

STORY OF THE SLAVE

Paper read before the Monmouth County Historical Association on October 30th, 1902, wherein is given some account of

Slavery and Servitude in New Jersey

WITH NOTES

Concerning Slaves and Redemptioners in other States

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the New Jersey Historical Society

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Slavery and Servitude in New Jersey

SLAVERY existed in America long before 1619, when the Dutch traders brought their cargo of human freight to Jamestown. The Aztecs of Mexico enslaved not only their enemies taken in battle, but those of their own nation who were convicted of theft and other crimes. "By a stern law," says Prescott, "every tax defaulter was liable to be taken and sold as a slave." The same authority adds that slave dealing was an honorable calling among the Aztecs. After the discovery, in 1492, the unsuspecting natives of the West Indies, race and stock of the Aztecs, were seized by the Spaniards and put to work in the mines.*

Las Casas, whose father accompanied Columbus on his first voyage, and who was honored with the title of "Protector of the Indians," outraged at the exhibitions of cruelty in Cuba, proposed to relieve the natives by sending out Castilian laborers and importing negro slaves from Africa. As a youth in Spain, Las Casas had been attended by an Indian page whom his father had brought with him from Hispaniola. Thus the uncompromising advocate of freedom for the Indian began his career as the owner of a slave.†

Although Las Casas succeeded in substituting the negro for the Indian as a slave, he did not prevent Indian slavery, especially in the English colonies on the mainland, where, for many years, Indians, taken prisoners in war, were held as slaves. In a few cases, too, the whites who landed along

*A full account of this phase of American slavery is given in Fiske's *Discovery of America*, Vol. II.

†Prescott's "Conquest of Mexico," Vol. I, Bk. 2, ch. 8.

the unsettled coast could not resist the temptation to entice the Indians aboard ship, and then sail away to sell them in the settlements elsewhere.*

*Lawson, historian of North Carolina (pp. 73, 74), writing of those New Englanders who sought to plant a colony at the mouth of Cape Fear River, in 1660, says they were driven off by the Indians, whose children they had sent north under pretext of having them educated. The Indians suspected that their children had been sold into slavery, and became so hostile that the whites were glad to leave that part of the country.

In a report made to the States-General of Holland, in 1616, Captain Hendrickson speaks of having discovered and explored "certain lands, a bay and three rivers" (the Delaware, Schuylkill and Maurice Rivers), in a small yacht of sixteen tons burden named the "Onrest," built at Manhattan. In this report to the States-General he further describes some of the productions of the country, and says that he bought three of the native inhabitants from the Mingoes and Mohicans, who held them in slavery, and for whom he gave in exchange kettles, beads and merchandise.

An instance of the capturing of Indians for slaves is found in the account of the Tuscarora war, in North Carolina. When the attack began, in 1711, Governor Hyde, of North Carolina, sent to the Governor of South Carolina for aid. He directed his agents there not to fail to represent "that great advantage may be made of slaves, there being many of them, women and children—may we not believe three or four thousand?" The Indian allies, coming from South Carolina to aid Hyde, took back a great number of slaves from the conquered people in North Carolina. The Indians, said Colonel Pollock, as soon as they had taken the fort and secured their slaves, marched away straight to their homes. Tom Blount, chief of a tribe of friendly Indians in that section, also secured his captives for slaves. He proposed to attack a certain small tribe, in which he thought there might not be enough people to give each of his own warriors an Indian slave, and he accordingly asked the North Carolina Council to promise some reward to those who might not happen to have slaves allotted to them. Most of the Indian slaves taken in this Tuscarora war were carried to other colonies, a good many going to Massachusetts and Connecticut. They were sold for about ten pounds each. More than 700 of them were captured and sold before the war was ended.

Strachey, in his "Travayle into Virginia," speaks of a story that he had from the subjects of an Indian chief, Eyanoco, who lived at Ritanoë, somewhere in the region to the south of Virginia, and who had seven whites who had escaped out of the massacre at Roanoke, and these he used to beat copper. "It is not improbable that there is a shadow of truth in the statement, although the details must be fictitious," says Dr. John Spencer Bassett, in his monograph on slavery and servitude in North Carolina. "That the Indians of the colony later on did enslave the whites whom they could take in their waters, or who were shipwrecked off the coast, we know from the preamble of an act of the Assembly about 1707. This form of white servitude left no trace in the life of the colony."

With the white man enslaving the red through greed of gain, small wonder is it that the red man enslaved the white, the motive in the latter case, however, being revenge, rather than profit. The first slaves that we hear of in North Carolina were white people, whose masters were Indians; seven whites who had escaped from the massacre at Roanoke in 1711 being enslaved by the Indians. Per contra, the first slaves that we hear of in New Jersey, were Indians and their masters were white people. During the first half of the seventeenth century, the Swedes on the Delaware and the Dutch on the Hudson enslaved members of the various tribes thereabout.*

The Dutch settlers of New Amsterdam, also, after the manner of the times in New Jersey, tried to enslave the aboriginal red men, but the task proved both harassing and unprofitable. Indeed, this attempted enslaving of the Indians by the Dutch burghers led to such trouble that the burghers, in self defence, built a wall across the lower end of Manhattan, whereby the liberty-loving red man was kept from driving the slave-catching white man over the battery and into the bay. The site of this wall is now the money mart of New York.

The Dutch† and Swedes, first settlers on the Hudson and Delaware, respectively, finding Indian slavery impossible, brought negroes to our province from the west coast of Africa; but while slavery was one of the social customs of

*In 1640 it was enacted in Massachusetts that there shall never be any bond slavery in that province, unless it be the lawful captives taken in "just wars," or such as shall willingly sell themselves. In New Jersey there was no war of extermination, as in Massachusetts, and no captives taken in "just wars," but the Indians—a few it may be—were enslaved from the beginning, and half-breeds, the off-spring of Indian mothers, were likewise enslaved. As late as 1797, in a habeas corpus proceeding, Chief Justice Kinsey delivered an opinion before the Supreme Court, in which he said, "The Indians have been so long recognized as slaves in our law that it would be as great a violation of the rights to establish a contrary doctrine at the present day as it would be in the case of the African, and as useless to investigate the manner in which they originally lost their freedom."

†See page 40 of this monograph.

these two colonizing nations, it did not become a recognized system until the advent of the English in 1664.*

The earliest recorded instance of ownership of negro slaves in New Jersey is that of Colonel Richard Morris, of Shrewsbury, who, as early as 1680, had sixty or seventy slaves about his mill and plantation. It is said that ten years later nearly all the inhabitants of northern New Jersey owned slaves.†

Queen Anne's instruction to her cousin, Lord Cornbury, Governor of New Jersey, shows clearly a desire to encourage the importation of African slaves, and the Governor was specifically instructed to report annually the number thereof. A statute passed in 1714, and repealed in 1721, imposing a duty of ten pounds on every slave imported for sale, was called forth by the desire to stimulate the introduction of white servants, a similar statute in Pennsylvania having had that effect.‡

Small as she is and large as was her interest in slavery, New Jersey was surpassed by Rhode Island—"little Rhodie"—in the magnitude of her importations from Africa.

In 1770 Rhode Island had as many as 170 vessels engaged in the slave trade, and it is undoubtedly true, as Samuel

*A certain Conningsmarke, a Swede, popularly known as "the long Finne," having been convicted of stirring up an insurrection in Delaware, as part of his punishment, was sentenced by the Council at New York, in 1669, to be sent to "Barbadoes, or some other remote plantation, to be sold." After having been kept prisoner in the "Stadt-house at York" for a year, the long Finne was duly transported to Barbadoes and sold into slavery.—Smith's History of New Jersey, pp. 53, 54.

†Although begun during the proprietary period, previous to 1702, slavery in New Jersey did not become a recognized system until the time of Queen Anne, when there was a steady increase in the number of slaves until 1776, with special forms of trial and punishment prescribed in the criminal law. This was also the period of a strong abolition movement among the Friends, ending in 1776, with the denial by Friends of the right of membership in their society to slaveholders.

‡Queen Anne was "willing to recommend" to the Royal African Company that the province "may have a constant and sufficient supply of merchantable negroes, at moderate rates," and the Governor, on his part, was instructed to "take especial care" to secure prompt payment for the same.

Hopkins says in his "Reminiscences," that Rhode Island was more deeply interested in the slave trade than any other colony in New England. There is a record of one good old elder, whose ventures on the African coast always turned out well, who returned thanks on the Sunday following the arrival of a slaver into the harbor of Newport, in these words: "An overruling Providence has been pleased to bring to this land of freedom another cargo of benighted heathen, to enjoy the blessings of a gospel dispensation."*

Sir John Hawkins, who, as is well known, commanded the first English expedition to Africa for slaves, issued to his captains the following orders: "Serve God daily; love one another; preserve your victuals; beware of fire; keep good company." It has been said that "Hawkins sailed on the ship *Jesus*, with faith as serene as if he had sailed on a crusade." At one time they were so long becalmed at sea as to face starvation, but the pious slaver says in his notes, "Almighty God, who never suffereth his elect to perish, sent us the ordinary breeze."

The infamy of this slave traffic was attached quite as much to the people of the North as to those of the South. In fact, the well-to-do deacons and church members of New England controlled the business. The history of that time reveals Peter Faneuil with one hand piling up profits from his immense slave trade, while with the other he was erecting a cradle of liberty in Boston, and dispensing private and

*Originally the right to enslave the negro was based on the fact that he was a pagan. If such were the case, the early American colonists asked themselves, would not conversion enfranchise him? It was a matter of doubt in the minds of the settlers, and hence they hesitated to allow their negroes to become converted. Maryland, in 1671, enacted that conversion or baptism should not be taken to give freedom to slaves. In 1677, an English court gave an opinion that converted slaves were "infranchised." James Adams, a clergyman of the Established Church, who was in North Carolina in 1709, complained because the masters would "by no means permit their slaves to be baptized, having a false notion that a Christian slave is by law free." A few of the negroes, he said, were instructed in the principles of religion, but they were not baptized. [See note on page 40.]

public charity. New England vessels,* outward bound, were laden with rum, which was traded to African chiefs for a cargo of prisoners, and these, with other blacks whom the ship captains might chance to steal, were taken to the southern ports or to the West Indies and traded for molasses. The molasses was in turn brought to New England and converted into rum, wherewith to buy another cargo of negroes in the dark continent. In 1750, Newport carried on an extensive business of this character. Three hundred distilleries, we are told, were in operation, and the tonnage of the vessels lying at the town's wharves exceeded that of New York. Mrs. Stowe, in her tale of "The Minister's Wooing," has portrayed in the most interesting manner the awakening of the New England conscience to the sinfulness of buying and selling human souls.† Perth Amboy

*The *Fame*, a noted slaver and privateer of Newport, had a keel 75 feet long. The space between decks, where the slaves were kept during the time the cargo was accumulating (three to ten months), and while crossing the Atlantic, was usually a room as long and as wide as the ship, but only 3 or 4 feet high. The men were ironed together, two by two, by the ankles, but the women and children were left unironed. The irons on the men were fastened to the deck or ceiling. With the increasing demand came a change in the methods of obtaining cargoes. Originally the trade was confined to captives in war, but subsequently raids were resorted to, and free men were kidnapped and sold in the most heartless manner. Treachery and murder were common practices resorted to in order to secure a few slaves. After the trade was outlawed, in 1807, cruisers were stationed on the African coast to stop the work of the slavers. The slave ships came to the coast disguised as honest traders, and watched for a day when the coast was clear; then they got their slaves quickly on board and sailed away. To enable a ship to load quickly, depots were established at convenient points and pens were built by setting tree trunks into the ground to make a high fence. In these the slaves were held by the hundred; sometimes more than a thousand were imprisoned in one pen to await the arrival of a ship. Kidnapping and raiding increased until the market price of slaves fell as low as from \$12 to \$20 a head. The demand continued because the hardships of slave life killed off the slaves more rapidly than slave children were born. The blockade of the Confederate ports by the Federal ships in 1861 ended slave smuggling.

†The question of slavery being before Congress on April 19, 1784, Thomas Jefferson, who was opposed to the buying and selling of human beings, proposed to exclude slavery from all the Southern and Western States admitted after 1800. The effect of this would have been to

was New Jersey's chief port of entry and blacks were to be seen there in goodly numbers, many of them freshly imported and still bearing their tribal marks. Adults sold for from 40 to 100 pounds, and a child of two or three years brought from 8 to 15 pounds.*

A society for the abolition of slavery was formed in New Jersey as early as 1786. The constitution, after mentioning "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as the universal rights of men," concludes with the statement that "we abhor that inconsiderate, illiberal and interested policy which withholds those rights from an unfortunate and degraded class of our fellow creatures." This society, of which Joseph Bloomfield was its one-time president, was influential in obtaining legislation for the abolition of slavery in New Jersey.†

confine slavery to the southeast corner of the country. The measure was lost in Congress for lack of a single vote. Had that New Jersey delegate, John Beatty, been present, whose illness kept him at home that day, the history of this country on the slavery question might have been wholly changed. Mr. Beatty would have voted in favor of Jefferson's measure.

*In 1744 a bill to prohibit the importation of slaves was rejected by the Council of New Jersey, which declared that even the mere discouragement of importation was undesirable. The Council maintained that the colony at that time had great need of laborers. An expedition to the West Indies had drawn off many inhabitants, and the privateering profession had attracted many others. For these causes wages had risen so high that "farmers, trading-men and tradesmen" only with great difficulty were able to carry on their business. In 1761 the question of a duty on slaves was under discussion. The free importation of negroes had then become a source of inconvenience. A large number of slaves were "landed in this province every year in order to be run into New York and Pennsylvania," where duties had been established. Furthermore, New Jersey had become overstocked with negroes.

†John Woolman, a Quaker, native of Mt. Holly, first suggested the idea of abolishing the slave trade in America. He published many tracts against slavery and argued against it publicly, making long journeys to talk to individuals on the subject. In the course of a visit to England he visited York, where he died of smallpox on October 7, 1772. Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, in "Southern Quakers and Slavery," says the first man in America to preach immediate and unconditional emancipation was Charles Osborn, born in North Carolina, and Levi Coffin, of "underground railway" fame, a native of the same State.

An act prepared by this society and passed by the Legislature in 1804, provided for the gradual abolition of slavery in this State. Every child born of a slave after the fourth day of July of that year was to be free, but should remain the servant of the owner of the mother until the age of twenty-five years, if a male, and twenty-one if a female. The right to transfer this "servant" to another person was guaranteed by the act.*

*The slave population of New Jersey at different periods, according to the census returns, was as follows:

In 1790.....	11,423
1800.....	12,422
1810.....	10,851
1820.....	7,557
1830.....	2,254
1840.....	674
1850.....	236
1860.....	18

In 1860 there were four slaves in Hunterdon county; one in Middlesex; one in Morris; two in Passaic; nine in Somerset and one in Warren, making a total of eighteen. Hannah Mandeville, formerly a slave, and the last of her kind in New Jersey, died at Newark, on November 10, 1902. She was past ninety years of age. Mrs. Mandeville was a widow, her husband having died thirty-two years previously. Before the war she belonged to the old Condict estate in Hudson county. When the war freed her she went to Pompton Plains with her husband, Anthony Mandeveille, and lived there a number of years, afterward moving to Newark.

A free negro was entitled to vote in New Jersey during the early years. The suffrage was not confined to whites by the Constitution adopted in 1776. Article IV states that "all inhabitants of this colony, of full age, who are worth fifty pounds * * * and have resided within the country" for twelve months are entitled to vote. Not until the new Constitution was adopted, in 1844, was the elective franchise limited to whites. In 1793, as proof of the illegality of an election for determining a site for the Middlesex County Jail and Court House, it was stated that "a negro man was admitted to vote, who had no legal residence, and his declaration that he had been manumitted in another State was received as sufficient proof of his being entitled to vote." The implication here is that a negro, able to show clear proof of his freedom, and having a legal residence, was entitled to vote.

It was a part of the universal law of slavery that a slave should not testify against a white person in the courts. In North Carolina, when charged with complicity with Teach, the pirate, known as "Blackbeard," in 1719, Tobias Knight urged, in his defence, that the prosecution had introduced the evidence of four negro slaves, "which by the laws and customs of all America ought not to be examined as evidence." Not satisfied with denying them the right to testify against the whites, the

Under the operation of this act and a further act passed a few years later (1820) it was supposed that slavery in New Jersey would gradually disappear, but both laws proved ineffective. Still later (1846) another act was passed, abolishing slavery, but even this did not bring about the complete emancipation of the slaves. This last "abolition"

Assembly of North Carolina, in 1741, enacted, that if any negro, mulatto or Indian, bond or free, be found to have testified falsely, he should, without further trial, be ordered by the court to have one ear nailed to the pillory and there to stand one hour, at the end of which time that ear should be cut off; then the other ear should be nailed to the pillory, and at the end of another hour be cut off as the former. Finally the luckless fellow received thirty-nine lashes on his bare back, "well laid on."

In 1694 a Monmouth county justice sentenced a negro named "Caesar," convicted of murder, as follows: "Thy hand shall be cut off and burned before thine eyes. Then thou shalt be hanged up by the neck until thou art dead, dead, dead; then thy body shall be cut down and burned to ashes in a fire, and so the Lord have mercy on thy soul, Caesar."—"Story of an Old Farm," by Andrew D. Mellick, p. 225.

Mr. Andrew D. Mellick, in his interesting "Story of an Old Farm," gives a very good description of slavery in Somerset county. The slaves were granted their holidays and enjoyments. In the week following Christmas they generally gave a party, to which the respectable colored people of the neighborhood were invited. The whole week was one of great festivity, and but little work was expected of the blacks. Again, the day of "general training" (usually in June) was another great holiday for these slaves. This drill of the militia was regarded as a kind of fair and was a time of great sociability. The family negroes all attended in a large wagon, taking with them root beer and ginger cakes to offer for sale.

To what extent negroes in New Jersey took part or aided in the Revolution it is difficult to determine. A law of 1780, for the recruiting of the remainder of New Jersey's quota of troops for the service of the United States, forbids the enlistment of slaves. The following year a law for the same purpose repeats the prohibition. Yet slaves from New Jersey served, in various capacities, both the State and the Federal Government during the war. Two instances are recorded when a slave was manumitted by an act of the Legislature as a reward for faithful service in the Revolutionary cause. In the manuscript notes of a septuagenarian, quoted by Mickle in his "Reminiscences of Old Gloucester," published in 1845, we are told that he (the septuagenarian) was in the fort at Red Bank on the Delaware on the morning of October 23, 1777, the day after the battle, when he saw that a number of the men under Colonel Greene were blacks and mulattoes.

By the slave law of 1714 any "negro, Indian or mulatto slave," murdering or attempting the death of any freeman, wilfully murdering any slave, committing arson, "rape on any free subject," or mutilation of any free person, is to suffer the penalty of death. The man-

law substituted apprenticeship for slavery, and every slave became an apprentice for life, bound to his owner, unless voluntarily discharged from service.

Twenty-two years ago (1880) that distinguished Jerseyman, Hon. Garret A. Hobart, native of Monmouth, and at that time a member of the State Senate, introduced and

ner of death, however, is not specified, but is to be such as the "aggravation or enormity of their crimes," in the judgment of the justices and freeholders trying the case, "shall merit and require." The testimony of slaves was admitted in the trials. When a slave was executed, the owner received for a negro man thirty pounds and for a woman twenty pounds, the money being raised by a poll tax upon all the slaves in the county above fourteen years of age and under fifty.

A form of execution frequently chosen was burning at the stake. At Perth Amboy, in 1730, a negro was burnt for the murder of an itinerant tailor. In Bergen county, in 1735, a slave, "Jack," was burnt. He had beaten his master, had threatened to murder both his master and his master's son and to burn his master's house, and when arrested he tried to kill himself. In Somerset county, in 1739, a negro was burnt for brutally murdering a child, attempting to murder the wife of his overseer and setting fire to his master's barn. In 1741 two negroes were burnt for setting on fire several barns in the neighborhood of Hackensack. The New York negro plot of 1741 caused many executions by burning as well as by hanging in New Jersey. —Whitehead's "Early History of Perth Amboy," pp. 318-320; Weekly Post Boy, July 2, 1750; New Jersey Archives XII, p. 652.

In 1734 a rising near Somerville was feared. Certain negro quarters some miles remote from Colonel Thomas Leonard's dwelling-house had become a rendezvous for the negroes of the neighborhood. The slaves stole from their masters provisions of various sorts, which they carried to their place of meeting and feasted upon, sometimes in large companies. It was claimed that at one of these meetings some hundreds had entered into a plot to gain their freedom by a massacre of the whites. A belief on the part of the negroes that they were held in slavery contrary to the positive orders of King George appears to have been an element contributing to the excitement. According to the plan of the conspirators, as soon as the weather became mild enough so that living in the woods might be possible, at some midnight agreed upon, all the slaves were to rise and slay their masters. The buildings were to be set on fire and the draught horses killed. Finally, the negroes, having secured the best saddle horses, were to fly to the Indians and join them in the French interest. Suspicion of a negro plot was first aroused by the impudent remarks of a drunken slave. He and another negro were arrested, and at their trial the above details were brought out. The insurrection, believed to be threatening, was suppressed with considerable severity. About thirty negroes were apprehended; one of them was hanged; some had their ears cut off, and others were whipped. Poison was found on several of them.—New Jersey Archives XI, pp. 333, 340.

had passed a bill which removed from the statutes the last vestige of slavery in New Jersey. An act permitting the master of a slave to take him or her to the public workhouse, to be whipped, had remained on the statute books for many years, contrary to the laws of the United States, and it was this obsolete law which was thus repealed by Mr. Hobart.*

That delirium of the New York people in 1741, known as the "Negro Conspiracy," appears to have spread to some extent into neighboring New Jersey, also. Mr. W. A. Whitehead thinks that this panic caused many executions in New Jersey. In one day seven barns were burned at Hackensack; an eighth caught fire three times, but fortunately was saved. It was believed that these were set on fire by a combination of slaves, for one negro was taken in the act. The people of the neighborhood were greatly alarmed and kept under arms every night. Two negroes charged with committing the crime were burned. In the Account Book of the Justices and Freeholders of Essex county are the following items: "June 4, 1741, Daniel Harrison sent in his account of wood carted for burning two negroes." * * * "February 25, 1741-2, Joseph Heden, acct. for wood to burn the negroes Mr. Farland paid allowed 0.7.0. Allowed to Isaac Lyon 4 curry for a load of wood to burn the first negro, 0.4.0."—"A Study of Slavery in New Jersey," by Henry S. Cooley.

A law of 1754 provided that in the borough of Elizabeth, servants and slaves accused of "any misdemeanor or rude or disorderly behavior," being brought before the Mayor, may be "committed to the workhouse to hard labor" and receive corporal punishment not exceeding thirty stripes. In 1799 the system was established throughout the State. "Any stubborn, disobedient, rude or intemperate slave or male servant" might be committed to the workhouse to endure confinement and labor, at the discretion of a Justice of the Peace. The master paid the cost of maintenance of the slave while so confined.

In 1768, Hendrieck Christian Zabriskie, of Bergen county, was awarded thirty pounds for his negro named Harry, lately executed for the murder of Claas Toers. The money was collected from the slave-owners of the county, upon the basis of an assessment of ten pence per head upon all slaves in the county.

In Hackensack, in 1769, a slave pleading guilty to the charge of stealing was whipped at the public whipping post and before the houses of two prominent citizens, with thirty-nine lashes, on each of three days, being taken from place to place tied to a cart's tail.

*Mr. Hobart was a member of the Monmouth County Historical Association from the time of its organization, in 1898, until his death, in 1900.

It is related of a town constable, who had charge of a public workhouse in the northern part of New Jersey, that he had a reputation for proficiency in administering the lash to those slaves whom he was called upon to whip. Caleb, a slave, had never been sent to the workhouse for a whipping, but he knew the reputation of the constable. During

In West Jersey, north of Burlington, and near the Hudson, among the Dutch, slave owning was more prevalent than in the Calvinistic towns of East Jersey. The Quakers, indeed, in spite of the teachings of Friend John Woolman, of Mount Holly, apostle of abolition, were slave owners during all of the colonial period of New Jersey.*

About the year 1738 a book entitled "All Slave Keepers Apostates" was published in Philadelphia, and in the preface the author said: "These things following are so far from offending or grieving my very dear, true and tender friends called Quakers, who love the truth more than all, that it is by their request and desire that they are made publick."

To this statement the "Friends called Quakers" took exception, and they expressed their disapproval of the book by a minute adopted at the yearly meeting for New Jersey

the Christmas season his master, who was indisposed, felt called upon to send Caleb to the workhouse for punishment, and he wrote a note to the constable about as follows: "Constable Brown—Please give the bearer thirty-nine lashes and charge to me. Thomas Jones."

Calling up Caleb, Mr. Jones ordered him to take the note to Mr. Brown, who would give him a grubbing hoe. Caleb started toward Mr. Brown's home, adjoining the workhouse, but his suspicions were aroused. He could not understand what his master wanted with a grubbing hoe at Christmas time, and his conscience not being clear of guilt, he suspected that he was to be whipped. Meeting a boy, he took out the note and said: "Massa Bob, what is dis note? Got so many ub dem dis mornin', I got 'em mixed." The boy read the note aloud, and Caleb looked grieved and puzzled. The boy passed on and presently Caleb's face brightened. Seeing a negro boy, he called to him and said: "Boy, does you want to make a shillin'?" "Yep," said the boy. "Well, take dis note to Massa Brown's, an' git a grubbin' hoe, an' I wait here till you comes back, an' den I gibs you a shillin'." The boy hurried off and delivered the note to the town constable, who took him into the yard, locked the gate, and proceeded, in spite of the boy's protests, to give him the desired flogging. Caleb in the meantime hurrying off home. That evening his master asked: "Caleb, did you get that grubbing hoe?" "No, massa; I gib a boy a shillin' to fotch dat note to Massa Brown, and I spec he got dat hoe."

*William Penn himself, whose light on slavery was not then awakened, says in a letter to his steward, James Harrison, at Pennsbury, Pa., dated 1685, referring to his indented white servants, who were changed too often: "It were better they were blacks, for then we might have them for life."—Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, Vol. 2, p. 262.

and Pennsylvania, held at Burlington in 1738. The minute says: "It is not improbable that some readers may be persuaded to believe the author is one of the people called Quakers, and that his book has been printed at their request, especially were they to be altogether silent on this occasion. Therefore, they have thought it fit, and hereby do give public notice that the book aforesaid contains gross abuses, not only against some of their members in particular, but against the whole society; that the author is not of their religious community, and that they disapprove of his conduct, the composition and printing of his book, and therefore are not to be accountable for its contents." The book being a homily against slavery, it may be argued that this minute of the Yearly Meeting is equivalent to a declaration in favor of slavery, which is at variance with the position of the Quakers in after years on the slavery question. Members of this religious society originated and fostered the Underground Railway, an association having for its object the aiding of runaway slaves, and they gave every possible assistance to runaways from the South. The Quakers were also the strongest supporters of the Abolition party, which existed before the Civil War.*

*In October, 1774, the colonists, when united to oppose British oppression, turned their thoughts to the unfortunate negro slaves and signed an agreement that they would "not 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." The prohibition in slave importation was not legally imposed until the act of March, 1807, became operative. This law proving ineffectual on account of the ease and success of slave smuggling, an act was passed by Congress, in 1820, which imposed the death penalty upon all who were proved to be engaged in the slave trade. In 1842 the United States entered into a treaty with Great Britain to keep a sufficient naval force on the slave coast to effectually aid in the suppression of the slave trade. In order to escape detection, it was a common practice for the slaver to drown his black cargo when chased by the naval authorities. One case is recorded where 600 negroes were thus disposed of.

The struggles in Congress over slavery began with the Missouri Compromise law, in 1820. The formation of anti-slavery societies and a general agitation in the North began in Jackson's administration, about

A cautious disapproval of slavery by the Quakers of New Jersey and Pennsylvania is seen in the action of the Yearly Meeting in 1716. The minutes of that meeting say that out of consideration for those Friends whose consciences make them opposed to slavery "it is desired that Friends generally do as much as may be to avoid buying such negroes as shall be hereafter brought in, rather than offend any Friends who are against it; * * * * * yet this is only caution, not censure."*

The extent of the African slave trade in New Jersey is unknown, but it is estimated that the number of blacks brought from Africa to all of the American colonies before the Revolution equalled nine millions, and one German historian (Hune) considers these figures too small. Mr. George Bancroft, American historian, on the other hand, says the number of importations was about three millions, to say nothing of the 250,000 thrown into the sea. He estimates that the profits of the English merchants in this trade were not far from four hundred million dollars. Bancroft draws a sad word-picture of the miseries endured by the negroes on the voyage from Africa. Often 500 were stored in vessels of not over 200 tons burden. They were generally chained in pairs by the ankle, and below decks, when sleeping, each was allowed a space of only six feet by sixteen inches. For exercise they were made to dance and caper on deck to the tune of the whip. The hardships of the voyage resulted in a death-rate never less than 12 and often as high as 50 per cent. before reaching America. Sailing masters, we are told, on approaching a slaver at sea, made it a rule, when possible, to keep to the windward, to avoid the horrible odors that came from the open port

1830; and the Kansas-Nebraska law of 1854 brought the anti-slavery feeling to a focus. The election of Lincoln, in 1860, led the South to declare for secession, and as a result of the war, President Lincoln issued his famous Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution in 1868 and 1870 finally ended the slavery evil in America.

*Woodbridge and Vicinity, p. 73, by J. W. Dally.

holes and hatches of these ships, laden with human cargoes. The ingenuity of man, eager to torture his fellow beings, could not have planned a more complete hell on earth than a crowded slave ship on a protracted voyage.*

*The sole survivor of the last vessel to bring a cargo of slaves to the United States was living in the pines, near Egg Harbor City, Atlantic county, in 1888. Nearly 70 years of age, with no idea of the moral questions involved in the trade, maintaining that "niggers" were as good a cargo to run as sugar or cotton, the old man told many stories of a life lived with the wildest and most adventurous class of the seafarers of fifty years ago. As a slaver, this old fellow would argue, he got his \$30 a month; while on a "Quaker ship," where the captain read prayers on a Sunday, he would get \$14 and hard knocks. For his part he preferred the risk of hanging and his \$30.

This is the story of old Obed Hicks, as taken down by the writer in 1888: "In May, 1858, I was in New York. I had come off a cruise and was paid off at Matanzas, so I had plenty of money, which, like most sailors, I fairly chucked through the hawse-hole and soon found myself hard up. One day I was going down Broadway and was hailed by an old captain of mine, named Corrie. I had made three voyages with him in a brig called the Dart, owned in Philadelphia by a firm that didn't see any harm in slaving. The captain asked me what I was doing and I said 'No good.' 'All right,' he answered, 'come with me and I will give you a lift.'

"So we went down to the Battery and took a boat there. The moment I saw the men in her I knew what was up. They were Spaniards, and I knew one of them. We were pulled across the river to the Long Island shore.

"We had six men in the crew, all Spaniards but one. In a few days we were boarded by a lot of revenue men and the vessel was seized, but it was soon set right, and by June 25 we lay off the Moro at Havana, and now work was rushed on the schooner. Her hold was cleaned out, everything was knocked away to make room, and when we left Cuba the decks were full, fore and aft, with water casks. A slaver has to carry as much water as a man-o'-war, for if it gives out the niggers die like sheep; they can't go three days without it. The Wanderer was a goer and when we struck the Trades she just sailed herself, and we had nothing to do but eat and growl. We got into the Bight of Benin, I think, August 10, 1858, and at once went up old Calabar River. A Portuguese named Fontana, who looked like a Madagascar monkey, had a barricoon there and he was to find us our cargo.

"There was a Spanish vessel from Porto Rico, commanded by a big, double-jointed, man-eating Yankee, named Briggs, and he was to be despatched first. Slaves were scarce, and everything went slow, and then Briggs and the old Portuguese were always squabbling, but finally he got 420 niggers aboard, with gratings on hatches and everything ship-shape. Then the Yankee and Fontana had a final row, which ended in Briggs grabbing Fontana by the neck and fairly firing him over the spanker gaff into the river. In a minute the sharks had him, and that was the last of the Portuguese. Of course, there's no law on that coast,

WHITE BONDAGE IN NEW JERSEY.

The system of white bondage, known as redemptive servitude, existed throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and to some extent during the early part of the nineteenth century. The redemptioners were largely per-

but the Yankee paid for it. Some of Fontana's friends gave information to an English corvette that lay outside, and when Briggs sailed they signalled the man-o'-war from shore, and the Yankee and his vessel were taken.

"The heat was awful, and the land breeze smelt like bilge water; and we lost two of our crew from fever. We had to stay there a month waiting for a caravan from the interior, but at last it came, and we took aboard 270 blackbirds, for whom we paid from thirty to fifty dollars apiece. They were all young and healthy, and it took some crowding to get them aboard a 250-ton craft. We hurried to get away, and at night were safely out of the river and by daylight out of sight of land, and no cruisers to be seen. The Yankee frigate Cumberland was on the coast, but she could not catch a bumboat, such a tub as she was.

"Now our work began. Captain Corrie had a plantation in Georgia with slaves of his own and knew how to handle his cargo. There were about sixty women and children and these were kept on deck all day and made to wash themselves. The men were taken out of hold four hours at a time, being divided into four gangs, so that only seventeen died on the voyage. Half of them committed suicide by doubling their tongues back into their throats. This was the smallest loss I ever saw in a slaver. I have seen twenty-eight thrown overboard in a day. We had fine weather and by November 9 were in sight of the Cuba mountains. We came off to Matanzas and signalled and three men came off to us. One was named Lamar and another Elliott. These were the owners. We lay here under the lee of an island four or five days and then made our course north.

"It was intended to make a landing on the Florida coast, but there was a revenue vessel off there, so we made for the coast of Georgia. Here we dodged around until the 18th, and then ran into St. Andrew Sound and anchored about a hundred yards from land. It was just getting dark when three barges came alongside and inside of an hour we had a clean ship. Where the negroes went to, I don't know.

"Next morning I and a man named Brown were paid off and the Spanish crew kept on the vessel. We got ashore, and after dodging around in the swamps, came to Savannah. I heard some talk of the Wanderer and got a passage North as soon as I could, but Brown and some of the Spaniards were taken and their ship was seized, but it didn't amount to anything."

Those who were engaged in the enterprise lost heavily. Planters would not buy the negroes, as they could get no lawful title to them and they were eventually given to anyone who would keep them. The Wanderer was fitted up as a privateer by some of the Florida Confederates during the Civil war and sailed for Galveston, but ended her eventful career on one of the Florida reefs, being caught in a norther and driven ashore.

sons, who, to reimburse the owners and masters of the ships for their passage and provender across the Atlantic, agreed that their services should be sold for a stipulated number of years. This form of bondage was usually voluntary and the time of servitude was fixed, seldom exceeding seven years, except in the case of very young persons. At the end of their terms these voluntary redemptioners were merged into the mass of white population, without any special taint of servitude. Harsh and disagreeable as it may seem in this age, the system gave to the colonists great numbers of energetic and thrifty settlers, who, by reason of their poverty, otherwise never could have come to America.

The English, rather than the Swedes or the Dutch, who preceded them, introduced the system of redemptive servitude in the colonies along the Delaware and Hudson. By a bloodless conquest in October, 1664, New Sweden (Pennsylvania, West Jersey and Delaware) came under the rule of Great Britain, and in a few years the business of introducing redemptioners began.

True, a white slave, called "Anthony," was brought to the Delaware shore from Sweden on the sloop Griffin in 1637, and remained in the colony as a bondsman. He served Governor Printz at his capacious mansion and spacious orchards on Tinicum Island, in the Delaware, making hay for the cattle and accompanying the Governor on his pleasure yacht.

"Anthony" was living as late as March 1, 1648, and probably remained there until the fort and lands of the Swedes were surrendered to the Dutch, as we read, "for want of men and ammunition," in 1655. In this conflict between the Swedes and Dutch, ammunition was an entirely superfluous article, the so-called battle being decided in this wise: Taking it for granted that the most numerous party would conquer, if they fought, they also took the fighting for granted, and solved the problem of victory by an equation of noses. It was found that the Dutch noses largely outnumbered those of the Swedes, and accordingly the standard of

Holland waved in bloodless triumph over the ramparts of Tinicum. Nine years thereafter the flag of England superseded that of Holland.

Of the first white laborers or bond servants in New Jersey there were three classes: 1. Those who were brought here under indenture to serve a period of years, usually four to seven, to pay the cost of their passage. 2. Criminals, vagabonds and other obnoxious persons transported by order of the English courts, subsequent to 1618. 3. Kidnapped persons, usually children, stolen in the streets of London and Liverpool and sold by the ship captains to such planters as would pay the cost of their passage. From these three sources many people came to New Jersey and the other colonies.*

The importation into the colonies of negro slaves, who were found to be cheaper than white servants, checked in a measure the trade in redemptioners. The rivalry was between the blacks and the whites, and the blacks won. In this there is an analogy to that process by which negro slavery supplanted Indian slavery in the West Indies. The abuses connected with Indian slavery in the West Indies touched the conscience of the people, and negroes, who could better stand slavery, were introduced. The abuses connected with white servitude in New Jersey and the other continental colonies finally touched the hearts of the British people, and again the negro was called on to bear the bur-

*The demand for servants before the rise of slavery was always very great in the American colonies. It was the impossibility of supplying this by the regular means that furnished the justification professed in the English penal statutes and gave encouragement to the illicit practice of "spiriting." In the early years, before these means were resorted to, dealing in servants had become a very profitable business. The London merchants were not slow to see the advantages of such a trade; a servant might be transported at a cost of from six pounds to eight pounds and sold for forty pounds or sixty pounds, and a systematic speculation in servants was begun both in England and some of the colonies. Regular agencies were established, and servants might be had by anyone who wished to import them "at a day's warning." Others were consigned to merchants in the colonies or sent with shiploads of goods on a venture.

den of necessary labor. True, this was the case in greater degree in Virginia and other southern colonies, but here in New Jersey, as elsewhere, it was a case of the survival of the fittest, and eventually white servitude went down before the black man's superior endurance.*

Truth compels us to say that England, during the redemptive period, used America as a dumping ground for its human offal. In 1769, Dr. Samuel Johnson, speaking of Americans, said to a friend: "Sir, they are a race of convicts and ought to be content with anything we may allow them, short of hanging."†

*One hundred poor boys and girls, who were about to starve in the streets of London, were sent to Virginia in 1619, to be bound to the public land tenants for a term of years, at the end of which they were to become themselves tenants-at-halves, with an allowance of stock and corn to begin with. Industrial apprenticeship was also authorized, the object being to encourage trade and to stop the excessive planting of tobacco in the colony. The term was usually limited to seven years, or in the case of girls, upon marriage or becoming of age.

It is a significant fact that the first negroes were brought to Virginia in 1619, the same year in which the principles of indentured servitude were developed, and yet forty years later there were but 300 negroes in that colony. From 1664 to 1671, several shiploads of negroes were brought in, and in the latter year there were 2,000 black slaves and 6,000 white servants in Virginia. By 1683 the number of servants was nearly 12,000, while the negroes numbered only 3,000. But from this time servitude gave way before slavery forced on the colonies by the Royal African Company, at the head of which was King Charles II and his brother James, the Duke of York, who sought to hasten the adoption of slavery by cutting off the supply of indentured servants.—White Servitude in the Colony of Va., p. 91.

In the Pennsylvania Gazette of May 28, 1761, we find this advertisement: "Just imported from Barbados, in the ship William and Mary, George Nicholson, master, and now lodged at Daniel Cooper's ferry on New Jersey shore, a negro man and two negro boys, who are to be sold by Willing, Morris & Co.; the purchaser to pay the duty imposed by act of the Assembly, if brought into this Province." A few months later this firm advertised 170 negroes "fresh from the gold coast." The Willing here mentioned was Thomas Willing, Mayor of Philadelphia and first president of the Bank of the United States. The Morris was none other than Robert Morris, the great financier of the Revolution.

The following advertisement appeared in the Pennsylvania Journal of August 6, 1761: "To be sold, on board the schooner Hannah, lying in the river Delaware, very near Daniel Cooper's ferry, West New Jersey, opposite Philadelphia, a cargo of likely negroes, just imported in said schooner from the coast of Guinea. For terms of sale, apply to Thomas Riche, David Franks or Daniel Rundle."

†Boswell's Johnson, II, 312.

In the latest edition of Boswell, who chronicled this saying, it is explained by the following foot note: "Convicts were sent to nine of the American settlements. According to one estimate, about 2,000 had been sent for many years annually. Dr. Lang, after comparing various estimates, concludes that the number sent might be about 50,000 altogether."

These English views of America, in the period of penal settlements, move indignation in the breast of an ardent American, for whom Massachusetts stands as a colony of conscience; New Jersey and Pennsylvania as an asylum for martyrs, and Virginia as the dominion of high-bred cavaliers. But a student who would nothing extenuate nor set down aught in malice is bound to ascertain how far the convict element really pervaded the nine plantations, Massachusetts on the North, New Jersey midway and Virginia on the South. In his search for information he will get little help from our standard histories. Bancroft, in 1887, said to James Davie Butler,* that in speaking of felons among the settlers, he had been very economical in dispensing the truths he had discovered. This historian, we feel sure, wrote too early to expect that American eyes could bear the light of full disclosure.

A large class, and probably a majority, of the convicts shipped to America during the colonial period, were other than political offenders. In 1670, cattle killers and burners of corn-stacks became liable, either to death or transportation to the plantations. The provincial authorities of Virginia, the same year, passed the notable act prohibiting the importation of convicts; but this, like other acts of a similar aim in all the colonies, was overruled and nullified by orders from the king to his provincial officers. For other reasons also this prohibition did not prohibit. Planters needed laborers, and welcomed a supply from whatever quarter. Negroes were brought from Guinea, and kidnapped per-

*American Historical Register, Vol. 2, p. 12.

sons from the British Islands; also those who had sold themselves to obtain a passage to America, or convicts who had been sold by sheriffs to shipmasters.*

The Gentlemen's Magazine of that period furnishes a particular record of criminals shipped to New Jersey or the other colonies. From this source we learn that William Duell had been hung at Tyburn on November 24, 1739, but when laid out for dissection came to life. He was shipped to America on the following February 10th.

On September 18, 1751, Philip Gibson, who had been condemned to death for a street robbery, would not accept the offer of fourteen years' transportation and insisted on his former sentence, which was that he should be hanged. After the Court had argued with him for some time, he was induced to consider the commutation till the next sessions, and on October 21 he accepted the lighter sentence and was shipped to the colonies. On September 19, 1750, one Escote, a tobacconist, for buying 40,000 pounds of tobacco at sixpence a pound, was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation—a rather severe punishment for receiving stolen goods. No "Jersey Justice" ever equalled that.

*When Cromwell had conquered Ireland, says Walpole in his "Kingdom of Ireland," the Irish officers sought safety on the continent, while the rank and file were pressed to enlist in foreign service. "As many as 34,000 men were thus hurried into exile. Widows and orphans the government shipped wholesale to the West Indies—the boys for slaves, the women and girls for mistresses to the English sugar-planters. The merchants of Bristol—slave dealers as far back as the days of Richard Strongbow, in the twelfth century—sent their agents over to Ireland to hunt down and ensnare the wretched people. Orders were given on the governors of jails and work-houses for boys who were of an age to labor and women who were marriageable."

The words "West Indies" in the foregoing excerpt probably mean the best American market, no matter where. "A curious chapter might be written on the word 'Indies' and the historic mistakes which have resulted from misapprehensions of the geographical term," says the American Historical Register. In 1652, Peter Heylyn, a standard English cosmographer, printed in his folio concerning the Western Hemisphere these words: "It is sometimes called the New World. Its most usual, yet somewhat improper name, is America. The most improper name of all, and yet not much less used than that of America, is the West Indies." The English Historical Register for 1715, and long afterward, in its record of current events, constantly sets down, under the heading "West Indies," news from Virginia, and even New York and Boston.

Under the date of May 31, 1747, we read that 430 rebel prisoners from the jails of Lancaster, Carlisle, Chester, York and Lincoln, were transported in one month from Liverpool to the plantations. Eight of these were drowned by a boat upsetting, the men being handcuffed and therefore unable to swim. "This number, with the rest," says the record, "makes above a thousand rebels transported this year."

Again, under date of February 10, 1767, we read that "Fourteen transports from Durham, Newcastle and Morpeth were put on board the 'Jenny,' Captain Blagdon, at which time ten young artificers also shipped *themselves* for America, paying for passage by selling themselves into bondage." The same publication adds: "One of these indentured servants has enlisted into 46 regiments, been whipped out of 19, sentenced to be shot 6 times, been confined in 73 jails, appeared under the character of a quack doctor in 7 kingdoms, and now is only in the 32d year of his age."

The statute of 1718—to which I shall presently refer—thanks to which so many Englishmen left their country for their country's good, was not extended to Scotland until half a century afterward, or in 1768. Dr. Franklin describes himself as protesting to the British Parliament against this extension. The old law, Franklin said, had been a great grievance, but if English felons were to be reinforced by Scotch, the burden would become intolerable. At all events, he claimed reciprocity. If Scotland *must* send her felons to the plantations, let the plantations send *their* felons to Scotland. This statesman and philosopher considered the emptying of English jails upon the colonies the most cruel insult ever offered by one nation to another.*

*Benjamin Franklin had many ways of "turning a penny," and one of these was the traffic in slaves and redemptioners, as the columns of his newspaper, the "Pennsylvania Gazette," bear witness. He would occasionally purchase the time of redemptioners and then advertise the same for sale in his paper. Some of his advertisements are as follows:

"A likely servant lad's time to be disposed of. He is fit for country or town business; has four years to serve, and has been in the country a year and a half. Enquire of the printer."

The *names* of felons transported are seldom mentioned in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, excepting when they returned and were sentenced to be hanged. In such cases the names

"To be sold—a likely servant woman, having three years and a half to serve. She is a good spinner."

"A likely young woman's time to be disposed of; about eighteen years of age, fit for town or country business, and can handle a needle well."

"To be sold—a likely Dutch servant girl, about thirteen years of age, and has five years to serve."

Though there was at that time a positive sentiment in Philadelphia against the buying and selling of human beings, Franklin was not averse to profiting by that sort of traffic, and he made many a venture in the purchase and sale of negroes, his newspaper informing the public that—

"A likely young negro wench, who is a good cook, and can wash well, is to be disposed of. Enquire of the printer."

"To be sold—a likely mulatto girl, aged about 16 years; has had the smallpox; is fit for either town or country; to be disposed of very reasonable. Enquire of the printer hereof."

"To be sold—a likely negro woman, with a man-child, fit for town or country business."

"To be sold—a lusty young negro woman, fit for country business. She has had the smallpox and measles. Enquire of the printer hereof."

"To be sold—a prime able young negro man, fit for laborious work in town or country, that has had the smallpox. Also a middle aged negro man, that has likewise had the smallpox. Enquire of the printer hereof; or otherwise, they will be exposed to sale by public vendue on Saturday, the 11th of April next, at 12 o'clock, at the Indian King, in Market street."

Some of these slaves Franklin procured from New England, where there was a steadily diminishing demand for them. Not all of his ventures in slaves were profitable, since of one purchase of husband and wife Franklin wrote to his mother: "We conclude to sell them both the first good opportunity, for we do not like negro servants," with a result that "we got again about half what we lost." In spite of this prejudice against negroes, Franklin took with him two negro servants to England on his second visit, with slight benefit, for one who "was of little use, and often in mischief," ran off within a year, and the other behaved only "as well as I could expect in a country where there are many occasions of spoiling servants, if they are ever so good." "He has as few faults as most of them," the philosopher adds, "and I see with only one eye and hear only with one ear; so we run on pretty comfortably."

Franklin, as he grew older, changed his views on slavery, and finally became strongly opposed to the whole system. When the initial abolition society in America was formed he became its president, and his name was signed to the first petition to Congress for the abolition of the slave-trade—an act which resulted in his being personally vituperated on the floor of that body less than a month before his death. The debate on this petition drew from him the last public paper he ever penned, in which he very cleverly used all the arguments of his opponents, who upheld slavery, as reasons for the suppression of the system.

are preserved and are accessible by American genealogists who go abroad to trace their ancestry. Daniel Webster, it was, who said before a New England society in 1845, "Men who are regardless of their ancestors are apt to be regardless of themselves." But who of us will impute a lack of pride in ancestry to him who follows his string back to the time we are now considering, only to find that string waxed and looped at the end?

Orders from the Privy Council or from judges, and even inferior magistrates, sent felons into the American colonies as early as 1618; but nothing tended so powerfully to bring about such deportations as a statute of 1718—one hundred years after the first recorded case. This act provided that persons convicted of clergyable offences, such as burglary, robbery, perjury, forgery and theft, after being sentenced to death, might, if their crimes did not seem too heinous, "at the discretion of the Court, be transported to America for at least seven years," remaining punishable with death without further trial if they should return before the expiration of their sentence. A reason assigned for this enactment was the great want of servants who might be the means of improving the colonial plantations and making them more useful to his Majesty, King George I.

Not all of the redemptioners, however, were deported criminals and soldiers, kidnapped or "spirited" women and children, artizans and farmers, or people of lowly birth. Some belonged to an entirely different class of people.*

*The practice of "spiriting" grew up in the reign of Charles I. and continued throughout the Commonwealth period and the reign of Charles II. It was an organized system of kidnapping persons, young and old, usually of the laboring classes, and transporting them to the plantations to be sold for the benefit of the kidnapper or shipmaster to whom they were assigned. It became widely extended in England, but Bristol and London were the centers of the traffic. Throughout London and the parishes of Middlesex county, we are told, its agents, called "spirits," were distributed—men and women, yeomen, tradesmen, doctors and a class of rogues and idlers who earned a livelihood by this means. The ladies of the court, and even the Mayor of Bristol, were not above the suspicion of profiting by this lucrative business. All manner of pretenses were used to decoy the victims aboard ships lying in the Thames or to places where they could be assaulted and forcibly conveyed on board, to be disposed of to the ship's company or to merchants. The story of "Jack Ballister's Fortunes," by Howard Pyle, pub-

In the burial ground of the old brick meeting house at Calvert, Chester county, Pa., is the grave of a woman of gentle birth, who voluntarily became a redemptioner, and whose career offers a theme for the novelist quite as tempting as that with which Paul Leicester Ford has invested the redemptioner, John Brereton, soldier-lover of Janice Meredith. Elizabeth Maxwell was an English maiden, born in the opening year of the eighteenth century. Her mother and uncle, the latter being none other than Daniel Defoe, the great author, frowned upon the attentions of a young man in London; and angered by their treatment, she left her home secretly and took passage for America. Having no money with which to pay her passage, she agreed with the captain of the ship to be sold as a redemptioner on reaching America. Accordingly, in the fall of 1718, she, being then eighteen years old, was sold at Philadelphia to Andrew Job, of Calvert, Pa. While living at the home of her owner, she was wooed and won by Thomas Job, a relative of Andrew. After their marriage, she wrote to her relatives in London, telling them of her circumstances and surroundings. Her uncle, Daniel Defoe, replied that her mother had died and left property to her by will. A list of the articles came with the letter, and Defoe was desirous that she should take special care of those articles which he had used in his library, as they had descended to the family from their Flemish ancestors, who sought refuge under the banner of Queen Elizabeth from the tyranny of Philip of Spain, about 1560. Among the goods were two chairs, which are still in the keeping of Elizabeth Maxwell Job's descendants, in Pennsylvania. This niece of the great Defoe, this redemptioner of gentle birth, lived happily at Calvert until her death in 1782.*

lished in the St. Nicholas Magazine in 1894-5, describes the kidnapping of two fictitious persons, Jack Ballister and Lawyer Burton. They were assaulted and shipped from Southampton about 1718. In 1664 the abuse had grown so bad that tumults were frequently raised in the streets of London. It was only necessary to point the finger at a woman, and call her a "common spirit," to raise a "ryot" against her.

*"Rambles in Colonial By-Ways," by Rufus Rockwell Wilson, Vol. II, pp. 101-2.

Many servants were of better origin and education than the generality of freemen, and were frequently employed in such responsible positions as teachers. Many ministers were imported on conditions almost parallel with those of indentured servants. Col. William Preston, of Smithville, Va., bought at Williamsburg, about 1776, a gentleman named Palfrenan as a teacher for his family. He was a poet and scholar, a correspondent and a friend of the celebrated authoress, Elizabeth Carter, and also of Dr. Samuel Johnson. This man educated many of the Prestons and Breckenridges in Virginia. The distinguished William C. Preston, of South Carolina, was one of his pupils.*

Another redemptioner of high degree was a lawyer and political offender named Henry Justice, who was deported to Virginia in 1736 for stealing out of the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, a bible and prayer book, valued at 25 pounds; a book on horsemanship, valued at 10 pounds, besides several other books and tracts. The transatlantic career of this purloiner of bibles and prayer books has not yet been ascertained, but there is a possibility that he became the instructor of Washington in his boyhood. Jonathan Boucher, rector at Annapolis for many years before the Revolution, and tutor to Washington's step-son, Parke Custis, and who, in 1773, lamented that two-thirds of the Maryland schoolmasters were convicts, relates that George Washington, with whom he claimed very particular intimacy and friendship, "had no other education than reading, writing

*Intermarriage of free persons and servants was very common. Masters sometimes bought female servants for their wives, and it was not uncommon for men servants to marry into their master's families when they gained their freedom. One writer in Virginia—Bullock, in 1649—advises English fathers to send their daughters to Virginia rather than their sons, and promises that they "will receive instead of give portions for them." "Maid servants," he says, "of good, honest stock, may choose their husbands out of the better sort of people. Have sent over many, but never could keep one at my plantation three months, except a poor filly wench made fit to foille to set of beauty, and yet a poor young fellow served twelve months for her." He tells men servants how they may prosper by their service and lay up a competence "and then if he looks to God, he may see himself fit to wed a good man's daughter."—*White Servitude in the Colony of Virginia*.

and accounts, which he was taught by a convict servant whom his father had bought for a school-master." "Not a ship arrives," adds Boucher, "with either redemptioners or convicts, in which schoolmasters are not as regularly advertised for sale as weavers, tailors, or any other trade; with little other difference that I can hear of, except perhaps that the schoolmasters do not usually fetch so good a price as the weavers and tailors."*

*The London Magazine furnishes the following account—much abridged—of the trial of Henry Justice, lawyer and possible tutor of Washington, in his boyhood:

"Sat., May 3, 1736, came on * * * * the trial of Henry Justice, of the Middle Temple, for stealing out of the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, a Field's Bible with cuts and common prayer, value £25; Newcastle's Horsemanship, value £10, several other books of great value, several tracts cut out of books, etc. * * * * The counsel of Mr. Justice were Mr. Winne, Mr. Agar and Mr. Robinson. (After many objections, pleading not guilty, he was proved so by witnesses; he then claimed to be a member of the Trinity corporation, etc., but the jury found him guilty of felony within benefit of clergy. He was then charged with stealing other books, and after six hours pleaded guilty.) Mond. 10, Mr. Justice, being brought to the Old Bailey to receive sentence, desired the court—Lord Hardwick, Mr. Justice Denton, etc.—that as they had a discretionary power either to transport or to burn in the hand, etc., he might not be sent abroad, which would, first, be a great injury to his children, and to his clients, with several of whom he had great concerns. Secondly, for the sake of the University. He had numbers of books belonging to them, some sent to Holland, and if he were transported he could not make restitution. As for himself, he would rather go abroad, having lived in credit before this unhappy mistake, as he called it. He hoped the gentlemen of the University, several of whom he believed to be present, would intercede for him.

The Deputy Recorder, in a very handsome speech, commiserated his case, telling him that his education, profession, etc., greatly aggravated his crime. After which he pronounced sentence, that he must be transported to some one of his Majesty's plantations in America—there to remain seven years—and be put to death if he returned," etc.

It will be observed that the particular colony to which this legal luminary was doomed is not mentioned. Possibly, however, it is not beyond discovery. Seven days afterwards, May 17, the Gentleman's Magazine chronicle is: "A hundred felons-convict walked from Newgate to Blackfryars, and thence went in a close lighter on board a ship at Blackwall. But Weathercock, the attorney; Messrs. Riffhead, Vaughn and Bird went to Blackwall in two hackney coaches, and Henry Justice, Esq., barrister-at-law, in another, two hours after the walking felons, attended by Jonathan Forward, Esq. These five gentlemen of distinction were accommodated with the captain's cabin, which they stored with provisions, etc., for their voyage and travels."—*American Historical Register*.

The early records contain many references to these servitors or redemptioners fleeing from their masters, who were thereupon required to advertise them or be liable for their maintenance wherever captured. Some of these advertisements, as we find them in the files of the old newspapers of that day, are interesting reading. The curious garb worn by the runaways—relics of finery, sometimes indicating their gentle birth; the references to branding, showing the prevalence of that barbarous custom as a punishment for crime; the peculiar descriptions of some of the servants; the “leering down look,” “the proud, hambling gait,” “he walks crimplin,” “he’s so prodigious a liar that if observed he may be easily discovered by it,” “he has a long nose and a wild look,” “he goes crooked and groans very much in his sleep,” “he speaks by clusters,” “he talks West Country,” etc.—these throw a flood of light on the condition of the toiling masses in those days.

Sometimes a man would come into this country free and become a servitor through misfortune. Thus we find Francis Smith, of Burlington, advertising in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, in 1739, for the recovery of a runaway “West Country servant man, named John Wood, aged 40 years. He has worked in and about London, has been in this country about ten or eleven years, has worked in Chester and Philadelphia counties and in New Jersey. He says he came in free, but falling into bad company was brought into trouble and so became a servant.”*

*A few advertisements, copied from the newspapers of that day, will illustrate the manner of advertising these runaway servants, and will give us an insight into a custom which was maintained in New Jersey for so many years:

From the American Weekly Mercury, July 11-18, 1728.

Run away the 8th of July, from William Reed, of Great Egg Harbour, a servant man named Lawrence Conor, an Irish Man of a short Stature, aged about 26 Years of a homely complexion and down Look, his Hair Cut off, a black Beaver Hat, a Brown Duroy Coat Jacket and Breeches of Duroy trimmed with Black, with Silk Puffs to the Breeches, one of the Puffs being out, moss coloured yarn Stockings, a Pair of Wooden heel'd Shoes, a pair of double barr'd Silver Shoe Buckles, a

pair of Women's Silver Buckles, took away with him a large Dark Brown Mare, with a Star in her Forehead Branded on the Buttock with O. B., the Men's Buckles mark't with A. R., the Woman's Buckles mark't with A. A. Whosoever takes up and secures the said Servant so as his said Master may have him again, shall have Three Pounds Reward and reasonable Charges paid by William Reed.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, June 19-26, 1735.

Run away the 18th instant, from Thomas Ustick, of Second River in Newark, East Jersey, an Irish Servant Man named Owen Ward, about 23 Years of Age, a slender grown Man, with a large Scar on the left side of his Face under his Eye, and the forefinger of one of his Hands has lost the first Joint; professes to be Husbandman and Miner. Had on a Hat scallop'd round the Brim, a white Wig, and a blue checked cotton Shirt. He was taken up and imprison'd at Burlington, and after taken from thence he made his Escape. Whoever takes up and brings him to Thomas Dunning at the George Inn in Philadelphia or to his said Master, shall have Forty Shillings Reward and Reasonable Charges paid by Thomas Ustick or Thomas Dunning.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, June 7-14, 1739.

Run away on the 9th Inst., from Abraham Bryan, of Burlington County, in West New Jersey, an Irish Servant Man, belonging to John Macontish, named Edward Curry, aged about 26 Years, short and well set, thin visag'd, brown complexion'd, and has the Brogue of his Tongue. Had on when he went away, a pretty good Kersey Coat with Brass Buttons, a white flannel jacket lac'd down before, without Sleeves, old Leather Breeches, old yarn Stockings, old peeked toe'd Shoes, and a pretty good Felt Hat. He served a time in Chester County, and was some time in Chester Gaol. Whoever takes up the said Servant, and secures him either in Chester Gaol in Pennsylvania, or the Work-House in Philadelphia shall have Twenty Shillings Reward and reasonable Charges paid by Abraham Bryan.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette of the same date.

Run away Yesterday Morning, from William Tateham, of Gloucester County, in West New Jersey, an Irish Servant Lad, named John Dolin, aged about 18 Years, short and well-set, round fac'd, freash coloured, black curl'd Hair, has the Brogue on his Tongue; Had on a brown homespun Coat, two Ozenbrigs Shirts and a fine one, two pair of ozenbrigs Trowßers, blue worsted Stockings, pecked toe'd Calf-skin Shoes, and a half-worn Felt Hat. He went in company with one Dennis M'glaugh (who is advertised and Forty Shillings Reward offer'd for taking him) in a small new light Wherry, painted red, belonging to John Ladd, jun. Whoever takes up and secures the said Servant and Wherry, so that they may be had again, shall have Forty Shillings Reward for the Servant and Ten Shillings for the Wherry, and the reasonable Charges paid by William Tateham and John Ladd, jun.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, March 1-8, 1739.

Run away on the 2d Inst. from John Burr, of Burlington County, an English Servant Man, named Isaac Tailor, (but will change his name) a lusty young red-fac'd, red-headed Fellow, with a crooked Fin-

These advertisements are found only in Boston, New York and Philadelphia newspapers, for the reason that up to about 1750 the only periodicals in the country were published in those three cities. Nor was their publication as regular as we would expect in these days. The printer's welfare was considered, rather than the public convenience. In the Pennsylvania Gazette of July 22 to August 22, 1736, we find this apology by Benjamin Franklin, then a young man who had established the Gazette in 1729: "The printer hopes the irregular publication of this paper will be excused a few times by his Town Readers, on consideration of his being at Burlington with the Press, laboring for the publick good, to make money more plentiful." This manner of "making money more plentiful," was by the issuing of forty thousand pounds of paper bills of credit by the Province of New Jersey, for the printing of which Franklin had received the contract at 160 pounds, although William Bradford, of the New York Gazette, had offered to do the work for 100 pounds. "Such," said the indignant Bradford in his paper, "is the effect of Party Faction and prejudice. But it's no matter; it's the country's money, and if the publick cannot afford to pay well, who can? It's proper to serve a Friend when there's an opportunity."

ger on his left Hand, small white Specks on his upper Fore Teeth, his right Shin very sore, speaks West Country. Had on when he went away a dirty Leather Jacket, no Hat, an ozenbrigs Shirt, old dirty Leather Breeches, black and white yarn Stockings, very large strong Shoes; he stole two very lightish colour'd kersey Coats with large Brass Buttons, without Lining; He was imported about two Years since into Virginia, afterwards put into Dover Gaol, and sold to one Richard Manwarring, from whom he run away and chang'd his Name, was put into Philadelphia Gaol, and sold to said John Burr; from whom he run away on Sunday Night the 25th of February past, chang'd his Name, was advertis'd and taken. He was taken up last Night, by two young Men, who attempting to bring him to his said Master, he stabb'd them both, which 'tis thought to one of them will be mortal. Whoever takes up and secures the said Servant in Irons, in any Gaol, so that he may be brought to Justice, shall have six Pounds Reward, and reasonable Charges paid by John Burr.

As the wealth and population of the colonies increased, the importation of redemptioners became a matter of business. A class of men speculated in these emigrants much the same as they would in cattle. They purchased them from the master of the vessel or from the merchants to whom they were consigned, and then drove them through the country, to be sold to willing purchasers at a considerable advance in price.

Those engaged in the business were stigmatized as soul-drivers by some people, and, forsooth, they were generally men without much soul or conscience. Nor were the masters of the vessels at all particular as to the character of those whom they imported for these soul-drivers. As has been shown, they brought into the colonies, in the character of redemptive servants, criminals purchased from the jails, and dissolute women from London and other large cities. In New Jersey there were, besides the criminals, representatives of the various strata of society—sons of good families, street waifs, soldiers of fortune, young girls fresh from farms, some in search of better homes and some seeking adventure or desiring to reform wayward lives.

The business as a whole became such an evil that statutes were passed, forbidding masters of vessels from landing convicts in the provinces. A violation of this law was punishable by fine and the penalty was extended to merchants who imported, sold or disposed of such convicts.

Finally, the business of importing and selling redemptioners, good, bad and indifferent, became somewhat precarious, many of the servants escaping from their owners while travelling through the country to find a market. About the year 1795 the trade was almost abandoned. It is related of a soul-driver named McCullough, who became noted in the trade, that he made several trips to Europe and gathered droves of redemptioners for the American market. On one occasion McCullough was outwitted by a man called "Terry," who was one of his herd of human chattels, and who contrived to be the last of the lot offered

for sale. "Terry" was Irish and McCullough was Irish, too. One night "Terry" and his master lodged at a tavern, the landlord of which was ignorant of the fact that one of the strangers was a redemptioner. In the morning the young Irishman arose early and contrived to sell his master to the landlord. Pocketing the money he casually informed the landlord that his new servant, still asleep in an upper room, although tolerably clever in other respects, was rather saucy and a little given to lying. In fact, he had presumption enough at times to endeavor to pass himself off as a freeman, and that possibly he might represent himself as such to his new owner! By the time the soul-driver was up and doing and the landlord undeceived, the son of Erin had gained such a start that pursuit was impossible.

About 1785, there was an improvement in the condition of the redemptioner, and in the terms of the contract. In the latter it was stipulated that the bond-servant should have sufficient meat, drink, lodging and apparel, and two freedom suits when the term of service expired. One of these freedom suits must be new or ten pounds currency might be given in its stead.*

In New Jersey, according to "Leaming and Spicer," no white servant, if sold or bound after seventeen years of age, could serve above four years. If under seventeen, he was free after reaching his majority. At the expiration of service, the master was obliged to supply the servant with two good suits of clothing, one good falling axe, one good hoe and seven bushels of Indian corn. If so abused by a master or mistress as to lose an eye or a tooth, the servant was to be immediately freed. Aiding or abetting in the escape of

*The first record of the transfer of a redemptioner, previous to the grant to Penn. was at a court held at Upland, now Chester, Pa., June 13, 1677, and this transfer is set forth in the quaint phraseology of the day:

"Mr. John Test brought in Court a certaine man servant named William Still, being a taylor by traede, whome hee the sd Test did acknowledge to have sold unto Cap'n Edmund Cantwell for the space and tearme of foure yeares, beginning from the first of April Last past: The sd William Still declared in Court to bee willing to serve the said Cap'n Cantwell the aboved tearmes of foure yeares."

a redemptioner from his master was a statutory offense, punishable with a fine and damages for loss of services.*

Twenty pounds or more was the price at this time for which a redemptioner usually sold, whether man or woman, and whether the time of service was long or short. Children brought eight to ten pounds. In Pennsylvania, should the man-servant serve faithfully and well for four†

*In but few cases did the court permit servants' offenses to be punished by fine; the usual penalty was whipping or additional servitude to the master or to the colony. In Virginia, in 1640, a number of servants, for conspiracy "to run out of the colony and enticing divers others to be actors in the same conspiracy," were sentenced to be severely whipped and to serve the colony for a period of seven years in irons. Samuel Powell, for purloining a pair of breeches and other things from the house of Captain John Howe, deceased, was sentenced to "pay fflower dayes work to Elias Taylor with all charges of the court and the sheriff's fees, and to sit in the stockes on the next Sabbath day, with a rebell in his hatt, from the beginning of morninge prayer until the end of the sermon, with a pair of breeches about his neck."

A case which must be regarded as very exceptional occurred in Virginia in 1655. An apprentice complained that his master made him work on Sunday, and further misused him "by fastening a lock with a chain to it and tying and fettering him to the shoppe, and that said master, his wife and mother did most cruelly and inhumanly beat his said apprentice and also whipped him til he was very bloody and his flesh rawe over a great part of his body, and then salted him and held him naked to the fire, being so salted to add to his pain."

"More than anything else," says James Curtis Ballagh, in his monograph on white servitude in Virginia, "the habit on the part of servants themselves of absconding from their master's service, stealing their master's goods and enticing others to go with them, worked to the detriment of the masters. The courts attempted by the most severe punishments to put a stop to the practice. Whipping, additions of time, branding, and even servitude in irons, proved ineffectual. The possibility of entire escape from servitude or of service on better terms proved too great a temptation, and with an unruly class of servants such attempts became habitual. Statute after statute was passed by the colonies, regulating the punishment and providing for the pursuit and recapture of runaways; but although laws gradually became severer and finally made no distinction in treatment between runaway servants and slaves in some of the colonies, it was impossible to entirely put a stop to the habit so long as the system itself lasted."

†Several acts were passed by the Pennsylvania Legislature regulating the trade in redemptioners. By the act of 1700 the servant, at the expiration of the term of servitude, was to have two "complete suits of apparel, whereof one shall be new, and shall also be furnished with one new axe, one new grubbing hoe and one weeding hoe, at the charge of the master or mistress." This continued to be the law of Pennsylvania until the act of March 9, 1771, repealed so much of the law of 1700 as related to the furnishing of a new axe, a grubbing and a weeding hoe.

years, he was to have, besides two suits of clothes, a grubbing hoe, a weeding hoe and a new axe. For each day he absented himself from labor without his master's leave, five days were added to his service time, and if he married without permission, he was required to serve an additional year.*

Save so far as the laws hindered, ship-captains were free to do with their bondsmen as they pleased. They parted husband and wife and separated children from parents; nay, when the yellow fever was devastating Philadelphia, in 1793, one brutal captain shocked the people of Chester by sailing up the Delaware with a cargo of redemptioners, and seeking to sell them as nurses for the smallpox patients in Philadelphia.†

From more than one of this cargo of lowly redemptioners there has descended several generations of brave and honest people—stalwart sons of sturdy sires. What matters it if some of the sires were not so sturdy? “Honor and shame,” says Pope, “from no condition rise; act well *your* part, there all the honor lies.” It is no stain upon the gallant Custer, slaughtered with his band of 200 by the horde

*Registry of the Redemptioners, 1785-1817, in Pennsylvania Historical Society.

†The last sale of a redemptioner in the vicinity of Philadelphia was in 1811. Abraham Peters, of Lancaster county, was hauling grain to the mills on the Brandywine, near Wilmington, and was requested by his sister to buy a small German girl. The vessels then stopped at Chester, and after disposing of his grain Peters drove to Chester and purchased for \$25 an orphan girl named “Katy.” The mother had died at sea, leaving Katy and her sister to be disposed of as redemptioners. The master of the vessel wished to sell the two sisters to one person for \$40, but Mr. Peters declined to take more than one. He promised, however, to secure, if possible, a purchaser for the other girl at \$15. On his return home he met a Quaker gentleman and his wife, who wished to buy Katy. Peters would not sell, but told them of her sister, who could be bought for \$15, and accordingly the old Quaker and his wife went to Chester and purchased Katy's sister. Mr. Peters and the Quaker had previously exchanged addresses and promised to keep the two sisters in correspondence with each other. Both girls found good homes and frequently wrote to each other. They grew to womanhood, and Katy married a worthy German baker named Lutz in Philadelphia. She esteemed it a privilege to visit her former mistress, to whom she was ever thankful for the religious training received at her Lancaster county home.

of Sioux on the Big Horn in 1876, that his grandfather was a Hessian named Kuster, captured by Gates in 1777. Nor does it matter that the brave captain, James Lawrence, whose dying words, "Don't give up the Ship," became the watchword of the American Navy, and that other distinguished naval commander, William Bainbridge, both native-born Jerseymen—the one born at Burlington, the other at Princeton—nor does it matter, I say, that these two patriots were the sons of unpatriotic sires—men who made themselves obnoxious during the Revolution by their strong Tory proclivities. The hero of the "Chesapeake" was related to that branch of the Lawrence family of Monmouth county, who were ardent tories—two of them jailed for disloyalty, and a third, the last royal high sheriff of Monmouth county and colonel of the loyal "Volunteers," captured on Staten Island by Colonel Mathias Ogden in 1777.

Once in the hands of a new master, says the historian of New Jersey, Francis B. Lee,* "the life of the redemptioner was more distasteful than that of the slave. Some owners recognized that their tenure over the life and liberty of the redemptioner was brief and uncertain, and moved by selfish considerations, they cruelly overworked their bondmen. As a result, there was a time when the redemptioner often performed more degrading labor than the slave.

At the conclusion of their terms of service, the redemptioners, as has been stated, were mostly merged into the mass of white population without any special taint of servitude. A manuscript letter of Jonathan Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, dated 1722, says: "Many who have come over under covenants for four years are now masters of great estates." Watson, in his "Annals of Philadelphia," writing in 1842, says, "I have knowledge of two or three among us, even within my memory, who rose to riches and credit here and have left fine families. One great man, before my time, had been sold in Maryland as an offender from

*"New Jersey as a Colony and State," Vol. I, p. 201.

Ireland. While serving his master as a common servant, he showed much ability in managing for him an important lawsuit, for which he instantly gave him his freedom. He came to Philadelphia and amassed a great fortune in landed estate, now of great value among his heirs."*

The case of Lord Altham, who was enticed aboard a ship at Dublin by an inhuman uncle and sent to this country in 1728, when a lad of thirteen, and who served out his term of servitude as James Annesley with a farmer on the Lancaster road, forty miles from Philadelphia, is a curious and interesting recital. This true story furnished the ground work for the once-popular novel "Roderick Random." The Annesley family, to which this high-born redemptioner belonged, is the same from which the celebrated John Wesley was descended by his mother.

James Annesley was the son of Arthur Annesley (Lord Altham), who married Mary Sheffield, natural daughter of the Earl of Buckingham. The son was born in 1715, and the next year the parents disagreed and separated. The father, contrary to the wish of the mother, took possession of the child, and manifested much fondness for him until he formed an alliance with a Miss Gregory in 1722, at which time the mother died. The father was persuaded to place the boy at school in Dublin. Five years later, Lord Altham died and his brother Richard, wishing to possess the estate and title, proceeded to get rid of the boy. He had him enticed on board an American vessel which sailed from Dublin in April, 1728. This vessel reached Philadelphia, and the boy James Annesley (heir to the title and estates of Lord Altham) was sold as a redemptioner, being then but thirteen years old. He served twelve years, or until

*The general effects of white servitude were much the same in all the colonies, but the influence on internal development was more clearly marked in Maryland, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. In Pennsylvania the large number of German settlers who had been driven from home by religious or political persecution, became the most valued of citizens. Kahn, in his "Travels," says they sold themselves to learn the language or methods of agriculture.

1740, when a chance acquaintance led to his return home the following year. Two Irishmen, John and William Broders, travelling westward from Philadelphia on the Lancaster road in 1740, stopped at a house "near the forty milestone," where James Annesley was in service with an old German. These three men entered into conversation and found that all were from Dumaine, in the county of Wexford, Ireland, and that James Annesley was none other than the long lost son of Lord Altham. The two Broders volunteered to go back to Ireland and testify to their discovery in Pennsylvania. James Annesley stated his case to Robert Ellis, a Philadelphia lawyer, who procured for him a passage to Admiral Vernon, then in the West Indies, by whom he was afterward landed in London. Unfortunately, shortly after his arrival in London, James Annesley quarreled and in self defence killed a man, for which he had to stand trial. Notwithstanding the efforts of his unnatural uncle to have him convicted of deliberate murder, James was acquitted. Suit was then (1743) brought against the uncle to recover his father's estates, and the two Irishmen from Pennsylvania were present as witnesses. Judgment was given in favor of the redemptioner. The uncle, however, appealed to the House of Lords and while the case was pending, James Annesley died, leaving his uncle, a finished villain, in quiet possession of his ill-gotten estate and title.

Occasionally the positions of master and servant were reversed. The latter, on obtaining his freedom, would rent land and by dint of prudence and industry become in time a freeholder. His sons would marry the daughters of his former master, and there are families in New Jersey today, reputable and rich, whose ancestry goes back to the days of servitude, whose progenitors were bond-servants, whose inherited seal is the "L. S." on a bond of indenture and whose only coat of arms is an axe and grubbing hoe, a pick and a spade!

BEGINNING OF NEGRO SLAVERY IN NEW YORK.

[See pp. 5-8 of this Monograph.]

The first negro slaves brought to Manhattan Island were eleven in number. The date of their coming is fixed by an act of the Director and Council of New Netherland, passed February 25, 1644, which recites that Paul D'Angola and ten others, who had served the West India Company for eighteen or nineteen years, having petitioned to be liberated, the Director and Council had granted their request, on condition that their children then born should remain in bondage, and that they themselves should "pay for the freedom they receive, each man for himself annually, as long as he lives, to the West India Company or its deputy here, thirty skepels [barn baskets, each containing three pecks, or 22½ bushels in all] of Maize or Wheat Pease or Beans and one Fat Hog, valued at twenty guilders [\$8]."

In 1628, two years after the arrival of Paul D'Angola and his companions, three negro women slaves arrived, and from this small beginning began the slavery system which existed in New York until 1827.

In September, 1664, New Amsterdam was invaded by the English, to whom the province of New Netherland was surrendered. Peter Stuyvesant's register of events attending this attack says: "The English chased and overhauled a boat with negroes belonging to the Burgomasters of the city of Amsterdam, in Holland, but the negroes had fled with a Dutchman to the woods."

The West India Company passed severe criticism on the conduct of Stuyvesant in making so poor a defence of New Amsterdam. In his answer to the States-General, in 1666, Stuyvesant says, in accounting for the limited food supply, which was one of the causes of the surrender: "About fourteen to sixteen days before the arrival of the English frigates, there arrived and came in the ship Gideon, between 300 and 400 half-starved negroes and negresses, who alone, exclusive of the garrison, required 100 skepels [seventy-five bushels] of wheat per week."

Instead of the little plots of land along the east and west shores of the Hudson, which the Dutch permitted each slave to cultivate on his own account, the English gave them pious injunctions. Piety indeed reigned all through the English slave holding. As early as 1660 the English government gave these instructions to the Council for foreign plantations: "You are most especially to take an effectual care for the propogacon of the Gospell in the Severall Forraine Plantacons. * *

* And you are to consider how such of the Natives or such as are purchased by you from other parts to be servants or slaves may be best invited to the Christian Faith, and be made capable of being baptized thereunto."

There was a difficulty attending the conversion and baptism of slaves, however. The belief existed here, as elsewhere, that the conversion of a slave emancipated him, and this fact was a great hindrance to evangelization. Attorney-General York, of England, had said that negroes, being pagans, might be held in slavery. The British courts followed this opinion until 1772, when Lord Mansfield rendered his judgment, in the case of a negro named Somerset, that as soon as a negro set his foot on the soil of the British Islands, he became free. As late as 1817, when the last important act in regard to slavery was passed in New York, which substantially abolished slavery in that State after July 4, 1827, it was enacted that the marriage of slaves should be valid, "provided that nothing in this section contained shall be deemed or construed to manumit any such slave or slaves."