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Servitude in Massachusetts as Revealed in Two Boston Newspapers, 1751-1763

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**SERVITUDE IN MASSACHUSETTS
AS REVEALED IN TWO BOSTON NEWSPAPERS**

1751-1763

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of History

The College of William and Mary

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Margaret Celeste Cook

July 1960

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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August 1960

PREFACE

In studying servitude in eighteenth-century Massachusetts court records, town records, and newspapers are the primary sources yielding the most information. For this thesis I have chosen to utilize the newspaper as the basic source of material. Two earlier studies of Massachusetts servitude, L. J. Greene's The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776 and L. W. Tower's "A Good Master Well-Served: A Social History of Servitude in Massachusetts, 1670-1750" have made some use of the colonial Massachusetts newspapers. However, neither author has made a systematic examination of this primary source for the period following 1750. I have chosen, therefore, two Boston newspapers for the years 1751-1763.

The Boston Gazette or Weekly Journal and The Boston Evening Post were selected because both were available on microfilm in the files of the Institute of Early American History and Culture. Other newspapers for the period exist but were not readily accessible. Although the Institute's microfilm

copy of the Boston Gazette lacks some of the extant issues for the years 1751-1754, its copy of the Boston Evening Post is complete.

Both of these newspapers reveal a wealth of information on the subject of servitude. In addition to the merchants' advertisements announcing the sale of Negroes and indentured servants newly arrived into the colony, residents of Massachusetts advertised slaves or the unexpired time of indentured servants for sale. The newspapers also carried want ads for slaves and white servants, and runaway servants were frequently advertised for in the newspaper. Occasionally, a news item concerning a servant appeared in the Boston news section.

Although these two weeklies were printed in Boston, the data is concerned with a much larger area. In fact, sometimes advertisements, particularly about runaway servants, were placed by masters from outside of the colony. (Although of interest these were not used in compiling data for this thesis.)

Relatively little information appeared in the newspapers about apprentices; there was more relating to indentured servants, but by far the greater portion concerned slaves. Because of this some sections of this study are of necessity limited to a discussion of Negroes alone.

It is not intended that this shall be considered a complete study of servitude in Massachusetts from 1751-1763 but rather one dimension of the picture as obtained from one hitherto little used primary source. It is hoped that this thesis will contribute some details helpful in completing a picture of bound labor as it existed in the Massachusetts colony.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Lester J. Cappon and Dr. James M. Smith, who served on my examining board, for their suggestions and criticism; to Dr. William W. Abbot for his advice; to my classmates (especially Miss Gertrude Baker and Mr. Robert Barrow) for their continual encouragement; and above all to my thesis advisor, Dr. Lawrence W. Towner, for his never-ending patience and able guidance.

M. C. C.
Yorktown, 1960

CONTENTS

PREFACE

Chapter I.	INTRODUCTION.....	1
Chapter II.	ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF SERVITUDE IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1751-1763.....	11
	Importation of Negro Slaves and Indentured Servants.....	11
	Local Trade in Servants.....	17
	Occupations.....	21
Chapter III.	SOCIAL ASPECTS OF SERVITUDE IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1751-1763.....	30
	Treatment of Slaves.....	30
	Servant Opposition to the Institution of Servitude.....	35
Chapter IV.	CONCLUSION.....	44
APPENDIX.....		48
	Table I.....	49
	Table II.....	50
	Table III.....	51
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....		52
VITA.....		56

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The institution of servitude in the American colonies developed primarily because of the great shortage of labor. The land to man relationship in the New World was exactly opposite to that in Europe. The Old World suffered from over-crowded conditions and a surplus of labor while there was always more land in the colonies than men to work it. The abundance of land awaiting cultivation and the high cost of labor in the colonies required the adaptation of old institutions and the development of new ones which would assure a regular supply of labor. This need for workers, so acute in the early years of settlement, remained unabated, and in the eighteenth century servitude in its several forms was an accepted institution throughout all of the colonies.

In the eighteenth century, servitude in colonial America fell into three broad categories: apprenticeship, indentured service, and slavery. These forms, based partially on custom and partially on colonial legislation, were found to a greater or lesser extent in all of the colonies, and a servant class comprised of native and foreign-born men, women,

and children (white, Indian and Negro) formed a sizable portion of the population.

The apprenticeship system in the colonies provided a supply of skilled labor and was essentially an educational institution. A minor, usually a boy,¹ was bound out to serve a master for a number of years to learn a trade. A contract was entered into by the master and the boy, usually with the approval of his parents or guardian. Practices as to the terms of service varied from individual to individual as well as from colony to colony. Generally, an apprentice was to serve his master for a specified time, live in his home, and obey his commands. The master, in turn, was to provide food, clothing, the rudiments of education, and to teach his apprentice a particular trade. It was customary for the apprentice at the expiration of his term to receive two suits of clothing--one for work days and one for holidays.

The apprenticeship system was also an institution utilized by the community for the care of poor children, orphans, and illegitimate offspring. These children were known as the "poor apprentices" and differed from the regular apprentices in that they were bound out by town officials or the church vestry under the supervision of the courts. They were usually of a lower social class, and served longer terms of

servitude. Often no specifications were made for the learning of a trade.

A second form of bound labor in the colonies was indentured servitude, a system which arose out of the circumstances of immigration. Those immigrants who could not afford to pay passage to the New World did one of two things: they either sold themselves to a shipmaster (or other person) for a term of years in return for their passage or, without selling themselves to the shipmaster, engaged passage and upon arrival sold themselves into servitude to pay their way. Passengers in the first group were sold by the shipmaster to the highest bidder; in this way he was reimbursed for the passage. The latter group were known as redemptioners, who, if they were unable to sell themselves within a thirty-day period, were sold at the disposition of the shipmaster. Both were indentured servants and signed an indenture, the first group before leaving Europe, and the second after arrival in the colonies. Redemptioners nearly always came in families while the others came as single individuals.²

There was considerable difference between the indentured servant and the apprentice, although each registered his term of service in a contract. Apprentices were usually children and indentured servants were ordinarily adults. Fur-

thermore, no provision was made in the latter's contract for education, even in a trade. The master of the indentured servant paid the cost of his servant's transportation and provided food, clothing, and shelter in exchange for labor. It was common practice to provide "freedom dues" for the servant at the expiration of his term of service--clothing, often tools, seed, arms, and some provisions as well.³ The length of service ranged from one to seven years with the majority serving between three and five years; the type of work done was entirely dependent upon the wishes of the master unless specified in the contract. Transfer of servants by sale from one master to another was common.

The colonists also turned to their own native population as a source of bound labor. In order to conserve manpower, servitude instead of imprisonment for debt was imposed by the courts, and debtors were turned over to creditors or their assigns for a certain length of time to satisfy the debt. Occasionally, criminals (principally thieves) were bound out in lieu of being given a prison sentence.

Negro slavery was the third type of servitude created in the colonies in an attempt to close the gap between labor supply and labor demand. Although the initial investment in a slave was considerably more than for an indentured servant, slaves in the long run proved more economical, being

held in lifelong bondage. Slaves were generally brought to the mainland after being "seasoned" in the West Indies and were purchased through slave merchants. By the eighteenth century Negro slaves became the predominating servant group in the Southern colonies. Slavery was not, however, a phenomena restricted to the South; this institution was to be found in all the colonies, and legislation concerning slaves was passed by all colonial assemblies.

The colonists in Massachusetts made use of all three forms of servitude in the eighteenth century. In comparison with the Southern colonies, however, there were fewer foreign-born indentured servants, more apprentices, and considerably fewer Negro slaves. Skilled labor was much more in demand in Massachusetts because of her expanding manufacturing and commercial economy, and conversely, large numbers of unskilled laborers were unnecessary because the small farm system required fewer hands than did the plantation economy of the South.

The apprenticeship system in Massachusetts differed from that of the Southern colonies in its emphasis on education and in the provision made for some schooling in the contract. This provision applied to the "poor apprentices" as well as to the regular apprentices. In fact, the emphasis on education was so strong that in 1758 a law was passed stating that ap-

prentices not taught reading, writing, and ciphering according to their indenture could be freed. Boys under twenty-one and girls under eighteen were to be bound out by the courts to other masters.⁴

There were specific terms in Massachusetts for the length of servitude for the "poor apprentice": boys until the age of twenty-one, girls until they became eighteen or married. The same variations in the period of service for regular apprentices that were present throughout colonial America existed in Massachusetts, with one exception: it was customary for Boston tradesmen to take boys as apprentices for seven years until the age of twenty-one or twenty-two.⁵

Of the indentured servant population in Massachusetts, there were both native and foreign born. Among the latter, there were fewer redemptioners than there were persons indentured before arrival in the New World. The number of imports, however, was fewer than in most of the other colonies. Other sources of adult bound labor in Massachusetts included debtors, those convicted of theft, and idlers⁶--all of whom were liable by law to be bound out by the court.

Negro slavery in Massachusetts was inextricably bound up with that colony's participation in the slave trade. Massachusetts merchants who brought Negroes to the West Indies and

to the Southern colonies frequently sold a few in their own colony as well. In 1706 a law was passed placing a four pound tax on each Negro brought into the colony unless he was re-exported within 12 months, the tax then being refunded.⁷ This tax apparently had little effect, since slaves continued to be imported into Massachusetts throughout the colonial period.

The owning of slaves was justified on religious grounds. Negroes, it was argued, were heathens and enslavement was a proper method of bringing them under God's grace. Slavery, then, was not an evil but an act of mercy. Thus was rationalized the use of the Negro for a slave.

Like the other colonial governments, Massachusetts enacted slave legislation passing most of it during the early years of the eighteenth century. Slaves were forbidden to be absent from their masters' homes after nine o'clock in the evening or to go beyond the limits of the town without a pass.⁸ No slave could be set free unless a fifty-pound security bond was posted with the town treasurer by his master. This provision was to prevent the freed slave from becoming a burden on the town in the event that he could not support himself. For striking a white person, a slave could be severely whipped. Intermarriage between whites and Negroes was expressly

forbidden by statute and any person performing such a marriage ceremony was liable to heavy penalties.⁹

In reality, Negro slavery in Massachusetts was a mild form of bondage; one authority claims it was an "admixture of bondage and indentured service."¹⁰ The slave legislation was much less harsh than the laws of Southern colonies, and the treatment of the slaves was more humane. This may be accounted for in several ways. The number of slaves was much smaller and the fear of mass insurrection consequently much less. The small farm system kept the number of farm hands small and hence a more family-type relationship existed than could be maintained in the plantation economy of the South where large numbers of slaves were used. This relationship was buttressed by the religious views of the Massachusetts colonists who regarded slaves as persons divinely committed to their stewardship. Since strong emphasis was placed on the fundamental role of the family in society, the Negroes were often considered a part of the family in which they lived.¹²

The occupational role of the slave in Massachusetts was determined by the interests of his master and the complex economy of that colony. The impression that Negroes were used only as household slaves is erroneous, since they were associated with all aspects of economic life in the colony. They

worked on farms and were employed as both skilled and unskilled workers. Many were able to discharge a variety of tasks and, in general, the Massachusetts slave was better trained and more versatile than the plantation Negro of the South.¹²

Despite the distinct differences among the various forms of servitude--apprentices, indentured servants, and slaves--all servants' day to day living tended to be similar. They all lived under their masters' roofs and most Negro slaves as well as white servants were considered a part of the family. Slaves frequently did skilled labor while an apprentice learning a trade often performed menial tasks.¹³ Furthermore, many of the servitude laws failed to distinguish between the various types of servants but lumped them all together; one regulation penalized tavern keepers ten shillings for serving liquor to apprentices, indentured servants, or Negroes.¹⁴ Masters were required by statute to see that their servants did not transgress any laws for keeping the Sabbath holy.¹⁵

In Massachusetts, then, slavery, indentured servitude, and apprenticeship were well established institutions by 1750. These forms of servitude were accepted and practiced, and the bound servant group, white and Negro, made up a sizable segment of the colony's population.

FOOTNOTES

1. A few girls were apprenticed to learn a trade. Paul Douglas, American Apprenticeship and Industrial Education (New York, 1921), 49.
2. Abbot Emerson Smith, Colonists in Bondage (Chapel Hill, 1947), 42.
3. Richard B. Morris, Government and Labor in Early America (New York, 1946), 393.
4. Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay (Boston, 1869-1886), IV, 179.
5. Morris, Government and Labor, 373
6. Acts and Resolves of the Massachusetts Bay, I, 535.
7. This tax was later disallowed. Journal of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, 1715-1740 (Cambridge, 1919-), XI, 23.
8. Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts Bay, I, 535.
9. Acts and Resolves, I, 578.
10. Lorenzo Johnston Greene, The Negro in Colonial New England 1620-1776 (New York, 1942), 334.
11. Ibid., 327.
12. Ibid., 321.
13. Lawrence W. Towner, "A Good Master Well-Served: A Social History of Servitude in Massachusetts, 1620-1750" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1955), *passim*.
14. Acts and Resolves, I, 154.
15. Ibid., 59.

Chapter II

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF SERVITUDE IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1751-1763

The institution of servitude was established in the Massachusetts colony in an effort to close the wide gap between labor supply and labor demand. The newspapers of the period disclose through their advertisements certain aspects of the role played by apprentices, indentured servants, and Negro slaves in the growing economy: the importation of servants, the local trade in the buying and selling of servants, and the occupations they entered.

Importation of Negro Slaves and Indentured Servants

Many more Negro slaves than indentured white servants came to the shores of Massachusetts during the years 1751-1763. There were twenty-four groups of slaves as opposed to seven shiploads of servants. The exact number cannot be calculated because merchants and shipcaptains occasionally used indefinite phrases in advertising their human cargoes, such as "Just imported from Africa...a Number of Prime Goree and Senegal Slaves."¹ Although it is impossible to arrive at the exact number, probably about 275 slaves and 120 indentured servants were imported during these years.

Even though these figures indicate both need and desire on the part of the Massachusetts colonists, they do not necessarily prove that slaves were preferred to indentured servants. One possible explanation for the greater number of Negroes delivered in Boston is that slaves were imported by Massachusetts merchants engaged in the slave trade while white servants were generally brought in by traders who were not residents of the colony.²

The only years when indentured servants were advertised for sale in Massachusetts newspapers were those of 1751, 1752, and 1763, while Negroes came throughout the thirteen year period, except 1753 and 1755 to 1757 (see Appendix, Table I). The fact that no slaves came in during the early years of the French and Indian War (except 1754) tends to support strongly the supposition that shipping of servants was interrupted temporarily by the War. Also, the importation of Negroes increased considerably during the years 1758 and from 1761 to 1763. The French and Indian War was virtually over on the American continent in 1760 and this, in all probability, explains the increased importation between 1761 and 1763.

Of the twenty-four advertisements in the Boston Gazette and the Boston Evening Post offering imported Negroes for sale, ten indicated the source of importation. Eight

stated that the Negroes were imported from Africa: the Gold Coast, the Windward Coast, Goree, and Senegal as well as the African continent were mentioned.³ Only one group was advertised as coming from the West Indies, and the remaining shipload was made up of ten Negroes from Halifax. These statistics refute, to a certain extent, the common belief that Negroes "seasoned" in the West Indies were much preferred, or at least imported in larger numbers than the "raw" slaves from Africa. There were fourteen advertisements in which there was no mention of source and, if Negroes from the West Indies were as overwhelmingly preferred as is supposed, it would be reasonable to expect the merchants to have advertised them as such. None of the fourteen groups were advertised as "seasoned" Negroes or as having skills or previous training. This, then, would suggest that these slaves had been imported from an area where no "seasoning" had taken place.

In contrast to the number of advertisements offering imported Negroes for sale without specification of source, advertisements offering indentured servants usually indicated the nationality of the servant or at least the country from which the ship had come. Of the seven groups mentioned, two were from Germany, one each from the Isle of Jersey, Ireland, Bristol, and Scotland, and the origin of one group was not given.

German

The two redemptioner groups who arrived in 1751-1752 probably came as the result of an awareness on the part of the Massachusetts government of the advantages which other colonies, notably Pennsylvania, had gained through German immigration. Lt. Governor Spencer Phips voiced the sentiment of the General Court when he said, "They [German Protestants]⁴ would introduce many useful manufactures and arts." The Massachusetts legislature authorized Joseph Crellius, a Pennsylvania shipbroker engaged in the immigrant trade, as commissioner to solicit and import German Protestants into the colony as settlers.⁵ Crellius, however, was known to engage in some nefarious practices and some of the German immigrants were forced to become indentured servants when they reached the shores of Massachusetts, having been grossly deceived by Crellius.⁶ The German immigrants he was responsible for bringing to Massachusetts arrived in 1751 and 1752 and were in all probability the same ones which were mentioned in the newspaper advertisements during those two years.

Besides the two groups from Germany, another group of redemptioners came from Bristol. They offered to sell themselves for the price of their passage as follows: "Just imported from Bristol, a number of young fellows, Tradesmen and Husbandmen, who will bind themselves for 3 or 4 years to pay their passage. Any person inclined to purchase any of them, may apply to

Thomas Goldthwait."⁷ The other groups had signed their indentures before leaving Europe and were so advertised, for example, "Just imported...a number of Irish servants, mostly Husgandmen, bound from 4 to 7 years."⁸

Children and adults, male and female, made up the human cargoes offered for sale in the port of Boston. Of the Negro imports, young male slaves were most frequently mentioned. Most of the white servants appear to have been adults; at least not many were advertised as "children." The two groups from Germany did include children, but this is to be expected since redemptioners frequently emigrated in families. The other groups, with the exception of the one from Scotland, were groups of either all men or all women.

The majority of the advertisements offering Negroes for sale played up the physical qualities of the slaves. Only twice was any previous training mentioned. One group of slaves from Halifax was listed as being made up of rope-makers, sailmakers, and carpenters; another, from the West Indies, included a young man who could speak English. There is evidence in the advertisements that Negroes brought to the colony of Massachusetts were sometimes physically inferior. "To Be Sold, a parcel of likely Negroes, imported from Africa Also, if any persons have any Negro Men, strong and

hearty, tho not of the best moral character, which are proper subjects for transportation, may have an exchange for small Negroes."⁹

Most of the adult white servants who came had training in particular fields and this was emphasized over physical fitness in the advertisements. Men and maid servants, husbandmen, and tradesmen were listed. One group of German redemptioners was probably part of a larger number of skilled laborers who went to Braintree for the purpose of erecting a glassmaking establishment. Although the advertisement announcing redemptioners for sale did not mention this skill, an item in the same issue of the Boston Evening Post gives the impression that the redemptioners were part of this Braintree group.¹⁰

On their arrival in Boston indentured servants and slaves were offered for sale at various places by merchants and ship captains. Practically all the advertisements mentioned a place where would-be purchasers could make contact if interested in buying. Places included homes and shops of merchants, warehouses, wharfs, vendue (auction) rooms, and on board ship. Slaves were frequently offered for sale with other merchandise just brought into port; for example, Edward Scheaffes, Jr. advertised in 1754, "Just Imported... two likely young Negro men, and one likely young Negro Woman,

also choice St. Kitts Rum and Sugar."¹¹

Prices for slaves or indentured servants' time were never specified. Several groups of Negroes were to be sold by auction; whether the others were sold by auction or by stipulated price cannot be determined. Ship captain William Ellery, in offering slaves for sale stated that New England rum and treasurer's notes would be acceptable.¹² Several groups of Negroes were offered for sale "cheap for cash" or short credit with interest. Currency was scarce in Massachusetts during the 1750's¹³ and probably prompted such concessions.

Local Trade in Servants

The newspaper, in addition to being used by merchants to widely advertise their imported human cargoes, was frequently utilized by the local residents of the colony in the buying and selling of servants.

Advertisements appearing most frequently were those offering Negroes for sale. During the thirteen-year period 347 Negroes were offered for sale in this manner. (This figure does not include the imported Negroes.) Most of the advertisements mentioned the sex, approximate age, and ability of the Negro being offered for sale. Frequently the

owner listed the reason for the slaves being sold, the number of years he had lived in the colony, and his moral and physical qualities. Like the advertisements of imported Negroes, the price was never mentioned. Also, the name of the slave owner was seldom given. Quite often the advertisements directed interested parties to "Enquire of the Printer." This did not mean that the slave owners wished to remain anonymous; it was simply common practice in the eighteenth century for all kinds of advertisers to use the printing office as a clearing-house of information.

Masters desired to dispose of their slaves for various reasons. Some Negroes were sold for what the owner termed "lack of employment or want of business." A few were sold upon the death of their masters and were offered for sale as part of estates. Several were offered for sale because their masters were leaving Massachusetts. One advertisement announced a slave for sale at his own request. Women were sometimes offered for sale because of their frequent pregnancy. Slave owners did not want the expense or responsibility of these "notable breeders" or their offspring. Young Negro children were "to be given away," apparently to anyone who desired them. Thirty-two Negro children were offered in this fashion during the years 1751-1763. The ages specified ranged from one week to twelve months.

Some owners indicated dissatisfaction with their Negroes and specified that they be sold out of town. One such advertisement read: "A Negro wench to be sold, that can cook and do all other household business but had rather to do nothing, for which reason she is to be sold."¹⁴

The majority of advertisements offered one Negro only for sale but a few Negro children were sold with their mothers. The largest group was composed of seven Negroes belonging to the estate of a deceased owner. The youngest slave advertised was four years of age, the eldest, fifty. Most were in their late teens or early twenties.

It is significant that many of the slaves being put up for sale had had smallpox. This information was published to reassure would-be purchasers that the slaves would not come down with the dread disease. The year 1752 saw a widespread smallpox epidemic and half of the Negroes offered for sale in The Boston Gazette and The Boston Evening Post in this year "had had the smallpox."

In appeals to would-be purchasers who desired Negroes used to white customs and familiar, perhaps, with English, the advertisements frequently stated that the slaves had been a certain number of years in the colony. For example, in 1751 a master offered for sale: "A very likely Negro boy, about seventeen or eighteen years of age, been two years in the country,

fit for any kind of service."¹⁵

Physical and moral qualities were often emphasized in the advertisements. Such adjectives as "strong," "healthy," "hearty," "spry," "active," "able-bodied" were numerous. Fewer advertisements emphasized the good character of the slaves being sold; of those the phrases containing "honesty," "sober," "good-tempered" were used most often.

Occasionally Negroes were offered for sale with other merchandise, but most of the advertisements dealt exclusively with a slave or slaves for sale. That Negroes were sold by auction is indicated by the following: "Sold at Royal Exchange to highest bidder, a right good Gold Watch, a Negro boy...."¹⁶

In addition to the advertisements offering 347 Negroes for sale and 32 Negro children to be given away, there were 49 want ads for slaves in The Boston Evening Post and The Boston Gazette. Most asked for one slave; only three indicated a desire for two. Included in the forty-nine advertisements were those of four masters who wished to exchange older Negroes for younger, or female for male.

There were a few advertisements which sought or offered slaves for "hire." Owners temporarily not in need of slave labor would hire their slaves out to someone who desired a Negro for a short time only. This is illustrated in the following advertisement which appeared in 1761: "Any person in

the neighboring towns that wants a hearty strong mulatto girl, eighteen years old, for a few months may have her for victuals only."¹⁸ Similarly, a person would request a Negro for "hire," meaning that he would like to contract for the slave's labor for a certain period only, paying the owner for the temporary services.

There were fewer advertisements by far for white servants. There were a number seeking white labor these appeared to have been for free rather than bound labor. There were no requests for indentured servants but there were eight which specified that apprentices were desired. For example, "Wanted, as an apprentice to a large and small work, Goldsmith, for term of 7 years, a faithful honest lad that can be well-recommended."¹⁹ In contrast to the 347 Negroes offered for sale, the unexpired time of only ten white servants, including children, was put on the market. Since these ten were not designated as apprentices, it must be presumed that they were indentured servants. The range of remaining time offered for sale ran from sixteen months to seven years.

Occupations

Much information concerning the occupations of slaves indentured servants, and apprentices is revealed in the two

newspapers studied. Though sometimes a servant was described simply as "being fit for town or country" to indicate that he was suitable for diverse kinds of employment, most of the advertisements named specifically the occupation or occupations of the servant.

The occupations of Negro males fall into three categories: house slaves, tradesmen, and agricultural workers. The majority were house slaves and performed tasks on the grounds as well as in the dwellings of the wealthier residents of the colony. They were valets, cooks, brewers, washers, bakers, ironers, coachmen, and gardeners. They took care of children, made soap, waited on table, and dressed hair for ladies. Two slaves advertised for sale were musicians and were said to play the French horn and trumpet. Such Negro slaves would be invaluable to a gentleman who entertained frequently.

The next most frequently mentioned occupation engaged in by male Negroes was that of tradesman or skilled laborer. Some were employed in town shops and worked as blacksmiths, tallow chandlers, distillers, bakers, shoemakers, carpenters, farriers, goldsmiths, printers, masons, or coopers. Others were employed to do chocolate grinding.²⁰ Among the slaves in the shipbuilding industry were shipcar-

penters, shipwrights, caulkers, sailmakers, and ropemakers.

Negroes were also employed on the farms, although in fewer numbers than house slaves or skilled workers. They were advertised as "understanding farming" or "brought up to the farming business." One such Negro for sale was described "uncommonly well-tempered with a scythe, ax, and team, there is scarcely his match and can do all other husbandry work well."²¹ Most of the farmers employed only a few Negro hands but at least one farm in Massachusetts worked a sufficient number of Negroes to warrant an overseer.²²

A few slave occupations fall into none of the three categories above. One slave was offered for sale as "being suitable for a tavern-keeper," another was a seaman, and two Negro boys were advertised as being experienced chimney-sweeps.

Many of the male slaves appear to have been jacks-of-all-trades and could turn their hands from one thing to another with equal ease. One example must suffice, although many could be given: "To be sold...A Negro man, about 30 years old, who can do both Town and Country business very well.... He has worked at the Printing Business 15 or 16 years; can handle an ax, saw, spade, hoe, or other instrument of Husbandry as well as most men, and values himself and is valued by others for his skill in Cookery and making

23
of Soap."

As might be expected Negro women were employed as house slaves and did much of the same work in the house as male servants. They cooked, sewed, mended linen, washed, and cared for children, and in general, as one master put it, "performed the usual drudgeries of the Family."²⁴ Negro women did housework both in Boston and in the rural areas of Massachusetts. In the country they were expected to perform heavier tasks as suggested by the item that advertised a Negro woman who was able to "do all sorts of country work."²⁵

The occupation most in demand during the thirteen-year period, 1751-63, was that of house slave, but slaves who were "fit" for the blacksmith, tallow-chandler, cooper, shipcarpenter, carpenter, shoemaker and farming business were also sought.²⁶

Many of the indentured servants participated in the same types of work as the Negroes--they were coopers, seamen, husbandmen, men and maid servants. Other occupations mentioned were windmill-tender, wool-comber, weaver, taylor, stable-tender, cabinetmaker, and joiner. Female white servants were advertised as being able to card and to spin, a household occupation in which none of the Negro women were perhaps sufficiently skilled.

All apprentices mentioned in the advertisements were

boys ranging in age from fourteen to twenty-four. The trades mentioned to which they were apprenticed included those of goldsmith, brazier, perukemaker, printer, taylor, cordwainer, house carpenter, and cooper.

Certain other factors as well as the variety of occupations engaged in must also be considered in evaluating the economic importance of unfree labor groups in Massachusetts. First, there is a wide difference between the number of slaves offered for sale, 347, and the number wanted 49. One explanation for this is that purchasers of slaves probable did not use the newspapers as extensively as did the sellers, but instead made verbal inquiries in their neighborhoods or among their acquaintances. That Negroes continued to be imported throughout these years and that there were some want ads for slaves is indication of the desire and need for black labor.

On the other hand, that thirty-two Negro offspring were given away and that women were sometimes sold because they were "notable breeders" suggests that the Massachusetts economy could support only so many Negroes; therefore, Negro women who frequently gave birth and young children meant a loss to the owner who must bear the expense of sheltering

and feeding as well as the risk of loss through death. In other parts of colonial America, where slave owners desired many Negro workers for plantations, such women were assets instead of the liabilities they were in Massachusetts.

One more factor to be considered in the importance of bound servants as a source of labor supply is the number offered for sale because of lack of employment. Between 1751 and 1763, sixty-six servants were offered for sale for this reason. The end of the French and Indian War on the American continent in 1760 produced the inevitable post war depression,²⁷ and the number of Negroes offered for sale because of lack of employment increased. The year 1763 was the high point in this trend.

Finally, the relative importance of each of the three types of servitude to the economy must be considered. Information on apprentices was scant, since the newspapers were not utilized to any great extent; arrangements for their contracts were most often private affairs. However, the vast amount of newspaper information on Negroes in comparison to the much smaller amount about indentured servants does point up the relative importance of these two groups. There were more Negroes wanted, more to be sold, more imported, and more runaways sought, and more mention in the Boston news section of the papers. It appears that during

the years under investigation that the Negro slaves played a significant and larger numerical role in the economy of Massachusetts than did the indentured servant.

FOOTNOTES

1. Boston Gazette, June 14, 1762.
2. Smith, Colonists in Bondage, 60.
3. Boston Gazette, June 27, 1763; Boston Gazette, May 24, 1762; Boston Gazette, June 14, 1762.
4. Albert Bernhardt Faust, The German Element in the United States (New York, 1927), I, 253.
5. Erna Reich, "Joseph Cröllius, Immigrant Broker," The New England Quarterly, XII (June 1939), 247.
6. Ibid., 266.
7. Boston Evening Post, December 16, 1751.
8. Ibid., June 17, 1751.
9. Ibid., August 3, 1761.
10. Boston Gazette, September 25, 1752.
11. Boston Evening Post, August 19, 1754.
12. Boston Gazette, July 3, 1758.
13. Carl Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt (New York, 1955), 48.
14. Boston Evening Post, February 10, 1755.
15. Ibid., June 10, 1751.
16. Ibid., November 6, 1758
17. Ibid., July 27, 1752
18. Boston Gazette, January 5, 1761.
19. Boston Gazette, December 31, 1759.
20. This was an elaborate procedure in the eighteenth century.

William B. Weedon, Economic and Social History of New England 1620-1776 (Boston, 1890), II, 540.

21. Boston Gazette, May 1, 1758.

22. Ibid., April 5, 1762.

23. Boston Evening Post, April 10, 1758.

24. Ibid., June 3, 1754.

25. Boston Gazette, December 15, 1755.

26. Boston Gazette, September 25, 1758; Boston Gazette, Dec. 19, 1757; Boston Gazette, May 16, 1757; Boston Evening Post, Sept. 4, 1758; Boston Gazette, Jan. 23, 1758; Boston Gazette, June 22, 1761.

27. Ruth Grandall, "Wholesale Commodity Prices in Boston During the Eighteenth Century," The Review of Economic Statistics, XVI (June 15, 1934), 126.

Chapter III

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF SERVITUDE IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1751-1763

The servant population--indentured servants, apprentices, and slaves--formed a distinct social group in the Massachusetts colony. The Boston Gazette and The Boston Evening Post reveal through their advertisements and news column important social aspects of servitude, such as master-slave relationships and servant opposition to servitude.

Treatment of Slaves

By today's standards the treatment of slaves in Massachusetts was far from kindly. Negroes were offered for sale in the newspapers like pieces of merchandise, and indeed along with long lists of various goods. Young Negro children were freely given away, apparently to anyone who desired them. Sometimes they were separated from their mothers as early as one week old.

Yet, there are statements in the advertisements that point out the concern felt by some masters for the welfare of their slaves. One slave owner stipulated that a Negro mother and child were to be sold together;¹ another that his Negro man and woman could not be purchased separately.² One master, in

the year of the smallpox epidemic, stipulated that the purchaser of his slave must live outside of Boston in order to prevent the Negro from catching the dread disease.³ Another, in offering his Negro for sale, stated that the slave wanted a good master.⁴ One of the slaveowners who was giving away a Negro child stated that he would be given only to a "credible family."⁵

By eighteenth-century standards the Negro in Massachusetts was treated more kindly than slaves in other parts of colonial America, especially the area south of New England.⁶ One of the most significant factors in determining the treatment of slaves is the total number of the Negro population. There are no absolutely reliable statistics previous to the Federal Census of 1790, but one source which indicates the relative proportion of blacks to whites is the yearly death rates in Boston, published in the newspapers (see Appendix, Table II). These figures show that Negroes were roughly six percent of the population of Boston. Since they were concentrated in the cities, the percentage of blacks to the whole population of Massachusetts must be assumed to be closer to three percent. The Massachusetts colonists never lived in fear of Negro insurrections as did colonists in some other areas of America; and slavery there was, in reality, a mild

form of bondage. Since masters rarely owned more than a few slaves at a time and slavery was justified on religious grounds, this also did much to mitigate the possibility of harsh treatment.

Further evidence of the treatment of slaves can be found in the clothing descriptions of runaway Negroes advertised for in the newspapers. One slave was warmly dressed in a "stone gray Duroy coat," a scarlet jacket, double breasted, a pair of light coloured Kersey Breeches, a pair of Yarn stockings;"⁷ another was very well dressed in a "silk gro-grain coat, a white pair of ribbed stockings and a pair of channel pumps."⁸ The colorful attire of another runaway slave must have made him easy to spot; he wore a "blue sailor jacket, red breeches and a white waistcoat, two old buckles in his shoes, grey yarn stockings and a red and blue cap."⁹ Generally, the slaves seemed to have been well and warmly dressed, one sign that they were accorded decent treatment by their masters.

Several of the runaway slaves had physical disabilities which were described by their masters in advertising for their return. One had a "large scar in his forehead,"¹⁰ another had his "right thumb...crooked like a Parrot's Bill,"¹¹ still another had "one leg much longer than the other,"¹²

and one had lost a finger.¹³ Whether these injuries were the result of accidents, the journey to the colony, or unkind treatment on the part of the master cannot be determined.

Negroes were rarely called "slaves" in the advertisements except in those cases where imported blacks were offered for sale. In other advertisements and in the news section of the paper, an adult male was referred to as a Negro man servant or fellow; a Negro female as a woman or wench. The use of the term "servant" instead of "slave" was in keeping with the Hebraic tradition¹⁴ and was a carry-over from seventeenth-century Puritanism. Religion during that period guided all human relations and made no clear or rigid distinction between servants. When the Puritan God gave his approbation to servitude, He gave "Necessary Rules, prescribing and limiting the Duties belonging to this Relation," and in those rules He did not assign different duties to different servants. To all alike He commanded three things: obedience, faithfulness, and reverence, so that in theory all servants had the same duties and bore the same relationship to their masters.¹⁵

Besides being distinguished from their fellow servants by their color and lifelong bondage, Negroes in the eighteenth century were further separated by their lack of family names. All slaves referred to in the advertisements

were called by only one name. This lack of a last name is one more indication of their inferior status, because by the eighteenth century all servants, except Negro slaves, had full names.¹⁶ Two Indian servants who ran away during the years 1751-1763 (one of whom was indentured) had both first and last names. Many of the Negro servants had classical names such as "Cato," "Cesar," "Titus," "Ulysses;" others had Biblical names, "Peter," "Daniel," "James," "Joseph." The use of such names was analogous to Roman and Hebrew bondsmen.¹⁷ In the seventeenth century Negroes bore names which were either an approximation of their original names or similar to those of their masters. The change of appellation that occurred from seventeenth to eighteenth century was part of the process completed in the 1700's of separating the slave from the white servant and establishing the Negro's inferiority.¹⁸

The attitude towards Negroes as a race¹⁸ revealed in several of the advertisements. One runaway was described as having a "pleasant countenance for a Negro."¹⁹ An owner in advertising his slave for sale stated that his slave was 'well-recommended for the best properties attending a Negro, temperance and honesty."²⁰ Although slaves were apparently fairly well treated, there was no question as to prevalence of the feeling that they were members of an "inferior race."

This attitude did not prevent miscegenation, although it was prohibited by law. That it was not an uncommon occurrence in the colony of Massachusetts is demonstrated by the number of mulattoes mentioned in the newspapers. A few of the slaves offered for sale were mulattoes and nine of the fifty-three runaway slaves advertised for were described as being mulattoes. Miscegenation took place between other races besides black and white as may be seen in one advertisement which offered a "Spanish-Indian woman with a Negro child" for sale.²¹

Servant Opposition to the Institution of Servitude

The institution of servitude in Massachusetts was not as harsh as that in other parts of colonial America, but this did not prevent servants from desiring their freedom, wishing to rid themselves of unkind masters, and resorting to various forms of defiance.

The most common method was running away, and masters hoping to secure the return of such servants relied heavily on newspaper advertisements. As one owner put it: "Inserting advertisements in the several newspapers is judged the most expeditious method of spreading /the news of a runaway servant/ far and near."²² The number of runaways

advertised for in the newspapers, then, is probably a fair estimate of the total number.

Between 1751 and 1763, twenty-nine white servants and fifty-three Negroes ran away. The white servants included seven apprentices. In the majority of cases the servants ran away alone although three pairs of Negroes and one pair of white servants ran off together.

Runaways were largely men or boys; only one Negro and two white women servants fled. Women, evidently, were less enterprising or considered it too dangerous. Ten of the runaway indentured servants were Irish; other nationalities mentioned were English, German, and Scottish.

The ages of the runaway white servants ranged from eight years of age to thirty, those of the Negroes from fifteen years of age to forty. That the Negroes were older follows from the fact that they were held in lifelong bondage while white servants were only temporarily held in servitude beginning at a relatively early age.

Frequently servants took equipment that would aid them in escaping. One indentured servant, a stable-tender, helped himself to two of his master's horses along with bridles and saddles and ran away with the servant of a Boston perukemaker. An indentured German servant not only stole clothes from his master but took a "silver-hilted sword, a

cross-cut saw, and a 'fine french gun',"²³ probably for his own protection. Stealing clothes was common practice. This, no doubt, was considered necessary in order to change apparel to avoid recognition. One slave who "affected to dress smart" took with him a "blue cloth jacket and whitish cloth Breeches, both trimd with red, and metal buttons, a blue and white check'd linen coat, a cloth colored camblet coat and a Drab surtout coat with horse hair buttons."²⁴

Servants were often quite ingenious in their attempts to escape from their masters. One Negro man servant pretended to be a doctor; another, a mulatto, frequently guilty of running away, sought his freedom by attempting to pass as a free man. Two other examples of servants' ingenuity were an Irish lad who in 1751 carried with him a gun under the pretense of going to train with the militia and a Negro fellow who pretended that he was working for his master whenever he was quizzed in neighboring towns.

Runaways frequently planned to get as far away from their masters as possible as evidenced by one German who was thought to have gone to Pennsylvania. A servant boy, according to his master, hoped to get to Middletown, Connecticut, and an apprentice was thought to have escaped by way of the sea. Persons, including ship captains, were forbidden by law to harbor servants. Masters usually reminded the

public of this. That servants were sometimes given aid in their attempts to escape is hinted at in two of the advertisements. One master asked for the return of his eight-year-old servant who "has by the advice of some person or persons, been absent from my family since last Thursday, the 30th of July: I do now by this publick advertisement give notice to all Persons whoever they are, that keeps him incog, that they may depend on the laws having its course with them."²⁵ One slave owner mentions that "it is supposed some evil-minded person has given him the Negro a pass to travel as a free man."²⁶

Community co-operation in securing the return of runaway servants was not uncommon. Negroes thought to be runaways were retained until their masters could be located. The capture of a Negro was sometimes advertised in the newspapers: "Suppos'd to have runaway, a tall thin favour'd Negro man, about 40 or 45 years of age, who speaks broken English and says (if rightly understood) that he belongs to Mr. Obadiah Spring: has lost one of his upper fore-teeth Such an one may be heard of by inquiring of the Printers hereof."²⁷ It is difficult to determine definitely the percentage of returned runaway servants, probably most of the servants were returned since the advertisements usually stopped after appearing two or three times.

Being returned to a master did not always deter the servant from making further attempts to secure freedom. One indentured servant ran away every year for three years, the last time absconding with his master's horse.²⁸

Masters advertising for the return of runaway servants offered a reward, usually expressed in different kinds of currency including English, colonial, and Spanish mill'd dollars. By conversion of the various denominations of currency into one form--the pound sterling based on the Massachusetts Legislative Act of 1750²⁹--the rewards for the return of runaway servants ranged from six shillings to three pound three shillings. The average reward offered was one pound three shillings threepence while the most frequent was twelve shillings.

The highest reward offered for the return of a Negro was three pounds and the lowest was six shillings. The average was one pound eight pence and the most frequent was twelve shillings.

The rewards offered for white servants ran slightly higher. The average was one pound eight shillings and the most frequent one pound four shillings. The highest reward offered was three pounds three shillings and the lowest six shillings.

Rewards offered for skilled servants were, more often than not, higher than the average. For the return of John Aitkins, a Scottish cabinetmaker, aged thirty-three, three Guineas or three pound three shillings was offered. The master of a mulatto servant, aged twenty-six, who was a "good cooper,"³⁰ was willing to pay ten dollars or three pounds for his return.

A much more violent and much less frequently employed method of protesting against the institution of servitude was by criminal action. On occasion this took the form of suicide. In 1759, The Boston Evening Post reported that a slave drowned himself because he did "not relish a little necessary correction which was administrated to him for his misconduct."³¹ Arson was another form of retaliation, and a Negro woman was caught in 1760 attempting to burn her master's house after having set fire to two other farms.³² Poisoning or outright killing of the master or members of his family was committed by four Negroes during the years 1751-1763, according to reports in The Boston Evening Post and The Boston Gazette. All but one of the criminal actions against the conditions of servitude were perpetrated by Negro slaves. The only white servant criminal mentioned in either of the newspapers was a servant boy who set fire to his master's home.³³ If one may judge from the number of

times such instances of crime were mentioned, it may be said that such belligerent defiance was not widespread.

Although there were members of all the servant groups who took exception to the institution of servitude and frequently found recourse in running away and occasionally in committing some crime by way of retaliation, it must be pointed out that the majority accepted the conditions of servitude.

FOOTNOTES

1. Boston Evening Post, February 14, 1757.
2. Boston Gazette, June 27, 1763.
3. Boston Evening Post, February 17, 1752.
4. Boston Gazette, October 31, 1763.
5. Boston Evening Post, July 4, 1757.
6. Greene, The Negro in Colonial New England, 327.
7. Boston Evening Post, July 8, 1751.
8. Boston Gazette, July 4, 1757.
9. Boston Evening Post, June 4, 1753.
10. Ibid., July 26, 1756.
11. Ibid., July 7, 1760.
12. Ibid., July 6, 1752.
13. Ibid., October 7, 1751.
14. Greene, The Negro in Colonial New England, 324.
15. Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Family (Boston, 1944), 64.
16. Oscar and Mary Handlin, "Origins of the Southern Labor System," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, VII (April 1950), 217.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Boston Gazette, April 10, 1758.
20. Ibid., August 28, 1753.

21. Ibid., March 26, 1759.
22. Ibid., October 19, 1761.
23. Boston Evening Post, July 27, 1752.
24. Ibid., August 29, 1757.
25. Ibid., August 3, 1761.
26. Ibid., June 23, 1755.
27. Boston Gazette, September 13, 1762.
28. Boston Evening Post, March 16, 1752; Boston Evening Post, Jan. 1, 1753; Boston Evening Post, April 29, 1754.
29. For the relative value of coins and paper money, see Weeden, Economic and Social History of New England, II, 676.
30. Boston Evening Post, July 26, 1756.
31. Ibid., June 20, 1757.
32. Ibid., January 28, 1760.
33. Ibid., June 20, 1757.

Chapter IV

CONCLUSION

The servant population of Massachusetts in 1751-1763 that comes to light through a study of the newspapers included the following: apprentices, boys whose ages ranged from early teens to the age of twenty-four and who learned a particular skill from their masters; indentured servants, both adults and children including Germans, Englishmen, Irishmen, Scots, and Indians most of whom were bound from four to seven years; and slaves who were Negroes either born in the colony of Massachusetts or imported from the West Indies and Africa. There is not enough information on the apprentices to compare their ratio to the rest of the servant population, but the amount of data on slaves indicates that Negroes far outnumbered the indentured servants.

All three groups were of economic importance to Massachusetts. The apprentices became skilled workers. The indentured servants worked in households, on farms and in town shops. The majority of the slaves were house servants, but a number were skilled workers and farm laborers. Although several servants were offered for sale because of lack of employment, this was due to a temporary depression

rather than a permanent over-supply of labor. The importation of twenty-four groups of slaves and seven groups of indentured servants and the frequency of want ads appearing in newspapers is proof of the need for servants.

Although master-servant relationships varied, the institution of servitude generally was not as harsh as it was in other parts of colonial America, yet being a servant at the beck and call of a master for twenty-four hours of the day was an unhappy lot to many. Some attempted to escape their term of service (and sometimes did) by running away. Others committed crimes against their masters. These numbers were not large and indicate that the majority of the servants accepted the conditions of servitude and often benefited. In the case of apprentices who received training in skilled employment and indentured servants who received transportation to the New World, the servant was better off as a result of his term of servitude. Thus, the servant population, in forming a distinct social group while supplying the necessary labor for the economic development of early Massachusetts, played an important role in the life of the colony.

In the foregoing pages an attempt has been made to relate and interpret the data concerning bound labor in Mass-

achusetts which was taken from The Boston Evening Post and The Boston Gazette. Because of the nature of the material in these newspapers this thesis was limited to a discussion of some of the social and economic aspects of servitude.

Much more needs to be done on the subject of servitude during this thirteen-year period. For the legal aspects and status of servants, the records of the Massachusetts courts could be utilized. Some additional information on immigration statistics is available in The Reports of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston: Volume XXIX contains some of the records of the Impost Office. Finally, a study of the other two newspapers for the years 1751-1763, the Boston News Letter and Boston Post Boy, would shed further light on the subject of servitude.

One of the more interesting points arising from the compilation of data for this thesis is the question of the preference for Negro slaves over indentured servants. This would seem to be indicated by their larger numbers as suggested by the frequent mention of slaves in the newspapers. Were they really preferred? Research into manuscripts of the period might help clarify this point.

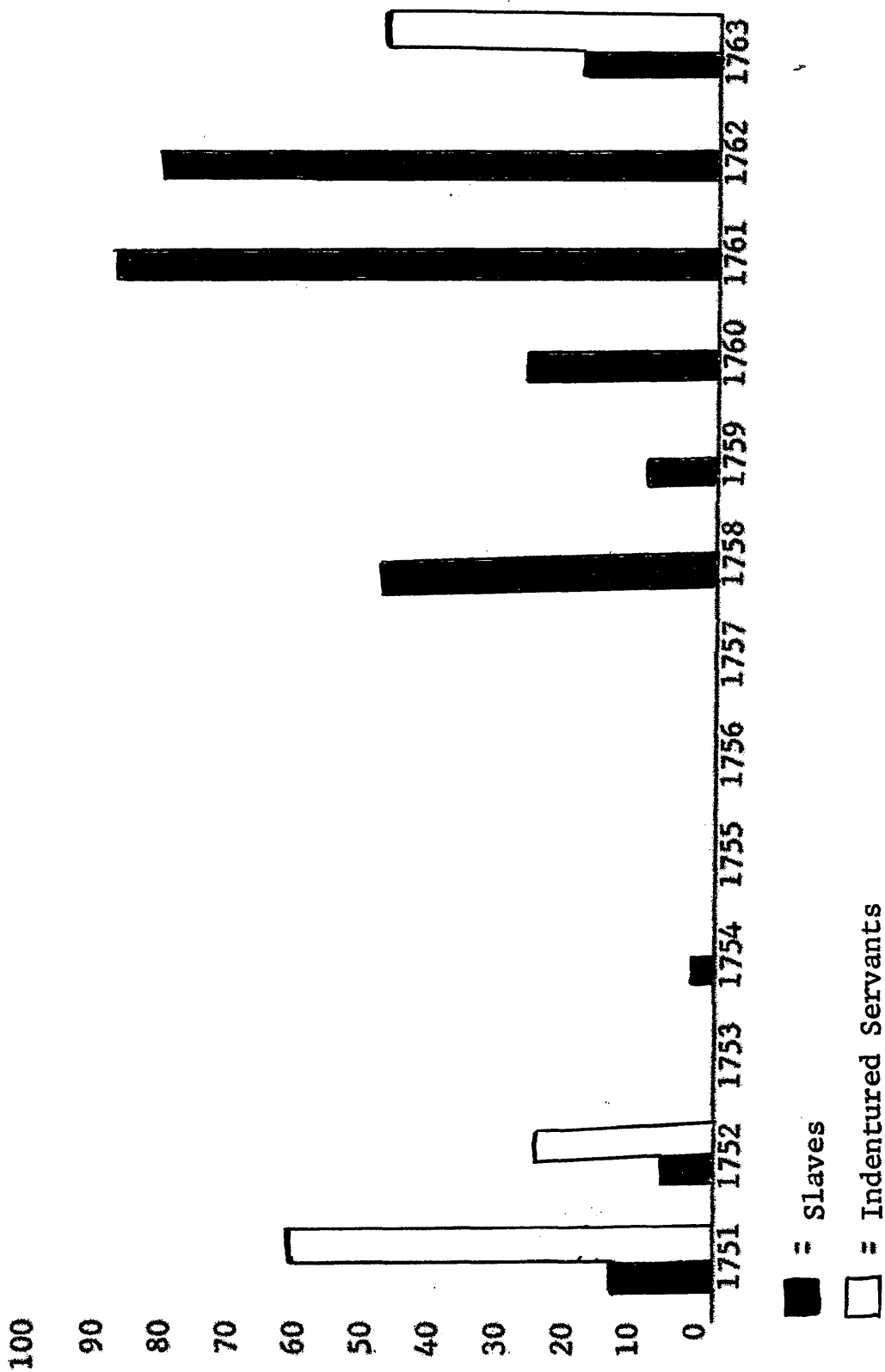
None of the newspapers in Massachusetts beyond 1763 has been used to any extent for gathering data concerning servitude in a later period. It would be interesting

to establish how long ships continued to bring immigrants
and slaves to Massachusetts for sale and to trace Negro
slavery until its complete disappearance by 1790.

APPENDIX

TABLE I

Importation of Indentured Servants and Slaves, 1751-1763*



*An estimate of the number imported: the exact number cannot be calculated because advertisers occasionally used indefinite phrases, e.g. "a parcel of...", in describing their human cargoes.

TABLE II
Burials in Boston, 1751-63¹

<u>Year</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>
1751	548	76
1752*	893	116
1753	438	63
1754	380	54
1755	419	65
1756	461	65
1757	361	73
1758	467	57
1759	565	64
1760	508	68
1761	448	83
1762	390	66
1763	344	63

* 569 deaths were the result of a smallpox epidemic.

¹ Boston Gazette, 1751-1763, passim.

TABLE III

Year by Year Mention of Negroes in the Boston Gazette and Boston Evening Post, 1751-63

Year	Run- aways	Local Negroes For Sale	Imported Negroes For Sale*	Negroes Wanted	News Items**	Children Given Away	TOTAL
1751	2	20	11	1	78	1	113
1752	4	31	7	5	117	1	165
1753	2	27	-	2	65	1	97
1754	-	27	3	-	57	-	87
1755	2	25	-	-	68	1	96
1756	8	43	-	3	67	6	127
1757	5	27	-	6	78	3	119
1758	2	27	50	9	64	1	153
1759	6	7	9	2	68	4	96
1760	2	20	25	4	69	5	125
1761	8	21	80	8	88	4	201
1762	9	37	75	5	77	2	205
1763	3	35	15	4	68	3	128
TOTAL	53	347	275	49	964	32	1710

*This number is approximate because advertisers sometimes neglected to specify the exact number to be sold.

**Includes number of Negroes who died (see Table II) as well as the number of Negroes mentioned in the Boston news section for various reasons.

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1752: Jan 6,13,20,27, Feb 3,10,17,24, Mar 2,9,16,23,30, April 6,13,20,27, May 4,11,18,25, June 1,8,15,22, July 6,13,20,27, Aug 3,10,17,24,31, Sept 18,25, Oct 2,9,16,23,30, Nov 6, 13,20, 27, Dec 4,11,18,25.

1753: Jan 1,8,15,22,29, Feb 5,12,19,26, Mar 5,12,19,26, April 2,9,16,23,30, May 7,14,21,28, June 4,11,18,25, July 2,9,16, 23,30, Aug 6,13,20,27, Sept 3,17,10,24, Oct 1,8,15,22,29, Nov 5,12,19,26, Dec 3,10,17,24,31.

1754: Jan 7,14,21,28, Feb 4,11,18,25, Mar 4,11,18,25, April 1, 8,15,22,29, May 6,13,20,27, June 3,10,17,24, July 1,8,15,22,29, Aug 5,12,19,26, Sept 2,9,16,23,30, Oct 7,14,21,28, Nov 4,11,18,25, Dec 2,9,16,24,30.

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1756: Jan 5,12,19,26, Feb 2,9,16,23, Mar 1,8,15,22,29, Apr 5,12,19,26, May 3,10,17,24,31, June 7,14,21,28, July 5,12,19, 26, Aug 2,9,16,23,30, Sept 6,13,20,27, Oct 4,11,18,25, Nov 1, 8,15,22,29, Dec 6,13,20,27.

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1760: Jan 7,14,21,28, Feb 4,11,18,25, Mar 3,10,17,24,31, Apr 7,14,21,28, May 5,11,19,26, June 2,9,16,23,30, July 7,14,21,28, Aug 4,11,18,25, Sept 1,8,15,22,29, Oct 6,13, 20,27, Nov 3,10,17,24, Dec 8,15,22,29.

1761: Jan 5,12,19,26, Feb 2,9,16,23, Mar 2,9,16,23,30, Apr 6,13,20,27, May 4,11,18,25, June 1,8,15,22,29, July 6, 13,20,27, Aug 3,10,17,24,31, Sept 7,14,21,28, Oct 5,12,19, 26, Nov 2,9,16,23,30, Dec 7,14,21,28.

1762: Jan 4,11,18,25, Feb 1,8,15,22, Mar 1,8,15,22,29, Apr 5,12,19,26, May 3,10,17,24,31, June 7,14,21,28, July 5,12, 19,26, Aug 2,9,16,23,30, Sept 6,13,20,27, Oct 4,11,18,25, Nov 1,8,15,22,29, Dec 6,13,20,27.

1763: Jan 3,10,17,24,31, Feb 7,14,21,28, Mar 7,14,21,28, Apr 4,11,18,25, May 2,9,16,23,30, June 6,13,20,27, July 4,11,18,25, Aug 1,8,15,22,29, Sept 5,12,26, Oct 3,10,17,24, 31, Nov 6,14,21,28, Dec 5,12,19,26.

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1752: Jan 7, June 16.

1753: Jan 23, Aug 28, Sept 4.

1754: Sept 3.

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1756: n Feb 16,23, Mar 1,8,29, Apr 5,12,26, May 3,10,17,24, 31, June 7,14,21,28, July 5,12,19,28, Aug 2,9,16,23,30, Sept 6,13,20,27, Oct 4,11,18,25, Nov 1,8,15,22,29, Dec 6, 13,27.

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1758: Jan 2,9,16,23,30, Feb 6, Apr 10,17,24, May 1,8, 15,29, June 5,12,19,26, July 3,10,17,24,31, Aug 1, 14, 21,28, Sept 4, 11,18,25, Nov 20,27, Dec 4,18,25.

1759: Mar 26, July 30, Sept 17, Dec 31.

1760: Jan 7,14,21, Feb 4,18, Mar 31, Apr 28, May 19, 26, June 9,23,30, July 7,14, Aug 4, Oct 27, Nov 24, Dec8,29.

1761: Jan 5,12,19,26, Feb 2,16,23, April 6,13,20,27, May 4,11, June 22, July 6, Aug 24, Sept 7,14,21,28, Oct 5,12,19, 26, Nov 2,9,16,23,30, Dec 7,14,21,28.

1762: Jan 4,11,18, Feb 15, Mar 8,15,22,29, Apr 5,12,19,26, May 3,10,17,24,31, June 7,14,21,28, July 5,12,19,26, Aug 2,9,16,23,30, Sept 6,13,20,27, Oct 4,11,18,25, Nov 1,8, 15,22,29, Dec 6,13,20,27.

1763: Jan 3,10,17,24,31, Feb 7,14,21,28, Mar 7,14,21,28, April 4,18,25, May 2,9,16,23,30, June 6,13,20,27, July 4, 11,25, Aug 1,8,15,22,29, Sept 5,12,26, Oct 3,10,17,24,31, Nov 7,14,28, Dec 5,12,19,26.

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VITA

Margaret Celeste Cook was born December 8, 1939 in Port Jefferson, New York. After graduating from Wasingham Academy, Williamsburg, she attended Sweet Briar College from which she received a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1959. She entered the College of William and Mary in the same year as a graduate student in American history and was a participant in the combined Master of Arts-Apprenticeship Program.