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THE MELTING OF THE REDMEN

Indian Slavery in Seventeenth Century America

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INTRODUCTION

When the subject of slavery in the United States arises, one always thinks of the Negro, which is only natural, since Negro slavery played such an important role in our social, economic, and political history. This is especially true of the events of the nineteenth century, whose repercussions are still felt today. However, long before Negro slavery became a fact in our social, economic, and political tradition, the Americans, or rather the colonists whose descendants would become Americans, experimented with slave labor from another source: the native population of the land they had settled.

The experiment in Indian slavery did not work, and the consequences of that failure have had enormous effect on the subsequent history of the United States. The refusal of the Indians to submit to the will of the white men led the whites to shift their attention to the Negro. Had this not happened, how different might the abolitionist movement have been? What role would slavery have played in the Civil War? What would be the nature of the civil rights movement in the twentieth century? Had the Indians submitted to slavery, would they have suffered near extermination at the hands of the whites? The Negroes, having submitted to the whites, increased to the point where they are a powerful minority in the domestic affairs of the United

States, yet who ever hears of the Indians?

The circumstances which resulted in the enslavement of the Indians were very different in the two colonial regions which form the basis of this discussion: New England and the Southern colonies, particularly South Carolina. What I have discovered in my research, and what this thesis will try to show, is the fact that Indian slavery in New England arose from immediate, practical necessity, yet remained an intellectual problem, fraught with moral and religious undertones, for the Puritans who sought all sorts of scriptural justification for their actions. The Southern colonists, on the other hand, not burdened with the religion of the Puritans and thus not compelled to justify their actions in terms of a relationship with God, justified enslavement on purely economic grounds.

These two strains of thought, which appear to have manifested themselves first on the question of Indian slavery, have remained on the American scene and have influenced American action not only in domestic issues but in foreign relations as well. They can be seen in the abolitionist movement in the nineteenth century, in which the anti-slavery sentiment, coming primarily from New England, was of a personal, moral, and religious nature, while the pro-slavery arguments coming from the South, and especially from South Carolina, dealt with economic issues. In

foreign relations the two ideas have blended to the point that aggression against a foreign nation can be pursued in light of economic gains and can engender widespread support with the argument of the righteousness of the cause and of America's "mission." If the extermination of the people of that nation is a consequence of America's mission, the precedent was set in the Indians' refusal to become slaves to the whites.

Most of the body of this thesis deals with New England and with South Carolina. The conclusion will discuss Indian slavery in the colonies of New York and Pennsylvania as it existed under Dutch and later under British rule, and will contrast it to Indian slavery in the other colonies.

The aim of this thesis is not to present a statistical account of the number of Indian slaves in any colony at a particular time, as Almon W. Lauber does in his work, "Indian Slavery in Colonial Times Within the Present Limits of the United States." Nor will it consider, as does Verner Crane,* Indian slavery as a factor in the political and economic accomodations of the early colonists. Political and economic developments will be discussed only insofar as they are related to acts of enslavement. What will be examined in detail are the events which led the colonists to enslave the Indians, and the ways in which the colonists justified their actions.

*In The Southern Frontier 1670-1732, Philadelphia, 1929.

CHAPTER I

SAINTS, SAVAGES, AND SLAVERY

When the Puritans first set foot in America, they were confronted with an overwhelming number of strange and heretofore unknown sights and experiences, not the least of which was the American Indian. Indeed, one of the first intellectual problems encountered by the New England Saints was the explanation and the justification of the existence of a race of "red-skinned, naked savages." The existence of the Indians was known before the Puritans came, for Walter Raleigh had brought captured braves back to England, and Pocahontas, after her marriage to John Rolfe, lived in England until her death. These, however, were isolated instances, and in each case the Indian was brought to live among Englishmen on English soil. For the Puritans the situation was reversed. From firsthand accounts of the landing at Plymouth and of the meeting with Squanto, one gets the impression that the Saints felt the Indians to be benevolent souls placed in the wilderness by the grace of God for the purpose of guiding them through a difficult period of adjustment. But the Saints' subsequent course of action taxed the understanding and goodwill of the Indians to such a degree that the Indians were forced to resort to hostility to prevent the white strangers' taking an arm along with the hand

that was outstretched to them. Believing as they did that the Indians were their tools, the Saints were in turn confused and indignant at this behavior and began to doubt the divine origin of the red-skins. This doubt forced the Puritans to reconsider their whole attitude toward the Indians' probable origin and purpose, and the results of this reconsideration set the whites on a course of action that led to open warfare and included the enslavement of the Indians.

The Puritans' first impressions of the Indians were favorable. Early accounts indicate that the settlers admired the way in which the Indians had adapted to their environment. The settlers found that "the men are very strong, of able bodyes, and full of agility, accustoming themselves to endure hardness, to lye in the woods, under a tree, by a small fier, in the worst of wynter, in frost and snowe, or in the weeds and grasse...."[1] The Indians were found to be veritable children of nature, living off the bounty of the land. They did not breed cattle, nor did they go out especially to hunt for meat. They ate what was there: in the spring, turkey and squirrel; during the summer, roots and plants; in the fall, acorns and chestnuts. It was only during the winter months that the braves were forced to hunt game, and deer were so plentiful that it was not necessary to stock up for the winter. Food was procured as it was needed.[2] Amerigo Vespucci, describing his 1497 visit to America, wrote that the

Indians "engage in no barter /whatsoever/; they neither buy nor sell. In short, they live and are contented with what nature gives them."[3] In essence, the Indians lived from day to day. The land was enormous and abounded in wildlife, while the natives were relatively few in number. There was no need to hunt for, and to hoard, surplus food.

The Puritans, convinced that they answered a divine call to create God's kingdom on earth, saw all of this as a sign from heaven. They believed that they had come upon a new Gærden of Eden, and that the Indians were placed there to guide them.

The favorable first impression of the Indians does not seem to have lasted for long. The main issue of the conflict which soon developed was the question of land rights. The Indians acknowledged no private ownership of land: with so much abundance, it was not necessary to fence off areas for individual use. The Puritans, believing in full utilization of land, could not accept the Indians' way of thinking; and the Indians, ignorant of the Puritan creed, signed away tribal hunting grounds. If the Puritans believed that the Indians were of God, then it would follow that the Puritans also believed that the Indians understood the Puritan concept of land utilization. We must therefore assume that the Puritans were dismayed to find that the Indians did not use the land according to the commandment of God. The difficulties that arose over the question of land use were a primary factor

in the Puritans' subsequent disillusionment.

At this point the Puritans began to question how the Indians could possibly be descended from Adam and Eve if they had no knowledge of the "true" God. The result was a rash of speculation about the true origin of the red man. Cotton Mather said, "'We know not When or How these Indians first became inhabitants of this mighty Continent, yet we may guess that probably the Devil decoy's these miserable Salvages hither, in hopes that the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ would never come here to destroy or disturb his Absolute Empire over them.'"[4] It is interesting to note how the Indians, who were so admired when the Puritans thought them to be of God, evolved into "miserable Salvages." At any rate, the Puritans, who considered every development a sign from God, tended to view this new situation as a challenge from Him. If the Indians were placed in America by the devil, the Puritans must take care not to succumb to his wiles and must strive as well to convert the heathen. Viewed in this context, the incident of Thomas Morton of Merrymount becomes even more ominous.

When a certain Captain Wollaston abandoned his settlement outside Plymouth, a lieutenant of his named Thomas Morton stayed behind. Morton changed the name of the settlement from Mount Wollaston to Merrymount, relieved the servants of their indenture, and traded and consorted with the Indians. He went so far as to erect a maypole, offer the Indians liquor, and sell them firearms.

This incident was seen by the Puritans as part of a plot, either by God to test their faith, or by the devil to ensnare them. Clearly, Morton had failed the test, and the Puritans made sure that they did not fall into the same trap.

The question of the origin of the Indians becomes more important at this point, not only because of the dangers inherent in the situation, but also because our knowledge of the Puritans shows them to be a group who strove for order in their existence. A race of men for whom they could not account threw their whole scheme of the universe off balance. The Puritans, in asking how it was possible that the descendants of Adam and Eve did not know of the true God, were revealed as naïve and self-centered; yet the question presented a grave problem to them. If the Indians were <u>not</u> descended from Adam and Eve, it meant that there had been another creation, and this, too, upset their scheme of the universe. The most frequent answer was that the Indians were descended from Noah's son Ham, who mocked Noah's nakedness while Noah slept, and that Ham's act brought misery on all Ham's descendants: they were kept in ignorance of the true God and were plunged by Him into heathenism and barbarism.[5] This explanation solved the problem very neatly. The Indians were created by God and were punished by God. This conclusion reassured the Saints of the omniscence and omnipotence of God; it did not

disturb their conception of order and the universe; and it re-affirmed their own position as the chosen people, for it became obvious to them that they were sent to America to bring the truth to the Indians.

A re-evaluation of the Indian character seems to have accompanied this line of reasoning. Indians were now thought of as "naturally proud, and idle, given much to singing, dancing, and playes...."[6] "War and the chase are the only pursuits which the men do not think beneath their dignity. This is the uniform characteristic of all our Indian nations. When not thus engaged, they sink into a state of mental apathy and physical indolence...."[7]

The Puritans could not allow this situation to remain. If the Indians were placed there by God to test the faith of his flock, then to prove their zealousness the Puritans had not only to remain unsullied, but to win the Indians over to the side of Christ. In their efforts to do this, the Saints were not content merely to have the Indians kneel, kiss the cross, and recite a prayer. The Puritans demanded more of the Indians: full conviction of faith, which the Indians could not, or would not do.[8] The failure to gain any significant number of converts heightened the growing animosity felt by the Puritans toward the Indians. Schools were set up for Indian boys, but the boys who did not succumb to English food and room temperature escaped and headed back to the hills.[9] As late as 1729 we find the Puritans bemoaning the

fact that the Indians "'have been taught to read and write and have been carefully instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, til they came to be men. Yet after they returned home, instead of civilizing and converting the rest, they have immediately relapsed into Infidelity and barbarism themselves.... Besides, as they unhappily forget all the good they learn and remember the Ill, they are apt to be more vicious and disorderly than the rest of their countrymen,'"[10] In their enormous conceit, it never occurred to the Puritans that the Indians, unemcumbered with thoughts and fears of sin and temptation, felt that they had the better way of life--that life was pleasurable and not a constant battle with forces of evil.

Probably the sharpest thorn in the side of the Saints was the fact that, while the Puritans suffered economic hardships, the Indians were unaffected. This development led William Bradford to observe that

> It may be thought strang that these people /the settlers/ should fall to these extremities in so short a time, being left competently provided when the ship left them, and had an addition by that moyetie of corn that was got by trade, besides much they gott of the Ind/e/ans wher they lived, by one means and other. It must needs be their great disorder, for they spend excessivly whilst they had, or could get it; and it may be, wasted parte away among the Indians (for he that was their cheef was taxed by some amongst them for keeping Indean women, how truly I know not). And often they begane to come into wants, many sould away their cloathes and bed coverings; others (so base were they) became servants to the Indeans and would cutt them woode and fetch them water, for a cup full of corne.[11]

The fact that the Indians were not suffering hardships while the Puritans were did not indicate to the Saints that the Indians were in God's grace. It indicated, rather, that the Indians were serving a double purpose: to test the Puritans' faith, and to punish them. But if God was using the Indians to punish the Puritans, were not the Puritans challenging God's right to punish his children by engaging in hostilities with the Indians? The Puritans apparently did not feel that they must accept God's punishment meekly--it was not merely a matter of receiving a spanking and repenting. Their whole system depended on direct action. Even in punishment, therefore, it was ordained that they should work to overcome their hardships. When one views the conflict in this context, relations between the Indians and Puritans had to deteriorate. The Puritans saw every act of the Indians as an obstacle to be overcome; the Indians saw every act of the Puritans as a threat to their existence. The situation deteriorated until, inevitably, war broke out between the two groups. While we have no Indian accounts of what happened, nor any first-hand accounts of the Indian grievances, it is not difficult to understand their desperation. However, since the only accounts of the war were written by the colonists, we must relate the events from their point of view.

The outbreak of the Pequot War in 1637 was simple. The Puritans saw the Pequots as a warlike tribe and a terror to all the neighboring tribes. The Pequot chief, Sassacus, was engaged in disputes with Miantonomo, chief of the Narragansetts, and with Uncas, chief of the Mohegans and son-in-law of Sassacus.[12] For some reason (the Puritans would have us believe it was willed by God), Sassacus decided to begin a campaign of harassment against the white settlers, and in 1636 the Pequots killed a settler named John Oldham. A small army of Puritans, led by John Endicott, marched on the Pequot settlement and destroyed homes and crops. These two acts initiated a series of reprisals from both sides. At this point God, who wished only to indicate to the Saints that He was displeased with them, and surely did not wish to have them destroyed, intervened again. Uncas, chief of the Mohegans, approached Captain John Mason and offered to help fight Sassacus. Shortly thereafter Miantonomo joined, too.[13] With this backing, the Courts of Wethersfield, Hartford, and Windsor, Connecticut, declared war on the Pequots on May 1, 1637.[14]

The war itself consisted of two battles: the Mistick Fight and the Swamp Fight. Although the first battle destroyed almost all of the tribe, a number of Pequot warriors remained at large. These were pursued by Mason. According to first-hand accounts, "the Indians, after a few skirmishes, requested

a parley, which was granted them, Thomas Stanton, interpreter to the English, was sent to treat with them. He was authorized to offer life to such as had not shed the blood of Englishmen...but the Pequots boldly declared that 'they had both shed and drank the blood of Englishmen, and would not upon such terms accept of life, but would fight it out.'"[15] The ensuing battle and victory by the whites eliminated the Pequot menace.

As the Puritans defeated the Indians they were faced with a new problem, the disposal of Indian captives. After the Mistick Fight, only seven prisoners were taken;[16] but by the time the war was over, about seven hundred Indians had been killed or captured.[17] To release these prisoners would mean a continuation of the war. It did not take the Puritans long to decide on a course of action. In finding an answer to their problem, they had to look no farther than the Indians.

Enslavement among the Indians themselves was very common. An Indian could become a slave in several ways: by being sold or traded by his family; by gambling, whereby he put himself up for stakes and lost; by being captured in battle.[18] It had become customary for Indians to be given to whites as a sign of friendship, and Indians also gave some of their slaves to be slaves in other tribes as war reparations. If a tribe was low on "trading slaves" and did not care to give up a tribal

member, it often raided an enemy tribe to capture new slaves.[19] Finally, Indians sold members of their tribes into slavery as a means of punishment for crime. Sometimes an Indian who knew that he was in trouble with his tribe would volunteer to sell himself to the whites for protection from his tribe. In this instance, however, the Indian made the agreement for a specified period of time, agreed upon beforehand.[20]

The Saints thus began to dispose of their captives in accordance with this precedent. Of the eighty women captured at the time of the Swamp Fight, thirty were given to the Narragansetts as a reward for their aid in defeating the Pequots. The fifty remaining women were sent to the Bay Colony as slaves.[21] In all, two hundred prisoners were divided among the Mohegans and Narragansetts.[22] The remaining captives were divided among and retained by the Puritan soldiers or sold to the West Indies.[23]

Even though they believed that their victory over the Pequots was a sign of God's favor, the Puritans took no chances. The people of Connecticut saw to it that the male captives were sent out of the colony. The reason for this, as stated by Roger Williams, was to deprive the Indian of family, friends, and familiar country, so that he would be forced to depend on his owner for survival. This would give the owner complete control over the situation, and reduce the liklihood of rebellion.[24] Women and children, on the other hand, could

be used very nicely as domestics. When King Philip's War broke out forty years later, this became the standard pattern for dealing with captured Indians: they were either exported as slaves or kept in the colony for household servants.[25]

The first Indian war took the Puritans by surprise and was responsible, more than any other single event, for the formulation of theories about the origin and purpose of the Indians. Forty years later, when King Philip's War broke out, the Puritans' outlook had become more sophisticated. No longer viewing Indian troubles as simply a manifestation of God's displeasure, the Puritans believed that the Indians were evil in and of themselves, and one gets the impression that the Puritans felt that war with King Philip would have come about in any case. God's role in the affair was merely to determine who would win, and in how short a period of time.

From the Puritan point of view, the responsibility for King Philip's War lay with the Indians. According to an account written by a "merchant of Boston", an Indian named Sosomon, who had been educated at Harvard, was sent out to preach the gospel to King Philip and his tribe. King Philip was not very receptive, however, and had Sosomon imprisoned. Sosomon, then, attempted to convert his three guards, who responded by murdering him. When the government at Plymouth learned of the murder,

some three months later, "care was taken to find out the Murtherers; who upon Search were found and apprehended, and after a fair trial were all Hanged."[26] That Philip should become outraged at the action of the Puritans seemed incredible and unreasonable to them. It never occurred to them that the Indians felt the Saints had no authority to punish an Indian for killing another Indian. At any rate, the execution of the three Indians turned King Philip against the Puritans and resulted in one of the most ferocious of the Indian wars.

Between the Pequot War and King Philip's War subtle changes had occurred in the Puritans' attitude toward prisoners of war. After the Pequot War enslavement seems to have been considered the most expedient solution for disposing of captives. With King Philip's War, the impression is clearly present that the promise of human booty turned battles into slave raids as well. For example, the officials of Plymouth ordered "that the souldjers of Meadfield & Dedham that lately went forth on the countrys service, & brought in seuerall Indians, for theire encouragement shall haue ten shillings ouer & aboue their wages, bringing a noate from Capt Daniel Fisher that they were the men in that service."[27]

When fifty-seven Indians surrendered to the town of Sandwich, all were condemned to perpetual servitude.[28] So many Indians were taken as slaves that there was the fear of a fifth column in the colony. This fear was so great that the Plymouth Council

of War forbade male Indian captives over the age of fourteen to live in the colony. The Council further ordered that anyone possessing such an Indian had to dispose of him within five months or else forfeit the Indian to the colony.[29] This probably meant that the authorities would sell the Indian out of the colony and would keep the money for the treasury.

The modification in the Puritans' attitude toward enslavement of Indians had its roots in the Articles of Confederation of the United New England Colonies. Drawn up on May 19, 1643, it stated that "'the whole advantage of warr (if it please God to bless their Endeavours), whether it be in lands, goods, or persons, shall be proportionally divided among said Confederates.'"[30] The simple problem of disposing of prisoners of war had planted the seeds for a program of deliberate enslavement. This may very well have been a cause of the Indian grievances which led to the outbreak of King Philip's War, and would also explain why the Indians fought so fiercely, refusing to surrender. They were fighting for their lives in every sense of the phrase.

The justification for Indian slavery came in various forms, but all from the same source--God. Daniel Gookin, writing about the Indian wars, explained them by stating that God chose to make a rod of the heathen for the purpose of chastising the English for their sins, and that "one great end God aimed at

was in the punishment and destruction of many of the wicked heathen, whose iniquities were now full; the last period whereof was their malignant opposition to the offers of the Gospel, for the Pakanohats /King Philip's people/ and the Narragansetts, those two great nations upon whom the dint of war hath most especially fallen, (for they are almost totally destroyed,) had once and again the Gospel offered to them."[31]

This pronouncement, widely accepted, enabled the Saints to make war on those tribes which refused to accept Protestantism. Another prevalent attitude, of course, was that of Cotton Mather to the effect that the Indians were the children of the devil. Therefore, we can understand Mather's telling his congregation, after the close of King Philip's War, "'that on this day we have sent six hundred heathen sould to hell.'"[32]

The Saints searched the Bible for more official justification of enslavement, and found, in Deuteronomy and Joshua, sanction for killing and scalping the Indians.[33] But to find sanction for slavery per se was another matter. A widely accepted justification was found in the story of Noah. According to /Gen. 9:24-27/, Ham was the son who mocked Noah's nakedness while Noah lay sleeping. "'And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him: and he said, cursed be Canaan (Ham); a servant of SERVANTS shall be he unto his brethren. And he said, blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan (Ham) shall be his servant. God

shall enlarge Japeth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan (Ham) shall be his servant.'"[34]

The justification for slavery in this passage rests on the fact that the name Ham means black in Hebrew, and that the Bible states that the sons of Ham were Cush, Mizraim, Put, and Canaan. According to a commentary in the Bible, the land of Cush was Ethiopia; the land of Mizraim was Egypt; and the land of Put was Libya. All three of these, in varying degrees, are black countries.[35] Defining Ham as a black man does very well for justifying Negro slavery, but it requires some manipulation to interpret it as justification for Indian slavery, and one might wonder how the Puritans did it. Lauber explains this discrepancy by pointing out that the word Negro was used in referring to both Negroes and Indians and eventually became synonymous with the word slave.[36] Lauber's explanation is unsatisfactory unless his point is that the Puritans considered all nonwhites to be black and, therefore, Negro. Since many Puritans did accept the biblical justification, we can only assume that this was the case. Still, the story of Noah was not universally accepted as a justification for enslavement of the Indians.

Josiah Priest, writing about two hundred years later, used the story of Noah specifically to justify Negro slavery. Priest claims that while Ham was black and Japeth was white, both Noah and his wife, as well as Shem, were redskinned.[37] This should automatically remove the Indians from Noah's curse; however,

a study of the text and commentary of several versions of the Bible reveals nothing about anyone in Noah's family having red skin, which means either that Priest made up the story or that it appeared in an edition of the Bible which was known to Priest but not to the Puritans. Consequently, we can say that those Puritans who accepted the story of Noah as a defense of Indian slavery were honest, and that they did not brush under the carpet a small fact which would have negated their entire theory.

Finally, to complicate the matter further, we have the testimony of Thomas Lechford, who claimed that the Indians "are of complexion swarthy and tawney; their children are <u>born white</u> /italics mine/, but they bedawbe them with oyle and colours, presently."[38]

Because they could find no set answer or explanation for the origin of the Indians, the Puritans tended to be confused about what to do with Indian captives. The Indians were to be used as slaves, to be sure, but a survey of the laws for enslaving Indians points out this confusion. While the Puritans could not afford to release the captives, at the same time they could ill afford to act against God. The Puritans wanted the best of both worlds. Never having resolved completely the question of the Indians' origin, the Puritans were torn between the practical necessity of keeping the Indians in bondage and the fear of angering God. The changes in the enslavement laws reflect the changes in the

Puritans' attitudes toward the Indians.

In 1641 the Massachusetts Body of Liberties provided that only captives taken in just wars were to be kept as slaves. This was reinforced in 1649 when it was decreed that "'if any man stealeth a man or mankind, he shall surely be put to death.'"[39] That attempts were made to enforce this decree can be seen as late as 1676, when a man named John Harton, imprisoned for stealing Indians, petitioned the Court for his freedom on the grounds that he had a wife and family to support.[40] It appears that the government of Massachusetts was anxious to keep the practice of slavery solely as a means of dealing with hostile, captured Indians and sought to discourage the possibility of an Indian slave trade. At the same time, in 1646, the government of Plymouth ruled that rather than imprison Indians for damage done to whites or to whites' property, the magistrates had the option to "deliuer vp the Indians seased to the pty /party/ or pties indamaged, either to serue or to be shipped out and exchanged for Negroes as the cause will iustly beare."[41]

This piece of legislation presaged a change in the Puritans' attitude toward Indian slavery. First, Plymouth was sanctioning slavery as a means of punishment, not for prisoners of war, but for Indians who in one way or another had caused trouble in the colony; and second, Indians were to be exchanged for Negroes.

In regard to this second idea, the Puritans became convinced in no time at all that the Indians did not make good slaves. This was a lesson the Spanish had learned as early as 1520, when they urged the importation of Negroes rather than Indians to work the mines of Hispaniola.[42] The Puritans accounted for the fact that the Indians did not make good slaves by characterizing them as malicious, rude, insolent, and ungovernable.[43] Yet, considering the Puritans' earliest accounts of the Indian way of life, it is not difficult to see why the Indians did not submit to servitude. These were the same Indians who, it was written, "bestow their tymes in fishing, hunting, warres, and such manlike exercises, without the dores /outdoors/, scorninge to be seen in any effemynate labour, which is the cause that the women be very painfull and the men often idle."[44] The New Englanders understood these habits and as a result kept the women and children in service, while they sent the males away. However, the women were not very docile themselves, and George Ellis, in his book The Red Men and the White Men in North America, suggests that the reason lies in the fact that the Indians saw the Puritan men engaged in hard labor which, in the eyes of the Indians, was not fit for a man to do. Seeing Puritan men so engaged, the Indian slaves could feel nothing but contempt for their owners.[45] A second reason that the Indians did not make good slaves was the fact that, for the most part, they were on

home ground. The possibility for escape was great, and a captive might well be rescued by members of his tribe. On the other hand, Negroes brought over from Africa were on foreign soil, among strangers, and isolated from family and friends. They had to depend on their masters for survival. Except for those who were transported to other colonies, the Indians could take care of themselves if they escaped into the wilderness. This increased the desire to trade the Indians for Negroes.

Looking once again at the legislation of Indian slavery, we find that Rhode Island, in 1659, provided for the enslavement of any Indian who was convicted of stealing in excess of twenty shillings, provided the Indian could not make restitution.[46] Murder and drunkenness were also punishable by enslavement.[47]

In Plymouth, after 1674, any Indian who idled after being convicted of indebtedness was to be made to serve the one to whom he owed the debt, or to be hired out by the creditor to work for twelve pence a day during the summer and six pence a day in winter. If the Indian ran away, it was lawful for the magistrates to sell him into slavery "for soe longe a time as they see fitt...."[48]

An example of how the enslavement laws were applied is the case of Popanooie, who was convicted by the Court of Plymouth for the deaths of the children of Thomas Pope of Dartmouth during King Philip's War. Consequently, not only Popanooie himself, but his wife, and his children were all sentenced to perpetual

servitude, and Popanooie himself was to be sold out of the country.[49]

From the Pequot War until, and immediately after, King Philip's War, Indian slavery was practiced indiscriminately. After King Philip's War the Puritans felt the need to define more clearly the terms of Indian enslavement. This reaction can be seen in the Puritans' thoughts about the war itself. It had been the most devastating war, in terms of economy and loss of life, the Puritans had ever fought, and they believed that they must have sinned terribly to have provoked the wrath of God so violently. We can surmise that the old fears and doubts about Indians were once more rekindled. Distinctions were made once again between "free" Indians and Indians captured in war. With the latter, further distinctions were made between those who had been captured in actual battle and those who had surrendered freely. In Rhode Island the length of servitude depended on age at the time of enslavement. A scale was set up beginning with Indian captives under five years of age and ending with those over thirty. The former were to be slaves until the age of thirty; the latter were to be slaves for only seven years. The period of enslavement for those between five and thirty was determined by age at the time of capture.[50]

As an example of the opposite extreme to which the Puritans went, we have the following incident. Three Indians, a husband, wife, and child, had been bought by a man named Jonathan Hatch in 1679. The woman's brothers paid Hatch three pounds silver

money as ransom, and Hatch released the husband and wife on the brothers' promise to pay him three pounds more. The child was to remain in Hatch's custody until his twenty-fourth birthday, and then was to be released.[51]

In 1645 it was suggested to Winthrop that a war with the Narragansetts would be desirable. First, it would serve to wipe out Indian idolatry once and for all; and second, "if vpon a Just warre the Lord should deliuer them /the Indians/ unto our hands, wee might easily haue men woemen and children enought to exchange for Moores, which wilbe more Gaynefull pilladge for vs then wee conceive, for I do not see how we can thrive vntill we gett into a stock of slaves sufficient to doe all our business...."[52]

While we do not have Winthrop's answer, the brutality of the suggestion, and the matter-of-fact way in which it was stated, is not out of line with the trends in Indian enslavement following the Pequot War. After the experience of King Philip's War, however, came the re-examination of the relationships between God, Puritan, and Indian, and it is quite possible that the Puritans became aware of the fact that the cry of "Indian idolatry" and the need to stamp it out had become a convenient call-to-arms for anyone who sought to profit at the expense of the redskins.

The reaction following King Philip's War manifested itself in attempts to protect Indians from such schemes. Another practice from which the Puritans tried to protect the Indians was that of the Indians' apprenticing themselves and their children to the whites for specific periods of time. Sometimes

the whites refused to release the Indians at the end of their service and sometimes even sold them as slaves out of the country. On occasion the whites duped the unsuspecting Indians into unreasonable terms of indenture. Massachusetts enacted a law in 1700 making it mandatory for two justices of the peace to consent to any such apprenticeship.[53]

Caution seems to have been the key element in the Puritans' relations with the Indians, which were characterized as well by confusion and contradiction. While this study does not examine Negro slavery, the fact that Indians were being traded for Negroes suggests that no problems existed in regard to black slaves as they did with Indian slaves. The Puritans never questioned whether the Negro had a divine purpose on earth. The Negro was a heathen, to be imported into the colony for the purpose of servitude. The Puritans could never be as sure about the Indians, for the Puritans tended to see all problems in terms of black and white, and herein lay the crux of the problem: the Indians, literally, were neither black nor white. To the Puritans the Indians turned out to be an intellectual problem more than anything else, and one that could not be easily solved. Fortunately for them, though unhappily for the Indians, the Puritans never really had to solve the problem. Indian men were shipped off to the West Indies; Negro men were imported into the colonies. As Negro slavery superseded Indian slavery it is not unreasonable to suppose that the remaining Indian slaves were

assimilated into the larger group of black slaves. As an indication of this we have only to look at Samuel Sewall's "The Selling of Joseph," published in 1700. Dealing with the issue of slavery, it is concerned not with Indians but with Negroes.[54] And, as Puritans became more worldly, their concern over, for example, the Indians' origins, diminished. By the eighteenth century the Indians were no longer the Puritans' immediate neighbors, and the Indians in captivity were not a danger to the colony. In this manner, for the Puritans, the Indian problem was solved.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

1 William Strachey, The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia (London, 1849), p. 8.

2 Ibid., p. 72-73.

3 Letter from Amerigo Vespucci to Piero Soderini (1504), in Wilcomb Washburn, The Indian and the White Man (New York, 1964), p. 8.

4. George H. Moore, Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts (New York, 1866), p. 31.

5 Strachey, p. 46.

6 Thomas Lechford, "Plaine Dealing; Or, Newes From New England," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, ser. 3 vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1833), p. 103. /Often cited as MHS/

7 Albert Gallatin, "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes in North America," in Collections of the American Antiquarian Society, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1836), p. 151 /Often cited as AAS./

8 Edmund S. Morgan, "The American Indian: Incorrigible Individualist," in Mirror of the Indian (Providence, 1958), p. 8.

9 Ibid., p. 10.

10 Fayette Avery McKenzie, The Indian in Relation to the White Population of the United States (Columbus, 1908), p. 6.

11 William Bradford, "Of Plymouth Plantation," in MHS, ser. 4, vol. 3 (Boston, 1856), p. 288.

12 Howard Bradstreet, The Story of the Pequot War of 1637 From Original Narratives (Hartford, 1930), p. 5.

13 Ibid., pp. 6-18.

14 Ibid., p. 8.

15 John Frost, ed., Indian Battles, Captivities and Adventures (New York, 1858), p. 36.

16 Almon W. Lauber, "Indian Slavery in Colonial Times Within the Present Limits of the United States," in Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. 54, no. 3 (New York, 1913), p. 375.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I, continued

17 Bradford, p. 256.

18 Lauber, 278. See also Forrest Morgan, ed., Connecticut as a Colony and as a State, vol. 1 (Hartford, 1904), p. 54.

19 Lauber, p. 290.

20 Ib id., p. 448.

21 Forrest Morgan, pp. 132-133.

22 Ibid., pp. 136-137.

23 Frost, p. 37.

24 Roger Williams to John Winthrop (9/18/1637), in MHS, ser. 4, vol. 4 (Boston, 1863), p. 214.

25 Lauber, p. 377.

26 "Present State of New England With Respect to the Indian War," Faithfully Composed by a Merchant of Boston, (12/13/1675), p. 24.

27 Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay of New England, vol. 5 (Boston, 1854), p. 101.

28 _____, Records of the Colony of New Plymouth, vol. 5 (Boston, 1856), p. 174.

29 David Pulsifer, ed., Records of the Colony of New Plymouth, vol. 11 (Boston, 1861), p. 242.

30 Bernard C. Steiner, "The History of Slavery in Connecticut," in Johns Hopkins University Studies, vol. 11, nos. 9-10 (Baltimore, 1893), p. 379. /Often cited as JHU./

31 Daniel Gookin, "An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England," in AAS, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1836), pp. 437-439.

32 Irvin M. Peithman, Broken Peace Pipes (Springfield, 1964), p. 204.

33 Ibid.

34 Josiah Priest, Bible Defense of Slavery (Glasgow, Hy., 1853), p. 91.

35 Five Books of Moses (Vienna, 1928), p. 6. See also J. H. Hertz, The Pentateuch and the Haftorahs, vol. I (London), p. 36.

36 Lauber, p. 259.

37 Priest, p. 33.

38 Lechford, p. 103.

39 Lauber, p. 418.

40 Ibid.

41 Pulsifer, vol. 11, p. 71. See also Moore, p. 32, and Steiner, p. 380.

42 Edward McCrady, "Slavery in the Province of South Carolina 1670-1770," in Annual Report of the American Historical Society, 1895 (Washington, D.C., 1896), p. 641.

43 Edmund S. Morgan, p. 11.

44 Strachey, pp. 74-75.

45 George E. Ellis, The Red Men and the White Men in North America (Boston, 1882), pp. 144-145.

46 Lauber, p. 457.

47 Ibid., p. 455.

48 Pulsifer, p. 237.

49 Shurtleff, New Plymouth, vol. 5, p. 244.

50 Lauber, pp. 379-381.

51 Shurtleff, New Plymouth, vol. 6 (Boston, 1856), pp. 14-15.

52 Emanuel Downing to John Winthrop (1645), in MHS, ser. 4, vol. 4, p. 65.

53 Lauber, pp. 448-450.

54 Lawrence W. Towner, "The Sewall-Saffin Dialogue on Slavery," in William and Mary Quarterly, ser. 3, vol. 21, no. 1 (January, 1964), pp. 40-52.

CHAPTER II

TRADE AND TREACHERY

The events surrounding enslavement of the Indians in the Southern colonies differed remarkably from those in New England. While uniformity of policy existed among the New England colonies, there was no uniformity in the South. In Maryland and Virginia, Indian slavery was extremely rare, while in Carolina it became an important factor in the economic and political development of the colony. Since Indian slavery played such an important part in the development of Carolina, and since its role in the history of Maryland and Virginia was minimal, most of this chapter will consider events in Carolina. Before examining Indian slavery in Carolina it will be necessary to give some background to show how the British got control of the area.

The land included in the grant of Carolina has been referred to as "the Southern frontier" and has been compared to other borders throughout the world where the English competed with the Spanish and French for commercial and colonial supremacy.[1] Carolina was a typical border state, and the clash between the English and the Spanish, who occupied the territory to the South, was inevitable. The clash was not based merely on the fact that the British occupied

land which was claimed by the Spanish--which would have been sufficient for armed action; it was also based on the fact that the settlement of the Southern frontier brought the Spanish face-to-face with a completely alien idea of colonialization and empire.[2]

The expansion of the Carolinas marked the downfall of the Bourbon empire in North America. The English, audaciously settling upon Spanish domain, began to push westward, and the Spanish saw this aggressiveness of the Carolinians as a threat to Louisiana. To the Spanish and their French allies one thing was clear: the British colony had to be destroyed.[3] Verner Crane states that the frontier skirmishes between the English in Carolina and the Spanish in Florida were in effect "the first blow struck by the English for control of the Mississippi Valley."[4]

The importance of control of the Mississippi is obvious: for the British it was a means of expanding trade and consequently expanding her empire; for the Spanish it was a means of containing the British. For each camp an alliance with the native Indian tribes was imperative. The Indians were employed by each side to attack the other, and for the British, they were also a source of trade. The Indian trade was important for several reasons. Besides being a source of revenue, it kept the Indians friendly and kept them away from the Spanish. As one Englishman put it, "the English trade for Cloath always attracts and maintains the

obedience and friendship of the Indians, they Effect them most who sells best cheap."[5] In Crane's opinion, trade with the Indians was the chief instrument of Carolina expansion during the colonial period--more important even than the raising of rice and indigo.[6]

Tangential to trade with the Indians is the less respectable trade in Indians. Seen against a background of frontier conditions--hostile Spanish, their Indian allies, and settlers who pushed farther inland and away from any center of control--Indian slavery emerges as a natural corollary to the settlement of the region.

Within the limits of the present state of South Carolina were twenty-eight tribes, each with its own dialect, and many unrelated linguistic stocks. The Cusabo (known also as the Edisto), the Stono, and the Kiawah, who were a weak confederacy of fishing tribes related to the Creeks, lived along the coast. Up river in the eastern half of the colony were about twelve tribes of Siouan stock. While they were hunters and warriors and lived a partially nomadic life, they still engaged in considerable agriculture. On the savannah dwelt the Apalachee, the Yuchi, the Yamassee, the Shawnee, and the Chickasaw, each unrelated to the others. The fierce and powerful Cherokees settled along the middle and western piedmont.[7]

All the tribes of the Southeast were village dwellers and had cultures based primarily on agriculture and secondarily on hunting. Of their many crops the most abundant were corn, beans, pumpkins, squash, and melons. The importance of corn to the Indians is seen by the elaborate ceremonies that revolved around that crop. The Spanish explorer, de Soto, writing to the officials in Santiago in the sixteenth century, told them that his forces saw fields of maize, beans, and other crops large enough to feed an army.[8]

Following the same pattern as the Indians of the Northeast, those of the Southeast shared their food with the strange white men, first the Spanish and then the English. It has been said that the Indians were responsible for the success of those two nations' colonial efforts,[9] yet by their generosity the Indians hastened the end of their own civilization.

The Spanish were the first white men with whom the Southeast Indians came into contact. The Spanish attitude toward the Indians can be seen from several letters and reports written at the end of the sixteenth century. In 1574 the Indians committed several murders along the coast of Florida. The Spanish protested that they had treated the Indians well, and had given them no cause for such action. Complaining about Indian depredations, one Spaniard suggested as a remedy "that war be made upon them /the Indians/ with all rigor...and that those taken alive shall

be sold as slaves, removing them from the country and taking them to the neighboring islands of Cuba, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico."[10]

It appears that there was a lobby working out of the Caribbean islands to have Indians sent there, and it is interesting to observe the different reasons a Cuban official gave when he petitioned the King for the importation of Indian slaves. His first concern, he said, was for the royal patrimony. He then pointed out that the Indians who were working the gold and copper mines had died. Obviously, if there were no slaves to work the mines, how would the gold find its way to the king's coffers? If the monetary angle were not enough, the petition also included references to Indian idolatry, and implied that the enslavement of the Indians would be a means of saving the Indians' sould.[11] How could the king possibly refuse?

The harshness of early Spanish rule over the Indians is exemplified by the legalization of enslavement through royal decree. It was justified on the grounds that enslavement was the only way in which the Indians might be converted to Christianity. Consequently, the patents issued to the explorers contained provisions for the spiritual welfare of the enslaved Indians.[12] Ponce de Leon's instructions included "requesting" the Indians either to accept Christianity and acknowledge the authority of the king and queen or to face death or enslavement.[13] The church

strongly backed up the Crown, declaring that all those who refused to accept the "truth" as defined by the Roman Catholic Church were fair objects of rapine, captivity, and slavery.[14]

The Spanish did their work so well that by the time the English arrived the Spanish mission system had reduced the Indians to the condition of Christian serfs.[15] This is not to imply that the Indians gave in without a struggle. In 1576, when the Cusabo revolted against the Spanish, one of their complaints centered around the Spanish identification of the Indian idols with the devil. Three years later, however, the Spanish were able to regain control over the tribe, and the Indians soon learned that it was easier to accept a new god than to resist the might of the conquerors.[16] This was the state of affairs until the second half of the seventeenth century, when two separate events took place: the invasion of the area by the Westo Indians and the arrival of the British.

The Spanish, supreme in the area, had let their fortifications degenerate into a string of missions, so that when the Westoes invaded the area, the Spanish were not able to repel them. Since the Westoes preyed on the weak Indians rather than on the Spanish, the Cusabo felt it necessary, for their own protection, to embrace the English.[17] When it appeared that trade opportunities with the English were good, the Cusabo became even more strongly tied to the new white settlers.

This, then, is the background for the rivalry between the Spanish and the English in which the Indians were to be pawns. The Spanish did their best to keep the Indians away from, and to incite them against, the English, while the English sought, and were able, to attract the Indians over to their side by trade. This left the Spanish without allies. Through trade and treachery, the English were able to supersede the Spanish and, when that task was completed, to overcome the Indians.

The alliance between the Indians and the English was not always an easy one for some Indian tribes remained loyal to the Spanish, and the Westoes, that formidable group which terrorized the other Indians, kept the English always guessing which way their animosity would turn. The major attempt to create an alliance with the Westoes occurred through the efforts of Henry Woodward, who made a daring voyage into Westo territory on December 31, 1674. Dr. Woodward was a man of prominence in Carolina because of his knowledge of, and his influence with, the local Indians, with whom he had lived for a time. In October, 1674, some Westoes appeared at the Earl of Shaftesbury's plantation to trade. Woodward was sent to meet the Indians and was later sent to meet the Indians and was later sent to establish friendly relations with them on behalf of the colony. In describing his trip, Woodward stated that the Westoes lived in a well fortified town, and that along the riverbank were more than one hundred

canoes kept ready for war parties. He found that the Westoes were well provided with ammunition, which they got through trade with the North in return for furs and Indian slaves.[18]

We can safely assume that these Indian slaves were taken from the weaker tribes of the Cusabo confederation. One should also note Woodward's divulgence about where the Westoes got their ammunition, and remember that one of the complaints of the Virginia colonists against the administration of Governor Sir William Berkeley was that arms were being sold to the Indians. Crane claims that the Westoes got their guns from Virginia, and since the Spanish refrained from arming "their" Indians, the Cusabo were able to defend themselves only with bows and arrows. This was a major factor in the successes of the Westoes.[19]

Woodward's findings and the conclusions drawn from them became the cornerstone of English Indian policy in Carolina. By keeping the Westoes well supplied the English opened a lucrative trade with them, hoped to keep them friendly, and expected the Westoes to use their ammunition against the tribes allied to the Spanish.[20]

The Spanish were dismayed by these developments. In 1675 they uncovered a British poot to prepare the Westoes for an attack on Florida. The source of this information was an Indian woman who had escaped from slavery among the Westoes.[21]

From the British point of view, the Spanish were getting a taste of their own medicine, for in 1670 and in 1671 the British

had expected Indian attacks at the instigation of the Spanish and had therefore fortified Charles Town with a palisade and organized the militia into six divisions.[22] Governor William Sayle, writing home in 1670, stated that the colony was low on supplies, and the Spanish, being aware of the English situation, sent a party of Indians to attack the English. The English found out about the planned attack and were able to scare off the Indians with the noise from their guns. The English knew that the Spanish were behind the plot because one of the "English" Indians reported seeing a friar among the attacking group.[23]

The mutual distrust and fear that existed between the English and the Spanish, and the desire of each one to be rid of the other, characterized the first stage in the enslavement of the Indians by the English. The best way for the British to eliminate the Spanish was through the Indians. The English plan was to have their Indian allies attack and eliminate those Indian tribes allied with the Spanish. If the "English" Indians attacked the "Spanish" Indians, it could not be said that the English were following a destructive policy towards the red men, and the English could keep the good faith of all the tribes which presented prospective markets for English wares. This policy of using Indians to punish Indians was developed to a much greater degree in later years. However, if the Spanish Indians were set upon by the English Indians, it is obvious that many would be killed and many

would be captured. These captives were taken and enslaved by the Indian tribe which captured them and were then traded or sold to the English, rather than being given immediately to the English. While there is no evidence that this was an official policy, it was certainly a practical one.

Lauber claims that the use of Indians as slaves began with the founding of Carolina because there was a need for labor, and the source was near at hand.[24] A study of the colonial records, however, indicates that even though the colony needed labor and eventually came to employ Indian slaves, the beginning of Indian slavery resulted from the attempt to render the Spanish harmless. The records also show that the first Indian slaves were not kept within the colony. Lauber contradicts himself when he states that captives taken during the Kusso War of 1671 and the Stono War of 1680 were sold out of the colony as slaves.[25]

With the removal of any real threat from the Spanish, relations between the English and the Indians began to deteriorate. The reason can be traced to the activities of the traders, "the advance guard of British civilization."[26] A description of these men is to be found among the official letters of Alexander Spotswood, who wrote in a later period. He stated that the Englishmen (the frontiersmen) who were the neighbors of the Indians were an uncouth lot living from hand-to-mouth, immoral, and unconcerned about religion. Knowing the Indians' reaction to liquor, they got the Indians drunk and then stole from them. This caused the

Indians, who were unfamiliar with English justice, to revenge themselves by killing whites--if possible, the offenders; if not, anyone. No hostilities were ever committed by the Indians unless the frontiersmen provoked them.[27]

In 1680 the Westo War broke out. The Carolinians found allies among the Savannah and Shawnee Indians. The ferocity of the war and the tenacity of the Westoes was described by one of the colonists in a letter written in 1682:

> The land near the sea side is generally a light and sandy ground, but up in the Country they say there is very good land, and the farther up the better, but that which at present doth somewhat hinder the selling /settling/ farther up, is a war that they are ingaged in against a tribe of Barbarous Indians being not above 60 in number, but by reason of their great growth and cruelty in feeding on all their neighbors, they are terrible to all other Indians, of which, there are above 40 severall Kingdoms.... We are at peace with all but those common enemies of mankind, those man eaters before mentioned, by name the Westoes....[28]

The English won in the end, and in 1683 it was reported that no more than fifty Westo warriors remained alive, and that they were scattered.[29]

The Proprietors were not pleased with the destruction of the Westoes, for it was generally known that fear of the Westoes was what kept the lesser tribes bound to the English. Now there was nothing to keep the Indians from attacking the whites. The Proprietors claimed that the traders were in favor of war with the Westoes because of the traders' close association with the

Charles Town slave dealers. However, it seems odd that the slave traders would want to destroy the one tribe which had been the chief supplier of slaves by virtue of its greater strength. Still, the role of the traders was decisive in the area of Indian slavery, for they were unconcerned about keeping the tribes dependent upon the British. The traders moved outside organized society. When their actions led the Indians to arms, the traders were not the ones who were affected. The settlers living at the edge of the settlement were the ones who felt the short end of the Indians' temper. For the traders, the disappearance of the Westoes meant the removal of one more barrier to inland trade. Recognizing this, the Proprietors wrote that they could not judge whether the Westo War was fought out of real necessity, or only to serve the special interests of the traders.[30]

The colonists, too, were glad of the removal of the Westo barrier, for the expansion of trade led to the rise of Savannah as an entrepôt, and to the general expansion of the colony. Consequently, at this early date, the only criticism of the traders came from the Proprietors. This is not to imply that the Proprietors were against the growth of trade. However, the colonists felt that the Westo alliance had primarily benefitted the Proprietors, for an order of 1677 gave the Proprietors a monopoly over the Westo trade, confining the trade of the

settlers to those tribes living around the settlement. While the Proprietors insisted that this was done for the settlers' protection, the settlers themselves did not like it. Following the Westo War, failure to check the expansion of the individual traders and to stop the increased slave trade led to the decline of Proprietary authority over Indian trade.[31]

In 1682 an "Account of the Province of Carolina" reported that the English had nothing to fear from the Indians since the Indians, from fighting among themselves, had become few in number.[32] However, the Proprietors' prediction that the removal of the Westo "barrier" would result in invasions of other tribes was closer to the truth. In a letter written in 1685, the writer stated that bands of "Cowetaw, Kussetaw, and Yamasse" Indians were descending on the British colony, and that it was feared that the Spanish were organizing the Indians.[33] Not only does it appear that the tribes once held at bay by the Westoes were taking advantage of the removal of their enemy, but that the Spanish, too, intended to profit by the changed situation.

Crane states that the question of Indian slavery and the question of the Proprietary monopoly over the inland Indian trade were two vital and controversial issues between the colonists and the Lords Proprietors.[34] We have already seen

how the colonists felt about the trade restrictions by their actions in regard to the Westoes. Yet trade and slavery have to be seen as mutually dependent factors in the growth of the colony. In the South, no tribe acted, as did the Iroquois in New York, as middleman for the Indian trade. Consequently, the traders were able to penetrate the wilderness. Moreover, the intertribal wars, on which the Indian slave trade was dependent, were wasteful in terms of human life and led to quick and easy penetration of the interior.[35] Without the circumstances which led to the capture of Indian slaves--intertribal wars instigated in no small degree by the traders--trade could not expand, and the expansion of trade automatically meant an increase in the slave trade. This developed into a well-planned program. Slave-taking expeditions against Florida left from the Carolina backcountry.[36] These expeditions served as an outlet for the Indians' warlike energies. They also weakened the defenses of the Spanish and enriched the Carolina traders and slave dealers.

In reaction to these developments, the Proprietors ordered, in 1682, that no Indians were to be enslaved or sent away and declared all Indians living within four hundred miles of Charles Town to be British subjects and entitled to protection as such.[37] On the other hand, the traders were able to refer to the order issued by the Grand Council, in 1671 during the Kusso War, "'that every company who went out upon that expedition shall

secure and maintaine the Indians they have taken till they can transport the said Indians.'"[38] The government clearly meant this as an emergency measure to get volunteers and to dispose of war prisoners. However, the profitability of the plan soon became apparent, and living as they did on a frontier with no supervision, who could contradict the traders when they declared that the taking and exporting of slaves was necessary for the well-being of the colony? Certainly not the settlers who benefitted from the increased trade opportunities brought about by the traders, and certainly not the merchants in Charles Town who owed a good deal of their prosperity to the traders' activities. Again, the only people who did protest were the Proprietors, who saw an end to their monopoly if the traders kept up their work. The Proprietors showed proper indignation when the colony defended its exportation of Waniah Indians, contrary to the order of 1682, by claiming that the Savannahs, who captured the Waniahs in the first place, were too powerful to be offended, and if the colonists did not buy the Waniahs as slaves, those Indians would have suffered cruel death at the hands of their captors.[39] Writing to the Governor, the Proprietors stated that they were not satisfied with the Reasons given for buying and selling the Waniah Indians. They further stated that they were "very jealous that the private gains made by some by buying slaves of the Indians has more to do with the opinion that they ought to be transported, than considera-

tion of public safety or benefit...."[40] This indicates, among other things, that as late as 1683 Indians were still being exported rather than kept in the colony for labor.

One of the major fears of the Proprietors was that the slave dealers were gaining control of local government. On March 13, 1685, the Proprietors wrote a letter to Governor Benjamin West taking notice of West's remarks to them about the "dealers in Indians" being "the greatest sticklers against having ye parliament Chosen as wee have directed...." The Proprietors ended the letter with the hope that West would not be swayed and governed by the traders as had been the former Governor, Sir Richard Kirle.[41] Included in the letter was an order forbidding the granting of governmental appointments to Maurice Mathews, James Moore, and Arthur Middleton because they "sent away" Indians.

In another letter, addressed to "the Governor of South Carolina," and also dated March 13, 1685, the Proprietors took a completely different stand. The people of Berkeley County objected to having an equal number of representatives from each county as outlined by the Proprietors. The Proprietors wrote that "Wee take notice of your opinion yt ye people of Berkeley County will not submitt to have tenn members chosen out of each County, pray are you to governe the people or ye people you...."[42] Noting that the chief complaints came from "dealers in Indians," the Proprietors continued:

> It is true that wee have heard that divers sober men are scandalized about this affair of ye parliament but in a quite different manner then you have represented it to us, for they have been scandalized to see the Combination yt is made to have all the members Chosen still at Charles towne, Where ye dealers in Indian bost they can with a bole of punch get who they would Chosen of ye parliament and afterwards who they would Chosen of ye Grand Councell....[43]

The Proprietors further charged that these men were responsible for getting parliament to pass an act forbidding the sale of firearms to the Indians, yet at the same time, by packing the government, "have made warrs & peace with ye Indians as it best suted their private advantage in trade which put the country into hazard...."[44] The letter ended with the observation that because of these conditions, sober and considering men did not wish to live in the colony and moved to Virginia. Reminding the Governor that the colonial patent gave them the right to assemble freeholders in such a manner as they saw fit, the Proprietors made it quite clear that they expected their laws to be carried out.[45]

The Proprietors were anxious to reform the government of Carolina and to consolidate their control. The Indian slave trade was one of the colonial practices which the Proprietors felt were undermining their authority. To regain complete control the Proprietors had to break the power of the slave dealers.

Just who were these slave dealers? For the most part

they were men who came to Carolina from Barbadoes and who settled in the region of Goose Creek, a tributary of the Cooper River--hence the name "Goose Creek Gang" was applied to them. The two most important leaders of the faction were Maurice Mathews and James Moore--"Mine Heer Mauritius and the heating Moor.../those/ Geese of Utopia."[45] Moore came to Carolina about 1675 from Barbadoes and married Margaret Berringer, step-daughter of the late Governor Sir John Yeamans.[47] At first he managed the Yeamans' estate, but he soon turned to the more profitable Indian slave trade.[48] Mathews was appointed deputy to the Earl of Shaftesbuty in 1671[49] and was given some of the Indian trade "in order to the purchasing from the Indians the land of Edistoh or Colleton River or such other Lande thereabouts as is needful...."[50]

Mathews was given a small share of the Indian trade and soon desired a greater share. Moore needed money. Both men used the slave trade as a means of gaining wealth, and both men became leaders of the antiproprietary faction in the colony to guarantee the continued source of their wealth. Moore even managed to get himself elected Governor in 1700, and was able to use his office to get the whole of the trade into his hands. In the same year in which he was elected he brought a bill into the Assembly for the "regulation" of the Indian trade. Moore's opponents--who were equally desirous

of getting rich on Indian flesh--saw his aim and threw the bill out. Moore then dissolved the Assembly and saw to it that "Strangers, Servants, Aliens, nay Malatoes--Negroes" were allowed to vote, even though law said that only freeholders could vote.[51]

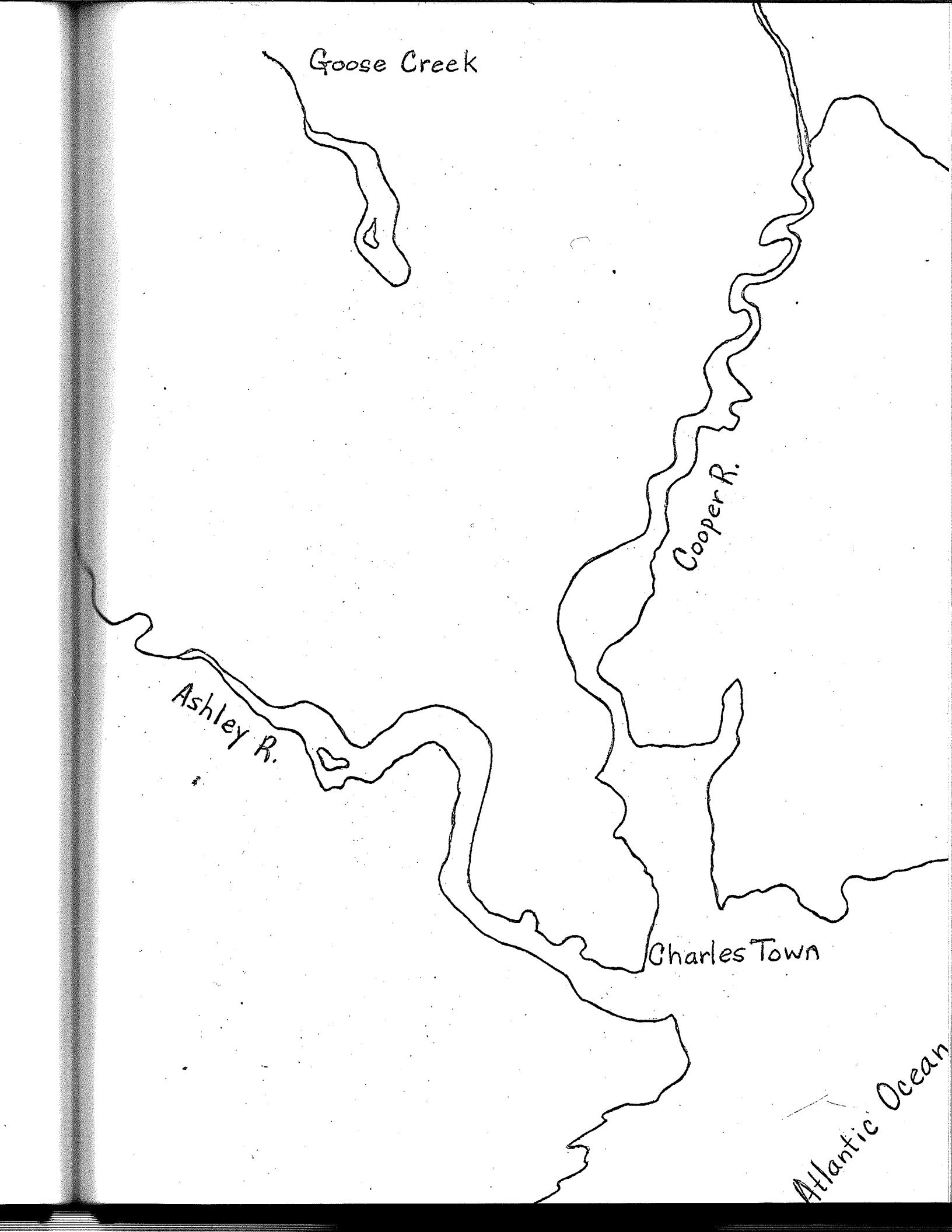
One of the first attempts to break the power of the Goose Creek Gang was initiated by Proprietors Craven and Archdale, who sought to recruit new settlers to Carolina. These new settlers were to be recruited from the ranks of the religious dissenters in Europe. It was expected that these people, persecuted at home, would be more obedient to the Proprietors in return for the protection and freedom of worship given to them.[52] The new settlers congregated in the vicinity of Port Royal and sought to gain control of the legitimate Indian trade. The result was an increase in factionalism: proprietary versus antiproprietary groups, new immigrants versus old settlers, English and Scottish dissenters versus Barbadian Anglicans.

In an attempt to attract the dissenters the Proprietors, in 1682, revised the Fundamental Constitutions of 1669. The colonial legislature was made tricameral, and a majority of each house was now required for passage of a law. Also, non-Anglicans were no longer to be taxed for support of the Anglican Church.[55] The Goose Creek men fought back by challenging the legality of the Proprietary government. They claimed that when the original Fundamental Constitutions were voided, the only legal foundation for government was the original royal charter of 1665. Consequently,

all laws passed under the Fundamental Constitutions (specifically, all laws against the Indian slave trade) were illegal.[54] While this resolution was not passed in the Council, its net effect was to hurt the Proprietary government, for the Goose Creek men made it appear to the public that an illegal government was being forced on the colony.

Another way in which the Proprietors sought to decrease the power of the Goose Creek faction involved redistricting the land. In 1690 the Proprietors decided to divide Berkeley County into precincts with the excuse they were informed that it was expensive and inconvenient for the inhabitants of the county to come to Charles Town for elections. The county was split four ways: the first precinct included the land between the Ashley and Cooper Rivers from Charles Town to Goose Creek; the second precinct included the land Northwest of Goose Creek between the two rivers; the third precinct included the land South of the Ashley River; and the fourth precinct included the land South of the Ashley River; and the fourth precinct included the land North of the Cooper River.[55]

In 1686 James Colleton, brother of Proprietor Sir Peter Colleton, was appointed Governor of Carolina. Colleton let it be known that he planned to dismiss the Goose Creek controlled parliament and initiate rule by martial law. The Goose Creek men saw their power lost unless they could make Colleton lose


Goose Creek
Cooper R.
Ashley R.
Charles Town
Atlantic Ocean

the goodwill of the people. To do this the Goose Creekers offered to pass an act for an excise on liquor and sugar imported into the colony. All Colleton had to do was introduce the bill. At the same time the Goose Creekers gave instructions to their allies to block passage of the excise and complained to the people of Colleton's avarice.[56] In 1693 it was reported that the Goose Creek men were trying to compromise Philip Ludwell, who was then Governor, in the same way by offering him a gift of £1000 in return for a general act of indemnity--which was not in Ludwell's power to grant. The Proprietors learned of this and wrote to Ludwell warning him not to be trapped by the Goose Creek men, as Colleton had been.[57] The Proprietors realized that the Goose Creek men were trying to discredit the proprietary government, while at the same time making themselves appear to be the defenders of liberty in the colony. By opposing every innovation by the Proprietors in order to protect their own economic interests, by refusing even to pay their rents to the Proprietors, the Goose Creek men were responsible for keeping conditions in Carolina unsettled.

In order to reinforce their position against the traders and to champion the cause of the Indians, the Proprietors instituted regulations which aimed at restricting private trade. Further, they set up a special commission to regulate the trade and to guarantee justice for all Indians involved in disputes with white settlers.

From the time of the first permanent white settlements, restrictions against trade with the Indians were in effect. As

early as 1626 the Privy Council of England forbade whites to receive Indians in their homes or to trade with them without special licenses.[58] The reason given was that this would avoid treachery by the Indians, and since the Virginia colonists experienced a massacre by the Indians in 1622, this order must be seen as a purely protective measure. A problem arose, however, when the Carolina Proprietors, for the safety of the settlement, prohibited the inhabitants from trading with the Spanish, the Westoes, or the Cussatoes for a period of seven years.[59] The exception to the rule was that one could trade with the Indians if one obtained a license from Shaftesbury and one other Proprietor.[60]

Two factors probably made this measure difficult for the colonists to accept: the Carolinians did not have the nightmarish memory of a massacre, and it was known that Shaftesbury wanted to develop a private trade with the inland tribes. He had begun promoting his project in 1674,[61] and many colonists interpreted Woodward's Westo voyage as a trip to obtain information for Shaftesbury's private plans, rather than to benefit the colonists.

To what extent humanitarian motives moved the Proprietors to seek the regulation of the Indian trade does not really matter. The important point is that the Proprietors were anxious for the maintenance of peaceful relations between the Indians and the whites.

Their endeavors, however, were spotty and were neither obeyed nor enforced. Failure of the colonists to obey the restrictive measures enacted by the Proprietors, especially after the destruction of the Westoes in 1683, along with the insolent and independent spirit of the Goose Creek Gang from the period between 1683 to the turn of the century, made the Proprietors realize that strong action on their part was required if they were to retain any control over colonial affairs. The best way to control colonial affairs (i.e., contain the Goose Creek Gang) was through the regulation of the Indian trade. The Proprietors, therefore, set up, by an act of the General Assembly in 1707, the Commission for the Indian Trade. On July 6, 1716, the Proprietors issued an order which can only be interpreted as an attempt to recreate and more strongly enforce the monopoly over the Indian trade which they enjoyed at the beginning of settlement. This order prohibited anyone not licensed by the Commissioners to trade with any Indians. If caught, the offender was required to pay a fine of £500, plus forfeiture of all skins, furs, and slaves which were bought or traded for. These items were to be directed for sale to Mr. Thomas Barton, storekeeper to the Charles Town Commissioners.[62] To Col. Theophilus Hastings, Public Factor and Trader appointed by the Board, instructions were given to keep an inventory of all merchandise entrusted to him; to trade only with friendly Indians in exchange for "all such

Manner of Truck, as Skins, Furrs, Slaves or other vendible Commodities...;" to enslave no free Indian of a friendly nation; to trade with no unfriendly Indians; to give no credit to the Indians; to buy no single male Indian slaves over fourteen years of age; and to refrain from trading privately, or on the behalf of any individual.[63] Even though the Proprietors never opposed the enslavement of unfriendly Indians, the fact that they made reference to it by prohibiting only the enslavement of friendly Indians may be interpreted as a concession of sorts to the slave interests in the colony, for the instructions could be interpreted to mean that the Proprietors would condone enslavement as long as the slaves were not taken from a friendly tribe.

A second function of the Commission was to regulate Indian-white relations. In fact, the first part of the Journal of the Commission, covering the period from 1710 to 1715, deals mainly with this problem. It seems reasonable that the Proprietors, anxious to regularize trade procedures, would have to regularize all aspects of intercourse with the natives. Also, anyone seeking the best advantages of trade with the Indians first had to win the confidence of the Indians. The Commission tried to do this. Again, we must point out that this was not a new attitude on the part of the Proprietors. In answering a complaint in 1677 that the settlers were

encroaching upon Indian lands, the Proprietors wrote that in order to continue living in peace it was imperative that the settlers refrain from antagonizing the Indians. Not only did the Proprietors reprimand the settlers for encroaching on Indian land, they also ordered that a "strict inquiry" be made into the recent killing of an Indian, and that the guilty person be punished according to law so as to prove to the Indians that the colony had no desire to oppress them.[64]

One of the first entries in the Journal was an order giving an Appalachee Indian and his wife their freedom until Philip Gilliard, who claimed them as slaves, could prove his ownership at a hearing before the Commissioners. Three other men, listed as Capt. Musgrove, Richard Edghill, and John Pight, were also ordered to release Indians held by them as slaves. The Commissioners also set free an Indian woman who had been given to Pight by her people. The Commissioners judged this to be an unreasonable gift.[65]

The name of Capt. Musgrove appears several times in the Journal. A complaint was filed against him by the Indians for having come to their village and ordered them to hoe his corn or be beaten by him.[66] His name appears again a month later, only this time he himself filed the complaint. According to Musgrove, the Creek Indians still owed him partial payment for two hundred

pounds of powder and five hundred pounds of bullets which they used in a war against the Choctaw. The Commission set up a hearing and found that Musgrove forced the ammunition on the Indians, who had made sufficient payment for this merchandise.[67] It is significant that Indian testimony was not only heard but believed.

The earnestness with which the Commission worked can be seen from a letter sent by the Board to one of its agents in 1711:

> We received yours /letter/ dated from Pocotallagua the 14th May and another from Huspau the 21st, same Month, in Both which you tell us of the great Paines and Care you are obliged to take in performing your Duty. We allso take notice of the Difficulty you encounter to bring the headstrong, unruly Traders to Reason.... We also take Notice of the many grievous complaints you send us, perticulerly that of Capt Peterson which we look on as the heyest Crimes he could be guilty off and may assure yourself that we will seek all means possible to have him punished according to the Nature thereof, you furnishing us with Proofs that he hath proceded according to your Allegation. We also take Notice of Philip Gilliard's Behavior and hope you will loose no Time of sending Proofs of his trading that we may procede accordingly....[68]

The Commission saw as its duty the punishment of, and prevention of abuses by, the traders. The offense for which the traders were most frequently punished was trading without a license, and the entries of October 14, 1710, and March 9, 1711, deal with the prosecution and fining of offenders. If someone who possessed a license was convicted of an offense, he usually

forfeited the bond he had paid for his license, usually £200.[69]

It must not be thought, however, that the Commission, in its desire to keep the Indians friendly, was one-sided in its decisions. On June 27, 1712, William Ford was brought before the Board to answer charges of having taken a slave from a Yamassee Indian. Ford claimed that the Indian owed him thirty-nine skins, and that he had taken the slave as security until the debt was paid. While the Commissioners ordered the return of the slave, they also instructed Thomas Nairne, Commissioner among the Yamassees, to make sure the debt to Ford was paid.[70] The Commission tried to prevent this situation from arising by urging the Indians to refrain from running up debts with the traders, whereupon "the Indians answered they were preparing to goe to War and a'hunting to pay their Debts."[71] This sounds very much like a slave raid, so that one might surmise that the traders purposely indebted the Indians to the point where the only way they could pay was by engaging in an intertribal war and bringing in slaves.

This might lead one to question the effectiveness of the Commission. Certainly the fact that certain names appear again and again indicates that the threat of a fine in no way hindered the unscrupulous. Still, one entry does bear testimony to the salutary effects these efforts had on the Indians. In 1715 a colonist named William Bray reported that one of his slaves came to Mrs. Bray and told her that the Creek Indians had a plan afoot to attack the traders, about whom they had complaints, and then

attack the settlement. The Commissioners immediately sent word to the chiefs, and the result was an agreement by the chiefs to come and discuss their grievances.[72]

Indian slavery was officially recognized during the Stono War of 1674, and prices were fixed on all Indians brought to Charles Town as prisoners. From Charles Townthe captives were exported to the West Indies. The excuse given for exportation, the same as that used in 1682 in regard to the Waniah, was that Indians captured by other tribes were tortured. To preserve the friendship of their allies, the English could not stop this practice. Therefore, the only humanitarian thing to do was to buy the captured Indians and ship them off to the West Indies as slaves.[73] One gets the distinct impression that this rationalization was felt necessary by the dealers who lived in Charles Town and who participated in the exportation to the Indies, rather than by the traders who were responsible for bringing the Indians to the slave markets. While both groups grew rich on the flesh of the Indians, the latter group never seems to have been bothered by ethics, nor did it try to excuse its actions with lame appeals smacking of humanitarianism, and, one might add, of hypocrisy.

We have observed how the Proprietors tried to prohibit the enslavement of Indians by the traders. Yet since the Proprietors at times felt it necessary to use the promise of slaves to enlist

volunteers for war, they must share the blame for what happened. Statutes such as that of 1708 promising a reward of one gun to any friendly Indian who captured or killed an enemy Indian[74] had the effect of turning the Indians themselves into slave dealers. Thomas Nairne wrote in 1708 that the "English" Indians had driven the "Spanish" Indians as far South as Florida, and were daily bringing in hundreds of slaves. "Our friend the Talapoosies and Chicasas Imploy themselves on making slaves of much Indians about the lower parts of the Mississippi as are now Subject to the french. The good prices the English Traders give them for slaves Encourage them to this trade...."[75] In fact, the encouragement was so great, and the Savannahs became such relentless slavers, that when the Westoes sent emissaries to discuss peace terms, the Savannahs took them prisoner and sold them.[76] Clearly, the Savannahs did not want peace, for it would deprive them of a source of revenue.

Sources dealing with captured Indians always state that the Indians were sent away to the West Indies. By keeping the Indians in the colony there was the problem of their escaping into the woods and the danger of their conspiring against the British with enemy Indians or with the Spanish. In 1699, according to Edward Randolph, there were five thousand slaves in Carolina.[77] A report

from the Governor and Council in 1708 gave the breakdown of population as follows:

Freemen	1360
Free women	900
Free children	1700
White indentured men	60
White indentured women	60
Negro male slaves	1800
Negro women slaves	1100
Negro children slaves	1200
Indian male slaves	500
Indian woman slaves	600
Indian children slaves	300 [78]

Of a population of 9,580, 5,550 were slaves. Of these, 4,100 were Negroes, while 1,400 were Indians. The fact that Negroes were the more desirable slaves was reflected in the dealings of the Charles Town slave markets. In 1712 an Indian sold for about £18 or £20, while a Negro brought twice that amount.[79] Therefore, it became more profitable to ship the Indians to the West Indies, where they were in greater demand, and to import Negroes.

The desire for Negroes and the large numbers brought into the colony necessitated the creation of slave codes. However, these laws all refer to the rights of Negro slave owners, and unless we assume, as Lauber does, that the word Negro also referred to Indians,[80] we can only guess that there were not enough Indians to justify the establishment of a code for them.

Lauber claims that "in all southern colonies Indian slaves worked in the fields side by side with the negroes up to the

time of the Revolution. The discovery, about 1693, of rice as a profitable staple for export, made necessary a large supply of labor in South Carolina; hence along with the negroes so largely imported to meet the demand, the Indian slaves worked also as the plantation system grew."[81] Lauber implies that the Indians were employed as field hands, yet testimony as to the value of Indians for this type of labor tends to contradict Lauber's notion. Indeed, the earliest mention of Indians in relation to the Negroes is dated 1682 and states that the Indians could be of great use to the colonists for capturing runaway Negro slaves.[82] Philip Gaillard, one of the colonists, claimed that the Wineau Indians could be employed as watch-dogs over the Negro slaves, for the Negroes seemed to be very frightened by the Indians.[83]

Both of these statements show that the Indians disliked the Negroes, who, in turn, feared the Indians. Consequently, unity between the two groups, either in working together in the fields, or in opposition to the British was unlikely.[84] If the Indians did work within the plantation system, we might guess that they were employed as house laborers, or to keep watch over the Negroes in the fields. It is doubtful that the Indians were used to any great extent as field hands.

Besides the traders, planters, and Proprietors, a fourth

group which came into contact with the Indians was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The Society was organized in 1661, and its charter stated that its main object was the instruction of the English, the Indians, and the Negroes. The rank established was intentional. David Humphreys, who wrote an historical account of the Society in 1730, explained that "the English planters had the title to their /the Society's/ first care, as brethren and countrymen, as having once been Christians, at least their parents. Besides, it would be ineffectual to begin with an attempt to convert the Indians and negroes, and to let our own people continue in their gross ignorance...."[85] Yet, concern for the Indian was there. In 1662 the Society petitioned in England and Wales for funds to build schools to christianize the Indian children, and to print the Bible in the Indian language.[86]

Officially, since its objective was conversion of the Indians, the Society took no stand on slavery. Still, individual missionaries from the Society were displeased by the enslavement practices they found in the colony. One of these men, Dr. Francis Le Jau, observed that the Indians were cruel to each other and that the traders played this cruelty to procure slaves.[87] Dr. Le Jau wrote:

> I fear is is but too true and that the slaves we have for necessary Service (for our white Servants in a months time prove good for nothing at all) are the price of great many Sins, I pray they may not be imputed to us.[88]

Four years later we find Dr. Le Jau making the same observations and deploring the same conditions.[89] But on May 27, 1712, he wrote to the Bishop of London criticizing the actions of the settlers who prevented conversion of the Indians for fear that baptism would mean manumission.[90] Le Jau seems to have accepted those great many sins which were the price for the "necessary service" of the Indians. He no longer condemned the traders who brought in the slaves, but the settlers who prevented the slaves' baptism. Unable to change the situation, Le Jau occupied himself with the task at hand: conversion.

To expect any effective action at this time from the Church of England was unrealistic. Arthur L. Cross, who wrote on the relations between the Church and the American colonies, divides Church authority into two spheres. One is ecclesiastical and is involved with the administration of government and discipline of the Church; the other is what he refers to as "ecclesiastico-civil" and includes in its jurisdiction marriages and the probate of wills.[91] While the Bishop of London received the commission as the diocesan of the plantations, the civil aspect was removed from his power in the case of the colonies. The colonial governors had become accustomed to presiding over civil matters, and it was deemed unwise to remove from the colonial governments those dignified and profitable jobs.[92] Consequently, the Church did not have much control over the colony. Even if the Church had had

stronger control and had come out against slavery, it is doubtful that this would have significantly influenced those most closely associated with the practice. One must also remember that the Church of England was an official state church, closely associated with the interests of the Crown. Nowhere did the Crown make any statement regarding Indian slavery, and it is unlikely that the Anglican Church would have done any more than the Crown.

A common charge against Carolina is that it stood first among the Southern colonies in the use of Indian slaves.[93] But the Virginia and Maryland Indians were by no means free from the prospect of enslavement. However, conditions in these colonies at the time of settlement were very different from those in Carolina.

In Virginia and Maryland, even though the latter was a proprietary grant, cheap land permitted development of small farms. According to the Rent Rolls of Virginia, the small yeoman farms in the seventeenth century outnumbered the large plantations. Slave labor was neither profitable nor necessary for the small farmer, and the use of indentured servants, even though this was not the most profitable form of labor, was still à la mode among the large plantation owners. It is possible that Indians were used as slaves on plantations, since it is a fact that Indians gave away slaves of their own as gifts to

the whites, yet the well known inability of the Indians to work in the fields probably made the planters dismiss the idea of drawing a large labor force from their ranks.

Another factor which must have played a part here was the nature of the tribes confronting the colonists. The Cusabo were weak and as a result became dependent on the Carolinians for protection. The Powhattans and the Pamunkeys, the tribes faced by the Virginians, were strong. Indeed, the Powhattans' domain was so large that their chief, also named Powhattan, was called "King" by the settlers.[94] John Smith claimed that there were twenty-eight tribes in the Powhattan confederation, but historian Ben C. McCary writes of a manuscript of 1622 which gives the number as thirty-two.[95] As to the number of people under Powhattan's rule at the time of the white settlement, McCary's estimate is nine thousand.[96] The Virginians had the massacre of 1622 to remind them of the strength of the Powhattans. If the planters at any time felt the need to use slave labor, this must have discouraged them from considering the Indians. Besides, in 1619 a Dutch ship had stopped at Jamestown and left some Negroes. By the time slave labor became profitable, the planters were looking toward the Negroes, not the Indians.[97]

The Maryland Colony Records contain an entry entitled "An Act for the Encourageing of the Importacon of Negroes and Slaves into this Province," dated April 19, 1671.[98] The Act makes reference to Negroes, Negro slaves, and slaves, but nowhere

mentions Indians. By 1695 the colony had developed a definite slave code, aimed specifically at the Negroes.[99] The value of Negro slaves is revealed by a business transaction carried out in 1642. Leonard Calvert sold three manors to a man named John Skinner, who, in return for the manors, was to deliver to Calvert fourteen male Negroes and three women between the ages of sixteen and twenty-six.[100] By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Negroes were being imported in great numbers. From 1704 to 1707, 2,734 Negro slaves were sent to Virginia.[101]

Significantly, most of the legislation regarding Indians in the Virginia and Maryland records deal with restrictions on trade. The only time the subject of Indian slavery is mentioned in the Virginia records is after Bacon's Rebellion, when Governor William Berkeley released those Indians captured as slaves by Bacon and his men. Wilcomb Washburn, in his book The Governor and the Rebels, claims that during the rebellion Bacon and his men captured forty-five prisoners from the Pamunkey tribe and from other tribes, all friendly to the colony.[102] The people of James City County wanted to sell the captured Indians for the public profit, but the Commissioners who came to settle the rebellion decided that since the captives all came from friendly tribes, it was incumbent upon the colonists to release them.[103] When the articles of peace with the Indians were drawn up, they provided that no one in the colony would be

allowed to have Indian servants except by special license from the governor, and that the terms of servitude were to be the same as for white servants. Furthermore, the articles of peace specifically stated that no Indian could be sold as a slave.[104]

The differences that existed between the two areas of the South can be attributed in part to the fact that in Virginia and Maryland, trade with the Indians, and therefore contact with them, was never as important in colonial growth as it appears to have been in Carolina. Nor did there exist the rivalry of another nation, which caused the Carolinians to seek Indian alliances for the purpose of destroying Spanish spheres of interest. Consequently, Indian slavery was skipped over by Virginia and Maryland where it was greatly overshadowed by Negro slavery.

Carolina, unlike Virginia and Maryland, was not able to look outward across the Atlantic. The presence of the Spanish on her Southern and Western borders forced her attention inland. It took the aggressiveness of the frontier traders to strengthen England's position in Carolina, and the chief impetus for gaining control of the area was the Indian trade. The Indians, then, were the means of growth for the Carolinians. They were used against each other, thereby enabling the traders to penetrate farther and farther into the interior. If Indian slavery was a natural corollary to expansion, no one seemed to mind very much. The Indians were pawns in the struggle for empire. In Carolina, through trade and treachery, the English won out.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

1 Verner Crane, The Southern Frontier 1670-1732 (Philadelphia, 1929), p. 4.

2 Ibid., p. 7.

3 Ibid., pp. 71-72.

4 Ibid., p. 74.

5 Ibid., p. 23.

6 Ibid., p. 22.

7 Chapman J. Milling, Red Carolinians (Chapel Hill, 1940), p. 4.

8 Ibid., p. 15.

9 Ibid., p. 35.

10 Pedro Menendez, "Report of Pedro Menendez on the Damage and Murders Caused by the Coast Indians of Florida (1574)," in Jeannette T. Connor, ed., Colonial Records of Spanish Florida, vol. 1 (Deland, Fla., 1925), p. 35.

11 Juan Bautista Roman, "Paragraph of a Letter Written to the King by Juan Bautista Roman (Havana, 7/6/1578)," in Connor, vol. 2 (Deland, 1930), p. 339.

12 Almon W. Lauber, "Indian Slavery in Colonial Times Within the Present Limits of the United States," in Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. 54, no. 3 (New York, 1913), p. 301.

13 Ibid., p. 302.

14 Ibid., p. 300.

15 Milling, p. 36.

16 Ibid., p. 38.

17 Ibid., pp. 39-40.

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18 Henry Woodward, "A Faithful Relation of My Westoe Voyage 12/31/1674)," in A. S. Salley, ed., Narratives of Early Carolina (New York, 1911), pp. 127-128, 133-134. /Often cited as Narratives./

19 Crane, p. 12.

20 Ibid., p. 17.

21 Ibid.

22 Milling, p. 15. See also Crane, p. 11.

23 Letter of Governor William Sayle (9/9/1670) in Narratives, pp. 122-123.

24 Lauber, pp. 357-358.

25 Ibid., p. 371.

26 Milling, p. 51.

27 "Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood 1710-1722," in Collections of the Virginia Historical Society, vol. 2 (Richmond, 1885), p. 227.

28 Letter from Thomas Newe to his father (5/17/1682) in Narratives, p. 182.

29 Crane, pp. 19-20.

30 Letter from the Carolina Proprietors to the Governor of South Carolina (3/7/1681) in A.S. Salley, ed., Records of the British Public Records Office Relating to South Carolina, vol. 1 (Atlanta, 1928), p. 115. /Often cited as BPRO./

31 Crane, pp. 19-20.

32 "An Account of the Province of Carolina 1682," in Narratives, pp. 172-173.

33 Letter from Caleb Westbrook (2/21/1685) in BPRO, vol. 2 (Atlanta, 1929), p. 8.

34 Crane, p. 18.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II, continued

35 Ibid., p. 23.

36 Ibid., p. 37.

37 Letter from the Carolina Proprietors (5/10/1682) in BPRO, vol. 1, pp. 141-142.

38 Crane, p. 18.

39 Letter from the Carolina Proprietors (9/30/1683) in BPRO, vol. 1, pp. 255-263.

40 Letter from the Carolina Proprietors (9/30/1683) in W. N. Sainsbury, ed., Calendar of State Papers, American and West Indies, vol. 11 (London, 1898), p. 508.

41 Letter from the Carolina Proprietors (3/13/1685) in BPRO, vol. 2, p. 27. See also Crane, p. 138, who states that Governor West was a slave dealer, and consequently depended upon Indian wars in order to make profits.

42 Ibid., p. 31.

43 Ibid., p. 33.

44 Ibid., p. 34.

45 Ibid., p. 35.

46 Letter from John Stewart to William Dunlop (4/27/1690) in South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, vol. 32, no. 1 (January, 1931), p. 3. /Often cited as SCHM./

47 Jonathan Thomas, "The Barbadians in Early South Carolina," in SCHM, p. 87.

48 Letter from the Carolina Proprietors (11/6/1683) in BPRO, vol. 1, pp. 266-267.

49 Entry of 12/18/1671, Ibid., p. 19.

50 Entry of 5/9/1679, Ibid., p. 84.

51 John Ash, "The Present State of Affairs in Carolina, 1706," in Narratives, pp. 269-276.

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52 M. Eugene Sirmans, "Politics in Colonial South Carolina: The Failure of Proprietary Reform, 1682-1694," in William and Mary Quarterly, Ser. 3, vol. 23, no. 1 (January, 1966), pp. 33-36.

53 Ibid., pp. 34-35.

54 Ibid., p. 45.

55 Letter from the Carolina Proprietors (10/18/1690) in BPRO, vol. 2, p. 294.

56 Letter to Philip Ludwell from the Carolina Proprietors (4/12/1693) in BPRO, vol. 3, pp. 85-86.

57 Ibid.

58 W. L. Grant and James Munro, eds., Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series, vol. 1 (Hereford, 1908), pp. 100-101.

59 Entry of 10/22/1677 in BPRO, vol. 1, p. 60.

60 Ibid.

61 Crane, p. 16.

62 Entry of 7/16/1716 in W. L. McDowell, ed., Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade (Columbia, 1955), pp. 71-72.

63 Entry of 7/24/1716 in McDowell, pp. 85-86.

64 Entry of 4/10/1677 in BPRO, vol. 1, pp 55.

65 Entry of 9/21/1710 in McDowell, pp. 3-4.

66 Ibid., p. 4.

67 Entry of 10/28/1710, Ibid., p. 5.

68 Entry of 5/30/1711, Ibid., p. 8.

69 Ibid., p. 11.

70 Entry of 6/27/1712, Ibid., p. 28.

71 Entry of 7/27/1711, Ibid., pp. 10-11.

72 Entry of 4/12/1715, Ibid., p. 65.

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73 Milling, pp. 53-54.

74 John B. Dillon, ed., Oddities of Colonial Legislation in America (Indianapolis, 1879), p. 178.

75 Letter from Thomas Nairne (7/10/1708) in BPRO, vol. 5 (Columbia, 1947), pp. 196-197.

76 Milling, p. 85.

77 Letter from Edward Randolph to the Commissioner for Trade and Plantations (6/28/1699) in BPRO, vol. 4 (Columbia, 1946), p. 92.

78 Letter to the Carolina Proprietors (9/17/1708) in BPRO, vol. 5, p. 203. See also Lauber, p. 359, who says that in 1723 the number of slaves in South Carolina and Georgia was between 16,000 and 20,000 and that these were mostly Negroes. In 1724, he states, there were 32,000 slaves, mostly Negroes. The breakdown of population in St. Thomas' Parish, South Carolina, in 1728, was: 565 whites; 950 Negroes; 60 Indians.

79 Crane, p. 113.

80 Lauber, p. 259.

81 Ibid., p. 496.

82 Entry of 6/5/1682 in BPRO, vol. 1, p. 174.

83 Entry of 7/16/1716 in McDowell, p. 80.

84 Milling, p. 63.

85 David Humphreys, An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (London, 1730), p. 16.

86 Entry of 7/2/1662 in Sainsbury, vol. 7 (London, 1880), p. 95.

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FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II, continued

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101 Entry of 1/23/1708 in Journal for the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations 1704-1706 (London, 1920), p. 454.

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CHAPTER III

A POLICY OF APPEASEMENT

The relations of the New England and South Carolina colonists with the Indians were characterized by the evolution of a policy of enslavement. Indian-white relations in the Middle colonies were not, although some parallels can be drawn between Indian relations there and in the other two regions. There was the same "era of good feelings" between the Indians and the whites in the middle colonies, the same period of conflict stemming from the question of land, and even the outbreak of war. Nowhere, however, is there an indication of evidence of a deliberate policy of enslavement as was the case in the colonies to the North and to the South. In fact, the Dutch West India Company's instructions to its Directors included a policy of drawing the Indians into the service of the Dutch to work on building projects for paid wages, these wages to be one half of the amount paid to Dutchmen for the same work.[1] Unlike the Puritans, the Dutch were not preoccupied with spiritual nourishment for themselves, let alone for the Indians, and conversion of the Indians was not an important part of colonization.[2] Unlike South Carolina, where the frontier traders were able to manipulate the tribes and thereby gain access to the interior, in New Netherland the Five Nations of the Iroquos

presented an impenetrable fence around the colony, thereby themselves controling trade.[3] The significant aspect of Dutch colonization is that enslavement did not take place, when we can reasonably assume that under the same circumstances slavery would have been the natural consequence in New England and in South Carolina.

The evidence of New Netherlands' attempts to maintain good relations with the Indians begins with an account of Henry Hudson's voyage,[4] and as late as 1659 the colonists of Fort Orange were exhorted not to treat the Indians insolently, since such behavior might "tend to dangerous consequences."[5] This is not to say that there were no provocations. The Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions of 1629 specified that all those who settled outside of the limits of Manhattan Island had to satisfy the Indians for their land.[6] However, according to Indian tradition, the sale of land was never final, and if the deal was found to be unsatisfactory at a later time, if could be broken by either party.[7] In addition, the Indians sold their land with the guarantee of retention of hunting rights and of occupancy. As the Dutch built farms, however, and fenced in the land, the Indians were pushed out. Finally, when the whites resold the land, and at great profit, the Indians believed that they had been cheated, since they usually had sold the land to the whites for trinkets and ammunition.[8]

Further antagonism developed when Governor William Kieft,

in order to raise money for the colony, demanded tribute from the Indians around Manhattan Island. This was attemped first in 1639, and again in 1644 and 1645,[9] although there is no indication that the tribute was ever collected.

The first open conflict between the Dutch and the Indians and the first incident of Indian enslavement in the colony apparently came about under Kieft's administration. Kieft's initial policy towards the Indians was one of appeasement. When the Dutch livestock wandered into the Indians' unfenced fields and was killed by them, Kieft's response was to warn the Dutch to control their livestock and do nothing to antatonize the Indians.[10] Every attempt was made to avoid offending the Indians. Killiaen van Rensselaer, referring to an indemnity owed him by the Indians for killing his cattle, said:

> The indemnity from the Maquaas /Mohawks/ ought also some day to be collected without getting thereby into contention of war. It must be done in the name of the director below in order that the Maquaas may have less feeling against the people of Ft. Orange and also against my people.[11]

At just what point the good relations between the two groups disintegrated, and for what reason, is unclear. However, in 1641 the Raritan Indians attacked Staten Island. Instead of sending Dutch soldiers, Kieft asked other Indian tribes to go to war with the Raritan, and offered them ten fathom of wampum for every Raritan head brought in and twenty fathom for the head of any participant in the Staten Island raid.[12] Since

prisoners were not wanted, there would be no prisoners of war to be enslaved. Two years later, when Kieft instigated the massacre of the Westchester Indians, nothing was said about taking prisoners.[13]

The massacre of the Westchester Indians in 1643 led to Kieft's War. Other tribes, outraged at the massacre, declared war upon the Dutch. Kieft chose a panel of eight men to decide the course of action to be taken, and their decision was to declare war on all hostile Indians. Captain John Underhill of Pequot War fame was chosen to lead the expedition against the Indians.[14] However, as the war ravaged the colony, the eight men who had advised Kieft to prosecute it now dondemned him, in a letter to the West India Company, for instigating the war. They complained that while the war was raging the Indians were allowed to store food for the winter unmolested, and that instead of using captured Indians as guides, they were given to the soldiers or sent as gifts to the Governor of Bermuda.[15] This is the first mention of enslavement of the Indians by the Dutch. While it is not strange that Indian captives should be given to soldiers, no explanation is offered for giving slaves as gifts to the Governor of Bermuda. The remaining captives were exchanged for Dutchmen captured by the Indians.[16]

The second and last recorded incident of Indian enslavement in New Netherlands occurred under the administration of Peter

Stuyvesant. As with the Kieftian incident, enslavement resulted from a war--this time with the Esopus tribe--in which twelve Indians were captured.[17] Two months after the event Stuyvesant wrote that it would be impossible to have a stable peace with the Esopus if the twelve captives were released, since it would indicate to the Indians that the Dutch had no courage. To show the Esopus that the Dutch meant business, Stuyvesant sent the captives to Curacao to be used as slaves by the West India Company.[18]

In July of the same year Stuyvesant wrote to the Vice-Director at Curacao indicating that if the Indians kept the peace he might ask for the return of some of the captives.[19] Nine months later Stuyvesant did request the return of two of the twelve and stated that he intended to ask at a later date for the return of the others.[20]

The motives behind enslavement under Kieft and Stuyvesant were apparently poles apart. While Kieft seems to have followed an age-old custom, Stuyvesant was merely trying to make a point, and it would appear that he had no serious intention of enslaving the Indians permanently.

When the English took over the colony of New Netherlands in 1664, they tended to keep the same Indian policy used by the Dutch. In fact, the English went one step farther and worked out a program that specifically excluded the enslavement of Indians. The Duke of York's "Duke's Laws" provided for redress in Court for any Indian against any Christian, and it was resolved in Council,

on December 5, 1679, that

> all Indyans here, are free & not slaves, nor can be forct to be servants, Except such as have beene formerly brought from the Bay of Campechio hereafter within the space of six months, they are to be dispose of as soone as may bee out of the Government, but after the Experacon of six months, all that shall be brought here from those parts shall be free.[21]

This does not necessarily mean that all the inhabitants obeyed the resolution. Indeed, two citations may be made in evidence of its evasion. The first one, from the Court of General Assizes, is dated three years after the Council's resolution. The court record states that Negro and Indian slaves, by meeting in the streets on Sunday, were rude and disrespectful to God, and that many Christians were "Drawed aside and mislead to be Spectators of Such their Evill Practices and thereby Diverted From the more suitable and Pious Duty...."[22] To remedy this, no Indian or Negro slave could leave his master's house on Sunday. If the law was violated the slave was to be whipped and the master fined. The second citation, from the records of the towns of North and South Hempstead, appears eight years after the Council's resolution. It records the sale, by Thomas Howarden, of an Indian boy as a slave to Christopher Dene.[23] While it is obvious that the antislavery law was not strictly obeyed, or for that matter enforced, instances of Indian slavery within the colony were rare, as were instances of captured Indians being used locally as slaves or sold out of the colony.

The nature of the tribes with which the New Netherlanders and New Yorkers had to deal is a key to understanding why the people of that colony did not enslave them. The Iroquois were very strong. Allen W. Trelease says that the Iroquois' main objective was peace with other tribes, and that the basis of this "peace" was to be a confederacy of friendly tribes united against common enemies. An enemy was any tribe that was not in the Iroquoian confederacy or a satellite of it. The confederacy, therefore, was a defense alliance which ultimately became an instrument of aggression.[24] We can be quite sure that the Iroquois were not going to allow the whites to penetrate Western regions, as the whites had in South Carolina. The Iroquois quickly became aware of the importance of their position, in terms of the Western fur trade and in relation to the French settlements, and aimed to use both factors to the best advantage.[25] In fact, it becomes impossible for us to separate the economic factor from the political, for the Iroquois could demand certain trade rights from the English by threatening to go over to the French. The Dutch and the English had created a Frankenstein monster.

The Dutch had introduced the Indians to the use and benefits of firearms, and the Indians subsequently demanded chiefly guns and powder in trade. In 1647 the Commissioner of Massachusetts wrote to the Governor of New Netherlands claiming that "we heare of a dangerous liberty taken by many of yours in selling guns,

powder, shott and other instruments of warr to the Indians...."[26]

The Dutch, too, must have become alarmed, for the following year several Dutchmen were arrested for selling guns to the Indians. Three of them were sentenced to death, and although the sentences were commuted,[27] the affair indicates the fear engendered by the prospect of well-armed Indian tribes. Indeed, the Magistrate at Gravesend wrote to the Amsterdam Directors telling them that the Indians had become "obstinate and daring enemies."[28] Eleven days later the Magistrate complained of being "slaves and raise /ing/ corn and cattle too for Indian vagabonds."[29] He further complained that when the settlers demanded satisfaction from the Indians, the Indians boasted of the mighty weapons they had obtained in trade with the Dutch.[30]

Once the Indians saw the benefits of firearms, they demanded more and threatened to use the guns against the Dutch if more were not delivered. The Dutch, it seems, were in a dilemma. If the Dutch did not sell guns to the Indians, war would surely ensue, but it was by no means certain that a steady supply of guns would propiate them. In essence, the Indians had succeeded in making the whites subservient to their demands. An incident related by Stuyvesant to the Company Directors in Amsterdam on February 25, 1654, is a case in point. The Indians were low on ammunition and came to Fort Orange and Beverwyck demanding more. Stuyvesant wrote that "the good inhabitants of the aforesaid village and place might have to suffer some mishap

or at least that thereby the whole trade might be diverted and the aforesaid nation 'the Mohawks' might ask for the ammunition from the English...."[31] His decision was to sell the Indians a moderate amount of ammunition. An entry six months later in the Minutes of the Court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck records a gift of twenty-five pounds of powder to the Indians.[32]

This was the situation the English inherited when they captured New Netherlands from the Dutch. If the Dutch gave in to the Indians for fear of the Indians' turning their trade to the English, the English, in turn, were afraid of the Indians' becoming political allies of the French. Consequently, the Indians were able to preserve their freedom and independence as long as they could prey on the English fear of the French.

One final aspect of Indian slavery, or the lack of it, in New York revolves around the early introduction of Negro slaves. It has not been possible to ascertain whether the introduction of Negro slaves in New Netherlands precluded large-scale enslavement of Indians, or whether the lack of Indian slavery was a result of the Indians' having won the upper hand early in their relationship with the Dutch, thereby forcing the Dutch to turn their attention to the Negroes. At any rate, the Dutch were engaged in the African slave trade at a very early date. The African trade was not directed from the colony but was one of the operations of the Company in Amsterdam.[33] As for Negro slavery

within the Dutch colony itself, the Reverend Jonas Michaelius, in 1628, referred to his having an "Angola slave,"[34] and the Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions of 1629 stated that "the Company will endeavor to supply the colonists with as many blacks as it possibly can...."[35]

Little can be said of Indian slavery in Pennsylvania as the germane information in primary sources is scarce. We do know, however, that in the early period the Quakers were not opposed to holding slaves and their official abolitionist policy was not formulated until the first half of the eighteenth century. The Quakers' enslavement practices, like those of the New Yorkers, were inherited from their Dutch predecessors, and, as in the other Dutch colonies, the slaves were Negroes.[36] Indeed, William Penn, writing on the subject of indentured servants, said that "It were better that they were blacks, for then we might have them for life."[37]

Edward C. O. Beatty claims that Penn thought that Negroes and Indians were inferior to whites, both socially and intellectually, and that while Penn accepted Negro slavery, his attitude towards the Indians was based on the theory that a superior race (the whites) did not have the right to exploit an inferior one.[38] But by practicing Negro slavery were not the Quakers exploiting an "inferior" race? Even if the Quakers believed in degrees of inferiority, with the Negroes more inferior than the Indians, Beatty's statement is still unsatisfactory. For one thing, while Penn did not promote Indian slavery within his colony, he did condone it where it existed.

As proof of this we have Penn's remarks in an undated letter to the Susquehanna Indians, who had captured Indian prisoners from New York. New York claimed that the captured Indians were slaves who had been purchased from Carolina and asked to have them returned. Penn intervened on behalf of New York.[39] In 1706 the Pennsylvania Legislature passed a law prohibiting the importation of Indian slaves from other colonies on the grounds that the practice would only cause dissatisfaction among the Pennsylvania Indians.[40] This may indicate that Indians from other colonies were being used as slaves in Pennsylvania or at least that the idea of importing Indians as slaves had been considered.

In view of the facts that the Quakers were not opposed to slavery at this point, that they had inherited the Indian policy of the Dutch, and that Penn did not wish to antagonize the Indians and thereby embroil his colony in war, it would appear that Penn's Indian policy, like that in New York, was a pragmatic one of appeasement.

In each of the colonies under discussion, the policy of enslaving Indians evolved out of immediate and practical necessities, and in each case, when enslavement did occur, it was in conjunction with war or rebellion. The continuation of enslavement, however, or the abandonment of it, depended on long-range factors.

In New England the sustaining element in Indian slavery was Puritanism, which was an intellectual as well as a spiritual force. The Puritans could never follow Peter Stuyvesant's example and turn loose the braves who were captured and briefly enslaved after a war, because war with the Indians was to them either God's punishment or a satanic plot to destroy them. As long as any question or doubt remained about the origin and purpose of the Indians, Indian captives could not be released.

The Carolinians were not beset by the doubts that troubled the New Englanders. They could not have cared less about questions of origin or purpose. The sole aim of the Carolina Proprietors was to reap quick returns on their investment in the colony. The means for realizing the quickest profit was the fur trade, and it was left to the frontiersmen to find the most expedient means of penetrating the back country. Once the profitability of the incidental slave trade was recognized, the capitalism of the Carolinians was just as great a force as the Puritanism of the New Englanders in promoting Indian slavery.

In the colonies in which Indian slavery did not emerge as a sanctioned policy, the reasons, too, were pragmatic. The New Yorkers did not enslave the Indians because the Indians were too strong, and a situation like that in Carolina never had a chance to develop. The religious element, which could have created a situation similar to that in New England, was missing altogether. It is quite possible that Indian slavery might have taken root in

Pennsylvania, had not the Dutch set the pattern for relations with the Indians when the colony was under Dutch control.

Finally, there are Virginia and Maryland, neither of which had much contact with the Indians. Devoted to tobacco production, both colonies looked across the Atlantic towards England and had little contact with the interior. There were no economic reasons for intercourse with the Indians, nor were there any religious reasons. Without contact, situations which might have led to enslavement did not arise. The fact that care was taken to release those Indians enslaved during Bacon's Rebellion indicates that there was neither any desire for Indian slavery, nor any need.

One last aspect of enslavement involved the basic feeling of superiority on the part of the whites. Successful slavery did not exist unless the enslaving group accepted the notion of its own superiority while stressing the inferiority of the group being enslaved. When the objects of slavery submitted to this basic assumption of their own inferiority, it was, to the enslavers, an acknowledgement of the justice of enslavement.[41]

Certainly, the condescending delight and, later, the utter contempt that characterized Puritan pronouncements about the Indians were indicative of feelings of superiority on the part of the Saints. However, while the first element--the assumption of superiority by the enslaving group--was present, the second--the Indians' acceptance of this assumption--was absent. The

letter relating the murder of Sosomon by King Philip's men, which resulted in the outbreak of King Philip's War, is a perfect example of the Puritan attitude: indignation of Philip's objection to having a christianized Indian attempting to convert the tribe; and greater indignation at Philip's violent objection to the Puritans' trial and execution of his tribesmen. The outbreak of King Philip's War can be interpreted, therefore, as the Indians' refusal to accept the inferior status ascribed to them by the whites.

The Westoes and the Iroquois, too, refused to acknowledge the assumption of inferiority, and they were strong enough, for a while, to check the whites. Those tribes which were not strong enough preferred death to the humiliation of slavery. The Pequots, for example, claimed that they would rather die than accept life on the white man's terms.

It becomes impossible to separate the factor of superiority from the economic and religious factors in Indian slavery, for the white man's assumption of superiority rested on the Indians' refusal to accept either his religion or his economics. Most outrageous of all, the Indians would not accept the white man's assumption of Indian inferiority, for in their eyes it was the whites who were inferior. As a result the Indians made very poor slaves, they lost the protection they would have received had they submitted to the enslavement, and, finally, they were almost completely exterminated by the Americans.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

1 A.J.F. van Laer, New Netherland Documents 1624-1626 as quoted in Allen Trelease, Indian Affairs in Colonial New York in the Seventeenth Century (Ithaca, 1960), p. 37.

2 Ibid., p. 38.

3 Peter Wraxhall, An Abridgement of Indian Affairs 1678-1751 (Cambridge, 1915), p. xxxvii.

4 Johan de Laet, "New World," in J. Franklin Jameson, Narratives of New Netherland 1609-1664 (New York, 1909), p. 48. /Often cited as NNN./

5 Entry of 9/27/1659 in van Laer, Minutes of the Court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck 1652-1660, vol. 2 (Albany, 1923), pp. 218-219.

6 van Laer, van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts (Albany, 1908), p. 151.

7 Trelease, p. 63.

8 Ibid., p. 91.

9 John R. Brodhead, History of the State of New York, vol. 1 (New York, 1853), p. 293.

10 E. B. O'Callaghan, Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland 1636-1674 (Albany, 1868), p. 22. /Often cited as LONN./

11 Letter from Kiliaen van Rensselaer to Jacob Planck (10/3/1636) in van Laer, Bowier Manuscripts, p. 330.

12 LONN, pp. 28-29.

13 David de Vries, "From the 'Korte Historiael Ende Journaels Aenteyckeninge,'" in NNN, pp. 226-229. See also O'Callaghan, Documentary History of New York, vol. 4 (Albany, 1849-1851), pp. 103-104.

14 "Journal of New Netherland," in NNN, pp. 280-281.

15 O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, vol. 1 (Albany, 1856), pp. 209-213. /Often cited as Documents./ The eight men were: Jochen Cuyler, Isack Allerton, Gerrit Wolfferson, Cornelius Melyn, Jacob Stoffelson, Thomas Hall, Jan Eversten Bout, Barent Dircksen.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III, continued

16 "Journal of New Netherland," in NNN, p. 281.

17 Letter from Peter Stuyvesant to Secretary van Ruyven (3/18/1660) in B. Fernow, Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, vol. 13 (Albany, 1881), pp. 151-152.

18 Entry of 5/25/1660, Ibid., p. 169. See also Brodhead, p. 676.

19 Letter from Peter Stuyvesant to the Vice-Director at Curacao (7/5/1660) Ibid., p. 179.

20 Letter from Peter Stuyvesant to the Vice-Director at Curacao (4/16/1661) Ibid., p. 194.

21 Entry of 12/5/1679 in Fernow, p. 537.

22 Entry of 10/5/1682 from the Court of General Assizes in Court Records 1680-1682 (New York, 1912), p. 37.

23 Entry of 7/13/1687 in Benjamin D. Hicks, Records of the Towns of North and South Hempstead, vol. 2 (Jamaica, 1897), pp. 60-61.

24 Trelease, p. 19.

25 Ibid., p. 24.

26 Letter from the Commissioner of Massachusetts to the Governor of the Dutch (6/17/1647) in Collections of the New York Historical Society, ser. 1, vol. 1 (New York, 1811), pp. 199-200.

27 Entry of 7/9/1648 in O'Callaghan, Documents, pp. 238-243. See also Brodhead, p. 490.

28 Entry of 9/14/1651, Ibid., p. 154.

29 Entry of 9/25/1651, Ibid., p. 157.

30 Ibid.

31 Letter from Peter Stuyvesant to the Directors in Amsterdam (2/25/1654) in Fernow, pp. 35-36.

32 Entry of 8/11/1654 in van Laer, Minutes of Fort Orange, vol. 1 (Albany, 1920), p. 75.

33 O'Callaghan, "Voyages of the Slavers St. John and Arms of Amsterdam," in Colonial Tracts, no. 3 (Albany, 1867), p. xxvii.

34 Letter of Reverend Jones Michaelius (1628) in NNN, p. 129.

35 van Laer, Bowier Manuscripts, p. 153.

36. Cheesman A. Herrick, White Servitude in Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1926), p. 27.

37 Ibid., pp. 78-79

38 Edward C. O: Beatty, William Penn as a Social Philosopher (New York, 1939), pp. 284-285.

39 Samuel Hazard, Pennsylvania Archives, ser. 1, vol. 12, (Philadelphia, 1856), p. 280.

40 Almon W. Lauber, "Indian Slavery in Colonial Times Within the Present Limits of the United States," in Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. 54, no. 3 (New York, 1913), pp. 193-194.

41 Samuel F. Jarvis, "A Discourse on the Religion of the Indian Tribes," in Collections of the New York Historical Society, ser. 1, vol. 3 (New York, 1820), p. 184.

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