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THE SLAVE TRADE TO COLONIAL SOUTH CAROLINA: A PROFILE

DANIEL C. LITTLEFIELD*

Thomas Jefferson charged in the Declaration of Independence that the British king had foisted African slaves on unwilling colonists. His charge, inaccurate and polemical, Congress rejected because of opposition from South Carolina and Georgia and because, as Jefferson later wrote, "Our Northern brethren also ... felt a little tender under those censures; for tho' their people have very few slaves themselves yet they have been pretty considerable carriers of them to others."¹ In fact, colonial involvement was relatively slight. Recent historians have indicated that the slave trade was primarily a British concern. Herbert Klein has established for Virginia that over the eighteenth century British merchants owned 86 percent of the vessels involved in the African trade which brought in 89 percent of the slaves.² For South Carolina, the largest continental slave importer in the

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¹Carl Becker, *The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas* (New York: repr., Alfred Knopf, 1948), pp. 171-172 and 212-216.

²Herbert S. Klein, "Slaves and Shipping in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* V, No. 3 (Winter 1975), pp. 383-412.

Stimulated by Philip Curtin's *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969) interest in the slave trade has grown rapidly in recent years, contributing to a significant expansion of the literature on the subject. Recent conferences in Waterville, Me., Waterloo, Ontario, Rochester, N.Y., Copenhagen, Denmark, Port-au-Prince, Haiti, and elsewhere have eventuated in compilations dealing with various aspects of the commerce: Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn, eds., *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Academic Press, 1979); Stanley L. Engerman and Eugene D. Genovese, eds., *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975); Special Issue of *Revue française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer*, t. LXII (1975), Nos. 226-227: *La Traite Des Noirs par l'Atlantique; Nouvelles Approches*; UNESCO, *The African Slave Trade from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (Paris: UNESCO, 1979). There are also several recent independent studies, including Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition 1760-1810* (London: Humanities Press, 1975); Richard N. Bean, *The British Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, 1650-1775* (New York: Arno Press, 1975); Herbert S. Klein *The Middle Passage: Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978); Robert L. Stein, *The French Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century: An Old Regime Business* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press,

Boles and Nolen, eds: *Interpreting Southern History: Historiographical Essays in Honor of Sanford W. Higginbotham*
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eighteenth century, a similar situation obtained, though the picture suggested by earlier historical works is not yet complete. W. Robert Higgins considers the source of slaves and the merchants in Carolina who engrossed the trade, but not the origin of ships or merchant capital involved in the trade.³ The older works of Elizabeth Donnan and Leila Sellers are also lacking in this regard, although in her *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, Donnan provides a listing from which some of this information may be obtained. Klein's work on Virginia indeed is based on Donnan, but she does not give the same kind of information for South Carolina.⁴

The British naval office lists, however, permit an examination of South Carolina comparable to that concluded for Virginia and suggest conclusions not formerly drawn. It is apparent from studies already made, for example, that the vast majority of slaves brought into South Carolina came from Africa without an intervening stay elsewhere. Under 20 percent, and perhaps as little as 15 percent, of black South Carolinians were imported from the West Indies over the course of the eighteenth century, and no more

1979); Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1981); James A. Rawley, *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1981) and, most recently, David W. Galenson, *Traders, Planters and Slaves: Market Behavior in Early English America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). There is a plethora of articles on the trade, reference to some of which will be made during the subsequent discussion.

³W. Robert Higgins, "The Geographical Origins of Negro Slaves in Colonial South Carolina," *South Atlantic Quarterly* LXX (Winter 1971), pp. 34-47 and "Charles Town Merchants and Factors Dealing in the External Trade, 1735-1775," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* LXV (Oct. 1964), pp. 205-217.

⁴Elizabeth Donnan, "The Slave Trade into South Carolina Before the Revolution," *American Historical Review*, XXXIII (July 1928), pp. 804-828 and *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (Washington, D.C., 1930), Vol. IV; Leila Sellers, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934), especially Chapter 7, pp. 124-147. The slave trade figures for Virginia listed in Donnan's *Documents* are based on Colonial Office records while those for South Carolina are taken from the local gazette which did not contain as complete information.

than 1 percent came from its continental neighbors in the same era.⁵ This pattern developed shortly after settlement, perhaps as early as the end of the seventeenth century. It was certainly true for Virginia, where recent studies have indicated that direct African contact began in the 1670s, soon after the Royal African Company, apparently responsible for the initial connection, was founded. By the second decade of the eighteenth century about 75 percent of Virginia imports came directly from Africa and the colony continued to shift away from white indentured servitude towards slavery.⁶ But the Royal African Company does not seem to have been similarly

⁵Higgins, "Geographical Origins", pp. 39-46. See also Peter H. Wood, "'More Like a Negro Country': Demographic Patterns in Colonial South Carolina, 1700-1740," in Engerman and Genovese, eds., *Race and Slavery*, pp. 131-172, and Daniel C. Littlefield, "Plantations, Paternalism and Profitability: Factors Affecting African Demography in the Old British Empire," *Journal of Southern History* XLVII (May 1981), pp. 167-182. Also see Roger Anstey, "The Volume of the North American Slave-Carrying Trade from Africa, 1761-1800" in *Revue française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer* LXII (1975), pp. 47-65; W. B. Minchinton, "The Slave Trade of Bristol with the British Mainland Colonies of North America, 1699-1770," in Roger Anstey and P. E. H. Hair, eds., *Liverpool, The African Slave Trade, and Abolition: Essays to Illustrate Current Knowledge and Research* (Bristol: Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1976), pp. 39-59; and Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976), *passim*.

⁶Allen Kulikoff, "A 'Prolifick' People: Black Population Growth in the Chesapeake Colonies, 1700-1790," *Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South*, XVI (Winter 1977), pp. 392-393 and Russell Menard "From Servants to Slaves: The Transformation of the Chesapeake Labor System," *ibid.*, pp. 366-369. Both Menard and Kulikoff reject Klein's idea that the majority of Virginia's slaves were transported from the West Indies as late as 1718, an argument reinforced by Susan Westbury, "Slaves of Colonial Virginia: Where They Came From," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser. XLII (April 1985), p. 231. See also Donald Sweig, "The Importation of African Slaves to the Potomac River, 1732-1772," *ibid.* (Oct. 1985), pp. 507-524; Walter Minchinton, Celia King and Peter Waite, eds., *Virginia Slave-Trade Statistics, 1698-1775* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1984), and Klein, "Slaves and Shipping," pp. 384-385. For most of the seventeenth century, Virginia's tobacco plantations were worked by indentured servants and the shift to slave labor was gradual and fairly late, brought about by a number of changing conditions in the colony. Among these was an increase in life expectancy which made slave labor economical because of a longer period of service. See Edmund Sears Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1975), pp. 108-130 and 295-315; Menard, "From Servants to Slaves," pp. 355-390.

important in supplying South Carolina.⁷ Consequently, although the utility of African labor was recognized from the outset of colonization, with slaves arriving in Carolina with immigrant West Indian whites, it is not clear when the first direct African imports arrived. As early as 1698, however, the colonial government expressed alarm at the number of blacks brought in and urged the counterbalancing settlement of whites.⁸ It may be assumed that some of these Africans were direct imports; in any case, direct contact had clearly been made by the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁹

In the first years for which there are reasonably full naval office records, most slaves came directly from Africa. Fifty-six ships which entered Charleston between February 1717 and September 1719 brought 1,519 slaves, of which 931 or almost two-thirds (61 percent) were transported from Africa by thirteen carriers. In the same period, Virginia exhibited a similar pattern and had a far larger importation. According to one source, 2,653 African slaves entered Virginia in the two years 1718 and 1719, more than the total importation of South Carolina for the three years from 1717. The Virginia average for African imports in 1718 and 1719 was 1,326,

⁷K.G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1957), Appendix III, p. 363. An eighteenth-century report states that most slaves were furnished to Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina by separate traders, but, whereas Davies (pp. 295-315) refers to company relations with Virginia and Maryland, he makes no mention of South Carolina. See "Representatives of the Board of Trade to Her Majesty in consequence of a Petition from the Royal African Company, setting forth many Inconveniences they labour under in that Trade from the Private Traders," in Papers relating to the West Indies, America, Africa and the Canaries, 1696-1786, Additional Manuscripts, 14034, British Museum, London, England.

⁸Donnan, "Slave Trade," p. 804.

⁹Charles D'Avenant, *The Political and Commerical Works of that Celebrated Writer, Charles D'Avenant, Relating to the Trade and Revenue of England, The Plantation Trade, The East India Trade, and African Trade* (London: Printed for R. Horsfield, 1771), V, pp. 175-176, makes reference to Carolina ships on the African coast in 1700. Donnan, ed., *Documents*, IV, 255n gives a number of examples of contact between Africa and South Carolina at the beginning of the century. In one instance the case is slightly overstated. Donnan says, "In Edward Randolph's charges against Gov. John Archdale is the statement that he had seized a Carolina ship 'laden with negroes from Guinea'" and cites *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1910), XIX, 1701, p. 90. The source, however, merely says "a Carolina sloop from Guinea" with no mention of cargo.

whereas the South Carolina average for three years, 1717-1719, was 310.¹⁰ South Carolina was obviously still of relatively minor importance in the English slave trade not only in comparison with the West Indies (where in the period between 1710 and 1719 Jamaica imported an average of 2,896 slaves yearly and Barbados 4,152) but also with Virginia.¹¹

The rapid expansion of rice cultivation in South Carolina in the 1720s necessitated increasing slave importation, which still, however, likely fell short of the number imported into Virginia.¹² But this period marked the zenith of Virginia's ascendancy as the largest slave importer on the continent. Thereafter, South Carolina's need for manpower moved rapidly ahead. At the same time, her connection with Africa increased. Of twenty-seven vessels entered in partial returns for 1722-1725, which brought in 1,488 slaves, eight came from Africa bringing 1,373 or 92 percent.

¹⁰Klein, "Slaves and Shipping," p. 385; Donnan, ed., *Documents*, Vol. IV, p. 183. Klein's calculations are based on Donnan's documents but the Virginia import listings are done in such a way as to make precise comparisons between Virginia and South Carolina in the period 1710-1718 virtually impossible. One set of listings (Donnan, pp. 175-182) gives the importations by port but often without reference to date and year of entry. Another set of listings (Donnan, pp. 183-187) consists solely of African imports from 1718-1727, but there appears to be no relationship between the two sets of figures. Thus, although the year 1718 is repeated it does not seem possible to correlate the one listing with the other. Klein does not note this distinction in his article.

¹¹Leslie Imre Rugnyanszky, "The Caribbean Slave Trade: Jamaica and Barbados, 1680-1770," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Notre Dame, 1973, pp. 148, 150, 189. Jamaica actually imported 5,233 slaves but the balance was re-exported. The re-exports for Barbados were not listed.

The relative importance of these regions is also given in a report to Queen Anne from the Board of Trade, Feb. 3, 1708 (Papers relating to the West Indies, America, Africa and the Canaries, 1696-1786, ff 108-09, Additional Manuscripts 14034, British Museum, London, England, and Donnan, ed., *Documents* Vol. II, p. 63) wherein it is stated that Maryland and Virginia together required a yearly importation of 4,000 slaves, Carolina and New York together 1,000, and Barbados 4,000; Jamaica with Spanish possessions required 12,000.

¹²Donnan, ed., *Documents*, Vol. IV, p. 367. Also see *ibid.*, pp. 255-256; Edward McCrady, *History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897), p. 723; and Colonial Office Papers 5/367, No. 137, Public Record Office, London, England, Gov. Robert Johnson to Board of Trade, Charleston, Dec. 16, 1731, CO 5/362, No. 7, Public Record Office; Donnan, ed., *Documents*, Vol. IV, p. 267n.; F. V. Emerson, "Geographical Influences on the Development of American Slavery," *American Geographical Society Bulletin* XLIII (January 1911), p. 13; Converse Clowse, *Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina, 1670-1730* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), pp. 203-204, 218-222, 230-231.

But South Carolina statistics are incomplete. Records for most years are missing and records for many years survived only partially. Specifically, the lists are complete for the years 1717-1719; for the 1720s they consist of the first quarter of 1722, the last two quarters of 1723, all of 1724, the first quarter of 1725, and the first two quarters of 1727; they do, however, contain nearly complete returns for most years in the 1730s, and for a significant portion of the period 1752 to 1767.¹³ The lists give not only the ship, date of entry, master, point of origin, and number of slaves imported, which can be found elsewhere, but also the type of ship (snow, brigantine, sloop, schooner, etc.), tonnage, where the ship was built, and the date and place of registration, which is not so readily accessible. This information allows one to make assessments of Carolina's role in the transatlantic trade in a way that has not previously been done.

Before proceeding with the analysis, it might be useful to assess the dependability of information garnered from the naval office lists by comparing it with that from a more complete source. W. Robert Higgins made use of the provincial treasury's General Duty Books, which cover the period 1735-1775,¹⁴ and Table 2 compares his figures with those derived from the naval office lists. For gross numerical comparisons, Higgins's calculations are preferable. They reveal that over the period 1735-1769 South Carolina imported 32 percent more slaves than did Virginia (as one might expect), that both obtained most of their slaves from Africa (which one might also expect), but that South Carolina's African cargoes averaged considerably fewer slaves per vessel than did Virginia's (155 against 203) — which one might not expect.¹⁵ Although his total figures are more complete and hence far larger, the percentage difference between the two sets of data are

¹³Records begin in the last quarter of 1730 and appear to be complete for 1731-1738, except that the two middle quarters in 1733 are missing. For the 1750s and 1760, records begin with the last quarter of 1752 and end during the second of 1753, pick up again in 1757 and appear to be complete through 1763, then consist of the first two quarters in 1764, the last two quarters of 1765, all of 1766, and the first three quarters of 1767. The term of the quarters changed somewhat over the years. There were some inconsistencies, but, generally, up to the 1730s the quarters ran from December 25 to March 24, March 25 to June 24, June 25 to September 29, September 29 to December 25. In the 1750s and 1760s the quarters end April 5, July 5, October 10, and January 5 until 1767 when they again change, to March 31, June 30, and September 30. Naval Office Lists, Charlestown, South Carolina, Colonial Office Papers 5/508, 5/509, 5/510, 5/511, Public Record Office, London, England. These records are also on microfilm.

¹⁴Higgins, "Geographical Origins," pp. 34-37. Tables on pp. 40-45.

¹⁵Klein, "Slaves and Shipping," pp. 392-394. It should be noted here that Klein makes a slight mistake in his total of Higgins's figures. The total number of slaves derived from Higgins by Klein is 70,943 whereas the correct number is 70,887, a difference of 56.

insignificant. The similarities between the two lists suggest, in fact, that we can make other generalizations based on the smaller sample from the naval office with greater confidence. Rather than expand the sample by reference to other sources, therefore, this essay proposes only to use naval office information on the origins of cargoes, vessel ownership and construction, the roles of various English ports, and the seasonality of importation to further elucidate existing conditions.¹⁶

It is immediately clear that slave cargoes derived from Africa were much larger than those originating in the New World. The average cargo from Africa for the years 1717-19 was seventy-two whereas West Indian cargoes averaged fourteen. In the 1720s, the average was 172 for Africa and six for the West Indies. Herbert Klein noted a similar distinction in the Virginia slave trade and commented that actually two or perhaps three kinds of trade existed: one with Africa, dealing almost exclusively with the transportation of humankind, and a second and third, involving either a West Indian or a coastal exchange in which slaving was a partial and, in the case of South Carolina, almost a tangential concern.¹⁷ No ship from North America appears on the lists prior to 1730. This absence clearly does not mean that none was involved but is probably an accurate reflection of the significance of this sector for the South Carolina trade. For the whole of the period for which list data survives (1717-1767), the common African shipment was 192 slaves compared with eighteen for the West Indies and twelve

¹⁶Donnan, ed., *Documents*, Vol. IV, pp. 278-474, has collected entries recorded by the *South Carolina Gazette*, 1733-1774; W. Robert Higgins, "Geographical Origins," used the South Carolina General Duty Books; Peter Wood has made a more complete compilation of incoming slave ships for the period between 1735-40 based on the *South Carolina Gazette*, Donnan's work, and the General Duty Books in *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), Appendix C, pp. 333-341. It may be possible, therefore, to exploit Carolina newspapers more fully even than Donnan.

¹⁷Klein, "Slaves and Shipping," p. 387. Also see Higgins, "Geographical Origins," pp. 39, 46. The other comparisons in this paragraph come from Klein. Minchinton, "Slave Trade of Bristol," pp. 42-43, establishes that only a third of the ships in the Bristol trade conform to Klein's generalization about the nature of trade between the Chesapeake and the West Indies in terms of slaves being just one part of a trade involving many other goods.

Some critics object to including ships from the West Indies or other colonies as part of the slave trade at all since they may have been primarily concerned with other goods, but having once made that acknowledgement and assuming the source of all slaves ought to be considered, there appears to be no reason for continued qualification.

for North America. North American ships carried a much smaller segment of the South Carolina than the Virginia trade. Not only did South Carolina have a smaller percentage than Virginia of total imports from other parts of the continent (1 percent against 4 percent),¹⁸ but there was also a difference in the ranking of cargo averages. West Indian vessels entering South Carolina regularly brought more slaves than did the few North American carriers, whereas in Virginia the reverse was true; there North American vessels averaged twenty-two slaves or almost twice as many (compared to an average of twelve) as the much greater number of ships from the West Indies. The difference emphasizes, perhaps, South Carolina's relatively closer relationship with the West Indies and underscores the casual nature of slave imports from its northern neighbors. (See Table 1.)

Surviving naval office records reveal not only the size of cargoes but also the tonnage of the vessels that transported Africans to South Carolina. They indicate that 26,968 tons of shipping entered Charleston between 1717 and 1767, bringing 32,663 slaves (Table 1). Almost 90 percent of these bondsmen were carried in less than half of the vessels (39 percent) comprising more than half (53 percent) of the tonnage, that is, in those ships involved in direct trade between Africa and South Carolina. These vessels were larger by a considerable margin than those participating in the Caribbean or coastal trade for which slaving, as has been previously indicated, was not a very important concern. The common ship visiting South Carolina from Africa equalled ninety-five registered tons, as opposed to fifty-eight for West Indian and thirty-four for North American carriers.

Figures on tonnage allow us to compare ships coming into South Carolina with other craft involved in the African trade. The average size of seventy-nine Bristol ships trading to Africa between 1729 and 1769 and of

¹⁸Minchinton, *ibid.*, establishes a similar configuration in regard to the Bristol trade into Virginia.

1,338 Liverpool ships in the trade from 1730 to 1769 was 101 tons.¹⁹ This means that the usual African trade craft habituating the Carolina coast was not essentially different from that which typified the whole English slave trade and was somewhat closer to the norm than those which went to Virginia (where the average was ninety).²⁰ The ratio of slaves per ton brought to the province was also a reflection of the larger British trade. Ships arriving in Charleston carried an average of 2.02 slaves per ton compared with 1.86 for the general British trade between 1761-1770 and 1.93 between 1771-1780.²¹ Interestingly enough, the ratio of slaves per ton in South Carolina was about the same as that in Virginia (2.2) despite the smaller average number of slaves per vessel in South Carolina, a fact which suggests that the range of ships in size (from small to large) was greater in South Carolina than in Virginia — a result, perhaps, of regional variations in slave sources. Most Virginia slaves (53.7 percent) came from the Gold

¹⁹Klein, "Slaves and Shipping," p. 391; W. E. Minchinton, "The Voyage of the *Snow Africa*," *The Mariner's Mirror* XXXVII (1951), p. 190. This is a "registered" ton, a smaller unit than the "measured" ton decreed by Parliament in 1786. Consequently, the tonnage of English vessels measured after 1786 should be reduced by one-third to compare with ships gauged before that date. When Parliament decreed the ratio of slaves to tonnage in 1788, larger ships were needed to carry the same number of slaves. See D. P. Lamb, "Volume and Tonnage of the Liverpool Slave Trade, 1772-1807," in Anstey and Hair, eds., *Liverpool, the African Trade and Abolition*, pp. 95, 100. For a more extended discussion of tonnage measurements see Christopher J. French "Eighteenth-Century Shipping Tonnage Measurements," *Journal of Economic History* XXXIII (June 1973), pp. 434-443. Also see Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1962); p. 7n and *passim*, and Frederic C. Lane, "Tonnages, Medieval and Modern," *Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser., XVII, 2 (1964), pp. 213-233. Also see Bernard and Lotte Bailyn, *Massachusetts Shipping 1697-1714, A Statistical Study* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1959), pp. 8-9.

But larger ships did not necessarily mean the carrying of more slaves. Thus Frederic Mauro writes, "Alors que les negriers hollandais ont une capacite variant de 450 a 1,000 tonneaux, ceux des Portugais sont plus petits mais plus propres et mieux organisees. Ce qui leur permet de transporter une charge plus importante, 500 environ sur une caravelle, tandis que les Hollandais n'en transportent que 300 sur un gros navire." ("While Dutch slave ships had a capacity varying from 450 to 1,000 tons burden, those of the Portuguese were smaller but more proper and better organized. Which permitted them to carry a more valuable load, around 500 [slaves] on a caravel while the Dutch could carry only 300 on a large ship.") Frederic Mauro, *L'Expansion Europeenne (1600-1870)* (Paris: Presse Universitaire de France, 1964), pp. 164-165.

²⁰Klein, *ibid.*

²¹Roger Anstey, "The Volume and Profitability of the British Slave Trade, 1761-1807," in Engerman and Genovese, eds., *Race and Slavery*, p. 20.

TABLE 1
SHIPS AND SLAVES ENTERING SOUTH CAROLINA,
1717-1767 FROM NAVAL OFFICE LISTS

<u>Region</u>	<u>Ships</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>Slaves (%)</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>	<u>(Ave.)</u>	<u>Ratio Slaves To Tonnage</u>
Africa	150	(39)	28,758 (88)	14,229	(94.8)	2.02
West Indies	202	(53)	3,605 (11)	11,791	(58.3)	.30
No. America	24	(6)	295 (.9)	809	(33.7)	.36
Other	4	(1)	5 (.01)	139	(34.7)	.03
TOTAL	380		32,663	26,968	(70.9)	1.21

There were, in fact, 382 ships; for two vessels (one African and one colonial), no tonnage was listed and one African vessel brought in no slaves, so they were not counted. Where there was more than one origin listed — African and the West Indies — only the African designation was counted because I was interested in the original source of the cargo and not intermediate stops. There were seven of these double listings.

TABLE 2
COMPARISONS OF FIGURES DERIVED FROM
THE NAVAL OFFICE LISTS, 1717-1767,
AND THOSE OBTAINED BY HIGGINS
FROM THE S.C. TREASURY RECORDS, 1735-1775

<u>Region</u>	<u>NAVAL OFFICE LISTS</u>		<u>TREASURY RECORDS</u>				
	<u>Ships</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>Slaves (%)</u>	<u>Ships</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>(%)</u>
Africa	150	(39)	28,758 (88)	410	(37.5)	60,797	(85.7)
West Indies	202	(53)	3,605 (11)	549	(50.0)	9,638	(13.5)
No. America	24	(6)	295 (.9)	124	(11.0)	434	(0.6)
Other	4	(1)	5 (.01)	9	(0.8)	18	(0.02)
TOTAL	380		32,663	1,092		70,887	

Coast and Bight of Biafra, where larger ships were sent, whereas in South Carolina the smaller ships frequenting Gambia and the Windward Coast evidently balanced the larger ones from Angola.²²

Vessel ownership and construction site are also of interest. The list material can be arranged in two periods. For the first, 1717-1738, the data give particular intelligence on registration (i.e., ownership), listing the port, if British, and sometimes the port, but usually the colony, if colonial. For place of construction, however, the information is more general. "British" or "plantation" are the most common listings. For the second period, 1752-1767, the listing is more particular for both registration and construction.

Throughout the century most craft involved in the slave trade, whether as a primary or casual concern, were built in the colonies. (Tables 3, 4, and 5.) This might have been a function of more abundant shipbuilding materials found in the New World. In the later period, when the information is more detailed, the statistics reveal that more ships were constructed in New England (twenty-six) than anywhere else, followed by Bermuda (eleven), whose craft had a special reputation for speed and beauty, and then Virginia (seven). Only 2 percent (i.e., three) of the ships were constructed in South Carolina (see Table 5). For the whole of the period, 20 percent of slave ships arriving in South Carolina were built in Great Britain; 67 percent in the colonies. This configuration is largely the same as that of Virginia, where 16 percent of the ships were British-built and 79 percent were of colonial construction.

The situation was more nearly equal between Britain and the colonies in terms of ownership, at least insofar as total numbers are concerned. The statistics indicate that a bare majority of the ships were colonial-owned (53 percent), in striking contrast to the situation in Virginia where colonial-owned vessels still greatly exceeded British-owned (72 percent as opposed to 27 percent). Nevertheless, it is true in South Carolina, as in Virginia, that the larger ships, particularly those concerned in the direct African trade, more often belonged to British merchants who imported by far the majority

²²Curtin, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, p. 157; James Jones to Lord Hawkesbury, Bristol, July 26, 1788, Liverpool Papers, v. CCXXVII, ff. 154-55, Add. MSS 38416, British Museum.

TABLE 3
CONSTRUCTION SITE, CAROLINA SHIPS

Region	1717-1738		1752-1767		TOTAL	
	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)
Great Britain	57	(24)	20	(13.5)	77	(20.1)
Plantation*	171	(73)	85	(57.4)	256	(67)
Prize	2	(.85)	28	(18.9)	30	(7.8)
Other	4	(1.7)	15	(10.1)	19	(4.9)
TOTAL	234	148	382			

*This appellation refers to colonial vessels. The figures for 1717-1738 include one separate listing of Bermuda. For 1752-1767, all of the separate colonial listings were included to make the data comparable with the first period although the naval office lists were more particular in this epoch.

TABLE 4
CONSTRUCTION SITE OF SLAVE SHIPS
ENTERING SOUTH CAROLINA, 1717-1738*

Constr.	Ber- muda	British	East Haven	Foreign	Irish	Planta- tion	Prize	Un- known	TO- TAL
<u>1717</u>	-	4	-	-	-	11	2	-	17
<u>1718</u>	-	5	-	1	-	16	-	-	22
<u>1719</u>	-	5	-	-	-	12	-	-	17
<u>1722</u>	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	4
<u>1723</u>	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	3
<u>1724</u>	-	4	-	-	-	5	-	-	9
<u>1725</u>	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
<u>1727</u>	-	1	-	-	-	9	-	-	10
<u>1730</u>	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
<u>1731</u>	-	7	1	-	-	15	-	-	23
<u>1732</u>	-	4	-	-	-	10	-	1	15
<u>1733</u>	-	2	-	-	-	4	-	-	6
<u>1734</u>	-	3	-	-	-	28	-	-	31
<u>1735</u>	1	6	-	-	-	19	-	-	26
<u>1736</u>	-	10	-	-	-	15	-	-	25
<u>1737</u>	-	1	-	-	-	8	-	-	9
<u>1738</u>	-	4	-	-	-	11	-	-	15
TOTAL	1	57	1	1	1	170	2	1	234

TABLE 5
CONSTRUCTION SITE OF SLAVE SHIPS
ENTERING SOUTH CAROLINA, 1752-1767*

<u>Construction</u>	<u>1752</u>	<u>1753</u>	<u>1757</u>	<u>1758</u>	<u>1759</u>	<u>1760</u>	<u>1762</u>	<u>1763</u>	<u>1764</u>	<u>1765</u>	<u>1766</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>Great Britain</u>													<u>20</u>
British	-	1	-	2	1	2	1	1	2	3	-	-	13
Bristol	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Deptford	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Irish	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Lancaster	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Liverpool	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Workington	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<u>No. America</u>													<u>63</u>
Newfoundland	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
New England	-	2	1	9	3	5	-	2	-	11	-	-	33
Boston	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
Rhode Island	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	3
Philadelphia	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	2	-	-	6
Maryland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	3
Virginia	2	1	-	1	1	1	1	-	1	3	-	-	11
South Carolina	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	3
<u>West Indies</u>													<u>18</u>
Bermuda	-	-	1	3	1	-	-	2	5	5	-	-	17
St. Kitts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
<u>Plantation</u>													<u>4</u>
Plantation	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	4
<u>Other</u>													<u>43</u>
Condemned	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Prize	-	-	-	2	4	7	-	4	5	5	1	-	28
Unknown	2	1	-	2	-	1	-	2	3	1	2	-	14
TOTAL	4	6	2	24	13	21	4	15	18	37	3	1	148

* Source: Naval Office Lists, CO 5/510, CO 5/511

"Virginia" includes a listing of Halifax assumed to refer to Virginia rather than to England or Massachusetts because the vessel was small and seemingly engaged in the West India trade. It was constructed at Portsmouth, also taken to mean Virginia.

TABLE 6
REGISTRATION OF CAROLINA SHIPS

<u>Region</u>	<u>1717-1738</u>		<u>1752-1767</u>		<u>TOTAL</u>	
	<u>#</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>(%)</u>
Great Britain	98	(41.8)	75	(50.6)	173	(45.2)
Plantation	133	(56.8)	69	(46.6)	202	(52.8)
New England	66	(28.2)	11	(7.4)	77	(20.1)
Middle Colonies	11	(4.1)	4	(2.7)	15	(3.9)
South	22	(9.4)	19	(12.8)	41	(10.7)
West Indies	33	(14.1)	35	(23.6)	68	(17.8)
Other	4	(1.7)	4	(2.7)	8	(8.0)
TOTAL	234		148		382	

of the slaves.²³ Of 151 African ships entering Charleston, comprising about 14,000 tons and carrying almost 29,000 slaves, 85 percent of the tonnage and of the slaves and 81 percent of the vessels belonged to merchants resident in Britain. (See Table 9.)

British-owned ships were less prominent in the trade between South

²³The Virginia comparisons are from Klein, "Slaves and Shipping," pp. 403-404. I included four vessels not included in Klein's total to make his figures comparable to mine.

Because often a combination of merchants invested in a ship voyage, all of whom might not necessarily be from the same location, one might object to relying on the ship's registration as a key to the source of merchant capital. One could get at the question by trying to identify all the owners listed, a project beyond the scope of the current study. Fortunately, from 1752 to 1767 the naval office lists specified the location of the owners, making it possible to compare that with registration. Of 130 ships where the owners were identified as belonging to a particular city, only sixteen (12%) had owners in more than one location. None had owners in more than two locations. In most cases, at least half of the merchants resided in the place where the ship was registered. In only two cases was this not true and in two other cases all the merchants resided elsewhere than the place of registration. Assuming that the percentage of dual locations in the sample was representative of the group as a whole, that all merchants shared equally in the voyage and that other characteristics of the sample were also representative, the chance of error in using the registration figures is reduced from 12% to less than 9%. See Naval Office Lists, CO 5/510 and CO 5/511, Public Record Office. On this point also see Bailyn and Bailyn, *Massachusetts Shipping*, pp. 3-22.

TABLE 7
REGISTRATION SITE OF SLAVE SHIPS
ENTERING SOUTH CAROLINA, 1717-1738*

	1717	1718	1719	1722	1723	1724	1725	1727	1730	1731	1732	1733	1734	1735	1736	1737	1738	TOTAL
<u>Britain</u>																		<u>98</u>
Belfast	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	3
Bristol	2	1	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	5	2	2	3	4	6	2	2	33
Corke (Ire.)	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Leith (Scot.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lewes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Liverpool	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	4
London	4	2	5	-	1	4	1	3	-	4	1	-	8	4	7	2	7	53
Poole	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Whitehaven	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
<u>New England</u>																		<u>66</u>
Boston	8	7	2	1	1	1	-	3	1	1	4	2	6	7	4	1	4	53
New Hampshire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	3
Newcastle	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Rhode Island	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	5
Newport	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Providence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2
<u>Middle Colonies</u>																		<u>11</u>
New York	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	7
Philadelphia	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	4
<u>South</u>																		<u>22</u>
Maryland	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
South Carolina	-	6	5	-	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	19
Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2

TABLE 7 (Continued)
Registration Site of Slave Ships
Entered South Carolina, 1717-1738*

	<u>1717</u>	<u>1718</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1722</u>	<u>1723</u>	<u>1724</u>	<u>1725</u>	<u>1727</u>	<u>1730</u>	<u>1731</u>	<u>1732</u>	<u>1733</u>	<u>1734</u>	<u>1735</u>	<u>1736</u>	<u>1737</u>	<u>1738</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>West Indies</u>																		<u>33</u>
Antigua	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
Barbados	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	3	1	1	-	-	11
Bermuda	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	3	2	1	-	11
Jamaica	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	4
Montserrat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
New Providence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
St. Kitts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Exon (?)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	3
<u>TOTAL</u>	17	22	17	4	3	9	1	10	1	23	15	6	31	26	25	9	15	234

*Source: Naval Office Lists CO 5/508, CO 5/509

Carolina and the West Indies.²⁴ They comprised fifty-one vessels or 25 percent of the total (much more than the comparable situation in Virginia, where they comprised only 6 percent) but carried a little over one-quarter of the slaves (28 percent), which was nearly the same percentage (29 percent) that a much smaller proportion of British vessels carried to the Chesapeake. Obviously, British-owned vessels carried larger shipments from the West Indies to Virginia than to South Carolina, a fact which probably suggests the closer relationship between South Carolina and the West Indies. That is, British ships could proceed to South Carolina as part of a West Indian voyage, while greater planning was required for Virginia. Thus, Peter Wood reports, early-eighteenth-century English documents sometimes referred to "Carolina in ye West Indies."²⁵ In the overall trade, British interest in the two regions was virtually the same. British-owned vessels brought in 79 percent of the slaves to Virginia, 78 percent to South Carolina. Despite the statistics on vessel ownership, British capital clearly controlled the bulk of the trade.²⁶

If the naval office lists accurately reflect existing conditions, British economic control increased over the century, a situation which can best be analyzed with reference to direct African imports. Table 11 indicates the dominance of London, Bristol, and Liverpool in the trade to South Carolina, a reflection of their prominence in the British trade as a whole. The period 1717-1738 saw London and Bristol predominate in South Carolina, with London's initial leadership gradually declining in favor of Bristol and Liverpool by the period 1752-1767. Of seventy-eight vessels listed in South

²⁴The "other" listing in Table 10 included one each from Corke, Exon, Glasgow, Leith, Lewes, Newcastle, Penryn, Poole and Whitehaven, two from Lancaster, and three from Belfast. The higher average cargo between the West Indies and South Carolina than between the West Indies and Virginia (12) underlines the stronger relationship between the former regions.

London vessels were more active than any others in the slave trade between the West Indies, perhaps because London merchants were interested in other kinds of trade, with slaving almost a coincidental concern. It certainly was not because London vessels carried significantly larger slave cargoes (on the run from Africa) or used smaller ships.

²⁵Littlefield, "Planter Preferences," pp. 62-63, 62n; Wood, *Black Majority*, p. 33; Galenson, *Traders, Planters and Slaves*, p. 36.

²⁶In figuring the total percentage of British imports to South Carolina I took the difference between African imports in Tables 3 and 9 and added that to the total imports in Table 1 to use as the divider for the sum of British imports found in Tables 9 and 10.

Virginia comparisons from Klein, "Slaves and Shipping," p. 404.

TABLE 8
REGISTRATION SITE OF SLAVE SHIPS
ENTERED SOUTH CAROLINA, 1752-1767*

	1752	1753	1757	1758	1759	1760	1762	1763	1764	1765	1766	1767	TOTAL
<u>Gt. Britain</u>													<u>75</u>
Bristol	1	1	-	6	2	4	-	1	2	4	-	-	21
Glasgow	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lancaster	1	1	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	3	-	-	9
Liverpool	-	-	-	8	3	3	2	1	1	3	-	-	21
London	-	1	-	1	1	5	-	2	1	5	-	-	16
Penryn	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Plymouth	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Poole	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Whitehaven	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<u>No. America</u>													<u>34</u>
Piscataqua, N.H.-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Boston	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	3
Rhode Island	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	3
Newport	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	4
New York	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Philadelphia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	3
Virginia	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
No. Carolina	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	3
Charleston	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	2	3	4	1	-	13
Georgia	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<u>West Indies</u>													<u>35</u>
Antigua	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	5
Barbados	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bermuda	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	2	4	2	-	-	12
Jamaica	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	3	-	-	6
Montserrat	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Nevis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
St. Kitts	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	4
TOTAL	4	6	2	24	13	21	4	15	18	37	3	1	148

*Source: Naval Office Lists CO 5/510, CO 5/511

"Plymouth" is assumed to refer to Plymouth, England, though the listing is not specific. "Virginia" citation includes one listing of Portsmouth which is assumed to refer to the Virginia rather than to the Rhode Island or English port because the vessel was small, apparently involved in the West India trade and was constructed at Halifax, also presumably in Virginia.

North Carolina citation includes listings of Beaufort, Sandy Point, and Cape Fear.

Piscataqua taken to refer to New Hampshire.

St. Kitts includes listings of "Basseterre."

Carolina prior to 1738, thirty-three or 42 percent were owned in London while twenty-seven or 35 percent were owned in Bristol. Practically all the rest (21 percent) belonged to colonial merchants — in Boston and South Carolina. Not until 1737 was a vessel listed as Liverpool-owned, the only one in the first period. In this interval, then, two English ports sent 77 percent of the ships with 82 percent of the tonnage and 80 percent of the slaves. London alone contributed 41 percent of the total (6,283 slaves) compared with Bristol's 39 percent (5,902 slaves), but London's portion amounted to only 6 percent more bondsmen than its competitor, in spite of the fact that it sent 22 percent more vessels.

In the second period, the situation was more complex. If vessels are considered, Liverpool gained leadership, dispatching twenty of seventy-three ships (27 percent), followed by Bristol with eighteen (24 percent) and London with eleven (15 percent). These were trailed by nine colonial vessels (12 percent) and fourteen from various other British outports (19 percent). But London sent a greater amount of tonnage, and Bristol a greater number of slaves. Six British ports contributed 84 percent of the ships, 87 percent of the tonnage and 89 percent of the slaves. Clearly competition was greater in the second half of the century, and Liverpool's preeminence in the trade as a whole did not go unchallenged in South Carolina. It is possible that Liverpool's proportion was greater than the statistics indicate because Liverpool's overall position continued to improve in the period beyond which naval office data exists. For example, whereas in 1753 Liverpool had seventy-two ships engaged in the slave trade, its fleet had grown to 105 by 1771, an increase of 46 percent; and whereas at the earlier date 55 percent of ships leaving Great Britain for Africa belonged to the northern port (while 11 percent left from London and 23 percent from Bristol), by 1781 Liver-

TABLE 9
AFRICAN VESSELS BY OWNERSHIP, 1717-1767

	<u>Ships</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>Tons</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>Ratio Slaves to Tonnage</u>
<u>Great Britain</u>	122	(80.7)	12,098	(85.0)	24,527	(85.1)	2.02
Bristol	45		4,345		10,078		2.30
London	44		5,043		8,766		1.70
Liverpool	21		1,910		3,777		1.90
Lancaster	7		490		1,247		2.50
Poole	4		225		485		2.10*
Whitehaven	1		85		174		2.00
<u>No. America</u>	25	(16.5)	1,676	(11.7)	3,765	(13.0)	2.20
Boston	12		946		2,256		2.30
So. Carolina	7		435		696		1.60
Rhode Island	4		155		394		2.50
Philadelphia	1		60		230		3.80
Georgia	1		80		189		2.30
<u>Unknown</u>	4	(2.6)	455	(3.1)	523	(1.8)	1.10
TOTAL	151		14,229		28,815		2.02

Since the information on ownership and number of slaves was incomplete, 151 vessels are included here instead of 150 in former listings.

*The ratio of slaves to ton was less than figured because tonnage was missing for one ship.

TABLE 10
**OWNERSHIP OF BRITISH VESSELS
ENTERING FROM THE WEST INDIES**

	<u>Ships</u>	<u>Size</u>		<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Cargo Ave.</u>
		<u>Tonnage</u>	<u>Ave.</u>		
London	24	2,300	95.8	517	21.50
Bristol	9	830	91.1	137	15.20
Liverpool	4	230	57.5	235	58.75
Other	14	840	60.0	132	9.42
Total	51	3,970	77.8	1,021	20.00
Colonial	151	7,821	51.7	2,584	17.10

pool's share had reached 68 percent and continued to grow.²⁷ In the face of this activity, imports in colonial ships did not grow; they fell from 17 percent in the earlier period to 8 percent in the later, though here, too, greater competition was involved as five ports were counted in the second as against two in the first period.²⁸

While in the first span London sent more slaves and ships than Bristol,

²⁷The figures for Liverpool slaving ships in 1753 and 1771 are taken from the Bickerton Papers, 942 BIC 1, p. 13, Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool, England; the breakdown of shipping from various ports in 1753 obtained from "Mr. Pownal's Account of the Slave Trade," Liverpool Papers, v. CCXXVII, ff. 221-224, Add. MSS 38416, British Museum; also in C. M. Macinnes, "Bristol and the Slave Trade," in *Bristol, England, The University, Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, Local History Pamphlets #7* (1968), p. 6. Pownal recorded that of 117 vessels departing Britain in 1753, London sent 13, Liverpool 64, Bristol 27, Chester and Plymouth one each, and Glasgow four. He also estimated 20 North American vessels to have engaged in the trade, making 137 in all. If colonial ships are included, Liverpool's portion of the total trade that year was 48%; the colonials composed 15%. The 1781 figure was taken from Anstey, "Volume and Profitability," p. 8.

Minchinton, "Slave Trade of Bristol," p. 50, says that "the average tonnage of Bristol slave-vessels increased from 96 tons in 1710-1719 to over 120 tons in the 1760s. These figures for the Bristol slave fleet as a whole were reflected in the figures available for the two American mainland colonies. The average tonnage of Bristol vessels entering Virginia rose from 101.4 tons between 1727 and 1738 to 136.3 tons between 1760 and 1769, while for South Carolina the average tonnage of Bristol slavers increased from 69.0 tons for the years 1717-19 to 114.3 tons for the years 1763-1765." Also see Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn, "The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Tentative Economic Model," *Journal of African History* XV, No. 2 (1974), p. 242, and Simon Rottenberg, "The Business of Slave Trading," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* LXVI (Summer 1967), p. 413, and Davis, *Rise of English Shipping*, pp. 72-73.

²⁸There does not appear to have been any significant decline in New England slave trading before the Revolution. Clifford L. Alderman, *Rum, Slaves and Molasses: The Story of New England's Triangular Trade* (New York: Crowell-Collier Press, 1972), p. 108, suggests that during the first half of the eighteenth century Massachusetts merchants led in slaving, being superseded by those of Rhode Island in the second half. But Jay Coughtry, in his recent study *The Notorious Triangle: Rhode Island and the African Slave Trade, 1700-1807* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981) argues (p. xi) that "with one exception (the question of total American vessels in the trade), the Rhode Island slave trade and the American slave trade are virtually synonymous" and (p. 6) that the "number of slaving voyages from Rhode Island ports increased slowly but steadily throughout the eighteenth century...." He also indicates (pp. 169-172) that in the 1750s and first half of the 1760s there was increased interest on the part of Rhode Island merchants in the South Carolina slave market.

in the second the reverse was true. But there was a wider variation between the two in terms of ship sizes and ratios of slaves to tonnage. Though its share of the volume of the trade was smaller, London sent larger but fewer ships which carried cargoes that were larger absolutely but smaller relative to the size of the ship. Bristol sent larger ships with essentially the same relative quantities of slaves, so that its ratio of slaves to tons was higher than London's. This could mean either that Bristol merchants were more efficient traders or that London merchants were less interested in slaves, preferring other cargo.

Liverpool was in a class by itself. The average size of ships it dispatched to South Carolina in the second half of the century was ninety-two tons, and its ratio of slaves to tonnage was almost twice that of London, though less than that of Bristol. These figures might indicate that Liverpool merchants preferred smaller ships, that their ship technology lagged behind the other two ports, that Liverpool's trade was more specialized, or some combination of these factors. Certainly several traders, notably from Liverpool, spoke in favor of smaller ships when the British government was considering slaving regulations in 1788. One protested strongly against "establishing too minutely the proportions of space and numbers," which would "at once put a stop to the Navigation of the smaller and most useful vessels employed in the trade, without procuring the slightest relief to the Negro."²⁹

By small vessel he apparently meant craft at least as large as 250 tons and perhaps as large as 300 tons, which would encompass practically all of

Also see Roger Anstey, "The Volume of the North American Slave-Carrying Trade from Africa, 1761-1810," *Revue française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer* v. LXII (1975), Nos. 226-27, pp. 47-65. Of course, there was increased interest in the Carolina market by British merchants as well and colonial merchants may not have been able to stand the competition. See, for example, Paul G. E. Clemens, "The Rise of Liverpool, 1665-1750," *The Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser., XXIX (May 1976), pp. 211-225.

²⁹John Tarleton to Lord Hawkesbury, June 9, 1788, Liverpool Papers, v. CCXXVII, Add. MSS 38416, ff. 103-04, British Museum. Also see Testimony of Robert Norris, *Report to the House of Lords*, 1789, pp. 110-111, in Bristol Archives Office. Galenson argues that mortality increased with an increase in the size of ship, so Liverpool merchants, who used smaller ships, might have had a point. See *Traders, Planters and Slaves*, p. 45.

TABLE 11
AFRICAN VESSELS ENTERING SOUTH CAROLINA BY PERIOD
AND BY PLACE OF REGISTRATION

1717-1738							1752-1767					
	<u>Ships</u>	<u>Tons</u>	<u>(Ave.)</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Ratio</u>	<u>Ave.</u> <u>Cargo</u>	<u>Ships</u>	<u>Tons</u>	<u>(Ave.)</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Ratio</u>	<u>Ave.</u> <u>Cargo</u>
<u>Grt. Britain</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>5780</u>	<u>(94.75)</u>	<u>12,347</u>	<u>2.1</u>	<u>202.4</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>6318</u>	<u>(103.5)</u>	<u>12,180</u>	<u>1.92</u>	<u>199.6</u>
London	33	3115	(94.3)	6,283	2.0	190.3	11	1928	(175.3)	2,483	1.28	225.7
Bristol	27	2585	(95.7)	5,902	2.3	218.5	18	1760	(160.0)	4,176	2.37	232.0
Liverpool	1	80	(80.0)	162	2.0	162.0	20	1830	(91.5)	3,615	1.97	180.75
Lancaster							7	490	(70.0)	1,247	2.50	178.1
Poole							4	225	(56.25)	485	2.10	121.25
Whitehaven							1	85	(85.0)	174	2.17	174.0
<u>No. America</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>1110</u>	<u>(69.3)</u>	<u>2,628</u>	<u>2.36</u>	<u>164.25</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>566</u>	<u>(62.8)</u>	<u>1,137</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>126.3</u>
Boston	10	785	(78.5)	2,008	2.25	200.8	2	161	(80.5)	248	1.5	124.0
So. Carolina	6	325	(54.2)	620	1.9	103.3	1	110	(110.0)	76	.69	76.0
Rhode Island							4	155	(38.75)	394	2.5	98.5
Philadelphia							1	60	(60.0)	230	3.8	230.0
Georgia							1	80	(80.0)	189	2.3	189.0
<u>Unknown</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>(75.0)</u>	<u>176</u>	<u>2.30</u>	<u>176.0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>380</u>	<u>(126.6)</u>	<u>347</u>	<u>.91</u>	<u>115.6</u>
TOTAL	78	6965	(89.3)	15,151	2.17	194.2	73	7264	(99.5)	13,664	1.88	187.1

TABLE 12
SLAVE SHIPS BY TYPE, 1717-1767

Number	Size	Total	Ave.	
	<u>Ships</u>	<u>Range*</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>	<u>Size*</u>
Ship	117	40-314	12,579	107.5
Sloop	102	10-160	3,243	32.1
Snow	58	40-150	4,685	80.7
Brigantine	57	20-120	3,362	58.9
Schooner	20	14-80	679	33.9
Gally	10	90-140	1,120	112.0
Pink	5	70-150	555	111.0
Packet	3	25-45	115	38.5
Bark	1	40	40	40.0
Frigate	1	100	100	100.0
Ketch	1	35	35	35.0
Unlisted	7			
TOTALS	382	10-314	26,513	69.4

*In registered tons

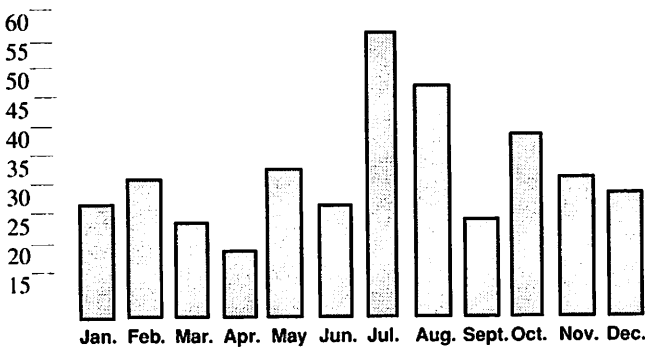
those that came into South Carolina.³⁰ (See Table 12.) A slave-ship captain testified that between 1775 and 1786 he had commanded eleven ships, each 200 to 300 tons, carrying from 500 to 600 slaves. This works out to 2.2 slaves

³⁰As illustrated in Table 12, slaving vessels entering South Carolina varied from 10 to 314 tons. The trade was dominated by large ships, on the one hand, and small sloops on the other, which together made up 57% of the vessels. This dichotomy probably reflected, more than anything else, the multifaceted nature of South Carolina's trade, where many merchants were only tangentially involved in slaving. It is also likely that most of the ships were owned in Britain while most of the sloops were owned in the colonies. The vessels of 314 tons, for example, came from London. Also see Davis, *Rise of English Shipping*, pp. 67-68. Davis states (p. 78) "that the term 'brig' was simply an abbreviation of 'brigantine' and the two terms were sometimes used interchangeably for the same ship." I therefore combined the two listings.

Klein states that though "vessel designation primarily concerned the arrangement of sails and masts, it also seems to have roughly reflected volume capacity as well." Herbert Klein, "The Portuguese Slave Trade from Angola in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Economic History*, XXXIII (December 1972), p. 902, and "North American Competition and the Characteristics of the African Slave Trade to Cuba, 1790 to 1794," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd. Ser. XXVIII (January 1971), pp. 93-94. He later seems to retreat from this position, however, writing that "Since these designations concern the number of masts, the design of sails and the types of riggings, they can [be], and were often combined with quite different ranges of tonnage per vessel." Herbert S. Klein, "The Cuban Slave Trade in a Period of Transition, 1790-1843," *Revue française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer*, t. LXII (1975), Nos. 226-227, p. 76.

**TABLE 13
SLAVE SHIPS ARRIVING IN SOUTH CAROLINA
BY MONTH***

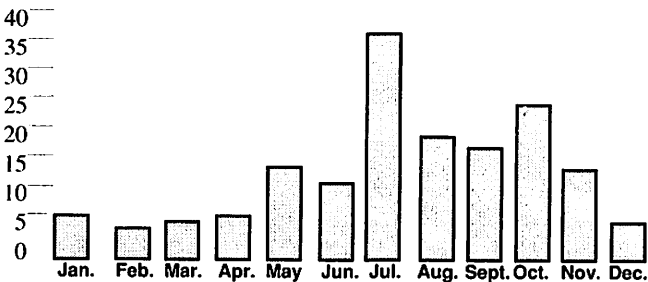
Year	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
1717	-	4	-	-	3	-	2	-	2	2	1	3	17
1718	1	3	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	3	2	1	22
1719	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	4	3	-	-	-	17
1722	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
1723	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
1724	1	-	1	-	-	1	3	-	1	2	-	-	9
1725	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
1727	3	1	2	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
1730	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
1731	1	1	3	-	1	3	2	3	-	2	4	3	23
1732	-	2	2	1	1	-	3	5	-	-	1	-	15
1733	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	6
1734	3	3	1	3	3	1	5	4	2	2	2	2	31
1735	2	3	1	3	5	2	4	2	2	1	-	1	26
1736	1	-	1	1	3	2	2	6	2	2	4	1	25
1737	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	1	2	2	-	9
1738	-	-	1	3	1	-	4	2	-	2	1	1	15
1752	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	4
1753	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
1757	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2
1758	2	2	1	2	2	2	6	2	1	4	-	-	24
1759	-	-	-	-	2	1	4	1	1	2	2	-	13
1760	2	-	-	1	1	-	5	4	2	4	-	2	21
1762	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	4
1763	1	-	-	-	-	2	2	5	1	1	2	1	15
1764	1	3	1	2	3	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	18
1765	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	6	5	7	8	3	37
1766	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
1767	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
TOTAL 27	31	23	19	33	26	56	46	24	38	32	27	382	



* Source: Naval Office Lists, CO 5/508, CO 5/509, CO 5/510, CO 5/511
Where ships were entered during a quarter without being specified as to month, I distributed them equally over the quarter.

TABLE 14
SLAVE SHIPS ARRIVING IN SOUTH CAROLINA
FROM AFRICA BY MONTH*

Year	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
1717	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	5
1718	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	5
1719	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	3
1722	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
1723	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
1724	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	1	-	-	5
1725	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
1727	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
1730	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
1731	1	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	8
1732	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	3
1733	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
1734	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	1	-	1	1	7
1735	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	1	1	-	-	-	8
1736	1	-	-	-	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	-	12
1737	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	6
1738	-	-	1	3	1	-	3	1	-	1	1	-	11
1752	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
1753	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
1757	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
1758	-	-	-	1	1	2	3	1	1	4	-	-	13
1759	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	1	2	1	-	9
1760	1	-	-	1	1	-	5	2	2	4	-	1	17
1762	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	3
1763	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	1	1	-	-	7
1764	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
1765	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	1	4	5	4	-	20
1766	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
1767	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
TOTAL	5	3	4	5	13	10	36	18	16	24	13	4	151



* Source: Naval Office Lists, CO 5/508, CO 5/509, CO 5/510, CO 5/511
 Where ships were entered during a quarter without being specified as to month,
 I distributed them equally over the quarter.

per ton, a proportion he did not think too great and which was slightly less than the ratio for Bristol ships entering South Carolina. He went on to say that "the Slave Ships at Liverpool are built on Purpose for this Trade, and are accomodated with Air Ports and Gratings for the Purpose of keeping the Slaves cool. Great Improvements have been made at Liverpool, within these Twenty-Years [prior to 1788] in the Construction of these Ships."³¹ But this remark implies that conditions were not so good earlier.

When the whole period is considered, Bristol's forty-five ships of a little over 4,300 tons carried more than 10,000 slaves to dominate the trade of North America's largest overseas slave market. This city was responsible for the captivity of 15 percent more Africans than London, which sent only one less ship and 16 percent more tonnage. Liverpool, because of its later start, sent fewer ships and slaves than either of the other two ports; indeed, less than half in either category. Other sources suggest, though, that this situation reflects more the limits of the data than reality and that Liverpool dominated the Carolina trade as it did others in the second half of the eighteenth century.³²

Climatological considerations also affected British interest in the Carolina trade. North American winters were colder than anything experienced in tropical latitudes, and special considerations had to be taken into account in shipping slaves to the continent. Although the climate of the Carolina

³¹Testimony of James Penny, Report to the House of Lords, 1789, p. 108, Bristol Archives Office. It is difficult to judge how far to push this data, but to the extent that it is representative, slaves, other things being equal, probably had a better passage on London than on Bristol or Liverpool ships during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. This may not have been true, of course, if London merchants carried other cargo which crowded the slaves or if the ships were differently constructed. Charles Garland and Herbert Klein have adduced problems involved in using slaves per ton as a measurement in judging space allotted for the unfortunates. They have shown, among other things, that an increase in ship size did not necessarily mean a proportional increase in cargo space; so that a large ship carrying half as many slaves per ton as a smaller ship would not likely offer twice the space. Indeed, the increase might be insignificant. Still, on ships of the same size and type the ratio of slaves to tonnage might be important. Roger Anstey also remarks on the small cargoes carried in London vessels when compared to those of Liverpool and Bristol in the period before regulation. The London ratio of slaves to tonnage was less than the average for British slaving ships at the end of the century when these proportions were regulated by law. See Charles Garland and Herbert S. Klein, "The Allotment of Space for Slaves Aboard Eighteenth-Century British Slave Ships," *William and Maryland Quarterly*, 3rd. Ser., XLII (April 1985), pp. 238-248 and Anstey, "Volume and Profitability," pp. 5, 9n-10n.

³²See David Richardson, "The Volume and Pattern of the English Slave Trade to South Carolina before 1776," paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Historical Association, Charleston, S.C., Nov. 12, 1983.

Lowcountry was more similar to the West Indies variety than that of other parts of the mainland, it was nevertheless subject to greater variations and lower — sometimes much lower — temperatures than occurred in the islands. To avoid loss caused by sudden weather change, the slave trade was largely a seasonal affair, with the optimum period of trade being between March and September.³³ At other times, slaves had to be supplied with extra clothing as they approached the coast, entailing extra expense as well as increased chances of mortality. These additional considerations had to be balanced against adverse market conditions in the West Indies. A British merchant house in 1753 ordered its ship's captain to proceed to Carolina from Barbados if business was not satisfactory in the latter place, but only if he could arrive by the middle of March, "so as to be at a proper Season for South Carolina." Otherwise, he was to go on to Jamaica.³⁴ John Guerard, writing from Charleston in December 1755, expressed regret to one of his correspondents who had sent slaves that they "Should happen to Come at this Cold Season," especially as they were in "bad Order" already and the weather, he implied, was not likely to increase their chances for survival.³⁵ A Savannah merchant lost nine of fifty slaves imported from the West Indies when winter weather prevented their immediate landing.³⁶ Besides, prices paid for slaves were generally lower in winter than in the spring or summer because they could not be put to immediate use.³⁷

Still, there were situations which made slaving profitable in South Carolina at periods other than the optimum time, and, in fact, slaves were likely to arrive at almost any season. Passage of a law in August 1764, for example, levying a prohibitive duty on slave imports for a period of three

³³Sellers, *Charleston Business*, p. 139. In the West Indies, by contrast, much of this period was hurricane season. Richard Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739-1763* (London: F. Cass, 1963), p. 269.

³⁴William Davenport & Co. to Samuel Sacheverall, *Davenport Letter and Bill Book*, 1748 (Liverpool, July 26, 1753), Raymond Richards Collection, University Library, Keele, England.

³⁵John Guerard to Benjamin Spencer & Co., Charleston, Dec. 23, 1755. Spencer-Stanhope Muniments, 50649/150, Sheffield Central Library, Sheffield, England.

³⁶John Graham to James Grant, Savannah, Nov. 16, 1767, Grant of Ballindalloch MSS 0771/401, National Register of Archives, Edinburgh, Scotland.

³⁷Henry Laurens to Gidney Clarke, Jan. 12, 1756, George C. Rogers et al., eds., *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, Vol. II (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1974), p. 63, hereafter *Laurens Papers*; Sellers, *Charleston Business*, p. 139. This was even more true farther north. See A. P. Middleton, *Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era* (Newport News, Va.: Mariners' Museum, 1953), p. 139 and Darold Wax, "Quaker Merchants and the Slave Trade in Colonial Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* LXXXVI (April 1962), p. 153.

years after January 1, 1766, created a demand for slaves which kept prices high throughout the ensuing winter.³⁸ Indeed, Henry Laurens thought that the opening of the regular season might cause prices to fall because of increased supply.³⁹ Similarly, William Davenport and Company once ordered its ship *Charming Nancy* to "Proceed directly for So Carolina arrive at what season of the year you will" as it was doubtless the best market for their cargo.⁴⁰

In the years for which naval office records survive, 1717-1767, the largest number of slaves arrived in the span between May and November, these being carried in vessels from Africa. (See Tables 13 and 14.) There was a happy coincidence between good weather conditions in South Carolina and the hurricane season in the West Indies (June to October), and there accordingly appears to have been some correlation between the time of relatively high numbers of slave imports to the mainland and that of comparatively low numbers of imports into the islands (see Table 15). In Jamaica, the greatest number of vessels came in from November to May, with the largest single number arriving in December; in Barbados most vessels entered between December and June, April being the month of heaviest arrivals.⁴¹ The month of most arrivals in South Carolina was July. In this, the colony was similar to Virginia, whose slave trade one might also expect to have been affected by meteorological conditions in the Caribbean. Most slaves were imported into Virginia between April and October with fewer on each end, a reflection, perhaps — all else being equal — of competition with the West Indies in April and with South Carolina in October. No African vessels came into Virginia during the winter months, whereas craft arrived throughout the year in the more southerly region, though in greatly decreased numbers when it got cold. Here is one among several aspects in which South Carolina occupied an intermediate position between the West Indies to the south and the more northerly reaches of the continent.

Vessels involved in the Caribbean trade were less bound by seasonal

³⁸Henry Laurens to Day & Welch, Sept. 10, 1764, Rogers et al., eds., *Laurens Papers*, Vol. IV, pp. 413; Henry Laurens to Smith & Baillies, Sept. 11, 1764, *ibid.*, pp. 416.

³⁹Henry Laurens to Meyler & Hall, Dec. 7, 1764, *ibid.*, p. 518.

⁴⁰William Davenport and Co. to Sam. Sacheverall, *Davenport Letter and Bill Book*, 1748 (Liverpool, Jan. 29, 1755), Raymond Richards Collection, University Library, Keele.

⁴¹On this point also see Klein, *The Middle Passage*, pp. 155-156. He considers "Atlantic wind and current conditions, African crop and weather patterns, and American work demands based on harvest cycles" as responsible for the seasonality of the trade. Also see Rugnyansky, "The Caribbean Slave Trade: Jamaica and Barbados," pp. 148-189, and Galenson, *Traders, Planters and Slaves*, pp. 33-37.

TABLE 15
COMPARISON OF AFRICAN IMPORTS
INTO SOUTH CAROLINA, VIRGINIA, JAMAICA,
AND BARBADOS
IN THE 18th CENTURY* BY SEASON

	<u>Jamaica[#]</u> <u>Vessels</u>	<u>Barbados</u> <u>Vessels</u>	<u>S.C.</u> <u>Vessels</u>	<u>Virginia⁺</u> <u>Slaves</u>
<u>Winter</u>	<u>447</u>	<u>228</u>	<u>12</u>	-
December	169	80	4	-
January	150	79	5	-
February	128	69	3	-
<u>Spring</u>	<u>377</u>	<u>283</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>4,934</u>
March	115	92	4	24
April	142	111	5	1,563
May	120	80	13	3,347
<u>Summer</u>	<u>298</u>	<u>150</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>17,681</u>
June	98	71	10	6,214
July	104	41	36	6,837
August	96	38	18	4,630
<u>Fall</u>	<u>324</u>	<u>153</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>5,281</u>
September	82	53	16	3,088
October	105	48	24	2,193
November	137	52	13	-

*The dates are Jamaica, 1683-1769; Barbados, 1680-1764; South Carolina, 1717-1767; Virginia, 1727-1769. The figures are taken from Rugnyanszky, "Caribbean Slave Trade," pp. 158-161, 194-197, for the West Indies; Virginia figures from Klein, "Slaves and Shipping," pp. 396-397; South Carolina figures are my own, derived from the naval office lists.

[#]The vessels recorded in the West Indian data were not distinguished as to region, but since more than 99 percent of slave imports into Jamaica and above 98 percent of slave imports into Barbados were direct African imports the validity of the comparison is not marred.

⁺Virginia figures in numbers of slaves; the others in numbers of vessels.

variation; that many of these voyages were not primarily slave voyages anyway is suggested by the tenuous connection between the monthly totals of vessels entered (obtained by subtracting the figures on Table 14 from those in Table 13) and the number of slaves imported (Table 16). Despite the extra precautions that had to be taken when slaves were shipped in the winter ("Let them be clad with Linnen woolen & a Blanket about 12/6 Sterling each but not wear their Cloaths until they begin to feel the change of climate & then only by degrees till they come upon the Coast," Laurens wrote a Barbados correspondent⁴²), practically as many slaves were shipped from the islands in that season as in the summer. There does appear to be some seasonality associated with North American imports however; slaves from northern colonies were imported primarily in the summer and fall.⁴³

In sum, it is clear that the outline of external trade to South Carolina did not differ radically from what occurred elsewhere around the South Atlantic where British slavers beat their paths. The average ship size over the course of the eighteenth century, the increase in ship size in the second half of the century, the English ports involved in the trade, and their changing positions of predominance as the century advanced were no different in South Carolina from the normal pattern of British trade in slaves. At first sight, Bristol seems to have had an unusual position in the South Carolina trade in the second half of the century, relative to its status in the British trade as a whole, but, as suggested, this conclusion likely reflects the limits of the documentation. It is probable that Liverpool's hegemony in this period of British slave trading was evidenced in South Carolina. Local distinctions of cargo size, determined by slave preferences, and distinctions of seasonality, effected by work routines and climate, modified the trade in Carolina, but circumstances of locality always did. British merchants dominated the trade but needed local advice or experience to make the best voyage. In terms of economic dominance and the political ability to protect it, Jefferson's charge had some plausibility, and British economic control increased over the century. But a range of activities, including shipbuilding and merchandising, not to mention the business of planting, encouraged active colonial collaboration.

⁴²Henry Laurens to John Haslin, Nov. 19, 1764, Rogers et al., eds., *Laurens Papers*, Vol. IV, p. 507.

⁴³These periods of importation may have had something to do with the vagaries of crop production. The planting season was past, but laborers would be needed for weeding and hoeing as well as harvesting, threshing and pounding. See Converse D. Clowse, *Economic Beginnings*, pp. 128-130 and Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (Washington, D.C.: The Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1933), Vol. I, pp. 280-284; Vol. II, pp. 726-731. Northern imports may not have been field hands, however, and conditions at the source may have been responsible for the seasonality.

TABLE 16
COMPARISON OF SLAVE IMPORTS INTO
SOUTH CAROLINA FROM AFRICA,
THE WEST INDIES, AND NORTH AMERICA
BY SEASON, 1717-1767*

	<u>Africa</u>	<u>West Indies</u>	<u>North America</u>
<u>Winter</u>	<u>2,299</u>	<u>1,032</u>	<u>19</u>
December	852	247	19
January	1,057	202	-
February	390	583	-
<u>Spring</u>	<u>5,014</u>	<u>823</u>	<u>18</u>
March	863	297	2
April	1,088	231	-
May	3,063	295	16
<u>Summer</u>	<u>12,560</u>	<u>1,051</u>	<u>139</u>
June	2,413	231	102
July	6,691	390	10
August	3,456	430	27
<u>Fall</u>	<u>8,937</u>	<u>650</u>	<u>121</u>
September	2,533	73	78
October	4,167	161	4
November	2,237	416	39

Note: These figures exclude eight slaves whose source was unknown and one from the Isle of Man. One slave from Honduras was included with the West Indies.

*Source: Naval Office Lists, CO 5/508, CO 5/509, CO 5/510, CO 5/511

THE BURNING OF JERRY: THE LAST SLAVE EXECUTION BY FIRE IN SOUTH CAROLINA?

LOWRY WARE*

South Carolina historical literature contains few references to the practice of execution by fire. In what appears to have been the earliest notice, Edward McCrady in 1899 in his *History of South Carolina under Royal Government, 1719-1776* noted two such cases. One was the case of a Negro who was publicly burned on August 14, 1741 for burning the dwelling house of a white family. McCrady explained that this punishment was not based upon the slave code, but followed "the law of England, imposed as a *lex taliones* by the Statute of Edward I." To illustrate this, he cited a case nearly three decades earlier in 1703 where a white woman was convicted of poisoning her husband, and she was sentenced to be burned.¹

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The South Carolina Historical & Genealogical Magazine took notice of McCrady's treatment of the burning incidents and referred to two other cases which were found in the eighteenth-century Charleston papers. In August 1769, "two Negroes, viz. Dolly belonging to Mr. James Sands and Liverpoole, belonging to Mr. William Price, were burnt on the Work-house Green," one for poisoning an infant and attempting to poison its father (the slave's master), and the other, "a Negro Doctor," for furnishing the poison. The second case cited was in July 1772 and involved the murder of Captain Lazarus Brown, "shot by one of his own Slaves, who has since been convicted and burnt alive."² A half century later, this *Magazine* reprinted a notice from the *City Gazette* of Charleston, February 9, 1791, that two Negroes were sentenced to be burned alive on the site where they were believed to have murdered a white overseer.³ In addition, Robert M. Weir

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¹Edward McCrady, *History of South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719-1776* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899), pp. 233-234.

²*South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 2 (October 1901), pp. 299-300.

³*Ibid.*, 52 (April 1951), pp. 110-111. These cases are also cited in Peter H. Wood's *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), p. 278.