

Omohundro Institute Early American Reading Series (EARS)
October, 2018

Wendy Warren, *New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America* (2016)

Source Packet

1. The emerging scholarship on Indian slavery is extensive; an important example is Brett Rushforth's *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France* (2012), published by the OI.

Another, and close to today's reading, is Margaret Ellen Newell's *Brethren by Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery* (2016). A brief review can be found here: <http://common-place.org/book/indian-slavery-in-new-england/>

A portion of that review:

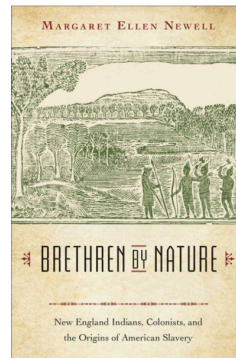
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Indian Slavery in New England

Nancy Shoemaker

Newell's harrowing evidence effectively demonstrates the ruthlessness by which English settlers engineered expropriation of Indian bodies, forcing them into servitude and slavery.

Over the past ten to twenty years, a rising number of historians have recast both the history of North American slavery and Native American history by bringing to light the prevalence of American Indian enslavement in the Southwest, the Southeast, the Mississippi Valley, French Canada, and now New England. Margaret Ellen Newell's focus on New England is especially revolutionary in transforming how historians have typically depicted this region and the nature of English settlement there in the seventeenth century. We used to think early New England's colonists wished foremost to kill Indians off and push them out of the way, to clear the land of them so that John Winthrop and his ilk could found their "city on a hill" and "little commonwealth" of self-sufficient, faith-based English households and towns. Newell adds an alternative dimension to this version of the English conquest of New England by arguing that over the course of the seventeenth century, colonists brought Indians into their homes, extended legal jurisdiction over them, and depended on Indians for the growth of the New England economy. The driving force behind this incorporation of Indians was English demand for Indian labor.



Margaret Ellen Newell, *Brethren by Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2015. 328 pp., \$45.

2. Example of Massachusetts Court Records regarding slavery. Deposition of Mary Mountire concerning "the ownership of Kent and Sambo (two slaves)," 1740. Massachusetts Historical Society.

Suffolk ss Boston Apl. 16 1740.

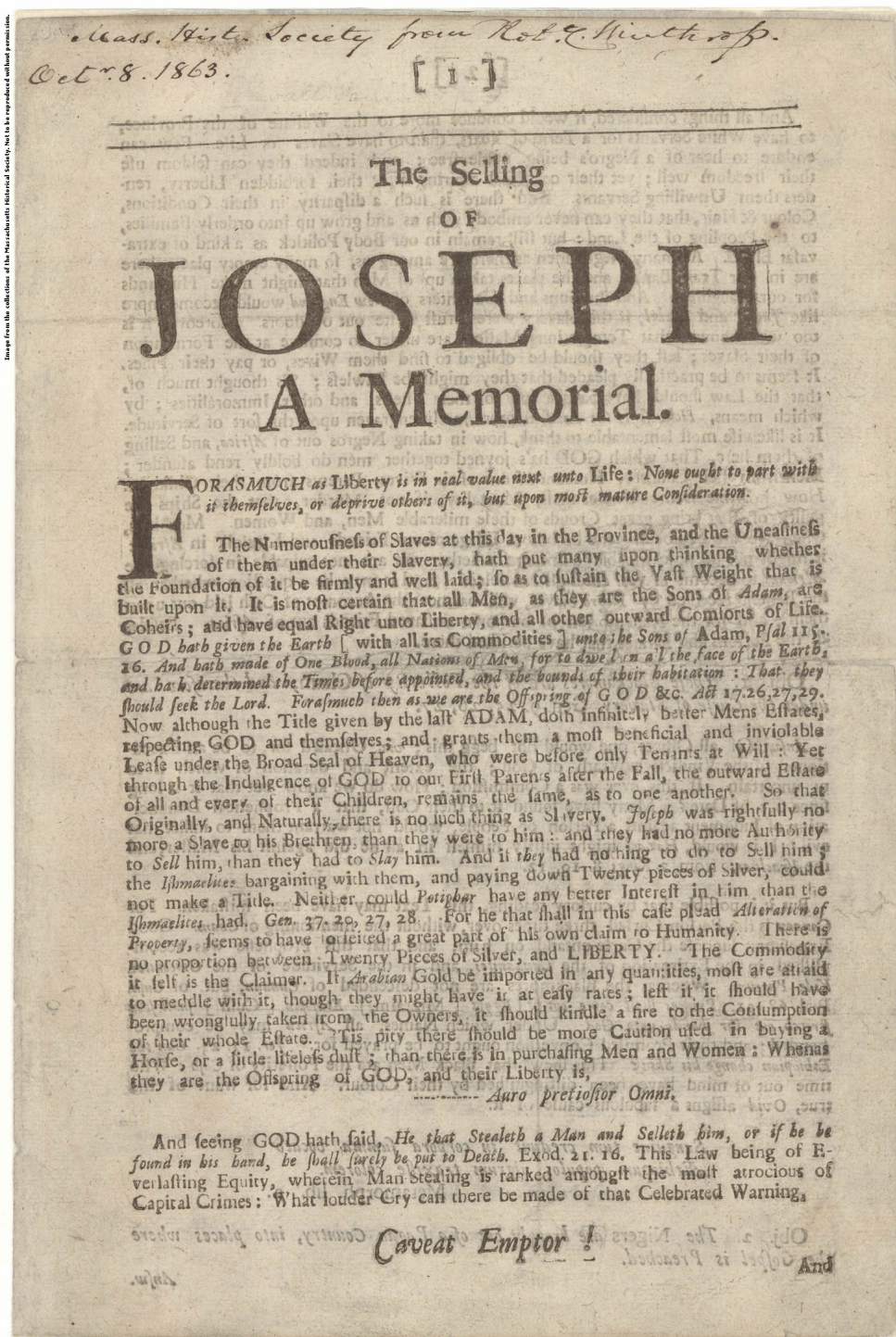
Mary Mountire of Boston aforesd
 widow after being carefully examined and Cautioned to
 Testifie the whole Truth made Oath that Kent Negroeman
 and Sambo Negroeman -- are her Slaves, and not the Estate
 of George Janverin of Boston aforesd. Decd. that She the
 Deponant with her own money bought Sd. Kent of
 mr. John Forland of Boston aforesd. and Sambo of one mr. Clark
 of Barbados that She bought Sd. Kent and Sambo Since
 Sd. Janverin s last departure f [rom] Boston aforesd. and that
 Sd. Negroes are her Sole pro [perty]

Taken this month day & year [. . .] at Boston aforesd. at the
 [. . .] Susannah Jan [verin] widow of the Decd. the
 [. . .] Beautenau [*probably Boutineau*] of Boston aforesd. mercht.
 [. . .] appearing desired the Deponent might be carefully
 [e]xamined & Cautioned but refused to be present at the
 [deposi]tion thereof -- before me --

Samuel Adams Jusce Peace

3. Samuel Sewall, "The Selling of Joseph" (1700)

There is only one surviving copy, held by the Massachusetts Historical Society, of this pamphlet. For more information and additional sources: <https://www.masshist.org/database/53>



And all things considered, it would conduce more to the Welfare of the Province, to have White Servants for a Term of Years, than to have Slaves for Life. Few can endure to hear of a Negro's being made free; and indeed they can seldom use their freedom well; yet their continual aspiring after their forbidden Liberty, renders them Unwilling Servants. And there is such a disparity in their Conditions, Colour & Hair, that they can never embody with us, and grow up into orderly Families, to the Peopling of the Land: but still remain in our Body Politick as a kind of extravasat Blood. As many Negro men as there are among us, so many empty places there are in our Train Bands, and the places taken up of Men that might make Husbands for our Daughters. And the Sons and Daughters of *New England* would become more like *Jacob*, and *Rachel*, if this Slavery were thrust quite out of doors. Moreover it is too well known what Temptations Masters are under, to connive at the Fornication of their Slaves; lest they should be obliged to find them Wives, or pay their Fines. It seems to be practically pleaded that they might be Lawless; 'tis thought much of, that the Law should have Satisfaction for their Thefts, and other Immoralities; by which means, *Holiness to the Lord*, is more rarely engraven upon this sort of Servitude. It is likewise most lamentable to think, how in taking Negroes out of *Africa*, and Selling of them here, That which GOD ha's joyned together men do boldly rend asunder; Men from their Country, Husbands from their Wives, Parents from their Children. How horrible is the Uncleaness, Mortality, if not Murder, that the Ships are guilty of, that bring great Crouds of these miserable Men, and Women. Methinks, when we are bemoaning the barbarous Usage of our Friends and Kinsfolk in *Africa*: it might not be unreasonable to enquire whether we are not culpable in forcing the *Africans* to become Slaves amongst our selves. And it may be a question whether all the Benefit received by *Negro* Slaves, will balance the Accompt of Cash laid out upon them; and for the Redemption of our own enslaved Friends out of *Africa*. Besides all the Persons and Estates that have perished there.

Obj. 1. *These Blackamores are of the Posterity of Cham, and therefore are under the Curse of Slavery. Gen. 9. 25, 26, 27.*

Ans. Of all Offices, one would not begg this; viz. Uncall'd for, to be an Executioner of the Vindictive Wrath of God; the extent and duration of which is to us uncertain. If this ever was a Commission; How do we know but that it is long since out of Date? Many have found it to their Cost, that a Prophetical Denunciation of Judgment against a Person or People, would not warrant them to inflict that evil. If it would, *Hazael* might justify himself in all he did against his Master, and the *Israelites*, from *2 Kings* 8. 19, 12.

But it is possible that by cursory reading, this Text may have been mistaken. For *Canaan* is the Person Cursed three times over, without the mentioning of *Cham*. Good Expositors suppose the Curse entail'd on him, and that this Prophecie was accomplished in the Extirpation of the *Canaanites*, and in the Servitude of the *Gibonites*, *Kite*, *Parvum*. Whereas the Blackmores are not descended of *Canaan*, but of *Cush*. *Psal.* 68. 31. *Princes shall come out of Egypt [Mizraim] Ethiopia [Cush] shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.* Under which Names, all *Africa* may be comprehended; and their Promised Conversion ought to be prayed for. *Jer.* 13. 23. *Can the Ethiopian change his Skin?* This shews that Black Men are the Posterity of *Cush*: Who time out of mind have been distinguished by their Colour. And for want of the true, *Ovid* assigns a fabulous cause of it.

*Sanguine tum, credunt in corpora summa vocato
Ethiopum, populos, nigrum traxisse colorem.*
Metamorph. lib. 2.

Obj. 2. *The Nigers are brought out of a Pagan Country, into places where the Gospel is Preached.*

Ans.

[3]

Ans. Evil must not be done, that good may come of it. The extraordinary and comprehensive Benefit accruing to the Church of God, and to *Joseph* personally, did not rectify his brethrens Sale of him.

Obj. 3. *The Africans have Wars one with another : Our Ships bring lawful Captives taken in those Wars.*

Ans. For ought is known, their Wars are much such as were between *Jacob's* Sons and their Brother *Joseph*. If they be between Town and Town ; Provincial, or National : Every War is upon one side Unjust. An Unlawful War can't make lawful Captives. And by Receiving, we are in danger to promote, and partake in their Barbarous Cruelties. I am sure, if some Gentlemen should go down to the *Brewsters* to take the Air, and Fish : And a stronger party from *Hull* should Surprise them, and Sell them for Slaves to a Ship outward bound : they would think themselves unjustly dealt with ; both by Sellers and Buyers. And yet 'tis to be feared, we have no other kind of Title to our *Nigers*. Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them : for this is the Law and the Prophets. *Matt. 7. 12.*

Obj. 4. *Abraham had Servants bought with his Money, and born in his House.*

Ans. Until the Circumstances of *Abraham's* purchase be recorded, no Argument can be drawn from it. In the mean time, Charity obliges us to conclude, that He knew it was lawful and good.

It is Observable that the *Israelites* were strictly forbidden the buying, or selling one another for Slaves. *Levit. 25. 39. 46. Jer 34 8. 22.* And GOD gaged His Blessing in lieu of any loss they might conceipt they suffered thereby. *Deut. 15. 18.* And since the partition Wall is broken down, inordinate Self love should likewise be demolished. GOD expects that Christians should be of a more Ingenuous and benign frame of spirit. Christians should carry it to all the World, as the *Israelites* were to carry it one towards another. And for men obstinately to persist in holding their Neighbours and Brethren under the Rigor of perpetual Bondage, seems to be no proper way of gaining Assurance that God ha's given them Spiritual Freedom. Our Blessed Saviour ha's altered the Measures of the ancient Love-Song, and set it to a most Excellent New Tune, which all ought to be ambitious of Learning. *Matt. 5. 43, 44. John 13. 34.* These *Ethiopsians*, as black as they are ; seeing they are the Sons and Daughters of the First *Adam*, the Brethren and Sisters of the Last *ADAM*, and the Offspring of GOD ; They ought to be treated with a Respect agreeable.

Servitus perfecta voluntaria, inter Christianum & Christianum, ex parte servi patientis sepe est licita, quia est necessaria : sed ex parte domini agentis, & procurando & exercendo, vix potest esse licita : quia non convenit regulæ illi generali : Quæcunque volueritis ut faciant vobis homines, ita & vos facite eis. Matt. 7. 12.

Perfecta servitus pœnæ, non potest jure locum habere, nisi ex delicto gravi quod ultimum supplicium aliquo modo meretur : quia Libertas ex naturali æstimatione proxime accedit ad vitam ipsam, & eidem a multis præferri solet.

Ames. Cal. Conf. Lib. 5. Cap. 23. Thef. 2, 3.

BOSTON of the Massachusetts ;

Printed by Bartholomew Green, and John Allen, June, 24th. 1700.