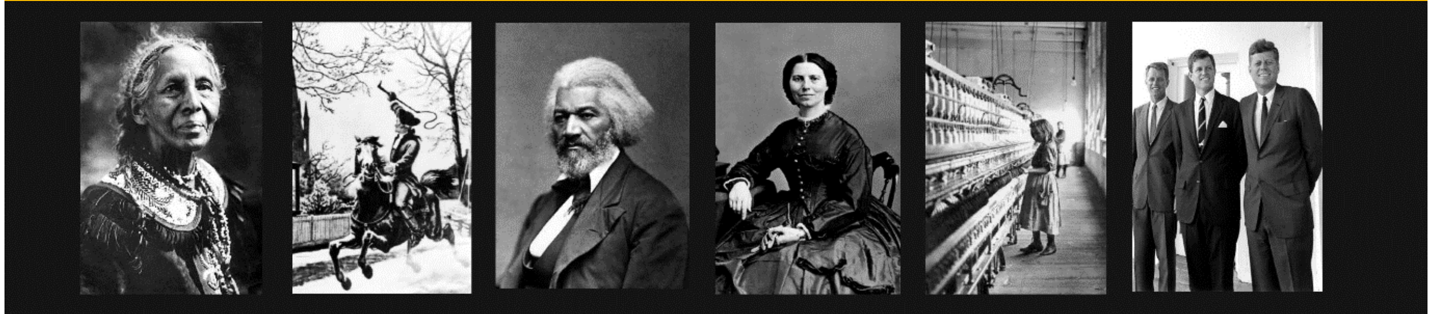

"Captives on the Move: Tracing the Transatlantic Movements of Africans from the Caribbean to Colonial New England."

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Sales of twenty four Negroes imported in the Briggantine Sally Esick Hopkins master, from the Coast of Africa on Accompt and risque of Messrs Nicholas Brown and Co. merchants in Rhode-Island .... viz

1765	To whome sold	Men	Boys	Women	Girls		£
Novr 2	Wynifred Rice				1		20.0.0
5	John Bartlett			1			28.0.0
6	Charles Hosier		1				21.0.0
	John Williams	2	7	1	4	@ £18. each	252.0.0
9	Wm Brackenridge and John Muire	2		3		£24. each	120.0.0
	Ditto	1					21.0.0
	Doctor McKinzie			1			24.0.0
		5	8	6	5		£486.0.0

Charges viz

To Storage	£5.0.0	
Bonds and Tickets	1.0.0	
Drummer, Advertisement and Victuals	1.10.0	
Currency	£7.10.0	
Exchange 70 pct	3.1.9¼	
	£4.8.2¾	
To my Commissions on £486 @ 5 pct	24.6.0	28.14.2¾
Nett Proceeds		£457.5.9¼

Errors Excepted

Antigua November 25, 1765

Alex Willock

A Slave Receipt

This bill of sale from November 25, 1765, records the exchange of “Twenty-Four Negroes” brought from “the coast of Africa” to Rhode Island aboard the *Sally*. Image courtesy of the Brown University Library.

Captives on the Move:
Tracing the Transatlantic Movements of Africans from the Caribbean to Colonial New England

Kerima M. Lewis

Editor's Introduction: *This article explores the many ways that West Africans arrived in New England by way of the British American Caribbean during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Rather than being shipped directly from Africa, Africans who arrived in New England were usually the "residue" or leftover human cargo from these Guinea voyages. Small numbers of Africans were shipped with the rum and sugar sent back to New England as part of the provisions and carrying trade. Africans who arrived in New England by these circuitous migrations were the captive cousins of the hundreds of thousands of Africans who labored on Caribbean sugar plantations. They shared ethnic origin, language, cultural, and spiritual beliefs and practices as well as kinship connections. This article argues that the propensity to resist enslavement often found in the Caribbean was also true of enslaved Africans in New England.*

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Historians agree that most enslaved Africans who lived in colonial New England were transshipped from the Caribbean, namely from the British colonies of Barbados, Jamaica, Antigua, and Nevis. Robert S. Desrochers concluded that one-third of the slaves imported to Massachusetts in the 1700s came directly from Barbados.[1] *In* The Akan Diaspora in the Americas *(2010), Kwasi Konadu also found that enslaved blacks in Boston came from Barbados and Jamaica. However, Konadu does not make a connection between the Gold Coast presence in Boston and the incidences of slave rebellion in that colonial town.*[2] *The most well-known authority on New England slavery, Lorenzo Johnston Greene, documents the myriad ways that enslaved Africans in New England resisted slavery, from running away to poisoning, arson and murder. However, he does not link the incidences of slave resistance in New England to the presence of Africans who had been "seasoned" in the Caribbean and had therefore participated in or at least witnessed acts of rebellion before being transshipped to New England.*

In this article, Dr. Kerima Lewis attempts to make an ethnic and cultural link between Africans in New England and the Caribbean by demonstrating that acts of resistance were in the repertoire of many enslaved West Africans no matter their location, whether in New England or the Caribbean. At the same time, she documents the many prominent New England families who became involved with importing these rebellious slaves from the Caribbean to New England.

* * * * * * * *

Africans held in slavery in New England shared a close ethnic affinity with Caribbean slaves. Slave traders from Massachusetts as well as Rhode Island exchanged gallons of rum, a variety of foodstuffs, and dry goods for Africans along the West African or "Guinea Coast." Although most Africans purchased in the transatlantic slave trade were sold in large allotments to anxiously waiting Caribbean sugar planters, many slave ship captains regularly brought along a few Africans when they returned to Boston and Newport.[3]

Thus, enslaved Africans who arrived in New England colonies were "part and parcel" of the hundreds of thousands of Africans delivered to the Caribbean during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although separated by the expanse of the Atlantic Ocean, these captive cousins shared languages, worldviews, and kinship ties as well as spiritual ideas. Since they shared both an ethnic and cultural relatedness, it follows that those in New

England would have exhibited a similar propensity for resistance typically attributed to enslaved Africans in the Caribbean.

Africans who were transshipped from the Caribbean on New England slave ships were often labeled "refuse" because they were children, aged, sickly, or those known to be rebellious. Caribbean planters enjoyed the privilege of purchasing the more physically robust West Africans for their sugar plantations while the "residue" or "leftovers" were often sold to interested buyers in New England.[4] Acts of slave resistance occurred in different ways in various locations across the Atlantic, from slave rebellions organized on the coast of West Africa to slave ships during the Middle Passage and upon their arrival in the Americas. In fact, conspiracies were repeatedly uncovered in Barbados and Antigua during the seventeenth century, while in the mountains of Jamaica, escaped slaves created "maroon" communities that fought the British Army off and on for almost forty years until a treaty was signed in 1738–1739.[5]

FIRST AFRICANS BROUGHT FROM THE CARIBBEAN

Enslaved Africans arrived in Massachusetts from the Caribbean as early as December 12, 1638, when Captain William Pierce, master of the *Desire,* returned to Boston with a "shipment of salt, cotton, tobacco and negroes."[6] It had been seven months since the New England sea captain had set sail with a shipload of codfish along with the fifteen Indian men and two Indian women taken captive during the Pequot war of 1637. Considered a security risk, male Indian captives were often sold into slavery in the Caribbean while female Indians were generally held as indentured servants and slaves in the colonies of New England.[7] Captain Pierce had planned to sell his Indian prisoners of war in Bermuda. However, when violent storms blew the *Desire* off course, Pierce landed his ship at Providence Island just off the coast of Nicaragua. From Providence Island, Pierce went around Jamaica to the island of Tortuga, north of modern-day Haiti.

Pierce exchanged his Indian captives for captive West Africans in Tortuga. English settlers on this island were under the protection of the Adventurers, the same English company that financially backed Providence Island.[8] Africans on both islands were usually purchased in Bermuda.[9] The slaves Pierce did purchase were not a docile group; a few of them had conspired to rebel on Tortuga in 1637. Those from Providence had been banished to Tortuga for planning a rebellion on May 1, 1638. How many of the 50 Africans who were charged with the conspiracy on Providence Island in 1638 were banished to Tortuga or were executed remains unknown.[10] Slave resistance appears to

Map of the Slave Coast

Africa's so-called Guinea Coast was a significant point of transit in the transatlantic slave trade. This map shows the coast in the eighteenth century.

have remained a problem on these faraway islands; the following year, the governor of Providence Island complained of slaves running away and of a cabin being set on fire by a slave.[11] It appears that the Africans who arrived in Boston in 1638 were a rebellious lot since a number of them previously participated in planning slave rebellions on their respective islands.

BOSTON MERCHANT SAMUEL MAVERICK

English merchant Samuel Maverick bought a few of these unruly Africans when they arrived in Boston in 1638. Maverick's purchase of two female Africans and one male was noted in the journal of John Winthrop on December 12, 1638.[12] However, one of Massachusetts' earliest historians, John Gorham Palfrey, contends that Maverick held slaves before Captain Pierce returned to Boston in 1638 since "[b]efore Winthrop's arrival [in 1629] there were two slaves in Massachusetts, held by Mr. Maverick on Noddle's Island." Citing Palfrey's work as evidence of an African presence in New England before 1630, Lorenzo Greene agreed that Maverick was already a slave owner in 1638.[13] While it is not known exactly when Samuel Maverick became a slave owner, we do know that this transatlantic merchant was one of the first slave owners in New England and that at least a few of those rebellious Africans who arrived on the *Desire* from the island of Tortuga lived in his household in 1638.

John Josselyn witnessed the defiant nature of one of Maverick's female slaves during his visit to Noddle's Island that year. The visiting Englishman reported hearing an African woman complain to him of being forced to have sexual relations with an enslaved man.[14] Although the woman spoke partly in her native language, Josselyn observed that the woman was capable of speaking some English. She would only have known how to speak English if she had lived in the Maverick household for a period before 1638. Moreover, Josselyn believed that the woman was a queen in her native country because he "observed a very humble and dutiful garb used toward her by another Negro who was her maid." To display respect, it was customary for a West African woman of a lower status to approach royalty with her shoulders uncovered.[15] This woman of regal stature believed she had a right to choose her own sexual partner and not be forced to breed with this enslaved man.

SAMUEL PARRIS, TITUBA & "OBEAH"

Africans may not have been the only rebellious slaves brought to New England from the Caribbean. Among those shipped to the region were an

unknown number of Indians indigenous to South America. Some historians believe that the famed Tituba of the Salem witch trials and "her husband John" were Arawak Indians who were brought from Barbados to New England during the latter part of the seventeenth century.[16] Historian Elaine G. Breslaw deduces that Tituba and possibly John were likely sold into slavery in Barbados from Dutch Guiana.[17] She indicates that an adolescent Tituba was already living with enslaved Africans on a sugar plantation in Barbados when a young Samuel Parris purchased her in 1679. Unable to compete with the other large sugar plantations on the island, Parris sold the three plantations he inherited after his father died in 1673 and returned to Boston, the place he called home during his days at Harvard College. Historian Larry Graff, however, suggests that it was the frequent slave conspiracies in Barbados in the 1670s that hastened Samuel Parris's return to Massachusetts.[18]

Parris was living in Massachusetts with Tituba and John by 1680. Tituba became entangled in the infamous Salem witch trials not long after Reverend Parris took over the pulpit at the Salem Church. The whirlwind of hysteria surrounding these trials irreparably touched the lives of a number of female congregants in Salem, including Tituba. An outsider in a white Puritan community, Tituba confessed that she was under the control of an unidentified evil, a confession that put her under suspicion and sent her to prison.[19]

Tituba's involvement in the Salem witch trials invariably leads to questions about her ethnicity: Was she Indian or African? Breslaw disagrees with historians who claim that Tituba was "half-Indian and half Negro" and finds no evidence of Tituba or John having African ancestry.[20] At the heart of this debate about Tituba's ethnicity are questions about her knowledge and use of magico-religious ideas known as obeah, which was practiced by enslaved Africans in the Caribbean. Salem's legal authorities wanted to know if Tituba learned her magic in Barbados among enslaved Africans or whether it was something she learned since coming to New England. That is, did Tituba have the same knowledge of this Akan-based spirituality as Candy, an enslaved African woman who was transshipped from Barbados to Boston before her imprisonment for witchcraft during the Salem trials?

Although Tituba's knowledge of obeah may have been the result of living among Africans on a sugar plantation in Barbados for several years, what the authorities failed to take into consideration was that similar beliefs about evil existed in her own Arawak culture.[21] It was not unreasonable for Tituba to believe that a form of evil known figuratively as "the devil" was responsible for bringing evil to the Salem community.[22] In contrast, the enslaved woman, Candy, had confessed outright to using "an African form of magic with

clothes tied in knots."[23] The use of West African magic proved problematic for Candy, who, like Tituba, was considered an outsider in Puritan society because she was a woman of color. Like Tituba, Candy was easily swept up in the hysteria of the witch trials because she dared to go against societal order by engaging in the African obeah practices she learned in Barbados.

ISAAC ROYALL

Some of the enslaved Africans that Isaac Royall Sr. brought from Antigua to Massachusetts in 1737 likely resisted slavery by using obeah. Born in North Yarmouth, Maine, in 1677 and reared in Dorchester, Massachusetts, Isaac Royall Sr. moved to Antigua at the start of the eighteenth century to make his fortune in sugar and slaves. Like Samuel Parris, Royall returned to New England following an island-wide slave conspiracy in Antigua in 1736. An official investigation of the conspiracy uncovered an elaborate Akan-inspired military operation involving 150 Africans mostly from the Gold Coast in West Africa.[24] Among the eighty-eight Africans executed for planning the revolt in Antigua was Hector, a slave belonging to the Royalls.

One of thirty-six Africans banished to deadly Hispaniola for their roles in planning the insurrection in Antigua was Quaco or "Quawcoo," Isaac Royall's slave from the Gold Coast. Quaco was banished for his role as "the oby man" in the conspiracy. The spiritual beliefs and rituals of obeah were an essential component of most slave rebellions in the Caribbean since these practices were the source of inspiration needed to pull off an insurrection. Some of the Gold Coast Africans that Isaac Royall Sr. brought from Antigua to Massachusetts in 1737 would have also resisted slavery in New England by continuing to practice obeah during their lifetimes.[25]

The Royall family was aware that this particular group of West Africans known as "Coramantees" from the Gold Coast were not only known for their obeah beliefs but also for their alleged physical dexterity and rebelliousness. Due to their alleged vigor, courage, and strength, they were considered good workers and were preferred by Caribbean and New England masters alike.[26] That the Royalls bought and sold Gold Coast Africans is evident since Akan-derived names such as Quacoe, Cuffee, Abba, Nuba and Quamino are recorded in their accounting books. Historical archaeologist Alexandra Chan discovered that the children born on the Royall estate were still being given Akan names years after their arrival in Massachusetts.

Some of these Gold Coast slaves bought by the Royalls were apparently of the unruly sort.[27] In 1748, the Boston authorities brought charges against Jacob

Royall's slave Quoma, who, along with the Reverend Benjamin Colman's slave Cuffee, stole items worth £88 from three different establishments.[28]

GOVERNOR BELCHER AND THE ROYALL ESTATE

Jacob Royall was the broker or intermediary for the Royall family's slave trading business. Since he received a 5 percent commission on all completed slave transactions, Jacob often advertised the sale of Africans in the local newspapers. The business sold over 274 Africans from 1724 to 1749.[29] Among their clients was Massachusetts Governor Jonathan Belcher, Isaac Royall Sr.'s personal friend. When deciding where to build his estate in New England, Isaac relied on the governor's advice. In return, Governor Belcher relied on his friend's slave-dealing expertise when it came to ordering the African boys he desired to purchase.

Before Isaac Royall returned to Massachusetts in 1737, the governor made several requests for Negro boys who could work as servants. In a letter dated September 4, 1731, Belcher thanked Isaac for sending a Negro boy to Mr. Y. Wellington, who he hoped "would prove well." He added that he was sorry that Isaac had not sent him "two according to his order." In a letter dated January 18, 1732, Belcher not only thanked Isaac for the Negro boy he sent the previous year but also asked him to send one more. The governor explained that he apprenticed the first boy with his coachman and he now needed a boy "16 to 20 years old . . . who would be tractable and good upon all accounts."[30] The governor's need for a "tractable" boy reveals his underlying fear that his friend would inadvertently send him a rebellious youth. One is left wondering if the governor's fear was based on his having received an "un-tractable" boy from the Caribbean in the past. Governor Belcher reiterated his need for an additional Negro boy to apprentice as a coachman in a letter dated June 12, 1732, in which he stated that "the last Negro boy you sent me proves a good one, and when you send the other I must pray your particular care about him, being for a Coachmen, let him be from 16 to 20."[31]

While Isaac Royall Sr. helped Governor Belcher procure Negro boys for his personal use, the governor assisted his friend with the purchase of a 500-acre estate in Medford, Massachusetts, which he called "Ten Hill Farms." As the Royalls settled into their luxurious mansion in 1737, the twenty-seven Africans who relocated with the family retired each night near the kitchen, bedrooms, or in adjacent slave quarters.[32] In addition to the Medford estate, Royall purchased 220 acres in Stoughton, Massachusetts and a 400-acre farm in Freetown (now Bristol, Rhode Island), which made

a total of three properties that were worked by Royall Africans for over forty years.[33] Although Isaac Royall Sr. lived for only two years after returning to New England, his son, Isaac Jr., continued his legacy as a prosperous slave-owning aristocrat, owning at least 62 individuals of African descent from 1737 to 1778.[34]

One of the Africans in the Royall household was a woman from the Gold Coast named Belinda. Enslaved by Isaac Sr. and then his son, this African woman toiled on Royall properties for over fifty years.[35] Having never received any compensation for her lifetime of labor, the aged woman submitted a petition to the Massachusetts Legislature in 1782 for a £15 pension after Isaac Royall Jr. fled to England at the start of the American Revolution. In the petition, Belinda vividly recalled how she was captured on the Rio Volta in the Gold Coast over seventy years ago.

> She was ravaged from the bosom of her country, from the arms of her friends, while the advanced age of her parents rendering them unfit for servitude, cruelly separated them from her forever.[36]

Surprisingly, the petition was granted. Since legal slavery was in the process of being abolished in Massachusetts when Belinda submitted her petition, the General Court saw fit to grant this impoverished and elderly former slave's petition for reparations in the form of a small pension. In 1787, the £15 pension was renewed based on a Royall estate that now consisted only of the land and mansion in Medford.[37]

MAJOR LEONARD VASSALL AND HIS SLAVES

The Royall family was just one of many slave-owning families in New England with ties to the Caribbean islands. Another transplanted Caribbean, Major Leonard Vassall lived most of his life in Jamaica before relocating to Massachusetts in the 1720s. Although his father, William Vassall, was a founding member of the Massachusetts Bay Company, both Leonard and his brother, Samuel, were born in Jamaica, where they made their fortunes in sugar.[38] The major moved his family to Braintree when his son Lewis enrolled at Harvard in 1724.

Major Vassall's son Henry brought his African coachman, Tony, as well as other African servants to New England from Jamaica. When Isaac Royall Jr.'s daughter Penelope married Henry in 1742, she brought along Royall slaves including a Gold Coast woman, Abba, and her six children, Robin, Coba, Walker, Nuba, Trace, and Tobey to the marital household.[39]

Abba's son Robin was involved in criminal activity on more than one occasion. Robin, along with a white indentured servant, William Healy, was convicted of burglarizing the house of William Brattle, Esq., after stealing a chest containing silver coins and silver artifacts. The conviction led to Robin having to leave Henry and Penelope Vassall's home. In addition to being whipped with twenty lashes, Robin was sold to another master, a local physician in Cambridge. In contrast, Robin's white partner in crime received a twenty-year extension on his term of indentured service.[40]

It was while living with the doctor that Robin became involved in a serious criminal case that resulted in the poisoning of a white master, John Codman, in Charlestown, Massachusetts. In 1755, Codman's slaves, Mark, Phoebe, and Phillis, were charged with poisoning their master. Robin procured arsenic from his master for the Codman slaves to use to fatally poison their phyisician master. It is not known whether Robin faced criminal charges for his role in this case; however, both Mark and Phillis were executed, while Phoebe was likely banished to the West Indies, for their roles in this crime.[41]

Another incident relating to a recalcitrant slave involved Leonard's son William. Local newspapers reported that a 1766 fire at his Bristol estate was "supposed to be set by a Negro Fellow."[42] Although the suspect was never identified by name, it seems likely the man belonged to William Vassall since his father brought African slaves from the Gold Coast with him when he returned to New England in 1722. Despite their refractory ways, Gold Coast Africans were the preferred imports of Jamaican sugar planters like Leonard and Samuel Vassall, and so the Africans who were involuntarily relocated with the Vassall family were arguably rebellious. The fire at William Vassall's estate destroyed two large barns, a coach house, and a large quantity of hay for a total loss of £1,000.[43]

Depending on the nature of their familial and commercial connections, men like Samuel Parris, the Royalls, and the Vassalls moved between the Caribbean and New England on several occasions during their lives. By examining the transatlantic movements of Caribbean sugar men, insight is gained into the lives of enslaved Africans who were part and parcel of their intracolonial movement.

THE ARRIVAL OF AFRICANS VIA TRADE

The commercial relationship between New England and the Caribbean began as early as 1644 when the Reverend George Downing first wrote to Governor John Winthrop about the dire need for African slaves in Barbados. Since Winthrop's son, Henry, had lived in Barbados for three years before

settling in Massachusetts in 1630, Governor Winthrop knew firsthand how Barbadian planters focused more on cultivating sugar crops than on growing food for their own subsistence.[44] Within a few months that same year, the *Blossome* and *Seaflower* ships sailed from Massachusetts to Cape Verde, off the coast of West Africa, to purchase Africans to sell in Barbados.[45] Grateful for the growing trade, Governor Winthrop wrote, "it pleased the Lord to open to us a trade with Barbados and other islands in the Caribbean."[46]

The slave trade directly fueled New England's thriving shipbuilding industry, while an important dietary need in the Caribbean islands was satisfied by salted codfish and pickled mackerel from New England fisheries. Nearly spoiled when it reached the Caribbean, this leftover codfish and mackerel became the mainstay of a slave's diet throughout the islands. Not only did the region's foodstuffs feed slaves in the Caribbean, but New England also sent the cattle and horses needed to work the sugar mills as well as the pipe staves needed to build barrels to ship the sugar.

In addition to exporting fish, Rhode Island supplied hoops, staves, and headings to make casks and barrels for shipping Caribbean products.[47] It was on return voyages from the Caribbean islands that small trade vessels brought cargoes of molasses, rum, cotton, indigo and dye-woods back to New England.[48] And on occasion, small numbers of Africans were shipped aboard these returning vessels.

HUGH HALL & JOHN BANNISTER

The trade in Africans from the Caribbean got a jump-start when Hugh Hall established his commercial firm during the early decades of the eighteenth century. Following the death of his mother in 1699, this son of a wealthy Barbadian sugar planter was sent to live with maternal relatives in Boston at the age of six.[49] After graduating from Harvard in 1721, Hugh briefly returned to the island of his birth to serve as a deputy to his father, the judge of vice-admiralty for Barbados. Hall soon returned to Boston, however, to establish Bowdoin, Hall and Pitts, a firm that specialized in exporting rum, sugar, and Africans from Barbados.[50]

The account books for the business during 1728–1733 show that Africans were sold to business associates in Massachusetts, Carolina, and Rhode Island. Because Hall recorded the birth names of many of the Africans he sold from Barbados, his account records provide a wealth of information on the ethnic origins of enslaved individuals. Hall purchased Africans that had mostly Akan names from the Gold Coast such as Abra, Quaco, Abah, Quashey, Benabah, Cubbah, Abanna, Cumba, Abnabea and Cudjo.[51] Like

the Africans sold by the Royall brothers, those sold by Hugh Hall clearly contributed to a Gold Coast presence in New England during this early period. Like other transplanted West Indians, Hugh Hall used both his familial and commercial ties to the Caribbean to profit from African slavery.

Another merchant who built an equally successful mercantile business was John Bannister. The son and grandson of merchants, Bannister was born in Boston in 1707, the location of his first trading firm Bannister & Minot. However, by 1736, Bannister had set up shop in Newport, where he became a leading merchant. He imported cottons, linens, silk cordage, shoes, and satins from Europe and exported corn, flour, dried fish, beef, pork, horses, butter, cheese, and rum to the Caribbean, particularly to the Bay of Honduras. In addition, Bannister built vessels for his Atlantic-wide trade to Europe and the Caribbean.

Although this shrewd businessman was involved in the transatlantic slave trade in West Africa, Bannister tended to buy a few Africans at a time from the Caribbean to sell in New England. John Bannister's daybook contains the following entry: "August 9, 1747 Purchase of Negro boy named Fortune from owners of the Schooner Success who purchased him in Surinam. Purchased For £300.[52] January 24, 1749 — Purchase of 2 Negro men in Bay of Honduras via Captain William Warner of the brigantine Abigail for £400."[53]

He apparently kept a few of the Africans for himself since some Bannister slaves were hired out to outfit trading vessels. A very successful merchant for his time, Bannister owned land and dwelling houses in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, a plantation in North Carolina, and an unknown number of personal slaves.[54]

SALEM ENTERS THE TRADE IN THE 1670s

Among the other New Englanders who depended on enslaved black persons were the Caribbean trade merchants of Salem, Massachusetts. Unlike neighboring Boston, which started sending provisions to the Caribbean islands from the 1640s, Salem did not enter the provisioning and carrying trade until the 1670s, when a surge in sugar production fueled the market demand for even more commodities from New England. Although the King William and Queen Ann wars slowed the Salem trade between 1689 and 1713, provisioning Barbados became a priority of New England's seaport towns after the wars.

Much like their southern neighbor Newport, Salem took full advantage of an expanding Caribbean trade by 1750.[55] While only 120 vessels cleared

Salem's customhouse annually between 1690 and 1740, this number increased to 200 a year by 1750.[56] This does not, in any way compare with the 352 coasting vessels and 183 other ships that left Newport for the Caribbean, Africa, and Europe in 1763.[57] As the number of ships to and from New England from the Caribbean increased, so did the number of enslaved Africans living in these seaport towns. Although the slave population in Salem did not reach as high as the 1,500 in Boston in 1750 and 1,234 blacks in Newport in 1755, Lorenzo Johnston Greene found that slaves in Salem increased from 83 in 1755 to 183 in 1765.[58]

NEWPORT MERCHANT GODFREY MALBONE

The Newport merchant Godfrey Malbone played a major role in increasing the number of enslaved Africans in New England. Born in Princess Anne County, Virginia, to a successful seafaring family that owned more than two hundred vessels, Malbone grew up as Southern gentry on a landed estate. Although he entered the military and was educated at Oxford University, commerce remained his primary passion.[59] By 1744, the Malbone family was living in Rhode Island in an elegant £100,000 mansion with a magnificent garden on land between Narragansett Bay and the town of Newport. Of course, their lives of splendor included the ownership of slaves. When Malbone quitclaimed a 3,240-acre estate in Windham County, Connecticut, to his sons, Godfrey Jr. and John, that transfer included not only hogs, poultry, farming tools, and utensils but also twenty-seven Negroes.[60]

With vessels plying the west coast of Africa and along the coasts of the Caribbean and North America, Godfrey Malbone's lucrative commercial empire moved hundreds of Africans around the Atlantic. Having transferred twenty-seven of his personal slaves to his sons as a result of the sale of his Connecticut property in 1744, Godfrey Malbone's estate of £900 at the time of his death in 1768 included only fifteen blacks — eleven men and four women who worked a lifetime on his three properties.[61]

All of the Malbone slaves likely arrived over the years as goods consigned from Barbados or Antigua to Newport, Rhode Island. An invoice dated 1728 shows that Africans were shipped to Rhode Island with two barrels of sugar and five casks of rum on board the sloop *Ann & Elizabeth*. Included in this particular shipment was an African quite likely from Kongo since he had the name Congo. When the sloop *Defiance* shipped out of Barbados on April 5, 1729, bound for Rhode Island, the cargo included not only the standard rum and sugar but also five new Negro boys and a Negro girl most likely from the Gold Coast since her name was Annquiba, which appears to be of Akan

origin.[62] When the *Defiance* left Barbados for Rhode Island on August 5, 1729, the assorted goods shipped included a Gold Coast boy named Cuffy, the derivative of the Akan name "Kofi."[63] Details of the shipment were as follows:

1. 3099 gallons of molasses
2. 772 barrells of muscavado sugar
3. 551 of cotton
4. one Negro boy named Scipio
5. one Negro woman named Anne
6. one Negro boy named Cuffy
7. one Negro girl name Bess

The extensive provisioning and carrying trade carried on by Godfrey Malbone is best seen in invoices dated July 8, 1733, and August 13, 1733, respectively. The July invoice shows that over £400 worth of oak staves, pine boards, shingles, hoops, pickled oysters, and loaves of sugar were shipped on the sloop *Diamond* bound for St. Christopher's (St. Kitts). The invoice for goods returning to New England in August include £500 worth of rum, molasses, sugar, calicoes, cloth, buttons, and garlic placed aboard Captain Nathaniel Potter's *Humbird* along with thirty Negroes valued at £2,250. And an invoice dated 1735 shows goods including a "Negro boy" named Towerhill and a "Negro girl" Souney from Antigua on the *Diane* consigned to Godfrey Malbone.

Malbone's commercial ventures also included a vigorous trade along the American East Coast. On September 18, 1728, Malbone sent sugar, twine, guns, and a group of eight Africans, including some from the Gold Coast, on the sloop *Mary* to Giles Gibbs in Connecticut. The Africans were listed as a "Negro man named Cudjo; Negro man named Toney; Negro man named Sabinah; Negro woman named Ianey; Negro girl named Dinah; Negro boy named Cuffee; Negro boy named Dick; Negro boy named Tom." [64]

Another invoice shows eight unnamed Africans being put on board the sloop *Elizabeth* with Captain Joseph Wilson for delivery in New York and New Jersey. The Africans with English names like Toney, Dinah, Dick, and Tom were more likely "seasoned" slaves who had lived in the Caribbean for a time than recently imported New Africans with more indigenous African names such as Cudjo, Sabinah, and Cuffee. Since the majority of the Malbone invoices include both African and English names, it seems possible that the group of unnamed Africans shipped to Captain Wilson were "New Africans" whose African names had not yet been determined. Several invoices show various goods including Africans being shipped to Benjamin Cleghorne,

John Cahoone, and John Jepson, agents in North Carolina during the 1730s.[65] Godfrey Malbone's lucrative Atlantic-wide trade primarily involved provisioning the islands of Barbados and Antigua with goods like staves, boards, shingles, and oysters along with the vessels that returned with molasses, rum sugar, cloth, and small numbers of Africans to New England and other colonies along the American coast.

AARON LOPEZ OF NEWPORT

Aaron Lopez of Newport built an equally vast and diversified commercial enterprise that included the trading of Africans across the Atlantic world. Born to Jewish parents who professed Christian beliefs to avoid persecution during the Portuguese Inquisition, Aaron followed his older brother Moses to New York to find religious and economic freedom.[66] After relocating to Newport in 1752, Aaron entered the world of commerce by selling a variety of Caribbean goods including sugar, molasses, and cotton as well as locally made tallow and spermaceti candles.[67]

By 1762, Aaron Lopez joined forces with his father-in-law, Jacob Rivera, to enter the slave-trading business. Their first venture sent the *Greyhound* to Guinea, where Captain William Penniger purchased Africans to sell in South Carolina.[68] It was not long, however, before Lopez and Rivera were selling large allotments of Africans in the Caribbean. By 1767, their trade in African slaves was so expansive that a New England sea captain, Benjamin Wright, was hired to be their personal factor (agent) in Jamaica. With a proven track record in the Jamaican slave trade, Wright helped Lopez and Rivera build an empire that engaged twenty vessels in an Atlantic-wide trade with Africa, Jamaica, San Domingo, Dominica, St. Eustatius, Surinam, and Honduras as well as a coastal trade in North America.

Aaron Lopez was just one of many Newport residents who made their fortunes in the African and Caribbean trade during the eighteenth century. The eleven slave ship captains who paid a tax assessment in the town of Newport in 1772 owned a total of forty-one slaves. A total of thirty slaves were owned by the twelve Newport merchants who also owned slave ships.[69]

TRACING THE MOVEMENTS OF AFRICANS FROM THE CARIBBEAN IN PUBLIC RECORDS

The business records of individuals like the Royalls, Halls, Malbones, and Lopezes document a continuous flow of West Africans from the Caribbean to New England. Public records from courts and slave-trading businesses

similarly demonstrate both an intercolonial and intracolonial circulation of Africans throughout the eighteenth century.

In a revealing case that contested the legal ownership of a slave named Titus, the Inferior Court of Boston heard the testimony of deponent Jonathan Mason, a mariner formerly of St. Christopher's (St. Kitts) who was now living in Boston. Mason testified that a slave owner in Boston, Edward Lyde, hired out Titus to work on a ship commanded by Captain Zachariah Fowles in 1714. When the ship reached St. Thomas, Captain Fowles illegally sold Titus to Anthony Fay of St. Christopher's.

Court documents confirm that Titus was indeed sold to Fay for £41 after he failed to sell him in Martinique when Titus feigned illness. Feigning illness was a creative act of resistance on Titus's part that prevented him from being sold. Titus understood that Captain Fowles did not have a right to sell him in Martinique and so he successfully convinced a would-be buyer that his illness made him unsuitable for sale.

Although Titus avoided being sold in Martinique, his luck ran out in St. Christopher's when Fowles sold him to Anthony Fay. Believing that Titus was his legal property, Anthony Fay, in turn, sold Titus to the deponent Jonathan Mason who brought the enslaved man back to Boston.[70] The circuitous movements of Titus from Boston to several islands in the Caribbean and then back to Boston were all due to a sea captain who kidnapped a hired-out slave who was legally placed under his temporary supervision.

Death records that document the extent of the importation of Africans from various parts of the Caribbean to the town of Bristol, Rhode Island, are also instructive. These records were compiled from 1729 to 1755 under the direction of Reverend John Burt, pastor of the Congregational Church. They show that the thirty-three Africans and three Indian slaves who died during this period were the property of nineteen men with the title of "captain."[71] These records show how a vibrant trade existed between Bristol and the Caribbean, particularly with the Dutch colony of Surinam. Bristol sea captains who worked the trade had ample opportunity to purchase enslaved Africans while doing business in the islands.

NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENTS

Advertisements in New England newspapers during the eighteenth century often highlighted the arrival of Africans from the Caribbean. For example, the *Boston Gazette* on July 28, 1728, announced that a "choice parcel of some likely Negro boys and girls" from St. Christopher's and St. Thomas were available for purchase along with sugar and cotton.[72]

The *Boston-News-Letter* advertised on July 27, 1734, that "fine likely" African men and women from Barbados were to be sold: "Just imported by John Hawkesworth from Barbados a Parcel of fine likely Negros, Men and Women."[73] A notice in the October 29, 1741, edition of the *Boston Weekly News-Letter* reported that "sundry likely Negroes" from the Caribbean were to be sold at a local Boston warehouse.[74] Among the many notices of Africans imported from the Caribbean was the occasional announcement of a ship arriving directly from West Africa. One such 1762 advertisement read: "Just Imported from Africa. And to be Sold Cheap at No. 5 Butler's Row. A Few prime Men and Boy Slaves from the Gold Coast."[75]

It would not take long before some of the Africans brought by way of the Caribbean or directly from West Africa attempted to escape. Runaway advertisements are, therefore, another source that can be used to trace how West Africans came to Massachusetts and the other New England colonies by way of the Caribbean. In an advertisement in 1729, a Negro man Caesar pretended to be a free Negro from Jamaica but later "confessed himself born in Guinea and brought to Barbados for sale as a slave and was sold accordingly" to a person from New England.[76]

Other advertisements show how slaves ran away from their owners in an effort to return home to the Caribbean, their original port of disembarkation. Brought to the region against their will, some uprooted individuals never swayed from their goal to return to the tropical home they knew best. Thus, vessels in New York were warned in 1763 that if they harbored a female runaway named Amelia, it was to their peril since this enslaved woman "has a fancy to go to the Caribbean."[77] Similarly, when Charles absconded for the second time from David Murray in 1767, vessels were ordered "not to harbor or carry him out of the province" since he had previously tried to return to the Caribbean.[78]

AFRICANS BROUGHT TO NEW ENGLAND BY WAY OF THE CARIBBEAN SLAVE TRADE

The trade of Africans that began when the *Desire* returned from Tortuga in 1638 blossomed into a thriving enterprise for New Englanders and West Indian planters alike. By the first half of the eighteenth century, the harbors of New England were filled with schooners, sloops, and brigantines going to and from the Caribbean or going to and from Europe and West Africa. After exchanging rum for Africans along the Guinea coasts, New England slave ship captains sold the bulk of their human cargo primarily in Barbados,

Jamaica, Nevis, and Antigua before returning home with a few Africans to sell.

Shipping more than 100,000 gallons of rum to the Guinea coast each year, the rum men from Massachusetts and Rhode Island easily captured a significant portion of the transatlantic slave trade market. In fact, New England rum and gold were the only mediums of monetary exchange accepted in the purchase of Africans in West Africa.[79] So when Captain Robert Ball returned to Boston from the Caribbean in March 1748, he brought "four fine likely Gold Coast Negroes" to sell.[80]

A review of the *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* shows how Massachusetts ships from as early as 1644 engaged in a triangular trade in which goods were exchanged for West Africans who were, in turn, sold in the Caribbean islands. The table below provides a sample of the voyages of Massachusetts slave ships from 1700 to 1773.

An examination of the port of entries for this sample of Massachusetts slave ships reveals that the Gold Coast in West Africa was the preferred locus of purchase. Note that the *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* does not contain complete information for all ports of call visited by all of the Massachusetts ships. This sample of twenty-seven from the *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* shows that Massachusetts ships made more ports of entry to the Gold Coast, which includes Anomabu and Cape Coast Castle, as opposed to other locations in West Africa including Gambia, Windward

A Sample of Massachusetts Slave Voyages, 1700–1773[1]

Number of Ship Entries	Port of Entry in Africa
10	Gold Coast (Assini, Adja, Agga)
5	Gambia
6	Anomabu
3	Cape Coast Castle
2	Windward Coast
1	Sierra Leone

1. David Eltis, David Richardson, Stephen D. Behrendt, and Herbert S. Klein, eds., *The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Coast, and Sierra Leone. (Unfortunately, the ports of entry of only twenty-seven of the fifty-four ships were listed.)

However, it appears that the majority of the Massachusetts ships that sailed from Boston to a port of entry along the west coast of Africa went on to a Caribbean island, primarily Barbados but also Jamaica, Antigua, St. Kitts, Grenada, Dominica, Guadeloupe, and Martinique as well as Havana and Puerto Rico.[81] Of the fifty-four Massachusetts ships that embarked at the Gold Coast, Windward Coast, and Gambia from 1700 to 1773, eighteen ships went on to Barbados while three disembarked at both Jamaica and Antigua. And of the sixty-five ships that sailed from Rhode Island to the Gold Coast, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gabon, and Dahomey from 1700 to 1764, twenty-four ships went on to Barbados, twenty to Jamaica, and seven went to Antigua.[82] Interestingly, one ship that did not go on to a Caribbean island returned directly to Rhode Island with 262 Africans aboard.

It was customary for the sea captains who worked the New England slave trade to be paid a 5 or 6 percent commission on the total number of Africans purchased during these Guinea voyages. It was also the standard in this business for captains to receive four slaves for every £104 worth of Africans purchased. A captain and sometimes members of his crew were occasionally given a "Captain's Privilege," which allowed them to purchase an additional two to ten Africans as long as the purchases were paid out of their personal accounts.[83] Unquestionably, New Englander sea captains who worked the transatlantic slave trade had ready access to a large pool of Africans for their own personal use and/or to sell in the Caribbean or New England.

Aaron Lopez followed the industry's standard when he paid his sea captains the customary commission as well as gave them the privilege of retaining "four and one half slaves" for themselves.[84] And the terms that Esek Hopkins worked out as captain of the ill-fated *Sally* voyage organized by the Brown brothers in 1763 also included a 5 percent commission, a right to receive four Africans for each hundred purchased, and the privilege to purchase ten slaves out of his own account. A 1755 letter written by slave ship owners Wilkinson and Ayrault not only instructed Captain David Lindsey on how to exchange his cargo for the Africans he was to sell in Barbados, St. Christopher's, or Jamaica, it also outlined the commission and privileges that were to be given to the ship's crew:

> you are to have five out of Six for your Coast Commission and five per Cent in the Caribbean and five per Cent for the Goods you purchase for return. Your chief mate and second mate are to have Two Slaves each and five for yourself. [85]

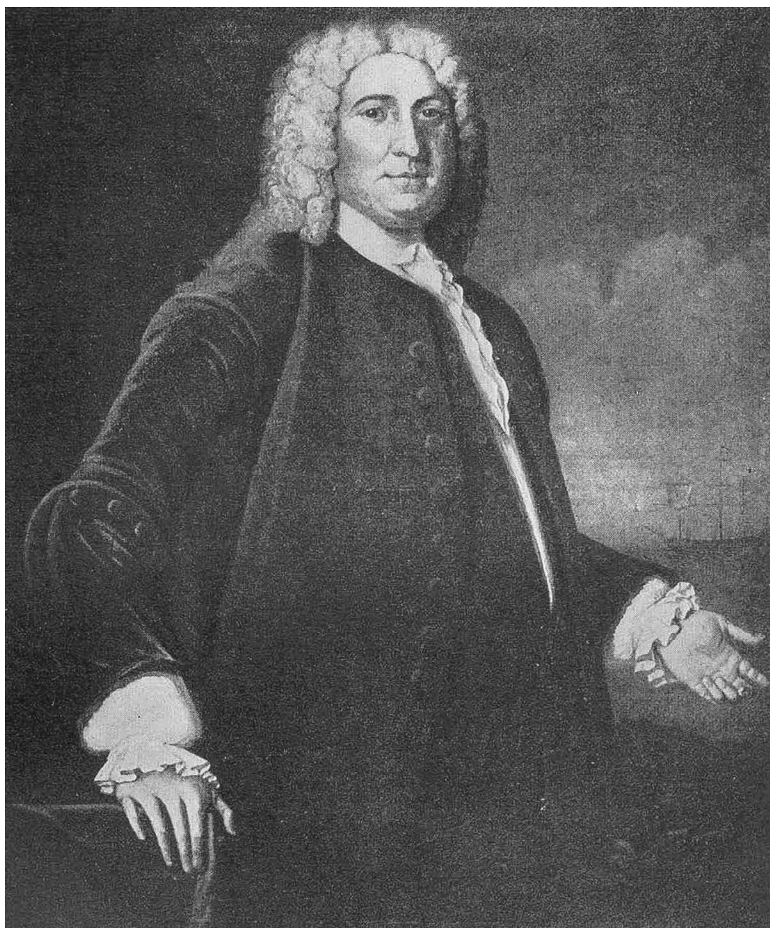
Slave ship captains like Captain Lindsey were able to personally select Africans for their own use or to satisfy the special orders of wealthy New Englanders. Before heading to Barbados from Anamabou on the Gold Coast in 1752, Lindsay gave Ayrault an update on the sixty-one Africans and thirty ounces of gold he purchased on the Gold Coast before informing his employer of his plans to send one of the African boys he had just purchased back home to his wife. Since Captain Lindsey was sailing on to Barbados from the Gold Coast, the young boy would have been put aboard another ship leaving straightway for New England. [86]

PETER FANEUIL

Other New Englanders procured Africans by way of special order from captains of slave ships. Known for his gift of Faneuil Hall to the town of Boston, Peter Faneuil made such a request on February 3, 1738. He asked the master of the *Byam,* Captain Peter Buckley, to use the net proceeds from selling a shipment of fish in Antigua to bring him a houseboy who was "as likely, a strait negro lad . . . about the age of twelve to fifteen years, and . . . one that has had the smallpox."[87] Importantly, Faneuil's request for a "strait negro lad" suggest he desired a youth who was not rebellious. Peter's uncle was the wealthy merchant Andrew Faneuil who sold Africans in a slave-trading business from 1718 until his death in 1738.[88] Peter tried his luck with directing slaving ventures on the Gold Coast, but he was not as successful as Uncle Andrew.[89] The slaving voyage of the *Jolly Bachelor* ended in a deadly slave revolt in 1742.[90] Having inherited his uncle's wealth and established his own shipbuilding business, Peter was living in a luxurious mansion in Boston along with five personal slaves by 1744.[91]

The instructions that William Ellery gave to Captain Pollipus Hammond on January 4, 1746, were rather vague, saying only "bring some likely boys home."[92] A subsequent request to Hammond on January 7, 1749, was more specific since it asked that "eight likely boys be brought home."[93] And the order given to Captain William Ellery Jr. in 1759 specified that he should "bring some of the slaves this way" when he returned from Senegal.[94]

Slave ship captains like Hammond and Ellery Jr. generally sold their privileged slaves along with the large allotments of Africans that were sold in the Caribbean; however, some of these privileged slaves were not sold until the ships docked in Boston or Newport. With full access to large numbers of captives on the African coast, some crew members selected their privileged slaves before they reached the Caribbean.



Peter Faneuil

VENTURE SMITH

The narrative of Broteer Furro (Venture Smith) documents how he was privately purchased before the slave ship returned to New England. Born in 1729 in an undetermined location in West Africa, Broteer was eight years old when he found himself on a Rhode Island slave ship anchored in Anamabou on the Gold Coast. Venture reports that 200 out of 260 captives on the ship survived a Middle Passage besieged with smallpox. While most of the survivors disembarked in Barbados, Venture remained on the ship because

he had been privately purchased by the ship's steward, Robertson Mumford, for four gallons of rum and a piece of calico before leaving the Gold Coast. Three other Africans were transshipped with Venture from Barbados to Rhode Island.

Being privately purchased helped Venture escape the traumatic experience of being sold on an auction block in what is now downtown Newport.[95] As a slave-trading depot, Newport was just as active as Boston since a holding pen was located at the southern end of Thames Street to hold the newly imported Africans. Africans were held in the pen until they were offered up for sale at slave auctions held on Mill and Spring Streets or at the junction of North Baptist and Thames Streets.

Since Venture was transshipped from Barbados, the ship captain who brought him to Rhode Island had to comply with a 1711 law that required a £3 import duty on Africans imported from the Caribbean but not on those brought from Africa. However, if this same ship had returned to the Boston harbor, a Massachusetts law of 1705–1706 required a £4 head tax on each imported African, whether arriving from Africa or the Caribbean.[96] It is not clear whether import duties were imposed to raise revenue or to stem the tide of Africans being imported to the colony of Massachusetts. Mark A. Peterson explains that the slave population in Massachusetts had been on a steady rise after the Royal African Company's monopoly of the slave trade ended in 1698. With the Royal African Company no longer in control of the African slave trade to the British American colonies, increased numbers of Africans were arriving to New England after the slave trade was opened up to private shipping interests. Peterson concluded that it was this "numerousness of Slaves . . . in the Province and the uneasiness of them under their Slavery" that motivated the renowned Puritan judge, church leader, and merchant Samuel Sewall to write his anti-slavery tract, *The Selling of Joseph,* in 1700.[97]

PORT DUTIES & REMITTANCES

The slave population in Massachusetts increased from 2,000 in 1720 to 4,500 in 1755.[98] Regardless of why import duties were enacted, both Massachusetts and Rhode Island allowed remittance of the import duties paid on Africans who fell ill, died en route, or died within their first six weeks in the colonies. The tax was also waived for merchants who sold imported Africans within a year of their entry into Massachusetts. Failure to pay duties could result in a penalty of £8 in Massachusetts and £6 in Rhode Island.[99]

An examination of the requests for remittances that were submitted to the Massachusetts General Court provide pertinent details on the ports of origin of imported Africans. David Jefferies' petition asked for a refund of the duties

paid on a Negro woman, Bilhah, and her four small children who arrived from Jamaica on the sloop *Rebecca* on June 12, 1707. Jeffries explained that paying £4 was "very hard in regard, these said Children were not worth the Money."[100] He apparently did not want to pay taxes on children who were too young to be put to work.

Other requests for remittance asked for a refund of the duties paid on Africans imported from Jamaica and Barbados who died from undisclosed illnesses soon after their arrival in New England.[101] The merchant Hugh Hall was denied a remittance for taxes paid on the African boy from Barbados who accompanied him when he entered Harvard in 1718. Although the Massachusetts General Court initially agreed to refund the duties Major Leonard Vassall paid on the Africans he brought from Jamaica in 1722, the remittance was later rescinded.[102] Similarly, Isaac Royall Sr. did not obtain a refund of the £3 he paid for each of the fifteen Africans brought with him when he relocated from Antigua in the 1720s.[103]

Surprisingly, Captain John Welland's petition requesting remittance of the duty paid for a Negro woman imported from Jamaica during a voyage that sustained a pirate attack in 1722 was granted.[104] Just as Captain Welland received his refund, the Newport privateer Captain John Dennis never paid a tax on the Africans he imported following his capture of a French vessel in the Caribbean sometime before 1756.[105] Sea captains who tried to circumvent import duties by smuggling their human cargo into New England ports did not go unnoticed.[106] Rhode Island passed a law that made sea captains liable for fines under the threat of imprisonment if they failed to register imported Africans.[107] The wealthy merchant Godfrey Malbone who repeatedly brought Africans to New England by way of his extensive provisions and carrying trade was accused of this very crime. The Rhode Island merchant reportedly smuggled Africans through a secret trapdoor in his Newport mansion.[108]

PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN FAMILY

Godfrey Malbone was not the only merchant accused of smuggling Africans into New England. Those who worked for the Brown family of Providence, Rhode Island, used the irregular seascape of Narragansett Bay to profit from smuggling. With three distinct openings to the Atlantic from this bay, they were advised to use the channel passages on the east and west since British custom officials usually patrolled the waters in the center channel leading to the Newport harbor.[109]

The Browns had been a seafaring family since 1736 when brothers James and Obadiah entered the Caribbean provisions and carrying trade. James

and Obadiah were the great-grandsons of Chad Brown of Massachusetts, who was forced into exile in Rhode Island for his Baptist beliefs during the seventeenth century.[110] As part owner in more than a dozen sailing vessels, the Browns made trade runs to the islands of Martinique and St. Eustatius but particularly to Surinam. Their maritime ventures were soon expanded to include the outfitting of slave-trading vessels to the West African coast. Employed as a factor (manager) on a slaving voyage in 1736, Obadiah's one-eighth interest in the sloop *Mary* gave him a one-eighth interest in the commercial goods sold and the Africans purchased during the voyage. After exchanging rum for Africans on Guinea coast, the *Mary* went on to Jamaica exchanging the recently purchased Africans for Jamaican rum, cordage, salt, coffee, and duck. It appears that Obadiah listened to his brother James who told him before the voyage, "If you cannot sell all your slaves . . . bring some home . . . they will sell well." When the *Mary* returned from Jamaica in 1737, Obadiah brought three Africans with him to Providence."[111]

Slave ownership was a long tradition in the Brown family. Even before James and Obadiah entered the Caribbean trade in 1736, their parents, James Sr. and Mary Brown, owned Gold Coast house slaves Quassie and her son Cuffy as well as three other Africans who worked in the family business.[112] Brothers Obadiah, Nicholas, and James along with their nephews Moses and John owned Africans both individually and jointly. At the time of his death, Obadiah owned Africans valued at £5,400, including a Negro woman, Eve, and her daughter valued at £1,400.[113] Moses owned Bonno, Caesar, Cudjo, Prime, Pero, and Pegg until he gave up owning slaves to become a Quaker in 1773.[114] Perhaps some of these enslaved persons were among the twenty Africans captured off the coast of Curaçao and brought back to Providence in 1741 by a privateer vessel owned by John Brown but commanded by Captain Fox.[115]

Captain Fox would have received the standard commission and privileges to purchase privileged Africans that John Brown extended to all the sea captains he employed. In preparation for a slaving voyage to West Africa and Antigua in 1764, Moses and John instructed Esek Hopkins, the commander of the *Sally,* that he was free to ship "ten privilege slaves on his own account."[116] Hopkins met with increasing misfortune after procuring 167 Africans along the West African coast. He lost a total of eighty-eight Africans to disease, suicide, and a violent insurrection before he reached the Caribbean. In fact, nine Africans died on August 28, 1764, the fateful day when revolting Africans on the ship could be stopped only with gunfire.[117] Hopkins went on to sell the remaining seventy-nine Africans in Antigua minus "the four likely boys" he brought home to Moses and John. And so the African boys brought

back to Providence in 1764 were undeniably the "captive cousins"' of the Africans who were sold in Antigua after participating in a deadly slave revolt long before reaching the Americas.

CONCLUSION

West Africans were forcibly brought to New England by way of the Caribbean islands from the early decades of the seventeenth century through the eighteenth century. As early as 1638, Africans who were banished to Tortuga for planning a revolt on Providence Island were brought to Boston. Most of the Africans in New England were transshipped from the Caribbean as the "residue" or left over cargo of Guinea voyages to the Caribbean. Others were imported by Caribbean slave merchants who advertised their human cargo for sale along with other commodities. Still others, like Venture Smith, were privately purchased by the crew members of slave ships. Small numbers were shipped via the provisions/carrying trade from the Caribbean to the seaport towns of New England. Africans who arrived as special orders were bought by prominent slave owners such as Governor Jonathan Belcher and Peter Faneuil. Many others were involuntarily relocated by Caribbean masters such as Isaac Royall Sr. and William Vassall, who returned to New England. Wealthy transplanted Caribbean planters such as Hugh Hall and Aaron Lopez built large fortunes by using their familial and business connections to the Caribbean. And the seafaring Brown family of Providence who traditionally owned slaves made their fortune selling Africans in the Caribbean.

This transatlantic movement of Africans shows that there was a shared cultural affinity between enslaved Africans in the Caribbean and New England. Since the Africans in these two Atlantic world locations were ethnically related, they would have shared similar worldviews as well as languages, cultures, and spiritual beliefs. Thus, the reputation of rebelliousness that is so often attributed to the Africans held as slaves in the Caribbean must also be applied to the Africans held in bondage in the New England.

HJM

Notes

1. Robert S. Desrochers Jr., "Slave-For-Sale Advertisements and Slavery in Massachusetts, 1704–1781," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 72, no. 1 (March 1999).

2. Kerima M. Lewis, "Fires of Discontent: Arson as a Weapon of Slave Resistance in Colonial New England," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, December 2014.
3. Historians agree that most New England slavers delivered shipments of Africans to the sugar islands before returning to their home ports. Lorenzo Johnston Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England,* 34. Desrochers, op. cit., William D. Piersen, *Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 4. Gregory E. O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage: Slave Migration from the Caribbean to North America," 1619-1807, *William & Mary Quarterly,* Vol. 66, No. 1 (January, 2009): 54.
4. Greene, *Negro in New England,* 35.
5. Kwasi Konadu, *The Akan Diaspora in the Americas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 131, 155.
6. *The Desire,* a 120-ton bark built in Marblehead, Massachusetts in 1636, was the first British American ship to trade in African slaves. John Winthrop, *History of New England, 1630–1649,* James K. Hosmer, ed., vol. 1 (New York: Scribner, 1908), 148, 233–34. Priscilla Sawyer Lord and Virginia Clegg Gamage, *Marblehead: The Spirit of '76 Lives Here* (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Co., 1972), 24.
7. Exchanges of Indians for Africans in the Caribbean also occurred after King Philip's War in 1676. Edgar J. McManus, *Black Bondage in the North* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1973), 6. Greene, 16–17. George H. Moore, *Notes on the History in Massachusetts* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1866), 36–41.
8. Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630–1641: The Other Puritan Colony* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 85.
9. It is not clear whether Captain Pierce was redirected to Tortuga for the sole purpose of purchasing Africans. Ibid., 167–171.
10. Ibid., 250–251.
11. Ibid., 85, 169.
12. John Winthrop, *History of New England, 1630–1649,* James K. Hosmer, ed., vol. 1 (New York: Scribner, 1908), 148, 233–34. George H. Moore, *Notes on the History in Massachusetts* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1866), 5. William H. Sumner, *History of East Boston* (Boston: J.G. Tilton & Co., 1858), 90–92.
13. John Gorham Palfrey, *History of New England during the Stuart Dynasty,* vol. 2 (Boston, 1858–1864). Greene, 16.
14. Moore, *Notes on the History in Massachusetts,* 8.
15. Catherine Johnson Adams, "What I Did is Who I Am: African American Women and Resistance to Slavery in Colonial and Revolutionary New England," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign, 2004), 5. Ibid.
16. Elaine G. Breslaw, *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem: Devilish Indians and Puritan Fantasies* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 10, 82.

17. Ibid., xxi.
18. A slave conspiracy was discovered near one of Samuel Parris' plantation in St. James Parish. Ibid., 13–16.
19. Ibid., 95–97, 144.
20. Breslaw also believes that the name "Tituba" denotes a cultural connection to the name of an Arawak tribe with the name of "Tetebetana." Ibid.,12, 30
21. Tituba reported learning magic from her mistress in Barbados. However, there is a possibility that Tituba's mistress learned her tricks of magic from the slaves she owned. Ibid.,18. Chadwick Hansen, "The Metamorphosis of Tituba, or Why American Intellectuals Can't Tell An Indian Witch from a Negro," *New England Quarterly,* vol. 47 no. 1 (March 1974) 3–7. Ibid., 49.
22. Elaine G. Breslaw, *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem: Devilish Indians and Puritan Fantasies* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 94.
23. Ibid., 152.
24. Konadu, 139.
25. David Barry Gaspar, *Bondsmen and Rebels: A Study of Master-Slave Relations in Antigua* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985).
26. Greene, 36, 38.
27. Warrant for the arrest of Ann Grafton, Cuffee (a slave), and Quoma (a slave), July 12, 1748. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society).
28. The name Cuffee is a derivative of the Akan name "Kofi," given to a male child born on Friday. Konadu, 14,144–145. Gaspar, *Bondsmen and Rebel,* 15.
29. Alexandra A. Chan, *Slavery in the Age of Reason: Archaeology at a New England Farm* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 49–50.
30. Gladys N. Hoover, *The Elegant Royalls of Colonial New England* (New York: Vantage Press, 1974), 6.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., 10, 21.
33. Alexandra A. Chan, *Slavery in the Age of Reason: Archaeology at a New England Farm* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 52.
34. Ibid., 143–152.
35. Ibid. 144,.
36. Vincent Carretta, *Unchained Voices: An Anthology of Black Authors in the English Speaking World of the Eighteenth Century* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 142.
37. Ibid.
38. Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates,* vol. 4, 1690–1700 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933), 285–286.
39. Gladys N. Hoover, *The Elegant Royalls of Colonial New England* (New York: Vantage Press, 1974), 41.

40. Samuel Frederick Batchehelder, *Notes on Colonel Henry Vassall (1721–1769).* Reprint (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing LLC, 2006).
41. Lewis, 17.
42. *Massachusetts Gazette and the Boston Post Boy,* March 22, 1773, Issue 813, p. 4.
43. Ibid.
44. Robert C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1869), 284, 369. Ian Williams, *A Social and Sociable History of the Real Spirit of 1776* (New York: Avalon Books, 2005), 55. Ibid., 85.
45. Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America Volume 3: New England and the Middle Colonies* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1932), 5. Williams B. Weeden, Economic and Social History (New York: Hillary House Publishers Ltd., 1963), 149. Charles William Taussig, *Rum, Romance & Rebellion* (New York: Minton, Balch & Company, 1928), 179.
46. John Winthrop, *Winthrop's Journal: History of New England, 1630–1649,* James K. Hosmer, ed. (New York, 1908), vol. II, 328.
47. Elaine Forman Crane, *A Dependent People: Newport, Rhode Island in the Revolutionary Era* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1985), 37.
48. Writers Program (Mass.) of the Federal Writer's Project. *Boston Looks Seaward: The Story of the Port of Boston, 1630–1940* (Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc.,1941), 29.
49. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates,*11.
50. Ibid., 15.
51. Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade,* 33–34. "Negro's Receiv'd from Barbados in the Year 1729," *Hugh Hall Account Book, 1728–1733* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), 28. See transcribed copy of pages 36-37 from the *Hugh Hall Account Book*.
52. *John Banister Account Books, 1742–1747,* MSS# 919 (Newport: Rhode Island Historical Society, 2001).
53. Ibid.
54. Darius Baker, "The Newport Bannisters," *Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society* 43 (January 1923), 1–20. Ibid.
55. James A. Henretta, *Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston,* James Kirby Martin, *Interpreting Colonial America* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1973), 269.
56. Daniel Vickers and Vince Walsh, *Young Men and the Sea: Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 45–46.
57. Crane, *Dependent People,* 15.
58. There is a noticeable discrepancy in the African population reported for Newport during the eighteenth century. The 1748–1749 census reports only 110 blacks in Newport, while the 1755 census reports 1,214. McManus, *Black Bondage in the North,* 203. Greene, 84–85.
59. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates,* 433–434.

60. Owning twenty-seven Africans was rather extraordinary, since most New England households owned one to two Africans. Howard W. Preston, "Godfrey Malbone's Connecticut Investment" in Rhode Island Historical Society Collections (October 1923), 115–117.
61. Louis P. Masur, "Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Rhode Island: Evidence from the Census of 1774," *Slavery and Abolition,* vol. 6, no. 2 (1985): 143.
62. Africans shipped directly from the Guinea coast and not the Caribbean were called "New Negroes."
63. Konadu, 15.
64. *Invoices of Godfrey Malbone* (Newport: Rhode Island Historical Library).
65. Ibid.
66. Stanley F. Chyet, *Lopez of Newport: Colonial American Merchant Prince* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970), 18.
67. Ibid., 26–27.
68. Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade,*186.
69. Crane, *A Dependent People,* 24–29.
70. Deposition of Jonathan Mason, Inferior Court of Boston, April 3, 1715. William Harris of St. Christopher's to William Fenton, September 4–5, 1715.
71. The slave owners of another sixty-six Negroes and eleven Indians in Bristol had no identifiable connection to seafaring. Bristol, Rhode Island, *Record of Deaths 1729–1755*. Special thanks to Nancy Kouegas, an independent archivist who was previously affiliated with the Bristol Historical and Preservation Society and kind enough to share this information with me.
72. *Boston Gazette,* July 28, 1728.
73. *Boston News-Letter,* July 27, 1734.
74. *Boston Weekly News-Letter,* Thursday, October 29, to Thursday, November 5, 1741.
75. Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade,* 68.
76. *New England Weekly Journal,* March 24, 1729, Issue 105, page 2.
77. *New York Mercury,* May 9, 1763, issue 602, page 4.
78. *Georgia Gazette,* October 21, 1767, issue 213, page 3.
79. Charles William Taussig, *Rum, Romance & Rebellion* (New York: Minton, Balch & Co., 1928), 16. Jay Coughtry, *The Notorious Triangle: Rhode Island and the African Slave Trade, 1700–1807* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), 82–83.
80. *Boston Gazette,* March 8, 1748.
81. David Eltis, David Richardson, Stephen D. Behrendt, and Hebert Klein, eds., *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge, UK: 1999).
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid.
84. Charles Rappleye, *Sons of Providence: The Brown Brothers, the Slave Trade and the American Revolution* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2007), 74.
85. Ibid., 71.

86. Wilkinson and Ayrault to David Lindsey, Newport, Aug. 15, 1755, *Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726–1800,* vol. 1 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1914), 64. David Lindsay to Ayrault, Anamaboe, February, 1752, Ibid., 6.
87. Faneuil Hall is a marketplace and town hall in downtown Boston. Justin Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston,* vol. 1 (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1882).
88. Abram E. Brown, *Faneuil Hall and Faneuil Hall Market* (Boston: Lee and Spard, 1900), 20, 32.
89. *Boston News-Letter,* June 16, 1718, cited in Greene, 28.
90. William B. Weeden, *Early Rhode Island: A Social History of the People* (New York: The Grafton Press, 1910), 191.
91. The crew not only lost their lives but also Portuguese and African pirates set the African captives free. Ibid., 28–29.
92. Peter Benes, "Slavery in Boston Households, 1647–1770," *Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings* 28 (2003), 17.
93.William Ellery Sr. was a graduate of Harvard College, a successful merchant, and the owner of the Antis. The inventory of his personal property included furniture, silver plate, chaises, and slaves. George Howe, *Mount Hope: A New England Chronicle* (New York: The Viking Press, 1959), 105. Christine Leigh Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture,* 157. Donnan, Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade, 68–69.
94. Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture,* 139.
95. Peter Benes, "Slavery in Boston Households, 1647–1770, Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings 28 (2003): 15. Elaine Forman Crane, *A Dependent People: Newport, Rhode Island in the Revolutionary Era* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1985), 51.
96. Connecticut and New Hampshire did not enact impost taxes on imported Africans. Greene, 50.
97. Samuel Sewall is best known for his role as a judge in the Salem Witch trials of 1692. Mark A. Peterson, "The Selling of Joseph: Bostonians, Antislavery, and the Protestant International, 1689–1733, *The Massachusetts Historical Review* Vol.4 (2002). Piersen, *Black Yankees,* 29.
98. Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England,* 81.
99. New Hampshire and Connecticut did not have import duties. Ibid. 50-52.
100. Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade,* 23.
101. Greene, 55.
102. Chan, *Slavery in the Age of Reason,* 51–52, 54.
103. *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves,* vol. 10, chap.153, p. 341.
104. Foreign ships captured by Newport privateers in the Caribbean, particularly during times of war, often contained cargoes of Africans. William P. Sheffield, Privateers Men of Newport: An Address Delivered before the Rhode Island Historical Society on February 7, 1882 (Newport: John P. Sanborn, 1883), 24, 29.
105. Greene, 52.
106. Ibid., 53.

107. Patriot forces used this tunnel to spy on the British during the American Revolution. John King Rensselaer, *Newport Our Social Capital* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1905), 298.
108. Rappleye, 29–30.
109. Ibid., 9.
110. The account books of March 1737 and May 26, 1737 indicate that three slaves valued at £120 were put on the Mary bound for Rhode Island from Jamaica. William Weeden, 248.
111. Rappleye, *Sons of Providence,* 14, 17.
112. Weeden, *Early Rhode Island,* 263.
113. Rappleye, *Sons of Providence,* 56–57, 133.
114. *Boston Post-Boy,* July 27, 1741, issue 382, page 3.
115. Rappleye, *Sons of Providence,* 60.
116. Hopkins mistakenly believed he could trust four Africans who were recruited as sailors. It was these individuals who let the other men out of their shackles. Ibid., 69–70
117. Ibid., 67–74.