Sirens of the Sea: Female Slave Ship Owners of the Atlantic World, 1650-1870

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In 1788, nearly seventy years after slave ship *Dorothy* delivered 450 Africans to the Americas and fortified female ship owner Margaret Crumpe's wealth, religious writer and abolitionist Hannah More penned *The Slave Trade*. In the voice of a very different white woman, she wrote:

> She, wretch forlorn! Is dragged by hostile hands
> To distant tyrants sold, in distant lands!
> Transmitted miseries, and successive chains,
> The sole sad heritage her child obtains![1]

The dissimilarity between Crumpe and More's positions reflected changing beliefs about the slave trade and its indignity toward African peoples brought about by the passage of seven decades of time. Armed with racist beliefs, women slavers like Crumpe gained wealth through a keen understanding of colonial realities that allowed for female business activity including slave trading. How women became slave ship owners at the turn of the eighteenth century and later requires a comprehensive analysis of their function in different areas of colonial life and colonization.

This research exposes women who challenge modern sensibilities about female involvement in the slave trade and begins to unveil their economic motivations for participation based on ideas of African inferiority and their desire for profit at the expense of African slaves. Probing the lives of female slavers profoundly challenges the widespread assumption that slave trading was exclusively a male activity. Although the extent of female involvement is unclear, some women's involvement suggests that current slave trade research and scholarship remains incomplete.

Because the slave trade, societal morality, and gender roles are not monolithic, each requires study as it changed over time and place. The history of women's involvement in the transatlantic slave trade in the British North American colonies and the United States is best divided into three distinct periods: the Age of Atlantic Empires, the Age of Revolution, and the Age of Raging Abolition. This research begins by exploring the Age of Atlantic Empires and presents an overview of the transatlantic slave trade during the late seventeenth century through the mid-eighteenth century. Because of the variation in colonial slave trading, emphasis is on the British Empire with some concentration upon New York, a former Dutch colony that fell under English rule in 1664.[2] This research includes information from records and/or accounts of thirteen female slavers' ships of the period. They represent only part of continued research, which includes forty-eight female slavers from five European nations who completed ninety-three slave voyages between 1656 and 1863. Of the total, thirty-four were sole ship owners. In addition to the voyages of ships owned by these British and American women, voyages of other female-owned slave ships sailing under the flags of other European powers or during later periods demonstrates that women slavers existed across many centuries and empires. In fact, the actions of British female slave ship owners parallel those of women in other European empires. Suggestions for further points of research will be discussed later.

Statistical estimates suggest that of the ten million plus people who crossed the Atlantic before 1800, about eight and a half million, roughly six of every seven people

were enslaved Africans.[3] By the 1860s when the slave trade was fully suppressed, ten to twelve million Africans had been carried to the New World, and an estimated two million had died on the Middle Passage.[4] Perpetrators of the transatlantic slave trade were affiliated with several European empires including England, France, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden. For Britain, the years 1675-1725 were the most active years of England's Royal African Company. The firm, chartered in 1672, held a monopoly of all English trade to Africa. It remained active through century's end even in the first several decades of the eighteenth century after it lost its monopoly in 1698 when Parliament opened trade to all.[5] At a minimum 2,302,774 slaves were purchased from Africa from eighteenth century slave ships leaving British ports.[6]

Figure 1. Detail showing an early 18th-century ship on the coast of Africa. From: Astley, Thomas. A New general collection of voyages and travels. London, 1745.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, concepts of equity were not widely shared as during later periods and women, especially slavers, either viewed Africans as a lesser race or suppressed urgings of their common humanity in order to make profits. Economic ambition, combined with commonly accepted ideas about racial hierarchy based in Biblical interpretations, blinded slavers to the reality of the atrocities of slave ships as floating prisons. The Hametic curse was readily used to perpetuate ideas about black inferiority. Europeans, both men and women, considered Africans the descendants of Ham and therefore believed the group to be cursed for all time. Dutchman Jacob Steendam dedicated a poem to a boy of mixed race, thought to be his son, demonstrates one example. He wrote: "Since two bloods course within your veins, Both Ham and Japhet's intermingling; One race forever doomed to serve, the other bearing freedom's likeness, I wish you (in this human form) Japhet's freedom long foretold."[7] Despite his expressed hope for the boy's freedom, Steendam's poetry presents the growing social acceptance of racism fostered by religious beliefs and reinforced by paternalism.

Although the trade and its atrocities were largely conducted by European men, indeed, women were also players in the forced migration of millions of Africans. These ideas of white superiority challenge the common belief that women as the "gentler sex" are universally benevolent are indeed a socially constructed misconception. The drive for profits structured economic behavior and economic ambition drove the emergence of worldwide expansion of trading networks and settlements.[8] In his book *The Slave Ship: A Human History,* Marcus Rediker states:

> the slave ship helps to demonstrate not only the cruel truth of what one group of people (or several) was willing to do to others for money---or better, capital---but also how they managed in crucial respects to hide the reality and consequences of their actions from themselves and from posterity.[9]

Economic profit facilitated by persistent labor shortages was also a rational for the

practice of slavery.[10]

Women were not exempt from these beliefs and female slavers utilized their personal authority based on superiority, as owners of ships and slaves to their advantage. Like other maritime women, female slave ship owners demonstrate how gender roles are sometimes situational and often misrepresented in older historical scholarship and popular cultural beliefs about the past. Mythical portrayals of females in film and in literature have also led to misinformed ideas of female's authority within the confines of the colonial order. Faulty popular ideas are largely due to infamous tales recorded as early as the seventeenth century that chronicled women such as Anne Bonny and Mary Read, the cross-dressed pirates, who were the basis of Daniel Defoe's character of Moll Flanders.[11] In a more discreet way than females like Bonny and Read, women traders and slavers crossed traditionally viewed gender boundaries in a silent but bold way through their active investments and accumulation of personal wealth. Scholarship reveals the unique situations for women on the periphery, and several experts in women's history agree that females were important to early colonial economic growth and that rigid gender role distinctions could not exist under conditions of settlement.[12] Linda Kerber states, "Women in the American colonies had a broader range of choices, as well as more economic opportunities than their English counterparts."[13] Such economic opportunities, as well as the gendered experiences that accompanied them, varied by location. Sources support their ability to adapt to colonial conditions, acquire business positions, and exercise power over black slaves and on rare occasions white men.

Women's ability to become slave ship owners also derived from economic opportunities through trading networks and their ability for ownership due to colonial legalities on peripheral environments. With the expansion of patriarchal colonial empires, decentralization of legal networks and social practices occurred. Peripheral conditions created variations in British legal practices from England and took on different dimensions from the Caribbean to New England. English legal systems require analogous evaluation because common law was similarly decentralized, and, in areas such as New York, the legal system evolved from a grafting of English common law onto an initial Dutch system.[14] Legal situations in the British colonies were not simple as historian Kathleen Wilson explains, "No singular British system or idea of Englishness or indeed empire emerged from the process of imperial expansion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but many systems and ideas, linked each other through often disparate bonds of identity, experience and practice."[15] In New York, for instance, at times women had the right to inheritance, joint wills and property ownership. Women with these financial opportunities were involved in the slave trade as collaborators in what Stephanie Smallwood calls "an era of free trade," which enabled them levels of personal power.

These exchanges of power in the slave trade involved both men and women from both Africa and Europe and indeed, from the earliest times. Richard Lobban noted that by the mid-seventeenth century as Cape Verde grew in strength as a trading center, and in such places as Goree, awareness about famed Crioula female slave traders of African origin who dealt in internal slavery, was commonly known and thus set the underpinning for future female slavers."[16]

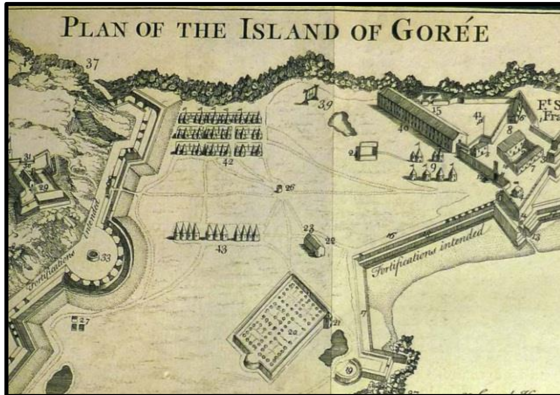

Figure 2. Detail of the Plan of the island of GOREE. From: Astley, Thomas. A New general collection of voyages and travels. London, 1745.

One such woman was noted in the journal of famous slave trader John Newton. Slave trader and evangelist Newton described his temporary enslavement by a Sherbo woman named P.I. on Plantain Island.[17] Newton stated that in her European husband's absence, she allowed her slaves to torture him for months and gave him (Newton) little water or food when he was ill, an action indicative of treatment of slaves by Europeans.[18] It must be noted that long after the seventeenth century and after Europe's domination of the seas, African women continued to participate in the trade with and without European men.[19]

As mentioned, in the early years of the slave trade, female slavers routinely operated throughout the British Empire in both England itself and its colonial periphery. For example, some slave ship owners like Margaret Hardenbroeck and Susan Minvielle were active in the North American colonies, whereas others like Margaret Crumpe and Elizabeth Cole dealt directly out of English ports.[20] A targeted search on the *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* shows several women listed as ship owners either jointly with men or as sole holders. This further suggests that some women engaged in business within the confines of their husbands' authority while others appear to have participated by themselves. In 1723, three females represented half ownership of a British slave ship that carried one hundred and eighteen Africans to be sold in the Americas. With six guns mounted, slave ship *Lady's Adventure,* was an economic risk for Ann and Frances Stapleton, and Judith Butler.[21] To the modern mind however, the ship's name suggests a playful, nonchalant attitude reflecting the owners' motivations. In short, their participation suggests involvement in an economic "game of profit" with no regards of human cargo. Women such as these, excited by the prospect of adventure, embarked on what Karl Marx called, "the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins," which "signalised the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production."[22] It was during the formation of the global commercial networks discussed by Marx, in which white women's seminal participation in the slave trade began.

In general, research shows that women slavers generally owned smaller ships than men, yet despite lesser ships and cargo they were keen and took advantage of fiscal advantages by conducting business out of places such as New York Harbor. What made New York specifically a location that fostered women's involvement in the slave trade? Like many other places on the periphery of empire, New York had its own unique environment. Let us first consider the turn of the eighteenth century. New York slavers traded directly with Africa, in small African ports and with small ships. In 1700, overall shipping in New York, including slave trading, involved 124 vessels. However, only six were over one hundred tons, a fact that suggests the port's future economic dominance had not yet been established.[23] Between 1717 and 1747, only twenty-one vessels embarked on transatlantic slave voyages. The British imported between 6,800 and 7,400 Africans

to the colony of New York from 1700 to 1774, a relatively small portion of the total British importation of slaves to the Americas.[24] One in ten slaving ships from New York returned directly to homeport to sell its human cargo. This pattern was unusual in North American ports. In Rhode Island, for instance, less than one in one hundred ships returned to the colony to sell slaves.[25] Philip Misevich asserts that New York was a hybrid between Rhode Island, an active departure port, and Southern ports, which were larger importers of slaves.[26] Ships left from New York as they did from Providence, Rhode Island, at the beginning of slave voyages but many also returned to New York, differentiating the slave trade there from that in other northern ports.

An evaluation of the nature and size of New York female slave ship owners' in comparison to that of others slave traders throughout the British Empire is revealed from their ships' tonnage totals. The recorded tonnage of the eleven identified female traders' ships combined is 1255; the average tonnage total is only 114.09.[27] This number is small when compared to what is known of other ships of the period. For instance, between 1697 and 1714, Boston's shipyards produced an average of 1,568 tons of *new* shipping each year.[28] With that data, it can be concluded that female-owned slave ships were small but also well suited to certain niches within the slave trade.[29]

Figure 3. Detail of Boston Harbor. From the engraving by William Burgis, *A Southeast View of ye Great Town of Boston.* ca. 1723

Frances Gerbransen was one such woman who took advantage of these conditions. In 1716, Gerbransen, owner of the slave ship *Anne and Mary*, embarked upon an economic risk for she struck out with three men, Rip Vandam, Alexander Moore, and Anthony Rutgers.[30] Gerbransen replaced a man as the fourth investor, Anthony Linch from the ship's previous voyage in 1715.[31] Records show that Gerbransen invested only once in a slave ship, but her ability to take part in vessel ownership during that period suggests conditions that made it possible for both limited and extended participation. Gerbransen worked the system through well-informed business sense that understood customs requirements and knew how to avoid paying high imposts. The total number of slaves listed as cargo aboard her ship *Anne and Mary*, totaled only 52, a relatively small number. Therefore, to avoid greater customs requirements she conducted business in New York for there, a duty of forty shillings was paid "For every Negro and other slave, of 4 years old, and upwards, imported directly from *Africa."* On the other hand, four pounds (or eighty shillings) was required for those "From all other Places."[32] While the slaves she imported were less valuable because they were less seasoned, the money she received for them was largely hers as the customs requirements were minimal.

Just how profitable New York slave traders were remains open to debate. Different theories on the profitability of the slave trade generally focus on the number of participants and the levels of competition. On one end of the spectrum, some argue that

the slave trade followed a basic “industry structure,” which yielded normal, but not large, profits to participants. In other words, “the high degree of competition meant that the profitability of the trade was relatively low.” Others suggest that the slave trade was in fact a monopoly of a few slave ship owners, and, because of the low number of participants, a few traders gained large amounts of wealth. A third argument associated with historian Eric Williams asserts that the creation of worldwide commerce, which was the financial base of capitalistic societies and for the British industrial revolution, created long term financial successes for slave traders.[33]

In consideration of these three arguments, it is logical that New York slavers during the Age of Atlantic Empires accrued significant profit. New York slavers were not part of large companies but were sole owners so they did not have to share profits with other holders. There were also fewer slavers in New York as compared to other locations, so competition was not high. New York slavers were isolated, functioning away from the major slave ports in both Africa and the Americas, and therefore faced less competition with others. New York slavers were a relatively small group that accrued significant wealth from trade. This interpretation is reinforced by the repeated trips of slavers like Frederick Philipse to smaller African ports. If these were unprofitable ventures, a successful merchant trader would not have continued to trade in slaves, but only in other commodities. Instead, New York traders like the Hardenbroeck-Philipse family established a lasting legacy as their children continued trading in human cargo among other goods, until it was no longer legal in New York.

This brings us to the question of Philipse’s wife, Margaret Hardenbroeck and her role in slave trade. Hardenbroeck is a superior example among colonial women who not only took part in, but also perpetuated the transatlantic slave trade. Her multi-faceted shipping ventures included varied cargos from cloth to slaves and sustained success both as a married and widowed woman before and after the transition of Dutch to English colonial control of New York. Hardenbroeck was first married to Pieter DeVries, a fellow merchant, and after his death in 1661 she inherited his property and successfully conducted his large business operations.[34] Hardenbroeck not only owned ships but also land in New York, New Jersey, the Netherlands and a Caribbean plantation named *Spring Head* on Barbados.[35] Hardenbroeck thoroughly understood colonial legalities and negotiated the system to personal success. A description of Hardenbroeck is presented by the Labadist Jasper Danckaerts who traveled in 1679 aboard of one of Margaret’s ships, the *Charles*.[36] Danckaerts suggests that men actually responded to *her* authority. Danckaerts described one English mate, who eventually became a captain, as “a great man-pleaser, where his interest was promoted.”[37] The English mate worked hard to win approval from those in authority and when aboard Hardenbroeck’s ship was compelled to “be much closer in order to please Margaret.”[38] It is intriguing that the “man pleaser” was clearly trying to impress Hardenbroeck and recognized her authority as equal to that of a male authority figure. Imagine a seafaring male, assured of the hierarchical nature of sea life having to adjust his behaviors to raise ranks by gaining good graces from a woman. Hardenbroeck and others like her do not appear as conventional helpmates.

In 1684, the *Charles* sailed from New York to Amsterdam in order to trade furs for a variety of items. After clearing customs, the flute-ship then went to Angola

to transport 146 enslaved Africans to Barbados.[39] It was just a few years earlier that Hardenbroeck sailed with her own children aboard the *Charles* that was utilized to transport Africans, including women and children, away from their homelands and into slavery. Slavers such as Hardenbroeck unquestionably accepted African inferiority and passed it to her children. When nine sick slaves aboard the *Charles* were deemed "refuse cargo," unfit for sale, they were sent to New York, where they became the first slaves on land owned by Hardenbroeck and her second husband Frederick Philipse.[40]

Research of colonial household conditions also contradicts the flawed assumptions about women's roles perpetuated through popular culture. Slave trading in the colonies allowed more opportunity for social advancement because status was predicated on personal wealth rather than hereditary titles. In England, women who participated in the slave trade were sometimes already of the nobility. Englishwoman Margaret Crumpe, a co-owner of the *Dorothy* in 1708, is listed in the Transatlantic Database simply as Margaret Crumpe, but ship records from Bristol, England, enumerate her as Lady Margaret Crumpe.[41] The designation offers insight into her social status and demonstrates how she maintained a female legitimacy while simultaneously commanding power through investment. Without a hereditary title however, Hardenbroeck gained economic status from her personal wealth and thus through her activity in the slave trade gained potential heightened social status.

Gender boundaries were also crossed by the role assumption of supercargo. The term supercargo refers to a person, usually male, employed onboard a vessel by the cargo owner to oversee the goods in every regard. Evidence from Danckaerts' diary suggests that Hardenbroeck assumed the role of supercargo on her own flute ship, *Charles*.[42] Hardenbroeck was not only the owner of the ship and cargo, but the one who had "given orders to have everything in readiness to sail to-day."[43] Throughout the voyage, Hardenbroeck personally determined the ship's stays in ports and ordered people aboard. On one occasion, she even halted the vessel and ordered a jolly boat to fetch a mop that was mistakenly dropped overboard. The occurrence delayed the voyage for several hours and revealed her frugality in that she demanded the rescue of a mop worth only six cents.[44] The event spurs consideration of the value that an owner placed upon slave cargo, worth much more than a mop.

Indeed, periods that follow the mid-eighteenth century require deeper exploration. The Age of Revolution offers study of the Enlightenment and emergence of the concept of republican motherhood as it relates to female slavers, as well as consideration of possible similarities and/or differences in political belief between those who both were and were not involved. Despite critiques of slavery during that period and changing gender roles, female slavers did not disappear from the world stage. Less about New York female slavers during this period in known, but a hint of contrast appears between colonial areas as ideas of the Enlightenment when comparing female slavers. Female investors bought shares in slave ships, a practice that expanded potential numbers of women who could afford to participate in the slave trade.[45] One such slave ship investor was Mary Bowen, a single woman in 1793 from Providence, Rhode Island.[46] Bowen is noted as having held a share of a slave voyage, demonstrating the changing nature and availability to citizens of lesser means than those found at the turn of the eighteenth century. Similarly, another woman, an African named Fenda Lawrence came to Georgia in 1772 with papers stating, "the

goods and slaves are the property of the said Fenda Lawrence, She having been concerned in the trade for some years past." These records confirm both an African woman and a white woman as active participants in the buying and selling of slaves during this period. Times were changing however and Bowen and Lawrence's activities opposed how New York female slavers were viewed. In 1801, a crowd of nearly 250 blacks bombarded one notorious female slaver, Madame Jeanne Volunbrun in New York.[47] They threatened to burn her house and, "murder all the white people in it and take away a number of Black Slaves."[48] The instance occurred after Volunbrun was forced out of other American ports for her slaving activities. The confident group action of protest toward a white slaver illuminates a time when both white women and people of color created organized abolition efforts.

By the time the Volunbrun episode occurred, New York had passed the Gradual Emancipation Act. This act was based on the Pennsylvania model; the law freed all children born to slave women after July 4, 1799 but did not free adults who were slaves at that time.[49] Under the 1799 law, male children of female slaves became free at age twenty-eight, female children at age twenty-four.[50] The act allowed masters to keep their younger slaves for their most productive years. No such legal mechanism to encourage emancipation existed in the early eighteenth century. In fact, during the early years of the 1700s, paranoia about slave uprisings was constant, especially in New York, and whites made concerted efforts to dominate people of color, whom they viewed as an inferior people meant to be controlled and used.[51] Within this context, it appears logical that following the American Revolution that white mastery slowly increased in both men and women. Indeed, mastery is asserted when conflicting and ambiguous environments of power cause some to control others, themselves or their surroundings.[52]

Whether women's control of cargo extended aboard actual slave ships remains speculative although unlikely in the Age of Atlantic Empires or the Age of Revolution. Although the evidence is clear that European women were indeed aboard ships throughout time, confirmation that they were aboard *slave* ships remains inconclusive. An assessment of contrasting periods may reveal further understanding of changing beliefs and the malleability of women to adapt to social expectation.

The nineteenth century promises even more irony and contrast. As the American Civil War approached and abolitionists worked to end slavery, accepted roles for women became more restrictive.[53] The Cult of True Womanhood emphasized certain feminine characteristics, defining women by their purity, piety, submissiveness, and domesticity.[54] Yet despite womanly ideals, some female slave ship owners continued to participate in the transatlantic slave trade even after the importation of slaves became illegal in both the United States, Great Britain and beyond. New York slave ship owners like Mary Jane Watson and Johanna Lewis were engaged in voyages as firsthand witnesses to slave ship atrocities.[55] In the 1863, Johanna Lewis not only owned the *Marghareta (a) Mariquita,* but also served as captain. She traveled aboard the slave vessel until its eventual capture and condemnation at the Vice-Admiralty Court on St. Helena for slave trafficking.[56] Another female slaver, Mary Jane Watson, escaped prosecution when she fled New York to Cadiz after New York State filed charges against her for the ownership of three illegal slave vessels. The *New York Times* reported that Watson, "fell back into some of the bad habits which she had contracted while pursuing her *masculine*

business in New York."[57] This comment is the largely accepted idea about women and about slave trading as a masculine endeavor. This falsehood is repeated throughout time. A parallel assertion was made in *The Spanish Convoy of 1750*, when James A. Lewis argues that it has been assumed by historians that "the world of Hispanic commerce was a masculine preserve," but in looking at the women who are listed as owners of shipped goods, scholars could argue that "the veneer of a male monopoly masked a female commercial core of significant proportions."[58]

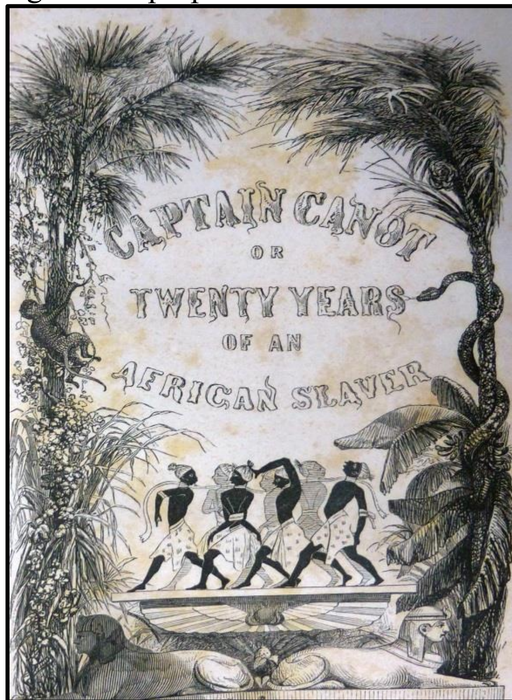

Figure 4. Captain Canot, or, Twenty years of an African slaver.... New York: Appleton, 1854.

A vivid 1854 account of the life of slaver Captain Theodore Canot offered a brief description about a female ship owner, one that tempts the reader to desire to know more about her. Canot's youthful recollection at sea suggests that women had extended involvement with cargo and shipping. He wrote:

> I soon perceived that I was *again* under the command of two captains - - male and female, he continued, The regular master superintended the navigation, while the *bloomer* controlled the whole of us. Indeed, the dame was the actual owner of the craft, and, from skipper to cabin-boy, governed not only our actions but our stomachs. I know not whether it was piety or economy that swayed her soul.[59]

The woman described was clearly in control of business aboard a ship and combats the common misconception of women's maritime roles. Women such as this pepper the historical record and indeed go beyond her authority in the roles of female slave ship owners thus demonstrating the continued presence of women in Atlantic trade as well as their power and control in situations often associated with men. New York and other places on the periphery throughout time follow this suit.

The telling of the saga of women's predication for the slave trade is reminiscent of Hómer's, *The Odyssey* which illustrated well-known creatures of Greek mythology, a likewise analogous description of another group of females; namely, Sirens of the Sea, female slave ship owners of the Atlantic world. In the story, Odysseus listened as Circe described legendary beings whose thrilling song brought torment, torture and even death to those aboard ships. Relating the beings' victorious scene, Circe stated "…all about is a great heap of bones of men, corrupt in death, and round the bones the skin is wasting."[60] The depiction was that of a siren and of the danger associated with her feminine allure. It posed a contradiction to the characteristic of gentleness often associated with females. The analogy lies within their characters, use of womanly attributes, and their situational transformations. Female slave ship owners, like sirens, held close connections to the sea

and gained objectives through personal means. In addition, they utilized business sense and gender to succeed. For sirens, it was to lead men to watery graves; for slavers to lead Africans to interment of slavery.

Just as the titillating tales of the sirens of Greek mythology offer a contradiction to the usual cultural constructions that depict females as caring, gentle people, in the early modern Atlantic world, women slavers represent an alternative to traditional perceptions of females. Understanding gendered frontiers are important in order to make sense of women's activity in the transatlantic slave trade. The relationship between women and their cargo changed over time and took on different nuances thus requiring scholars to evaluate their actions from the perspective of time and place. Women slavers at the turn of the eighteenth century gained economic and social influence because of a myriad of conditions including growing commercial markets, colonial expansion, peripheral locations, and gender leveling on the frontier of empire. In a colonial household, women were able to participate in business ventures and hold authority despite the confines of patriarchy whereas women of the nineteenth century participated amid moral opposition.

Hindsight does not glorify these women for partaking in the abomination of slavery, but rather demonstrates how female cunning and authority was utilized to delve into areas and activities that today are not typically associated with women. These women led thousands of Africans to their emotional and physical deaths through the transatlantic slave trade.

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[1] Hannah Moore, *The Slave Trade* (London: Parliamentary Records, 1788), http://slavetrade.parliment.uk/slavetrade/assetviews/sounds/theslavetradebyhannahmore.html (accessed 6, December 2009).

[2] The English takeover of New Netherland occurred in 1664 when Peter Stuyvesant officially surrendered the city of New Amsterdam on September 8, followed by an oath of allegiance to the English authority by the Dutch officials and residents on October 20. Another attempt in 1673 by the Dutch to regain New Amsterdam failed, and the colony surrendered to England on 10 November 1674 after which it remained under the full sovereignty of England.

[3] "Slavery and Justice: Report of the Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice" *BrownUniversity*, www.brown.edu/Research/Slavery_Justice/ (accessed December 12, 2009), 7.

[4] An estimated four million went to Brazil, between five-hundred and six-hundred thousand went to mainland America. "Slavery and Trade, and Brown University," *Slavery and Justice: Report of the Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice,* 7.

[5] Stephanie E. Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge: 2007), 3-4.

[6] Emma Christopher, *Slave Ship Sailors and Their Captive Cargoes, 1730-1807*(Cambridge: 2006), 6.

[7] Steendam (1616- ?) was a soldier, slave trader, and merchant who eventually went to New Amsterdam. Steendam was known as poet laureate of New Netherland and the poem's date is unknown. Ira Berlin, ed., *Slavery in New York* (New York: 2005), 50. Jacob Steendam's poem as reprinted in text.

[8] James E. McWilliams, "Butter, Milk, and a Spare Ribb: Women's Work and the TransAtlantic Economic Transition in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts," *New England Quarterly,* vol. LXXXII, no. 1 (2009), 10.

[9] Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York: 2007), 12.

[10] When in history economic necessity warranted this attitude of superiority over blacks, societies began to "demonize" blacks as inferior. Ira Berlin demonstrates that slaveholders "discovered much of value in supremacist ideology," by elaborating on notions of slaves as savages and imbeciles. Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: 1998), 363.

[11] Moll Flanders is the epic character of Daniel Defoe's novel of the same name. She used her womanly wiles to manipulate situations to gain advantage. From a life of thievery, she then became wealthy in the Americas through marriage. Her tenacious attitude and improper behaviors to this day evoke intrigue. Read Daniel Defoe, *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders* (New York: 2004); *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700-1920,* edited by Margaret S. Creighton and Lisa Norling (Baltimore, MD: 1996), 16; Robert C. Elliot, *Twentieth Century Interpretations of Moll Flanders: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ:1970), 23.

[12]McWilliams, "Butter, Milk, and Spare Ribb,"6.

[13] Gloria Main, "Gender, Work, and Wages in Colonial New England," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd ser., vol.LI, no.1 (1994), 64-65.

[14] Joan R. Gundersen and Gwen Victor Gampel, "Married Women's Legal Status in Eighteenth-Century New York and Virginia," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, vol.XXXIV, no.1 (1982), 115.

[15]Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London: 2003), 15.

[16] Cape Verde and Goree are both islands off the West African coast near Senegal. They were active portsduring the transatlantic slave trade. For more about women and the slave trade in Africa see: *Women andSlavery in Africa,* edited by Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein (Portsmouth, NH: 1997).

[17] Robertson and Klein, eds., *Women and Slavery in Africa*, 283-284.

[18] Ibid

[19] For further reading see: Robertson and Klein, eds., *Women and Slavery in Africa*, 283-284. For further reading about Newton see: John Newton, *The Journal of a Slave Trader (John Newton) 1750-1754* (London: 1962).

[20] *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database.*

[21] Slave Voyage # 76642 *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database,* www.slaveyoyages.org (accessed 7, January 2010).

[22] Karl Marx. *Das Kapital.* edited by Frederick Engels (New York: 1906), 823.

[23]Alex Roland, W. Jeffrey Bolster, and Alexander Keyssar, *The Way of the Ship: America's Maritime History Reenvissioned* (Hoboken: 2008), 47.

[24]Philip Misevich, "In Pursuit of Human Cargo: Philip Livingston and the Voyage of the Sloop *Rhode Island*," *New York History,* vol.LXXXIII, no. 3 (2005), 186; Jill Lepore, "The Tightening Vise: Slavery and Freedom in British New York," in *Slavery in New York,* edited by Ira Berlin and Leslie M. Harris (New York: 2005), 59. The first privately owned slave ship to enter New York was the *White Horse*, which arrived in spring of 1655, and the best slaves were sold for $125. George Francis Dow, *Slave Ships and Slaving* (Brattleboro, VT: 1927), 13.

[25] Misevich, "In Pursuit of Human Cargo," 187.

[26]Ibid.

[27] Tonnage prior to 1720 was generally determined as one ton equaled to one cask of wine, which weighed about 2,240 pounds; after 1720, the tonnage was often considered the deadweight of the ship, in other words, the volume of space from the length of the keel to the maximum breath of the ship. John J. McCusker, "Colonial Tonnage Measurement: Five Philadelphia Merchant Ships as a Sample," *The Journal of Economic History,* vol.XXVII, no.1 (1967), 84.

[28] Emphasis added. Jay Coughtry, *The Notorious Triangle: Rhode Island and the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1700-1807* (Philadelphia: 1981), 45-48; Roland, Bolster and Keyssar, *The Way of the Ship,* 46.

[29] Of the fourteen-recorded voyages under examination, ship types included snows, sloops, brigantines, and pinnaces; ships ranged in size from a one-masted vessel with a fore-and-aft rig to two-masted vessels that were both rowed and sailed. These ships had the ability to sail fast and had guns ranging in number from four to eighteen. It may be assumed, the more guns, the greater the cargo to protect from pirates or privateers.

[30] Slave Voyage #25315, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database.*

[31] Slave Voyage #25314, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database.*

[32] Slave Voyage #25315, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*; Lepore, "The Tightening Vise: Slavery and Freedom in British New York," 61.

[33] William Darity Jr., "The Number Game and the Profitability of the British Trade in Slaves," *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. XLV, no.3 (1985), 693, 702- 703

[34] Carol Berkin, *First Generations: Women in Colonial America,* edited by Eric Foner (New York: 1996), 80; D.T. Valentine, *Notable Women of Olden Times, in the City, Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for 1855* (New York:1857), 518.

[35] Hardenbroeck owned a Caribbean plantation on Barbados called Spring Head. Linda Briggs Biemer, *Women and Property in Colonial New York: The Transition from Dutch to English Law, 1643-1727,* Studies in American History and Culture, vol.

XXXVIII, edited by Robert Berkhofer (Ann Arbor, MI:1983), 5.

[36] Labadists were of a religious sect founded by a Frenchman, Jean Labadie. After several attempts to move about Europe, the Labadists were removed to eventually settle in the Netherlands. From there, some came to settle in Maryland to form a colony. Their theological basis was similar to that of the Reformed Dutch Church. Jasper Danckaerts, *Journal of a Voyage to New York*, xxiii.

[37] Jasper Danckaerts, *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679-1680*(New York: 1913), 39.

[38] Danckaerts, *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 6.*

[39] Hardenbroeck owned a Caribbean plantation on Barbados called Spring Head. Linda Briggs Biemer, *Women and Property in Colonial New York: The Transition from Dutch to English Law, 1643-1727,* Studies in American History and Culture, vol. XXXVIII, edited by Robert Berkhofer (Ann Arbor, MI:1983), 5.

[40] Dennis Maika, "Encounters: Slavery and the Philipse Family, 1680-1751," *Dutch New York, The Roots of Hudson Valley Culture,* edited by Roger Panetta (New York: 2009), 39.

[41] Slave Voyage # 16027, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*; *Bristol, Africa and the Eighteenth Century Slave Trade to America, Vols. 1-4,* edited by David Richardson (Glouster, UK:1986), vol.1: 8.

[42] Records reveal that Hardenbroeck assumed the position of supercargo on the *Charles* on the 1679 voyage, but a designation as supercargo on her slave ships is not documented.

[43] Danckaerts*,* 3.

[44] Jean Zimmerman, *The Women of the House: How a Colonial She-Merchant Built a Mansion, A Fortune, and a Dynasty* (New York: 2006), 121.

[45] Rachel Chernos Lin, "The Rhode Island Slave-Traders: Butchers, Bakers and Candlestick-Makers," *Slavery and Abolition,* Frank Cass & Co., vol. XXIII, no. 3 (2002), 23, 25, 33.

[46] Ibid, 33.

[47] Shane White*, Stories of Freedom in Black New York* (Cambridge, MA: 2002), 27-28

[48] This quote was a statement of J.M. Gervais from the case, *The People V. Marcelle, Sam, Benjamin Bandley and 20 Others,* filed October 9, 1801 as reprinted in Shane White*, Stories of Freedom in Black New York* (Cambridge, MA: 2002), 27-28. For a detailed account of slaver Volunbrun read, Martha S. Jones, "*Baptiste v. de Volunbrun: Making the Atlantic World, One Case at a Time,"* University of Michigan-University Paris 7-Denis Diderot, 8-9 December 2006, www.ufr-anglais.univ paris7.fr/CENTRES_RECHERCHES/CIRNA/CIRNA1/RESS (accessed 21, January 2010).

[49] Leslie M. Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863* (Chicago: 2003), 73.

[50] Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery*, 11.

[51] Colonial New Yorkers were especially conscious of the threat of slave uprisings during the Age of Atlantic Empires. In 1712, about two dozen slaves, mostly Africans, set fire to a building and ambushed whites. In addition, in 1741 several fires and an eventual trial implicating slaves as a part of a conspiracy to overthrow white authority distracted New York. See Serena R. Zabin, ed. *The New York Conspiracy Trials of 1741: Daniel Horsemanden's Journal of the Proceedings with Related Documents* (Boston: 2004).

[52] William Henry Foster, *Gender, Mastery and Slavery* (New York: 2010), 2.

[53] Glenna Matthews, *The Rise of Public Woman: Woman's Power and Woman's Place in the United States, 1630-1970* (New York: 1992). For an outline of womanhood in this period, read "The Cult of Domesticity and the True Womanhood," http://www.library.csi.cuny.edu/dept/history/lavender/386/truewoman.html (accessed December 20, 2010).

[54] Barbara Welter, "The Cult of Domesticity and the True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly,* vol. XVIII, no.2 (1966), 152.

[55] For more about Watson and Lewis see, "The Fate of a Female Slaver," *New York Times* (New York), 30 March 1862; Slave Voyage #4829, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*.

[56] Lewis' ship, a schooner, sailed under the Flag of the United States and departed from New York. The total slaves taken in Africa numbered 473. Slave Voyage #4829, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database.*

[57] Emphasis added. "The Fate of a Female Slaver," *New York Times* (New York)*, 30 March 1862.*

[58] Lewis states that the 1750 Spanish flota uncovered twenty-one females who owned nearly forty percent of the total amount of currency, reinforcing that women took active roles in Atlantic world commerce earlier than popularly assumed. James A Lewis, *The Spanish Convoy of 1750: Heaven's Hammer and International Diplomacy* (Gainesville, Florida 2009), xix.

[59] Emphasis added. Theodore Canot, *Adventures of an African Slaver* (Mineola, NY: 2002), 19.

[60] Homer, *The Odyssey*. Eds. Samuel Henry Butcher, Andrew Lang (New York, NY: 1909), 170.