

Mutiny on the Slave Ships

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Mutiny on the Slave Ships

The excellent study of *American Negro Slave Revolts* by Herbert Aptheker is the most recent work to revise the carefully nurtured notion of the Negro's natural docility to slavery.¹ In his scholarly volume, however, Mr. Aptheker confines his attention to slave insurrections upon American soil. Yet, these outbreaks were but the second act in the tragic drama of the Negro's continuous struggle for freedom. The first act — the bloody uprising of the slaves on board the ships bringing them to America — is yet to be written. In the following pages an attempt will be made to portray some of the battles for freedom waged by Negroes on New England slave ships — battles which lay outside the scope of Mr. Aptheker's volume.

In the more than three hundred and fifty years of the slave trade to America, ships of every nationality participating in the traffic — Spanish, French, Dutch, Portuguese, English and American — were scenes of desperate attempts by the slaves to regain their liberty.²

Of the American ships involved in these insurrections those from New England suffered most. This is not surprising, for the Puritan colonies in the eighteenth century were the greatest slave-trading communities in America. From Boston, Salem, and Charlestowne in Massachusetts; from Newport, Providence and Bristol in Rhode Island; and from New London and Hartford, Connecticut, swift, sturdy ships took rum, bar iron, and trinkets to Africa. There the captains bartered their goods for Negroes whom they carried to the West Indies or to the plantation colonies of the South and sold for rum, molasses, sugar, cocoa, or bills of exchange. The molasses and sugar were brought to New England, distilled into rum, thence transported to Africa for more slaves. Thus developed the notorious triangular slave trade, with New England, Africa, and the West Indies as its chief focal points.

The profits from the slave trade were almost incredible. Seldom has there been a more lucrative commerce than the traffic in Negroes. In 1699, it was reported that ten shillings in English goods would buy a slave in Madagascar, and early in the eighteenth century the choicest West Coast slaves sold in America for £3 or £4. These slaves and others costing £5 in rum or bar iron³ were sold in the West Indies and in the plantation colonies at prices ranging from £30 to £88 sterling.⁵ In 1746, Joseph Manest of London made a profit of £11,200 on a cargo of slaves that cost £1800. With gross profits sometimes as high as sixteen hundred percent,⁶ the slave trade easily became the most lucrative commerce of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁷ Before the American Revolution

it was regarded as the mainstay of New England's prosperity.⁸

Puritan exploitation of this profitable commerce bred a wealthy merchant class whose names include some of the most prominent families in American history. George Cabot of Salem; Samuel and Cornelius Waldo, Andrew and Peter Fanueil of Boston; James Brown and his four sons of Providence; and George Champlin, William Ellery and Caleb Gardner of Newport were only a few of the well-known merchants whose fortunes rested upon the slave trade.⁹

Interested in obtaining the greatest possible returns from their slaving activities, these merchants contrived in every way to cut the overhead cost of slave voyages. Small ships, generally ranging between forty and sixty tons were found most practical for the trade. All of them were undermanned, with crews numbering from six to eighteen hands, including the captain and cabin boy. Cheating, kidnapping, and other sharp practices were freely indulged in.

Every possible precaution was taken to prevent the slaves from revolting. Slave ships were generously equipped with pistols, muskets, cutlasses, knives, and even cannon. Guards were posted at all times to insure against the crew's being taken by surprise. The vessels were also carefully searched to make sure that no pieces of iron, wood, or other weapons were within reach of the slaves.¹⁰ Merchants regularly instructed their captains to transact their business on the African Coast with the utmost dispatch, and to be constantly on the alert against slave insurrections which might reduce or even wipe out entirely the profits of the entire voyage.¹¹ The admonition of Samuel Waldo to Captain Samuel Rhodes, prior to the latter's sailing for Africa in 1734 is typical: "For your safety as well as mine," he wrote, "You'll have the needful guard over your Slaves, and put not too much Confidence in the Women nor Children lest they happen to be Instrumental to your being surprised which may be fatal."

In attempting to follow these instructions, the captain and crew of slave vessels made the existence of the blacks almost unbearable. In fact, the very measures taken to protect the profits of the merchants by preventing uprisings reacted to drive the Negroes into mutiny. Herded aboard ship, the slaves were crammed into the hot stuffy holds between decks. In these compartments only three feet, three inches high, it was impossible for the slaves to sit erect. Male slaves were chained together by twos; female slaves were unfettered but were separated from the men by partitions. To augment the carrying capacity of the ship, the Negroes were forced to lie spoon-fashion, each Negro fitting into the curve of the other's body. As the slaves lay naked on the rough planks, the rolling of the ship frequently rubbed the flesh off prominent parts of their bodies, leaving them writhing in "blood and mucous." When the hatches were closed

and battened down at night, or when storms or attack from hostile vessels made it necessary to close the gratings and air ports, many of the slaves died of suffocation. Food and water often ran low or even ran out, causing indescribable torment and sometimes death from thirst and hunger. Loathsome diseases — yaws, syphilis, fevers, ophthalmia, dropsy, seasickness, and the dreaded white and bloody fluxes — added to the misery and mortality of the slaves on the terrible Middle Passage. Sailors, making their daily rounds in the stinking holds, frequently unshackled dead slaves from the living and threw their bodies to the sharks that followed in the wake of the vessel.¹³

The terrible suffering of the Negroes on these vessels the Puritans justified on the high ground that slavery was an act of mercy by which the slaves could be brought to salvation.¹⁴ Unless the heathen were acquainted with the Gospel, eternal misery would be his lot in the after life.¹⁵ Therefore, any suffering that the slaves might experience either on the slave ship or in slavery was more than compensated for by their “fortunate delivery from a life of idolatry and savagery.” For this reason, a slave-trading Rhode Island elder could piously rejoice, as he beheld his slave vessel come into port, that “an overruling Providence had been pleased to bring to this land of freedom another cargo of benighted heathen to enjoy the blessings of a Gospel dispensation.”¹⁶

The reaction of the Negroes to their condition aboard the slave ships showed that they did not generally share the conviction of those who would lead them into salvation through slavery. Driven to desperation by their wretchedness, the slaves seized every opportunity to escape enslavement or to end their suffering. Many refused to eat and were sometimes forced to do so, after having their teeth broken or their lips seared by hot coals. Others committed suicide. But the most dramatic protests were the frenzied mass efforts of the Negroes to win their freedom through violence. Biding their time, they frequently rose up against their captors in determined attempts to kill the crew, seize the vessel, and return to Africa. In this bloody but circumscribed theatre of action, the revolting slaves were generally at a disadvantage. The crew, although outnumbered by the Negroes, was fully armed, organized, disciplined, and under authoritative leadership. The crew also had the advantage of strategic position for it controlled the decks and superstructure of the ship. On the other hand, the slaves were unorganized, undisciplined, and united only in their insatiable desire for liberty. They were unarmed, shackled and weakened by confinement. Pieces of iron, wood, and their chains were their only weapons. Moreover, in the event of an uprising, they could easily be dispatched by the gunfire of the crew as they climbed on deck. But these “bozal” or raw Negroes feared neither their captors nor death, and in spite of the slender possibilities of success, struck time and again in

maniacal fury for their freedom. Sometimes the slaves gained their objective. More frequently the firearms of the crew prevailed, and after desperate struggles the slaves were repulsed, but only after casualties had been inflicted on both sides.

Ships of all the slave trading communities of New England experienced these insurrections.¹⁷ Carroll tells of a successful slave insurrection aboard a New Hampshire vessel commanded by Captain John Majors of Portsmouth. The Negroes revolted, killed the entire crew and seized both the schooner and its cargo.¹⁸ On October 5, 1764, came a report from Charleston, South Carolina, telling of the death of Captain Millar of the ship, *Adventure*. When Millar and all but one of his crew died of illness off the coast of Africa, two white men assumed control of the ship. "While the vessel lay at anchor with her slaves," continued the report, "the natives came off, barbarously murdered the white men and plundered the whole cargo except for two slaves."¹⁹ In 1764, a Boston Court listened to a tale of mutiny, murder and Negro insurrection from William Preest of the slave ship, *Hope*, belonging to Messrs. Forseys of New London, Connecticut. Preest was charged with murdering his skipper, Captain Goold, as the *Hope* lay at anchor on the Senegal River in Africa. According to Preest's testimony, the chief mate then assumed command and later took on a cargo of slaves. En route from Africa to the West Indies, the Negroes mutinied. In the ensuing struggle two members of the crew and eight slaves were killed. The ship put into Porto Rico, where the Spanish authorities, charging that it was illicitly trading with their possessions, confiscated both vessel and slaves.²⁰ In the same year conflicting reports filtered into Connecticut concerning Captain Faggott, master of a brig owned by the Forseys of New London. One version said that Faggott had been killed when his slaves revolted at Goree off the Coast of Africa.²¹ According to the second report, the slaves freed themselves of their chains and attacked the ship at night, killing the captain and two members of the crew.²²

Because of the much larger slave trade of Massachusetts, insurrections on board her ships were more numerous. On January 28, 1731, an English newspaper reported that Captain Jump of the Massachusetts schooner, *William*, and all but three of his crew had been killed in a slave uprising off the coast of Africa.²³ Two years later (1733), Captain Moore of a Massachusetts slaver reported that at midnight on June 17, his ship was attacked by natives on the Gambia River. The battle, Moore related, lasted till dawn. When the wind and tide finally drove the ship close to the shore, the natives tried to board her, but were finally driven off after a hard fight during which one member of the crew was killed.²⁴ In 1761 slaves aboard the Boston ship, *Thomas*, commanded by Thomas Day, revolted, broke through the hatches and set upon the crew. Only after

the leader had been killed and others wounded was the insurrection put down.²⁵ A more celebrated case was that of the *Jolly Bachelor*, a slave ship belonging to Peter Fanueil, his brother-in-law, John Jones, and Captain Cutler of Boston. While taking on slaves in the Sierra Leone River in March 1742, the vessel, according to George Burchall, was attacked and captured by the natives. In the fight Captain Cutler and two of his men were killed. The Negroes stripped the vessel of its rigging and sails, freed the slaves in the hold, then abandoned the ship. One month later, Burchall and others refitted the vessel, appointed one Charles Wickham master and brought it into Newport. There the vessel was libelled and sold for £2924. Two-thirds of this amount went to the Fanueil and Jones families; one-third to Burchall.²⁶

In April, 1789, another uprising occurred aboard the schooner *Felicity*. Thirteen days out from Africa the slaves revolted, killed Captain William Fairfield and wounded several of the crew. Three of the slaves were killed. The captain's son, who, either during or after the struggle, scalded himself with hot chocolate, sent his mother the following report of the uprising:

Honour'd Parent: I take this Opportunity to write unto you to let you know of a very bad accident that Happen'd on our late passage from Cape Mount, on the Coast of Africa, bound to Cayenne. We sail'd from Cape Mount the 13th of March with 35 Slaves On bord; the 26th day of March the Slaves Rised upon us, at half past seven, my Sir father and all hands being Forehead [forward] Except the man at below and myself. Three of the Slaves took Possession of the Caben, and two upon the quarter Deck, them in the Caben took Possession of the fier Arms and them on the quarter Deck with the Ax and Cutlash and other Weapons, them in the Caben handed up Pistels to them on the quarter Deck. One of them fired and killed my honoured Sir and still we strove for to subdue them, and then we got on the quarter Deck and killed two of them. One that was in the Caben was Comeing out at the Caben Windows in order to get on Deck and we Discovered him and Knock'd him overboard. Two being in the Caben we confined the Caben Doors so that they should not kill us, then three men went forhead and got the three that was down their and brought them aft. And their being a Doctor on bord [a] Passenger that Could speak the tongue he sent one of the boys down and Brought up some fier arms and Powder and then we cal'd them up and one Came up and he Cal'd the other and he Came up. We put them in Irons and Chained them and then the Doctor Dres'd the Peoples Wounds they being Slightly Wounded. Then it was one o'clock they buried my honoured Parent, . . . I scalt myself with hot Chocolate but now am able to walk again . . . We have sold part of the Slaves and I hope to be home soon.²⁷

Ships from Rhode Island, the leading slave-trading colony, suffered most frequently from these uprisings. One of the worst insurrections was attended with complete success for the slaves. On June 1, 1730, Captain

George Scott in the sloop, *Little George*, sailed from the Guinea Coast with a cargo of ninety-six slaves, thirty-five of whom were men. Six days later, the slaves slipped out of their shackles, and at four-thirty in the morning, attacked the ship. Breaking through the bulkhead, they gained the deck, where they were confronted by the watch of three men. These the slaves quickly dispatched and pitched overboard. Terrified, the Captain, three men, and a boy sought refuge in the cabin below, where the slaves promptly imprisoned them. One of the sailors attempted to fashion a bomb by filling two bottles with gunpowder to be thrown among the slaves. This stratagem was thwarted by a Negro, who dropped an axe on the bottle just as the sailor lighted the fuse. The explosion set fire to a keg of powder, blew open the cabin door, raised the deck, discharged all except one musket, and seriously injured both the captain and bomb-maker. Determined to wipe out the crew, the slaves loaded one of the carriage guns and fired it down the scuttle where the sailors were imprisoned. According to the captain, the blast "blew the Scuttle all to pieces" but no one was injured. For several days the slaves controlled the ship, while the captain and the remainder of the crew, armed with muskets, defended themselves below. Sometime later, the cabin boy, impelled by hunger, ventured upon deck, whereupon the slaves promptly clapped him in irons. Finally, the Negroes guided the ship into the Sierra Leone River and ran it aground on a bar. After removing all the women and children, they abandoned the ship. Later they returned with other natives in an attempt to kill the crew, but the latter successfully defended themselves with firearms. At the first favorable opportunity the captain and the rest of the crew came upon deck, lowered a boat and started down the river. Weak from hunger, they were finally rescued, after having subsisted for nine days on raw rice.²⁸

Equally as disastrous was the experience of Captain Bear, master of a Rhode Island slaver. On December 4, 1753, he had stored on board his ship at Coast Castle, Africa, a number of slaves and a quantity of gold dust. Without warning, the slaves rebelled, killing the captain and all the crew except the two mates, who escaped by leaping overboard and swimming ashore. The ultimate fate of both vessels and Negroes is not known.²⁹ In 1753, according to Captain David Lindsay, the slaves aboard a Rhode Island ship commanded by Captain Hamblett revolted, causing him to lose his best Negroes.³⁰ Nicholas Owen, an Englishman serving aboard a Rhode Island vessel, told of a calamity which befell a ship from that colony between 1746 and 1757. The ship had anchored off Banana Island, where the captain and five of the crew went ashore. There they were captured by Negroes, who later took and plundered the ship.³¹ Twelve years later Captain T. Rogers, master of a vessel belonging to Messrs. Samuel and William Vernon of Newport, was carrying a cargo of slaves

from Barbados to St. Christopher in the West Indies. On the way, the slaves rose up and attempted to seize the ship. In suppressing the revolt, Rogers is said to have lost eleven male slaves. A second report said that thirteen slaves jumped overboard, one was killed and several wounded.³²

Far more disastrous was the voyage of Captain Hopkins, who commanded a ship belonging to the Brown brothers of Newport. In 1765, he sailed from Africa to Antigua with a cargo of slaves. On the way, sickness so depleted the crew that the captain impressed some of the slaves to help man the ship. But the Negroes, seizing the opportunity to gain their freedom, released some of their fellows and fell upon the crew. After a bloody struggle, the crew, outnumbered, but armed with muskets, put down the rebellion after they had killed, wounded, or forced to jump overboard eighty of the slaves.³³ In the same year, a report stated that the entire crew of a Bristol (Rhode Island) vessel had been killed by the slaves off the African coast. The only white survivor was a Mr. Dunfield who escaped by being out in a boat when the uprising took place.³⁴

Eleven years later, the slaves aboard the Rhode Island ship, *Thames*, taking advantage of the carelessness of the Chief Officer³⁵ made a desperate effort to gain their freedom as the ship lay off the Guinea Coast. Armed only with staves and chunks of wood, the Negroes fell upon the crew who sought refuge behind a barricade on the deck. After a desperate but futile forty minute struggle to surmount the barricade, all the men slaves jumped overboard. In this manner between thirty-three and thirty-six³⁶ of the most valuable slaves were drowned. Six slaves were picked up by townspeople who charged Captain Clarke eleven ounces of gold dust for their return. In his letter to John Fletcher of London, dated December 15, 1776, Dr. John Bell, a physician on board the *Thames*, graphically described the insurrection:

. . . As Capt. Clarke has Observed to you the Voyage has been attended with nothing but losses and disappointments, so to complete the whole on Friday the 8th inst., we had the misfortune to lose 36 of the best slaves we had by an insurrection. This unluckily affair happened when there was only the Boatswain, Carpenter, 3 white people and myself on board. . . . We had 160 Slaves on board and were that day lett out of the Deck Chains in order to wash. About 2 o'clock they began by sieing upon the Boatswain but he soon got disengaged . . . after receiving a wound in the Breast and one under his chin. . . . They Continued to throw Staves, billets of wood etc., and in endeavoring to get down the Barricade, or over it for upward of 40 Minutes, when finding they could not effect it, all the Fantee and most of the Accra men Slaves jumped overboard. It was thought that the slaves intended to get abaft of the ship but the current was so strong they could not reach the vessel. When all was settled we found 32 Men and boys w't 2 women a mising, the best Slaves we had.³⁷

The women slaves did not join in the attack, Bell asserted, only because the spontaneity of the uprising had not given the men time to notify them. Had they also been involved, the doctor assured his superior, "Your property here at this time would have been but small."³⁸

A marked decrease occurred in the number of slave insurrections on New England ships during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The American Revolution ruined the slave trade,³⁹ and all the principal slaving states — Rhode Island (1784), Connecticut (1784), and Massachusetts (1787) — abolished the slave trade.⁴⁰ Prohibition of the traffic, however, only increased the profits from a successful voyage; therefore many Puritan merchants continued to engage illicitly in the slave trade. Evidence of the clandestine exploitation of the traffic in Negroes is revealed in continued reports of slave insurrections aboard New England vessels. Seven years after Connecticut abolished the slave trade (1791), Captain William Wignall of New London lost his life when his slaves revolted off the Coast of Africa.⁴¹ Two years after Massachusetts proscribed the trade, the insurrection of slaves aboard the *Felicity*, previously noted, took place.⁴² In 1795, a bloody encounter occurred between insurgent slaves and the crew of a Boston ship off the Coast of Africa. The Negroes, forty in number, attacked the crew, killed a common seaman, the first and second mates, and the captain and seized control of the ship. The vessel drifted ashore near the mouth of the River Nunez where, after a bloody battle lasting almost seven hours, another trader recaptured the ship.⁴³

Because a larger number of Rhode Island merchants continued to carry on an illicit trade in Negroes, slave uprisings aboard their vessels were more frequent. In the year following Rhode Island's prohibition of the traffic, complete disaster overtook one of its vessels. In 1785, the ship left Newport for Africa. Twelve months later it was found by an English ship, drifting helplessly upon the high seas. Her sails were gone, and upon her decks crouched fifteen emaciated slaves. Whether the crew had died of illness, or whether the Negroes had risen up, slain the captain and crew, and then attempted to steer the ship back to Africa will never be known.⁴⁴ In 1793 or 1794, several slaves lost their lives in a futile attempt to seize the *Nancy*, commanded by Captain Cook.⁴⁵ Only the timely warning of a Negro cabin boy probably saved the *Mary* from total disaster in 1796. Some of the slaves, having freed themselves from their leg irons while in the hold, planned to attack the crew with them when they came on deck. Although the sailors were forewarned, the slaves fought savagely. Only after two of them had been drowned, one shot dead, a sick slave trampled to death and four Negroes wounded was the uprising put down.⁴⁶

As late as 1807, Captain Joshua Vial, the Rhode Island master of the ship *Nancy*, belonging to John Phillip and John Gardner of Charleston,

South Carolina, reported several slave uprisings on his vessel. During one of these attacks three slaves were killed and one jumped overboard.⁴⁷ Another outbreak occurred when a slave attempted to seize Vial as "he was pouring molasses in his victuals." Immediately the slaves attacked the crew and a furious struggle followed. However, the firearms of the crew prevailed and the slaves were driven below, but only after one Negro had jumped overboard and several had been wounded. These uprisings so unnerved the sailors that several days later when four members of the crew were disabled by illness, the captain reported that a sailor on night watch, imagining that the Negroes were about to revolt again, shot and killed one of them and on the next night stabbed another.⁴⁸

The foregoing insurrections portray but a single scene in the first act of a mighty drama for freedom, in which African slaves were the principal actors and the New England slave ships the stage. To complete the act, it is necessary to set forth similar struggles aboard other American vessels and the ships of all the other nationalities which participated in the trade. Thus would be told the epic tragedy of battles for freedom fought by millions of blacks, on thousands of ships over a span of three and a half centuries. Such a work, especially for American slave ships, would make an heroic prelude for the second act in the drama — the Negro's struggle for liberty on American soil — so admirably set forth by Mr. Aptheker in his splendid volume on American slave revolts, and overthrow completely the fiction that the Negro tamely submitted to enslavement.

¹Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 5 (Columbia University Press, N. Y., 1943). Less satisfactory studies are Joseph C. Carroll's *Slave Insurrections in the United States, 1800-1865* (Chapman and Grimes, Boston, 1938); Harvey Wish, "Slave Insurrections Before 1861," *Journal of Negro History*, XX, No. 3, April, 1937.

²For excellent first-hand accounts of these insurrections, see the incomparable volumes of Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, 4 vols. (Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1930-1935); Nicholas Owen, *Journal of a Slave Trader, 1746-1757*, ed. Eveline Martin (London, 1930); George Dow, *Slave Ships and Slaving* (Salem, 1927).

³Charles Johnson, *A General History of Pyrates* (1715), cited in Donnan, *op. cit.*, III, 440n.

⁴Donnan, *op. cit.*, 111, 58.

⁵*Ibid.*, 141n., 196, 267.

⁶*Ibid.*, III, 141.

⁷*Ibid.*, II, 405.

⁸See "A Statement of the Massachusetts Trade and Fisheries," *Conn. Historical Society Collections*, XVIII, 262-273; *Rhode Island Colonial Records*, VI, 378-383.

⁹Lorenzo J. Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776*, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 494 (Columbia University Press, N. Y., 1942), pp. 27-28.

¹⁰Wish, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹³For examples, see Dow, *Slave Ships and Slaving*, chs. vii, ix-xi and *passim*; Thomas Buxton, *The African Slave Trade* (London, 1840), ch. ii; Owen, *op. cit.*, chs. i-iii; best of all are the indispensable volumes of Donnan, *op. cit.*, I-IV, *passim*.

¹⁴George Champlin Mason, "The African Slave Trade in Colonial Times," *American Historical Record*, I, No. 1 (Philadelphia, 1873), 312.

Africa Dances

A profound and complete study of the dance of the African natives would furnish enough material for a large volume. My acquaintance with the African natives' world is limited to French West Africa, and the absence of my documented manuscript and photographs, which are in France, prevents me at the present time from presenting anything more than a short summary of the subject. Therefore, I am limiting myself in this account to indicating the common characteristics that the uninitiated include in the general expression, the Negro dance.

The native African population is a very complicated composite of races, which, until the present period, has evolved unevenly. Some have remained in a very primitive culture; while others, not only through contact with diverse civilizations but even by the development of their own

¹⁵*Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, Fifth Series III, 384.

¹⁶Mason, *et supra*; cited in Greene, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁷Donnan cites many first-hand accounts of uprisings aboard New England slave vessels. Those cited hereinafter are taken almost wholly from Volume III, dealing with the New England slave trade.

¹⁸*Op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁹Donnan, *op. cit.*, III, 207. The ship belonged either to Rhode Island or to New London, Connecticut. *Ibid.*

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 71.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 2.

²²This ship also is said to have gone to Puerto Rico where the Spaniards confiscated it ostensibly for illicitly trading with their possessions. *Ibid.*, p. 71n.

²³*Read's Weekly Journal and British Gazette*, Jan. 1731; cited in Donnan, III, 37n.

²⁴Donnan, *op. cit.*, III, 41.

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶For interesting and conflicting accounts of the *Jolly Bachelor*, see William B. Weeden, "Early African Slave Trade in New England," *American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings*, 1887-1888, New Series, V (Worcester, 1889), 123-128; for first-hand account of principals involved, *cf.* Donnan, *op. cit.*, III, 52-65.

²⁷Donnan, III, 82-83.

²⁸See *Ibid.*, pp. 118-121, for Captain Scott's story.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 51n.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 201. Another account says that twelve blacks were killed and that the ship was bound for Antigua from Barbadoes.

³¹*Op. cit.*, pp. 37-38.

³²Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

³³Donnan, III, 213.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 209n.

³⁵According to the ship's captain, Peleg Clarke, the Chief Officer not only failed to chain the Negroes while on deck, but had further weakened the crew by going ashore and taking several officers with him. *Ibid.*, p. 331.

³⁶Captain Clark placed the loss at thirty-three; Dr. Bell, at thirty-six. *Ibid.*, pp. 331, 323.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 323.

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹William E. B. DuBois, "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1808-1870," *Harvard Historical Studies*, No. 1 (New York, 1896), p. 5; Donnan, III, 315-319.

⁴⁰*Acts and Resolves of Rhode Island, May 1771-Oct. 1775* (Facsimile Reprints), V, 48-50; *Acts and Laws of the State of Connecticut* (Printed by Timothy Greene, New London, n.d.), p. 234; *Acts and Laws of Massachusetts, 1786-1787* (Reprint, Boston, 1893), pp. 615-616.

⁴¹*Salem Gazette*, September 13, 1791.

⁴²See above.

⁴³Donnan, III, 101.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 341n.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 359n.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 374-5.

⁴⁷Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 399; for documents, see Donnan, III, 396.

⁴⁸Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 399; Donnan, III, 401.