

## A Plight Forgotten: An Argument for viewing indentured servitude as white slavery; a comparison with the African-American experience of enslavement.

By Stephen Scott Doucher  
Wittenberg University Class of 2001

From Viking raids to the repulsive prostitution trade in Eastern Europe in recent years, the history of slavery in Western Civilization has many fascinating and tragic stories. The experiences of African-Americans, whose history is an epic of the heights a people can carry themselves from is the itself a mass of truly interesting, sometimes tragic and sometimes inspiring, stories. But these are not the only stories of forced labor in American history.

In the year 1962, a book called *Night Comes To The Cumberlands* was published. This particular work's author was Harry M. Caudill, a Kentucky raised lawyer and ex-legislator. Caudill wrote the work in order to expose to the general population of America the poverty and hopelessness that had been, and was in 1962, prevalent among the majority of the inhabitants of the Cumberland Plateau in Eastern Kentucky. Caudill had hoped that his book would, with its accounts of unemployed starving families and serf like conditions for those who possessed jobs in mining, lead the Federal Government to pass social legislation to help the struggling populace of the Cumberlands. Early in his work, Caudill notes of the people of Eastern Kentucky, of which he was a part, that "their past created the modern mountaineers and the communities in which they live, and resulted in a land of economic, social and political blight without parallel in the nation."<sup>1</sup>

*Night Comes To The Cumberlands* traces much of the tragedy of modern Southern Appalachia's poverty to that past; this he does by telling the tale of how many of the Scotch-Irish and English descended people of the Cumberlands, and other regions of Southern Appalachia, had ancestors who were held in a cruel and unjust

form of bondage. Caudill writes of impoverished and often dispossessed peoples in sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries Britain being imprisoned, abused, and worked mercilessly. He tells of people living in English urban slums of the aforementioned periods and supporting their families through crimes, such as thievery.<sup>2</sup>

Caudill informs the reader that men, women, and children of varying ages were taken, in numerous waves, to the British colonies in the New World. There, in the colonial lands of the 1600s and 1700s, they would be made to do often brutal labor for no pay, had no rights, and were, in many cases, subjected to numerous types of abuse and debasement. These men, women, and children were to become known in popular American history as *indentured servants*. He also recounts that many of these impoverished and deported people were coerced into signing "indentures," or contracts on their freedom, in order to pay debts they had no hope of ever repaying in order to avoid execution for varying types of criminal offences. Some of them were simply orphans with nowhere to go, and others were abducted and completely forced into unfree labor without ever signing an "indenture."<sup>3</sup>

This paper is about these people and about slavery. Perhaps it would be of assistance to define slavery and to further discuss the dimensions of this report. The third edition of *The American Heritage Dictionary* defines slavery as "one bound in servitude as the property of a person or household."<sup>4</sup> This is a rather general definition which can be more properly and profoundly illustrated through an examination of the enslavement experienced by imported African and African-descended people.

The system of "indentured servitude" is comparable to the system of black enslavement that existed in Colonial America. Although there are similar stories of abductions and loss of freedom in archives of numerous library institutions throughout the United States, it is uncommon for the layman to think of the two systems as being similar in their manifestations. Through a comparative study it can be shown that "indentured servitude" often differed little from the collective African-American experience of enslavement.

The analysis of white "indentured servitude" will cover the dates roughly between 1600 and the 1760s and focus on Britain and its North American colonial empire. Practices of imprisonment for debt, in and of itself, and other activities, such as the merciless factory labor of the nineteenth century, will not be discussed because they fall outside the specified realm of analysis and deserve more focus, than can be given here. However, debtor's prisons will be mentioned in their context as institutions that gave accessory to the continuation of the indentured servitude system, through depriving seventeenth century and eighteenth century Britain's destitute of options in the face of economic helplessness.

The issue of the meaning of words is mentioned in this debate for the simple fact that terminology plays a central role in the controversy over British indentured servitude. When one uses the term "slavery" a much different mental image is conjured than when the term "indentured servitude" is used. Yet such terms, especially in another age, could have been viewed as synonymous or near synonymous.

When one examines the greater collective institution of indentured servitude or the individual cases, from records still available, one may think of similar stories of abduction and loss of freedom that are associated with the African-American experience of enslavement. It appears that much of what is stated today in history classrooms across America on the system of indentured servitude has been to varying degrees simplified and even undiscussed. The purpose of this work is to tell some of the story of those men, women, and children who persevered under indentured servitude and to prove, through a comparison with the highly

brutal system of African based slavery, which indentured servitude was a form of white enslavement. Indentured servitude thus can be seen in the context of a British upper class that held no value on the British poor and did not hesitate to strip them of their freedom.

In the records of seventeenth century slave ships that delivered captured Africans, the enslaved were referred to as "servants," and not slaves.<sup>5</sup> It is also worth noting that some modern scholars have argued that the first imported Africans in bondage in British North America were thought of as "indentured servants."<sup>6</sup> Given the unlikelihood that imported Africans were allowed to sign indentures it can be reasonably be argued that the two terms were not seen by seventeenth century people as having incredibly different meanings.

Furthermore, it must also be stated that in 1659, the English parliament debated the merits of the then long existent system of deporting the British Isles' impoverished inhabitants (as well as political prisoners) to the colonial New World. This discussion focused largely on marginalized Scots, Irish, and English. However, the term "indentured servants" was never used in this debate. Rather, the members of parliament simply referred to these expunged people as slaves.<sup>7</sup> In language that is reminiscent of the enslavement of Africans and African-descended peoples, the South Carolina Assembly in 1717 considered ownership of a white man as being a possible requirement for eligibility to vote.<sup>8</sup> As with the English parliament in 1659, the topic of conversation was indentured servitude.

Starting in the early sixteenth century (if not earlier), Sub-Saharan Africans captured by enemy tribes or nations of the coastal regions were routinely placed into a status of slavery and then often subsequently sold to European and Euro-Colonial slavers, who transported them in ships of bondage to New World colonies.<sup>9</sup> Entire "trading" companies were established for the purpose of procuring and transporting enslaved Africans, as well as "free agent" private traders.<sup>10</sup> The Africans that were forced onto slave ships met with Spartan conditions, since they were viewed by their importers as cargo. The death rate during these

voyages of African enslavement appears to have been as high as 20% during the entire eighteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

British "indentured servants" were also often brought to the New World colonies against their will. Seventeenth century English governments made ordinary the practice of selling political prisoners, such as Scottish rebels and English Royalists (during the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell), into slavery in the British overseas empire.<sup>12</sup> For example, those who had taken part in the Monmouth Rebellion and schemes to end English rule in Scotland and Ireland had become acceptable, in the eyes of English law, for forced "indentured servitude" in the colonial New World.<sup>13</sup> Oliver Cromwell's victory over the Irish in the 1650s allowed the English dictator to deport over one hundred thousand of Ireland's inhabitants to the New World as unfree labor.<sup>14</sup> This deportation included men, women, and children. Those sold in the New World as a result of this expulsion from Ireland even included eighty-year-old Irish women.<sup>15</sup>

Furthermore, the depressed and landless classes of Britain, in the Seventeenth Century, were often not people who had signed a voluntary contract on their freedom, but were "captured by press-gangs... and shipped into slavery in colonial America... It was an organized system of kidnapping English, Welsh and Scottish workers, young and old, and transporting them to the American colonies to be sold, with profits being split between the press-gangs and the shipmaster."<sup>16</sup> The terms "kidnapped" and "kidnapper" emerged in the English language as descriptions of press-gangs that abducted children, whose families never heard from them again. Likewise, "spirited" came to be used to describe the press-gangs who "spirited" away the impoverished.<sup>17</sup> Caudill mentions how the Cumberland Appalachians of the 1960s, still retained an archaic song on the practice of being abducted and "spirited" off to the New World:

The night I was a-married,  
And on my marriage bed,  
There come a fierce sea captain  
And stood by my bed stead.

His men, they bound me tightly  
With a rope so cruel and strong,

And carried me over the waters  
To labor for seven years long.<sup>18</sup>

James Annesley, a disinherited member of the Anglo-Irish nobility, was kidnapped in 1727 by the captain of an impressment ship for indentured servants, who was in league with his would-be usurper uncle.<sup>19</sup> After having been tricked by the captain into believing that the plantation work he was being sentenced to in the New World was the fair apprentice-type labor that the term "indentured servitude" implies, Annesley was handed over to his New World master. Annesley was then to experience thirteen years of brutality and hard labor under his master.<sup>20</sup> Annesley survived this term, something his uncle believed would not occur, and later wrote a book about his ordeal, titled *Memoirs of an Unfortunate Young Nobleman, Returned from Thirteen Years' Slavery in America*.<sup>21</sup>

As a boy, Peter Williamson was kidnapped from his native Aberdeen and sold to a dealer in unfree white child laborers in 1743. In America, however, Williamson was sold to a former "indentured servant," who had been likewise abducted as a child, and finally freed. Williamson's new master quickly freed the boy, who would come to write an account of his abduction and enslavement, noting that he never again saw the other children who were kidnapped with him from Aberdeen and that he feared they probably did not fare as well as he.<sup>22</sup>

Some economists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries called for and supported the massive deportation and forced servitude in the British colonies of the impoverished and landless poor of Britain. Such theoreticians held that a policy of this sort was developing the North American colonies and controlling the despised poor of the British Isles. By 1652, a law had been enacted allowing the deportation to the New World and forced servitude as plantation workers and colonial laborers, of anyone deemed vagrant or caught begging.<sup>23</sup>

Stories like these represent the brutal amount of abduction that was involved in seventeenth century and eighteenth century "indentured servitude." One source even notes that would-be immigrants, of Scotch-Irish and even German ancestry, to the English colonies of North America in the eighteenth century, who had no

intention of selling freedom, were sometimes tricked aboard ships for "indentured servants" that took them to New World bondage.<sup>24</sup> Such people would be cheated of their belongings and provided little of the opportunity that they believed immigration would provide.

Besides political prisoners, expelled ethnic groups, tricked immigrants, and the abducted from Britain's poor and powerless classes, people convicted of felonies under Royal law were also subject to being shipped to the New World as unfree laborers. However, a felon could be a hardened criminal, an orphaned pickpocket, or a man with a starving family who stole food, as in the case of one Thomas Atwood.<sup>25</sup> A pregnant seamstress named Catherine Davis became a felon and was sold into labor in the New World for allegedly stealing seven yards of lace. Davis gave birth to her child in transit to the New World for auction and her newborn succumbed aboard the ship, two weeks later.<sup>26</sup> Caudill contended that colonial American plantation owners of the seventeenth century deliberately had ships full of people sentenced to British debtors' prisons brought to the New World, in order to do body breaking labor.<sup>27</sup>

As the mention of Catherine Davis' journey across the Atlantic implies, white "indentured servants" appear to have often faced nightmarish conditions aboard the ships that transported them to the New World. Sometimes deaths in transit to the New World even ran higher than those of African importation slaver ships.<sup>28</sup> Ships designed to carry three hundred were sometimes filled to the point where they were overcrowded with twice as many people as they were supposed to carry.<sup>29</sup> In 1743, nearly a third of the convicts headed for America, to be sold as "indentured servants," aboard the ship *Justitia* died, and others were so undernourished that some began drinking their urine.<sup>30</sup> One impressment ship carrying Scotch-Irish passengers, who had been tricked into transit, had its transportees resort to cannibalism.<sup>31</sup>

It is further interesting to compare the demographic portions of both African and African-descended slaves and white "indentured servants" in pre-revolutionary Colonial America. Perhaps because of the existence of white

"indentured servants," there were demographically few African and African descended slaves in New England and the northern colonies.<sup>32</sup> However, in the southern colonies, by the late eighteenth century, the African and African descended slave population was so large that it made up half of the populace of Virginia and more than two-thirds of that of South Carolina.<sup>33</sup> Yet, it has been estimated that between one half and two-thirds of those who came from Europe to pre-revolutionary America, were involuntary and unpaid laborers.<sup>34</sup> Both these large dispossessed groups of unfree labor were to surprisingly encounter similar treatment in the New World.

Black Africans were the victims of gradually developing Western ideologies. Such ideologies justified the enslavement of Sub-Saharan Africans through theological claims of their God instilled lowly position and their supposed biological inferiority.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, much was made of their original non-Christian cultures and their "heathen" religious practices, to justify their bondage.<sup>36</sup>

Likewise sixteenth-century English theologian and geographer Richard Hakluyt labeled the dispossessed and abundant English poor as criminals and supported the concept that they be deported to the New World as condemned laborers.<sup>37</sup> Numerous Scotsmen of Edinburgh, who were sentenced to forced servitude from 1662 to 1665, were chastised as "rouges" and "others who made life unpleasant for the British upper classes."<sup>38</sup> A popular stereotype soon developed in the Britain of seventeen and eighteenth centuries that impoverished men who were made to serve in the New World were morally inferior dangerous criminals.<sup>39</sup> Stereotypes of female "indentured servants" as whores and women of the lowest moral character also became common among British New World planter elites.<sup>40</sup> Thus, in some sense, an "ideology" of the lowness of the British poor was being embraced, by the wealthy and powerful in Britain and the colonies, to justify acts of expulsion and forced servitude.

Upon surviving their journey and arriving in colonial North America, imported Africans were brought to marketplaces. There prospective buyers examined them in usually humiliating

and degrading ways. One of the most tragic and disturbing activities of the system of African enslavement would often occur with the purchase of various Africans by different buyers, namely the separation and breaking up of families.<sup>41</sup>

As stated earlier, would-be German immigrants to North America were often tricked aboard ships reserved for indentured servants, deprived of their possessions, made to owe the ship's captain for some sort of necessity, and then forced to sell themselves and their families. This situation, and the abuses inherent in it, were so common that in 1765, the Pennsylvania German Society placed pressure upon the state legislature to help prevent such activities.<sup>42</sup> Prior to this date, tricked and indebted German immigrants, if they survived the journey to the New World, were taken to market areas, displayed, and manhandled like cattle by potential buyers, in a manner similar to that experienced by imported Africans and African slaves put up for sale.<sup>43</sup> Women being sold in such a situation were allegedly harder to sell because the main interest of buyers was hard manual labor.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, Germans, as well as Irish and Scotch, trapped in this situation often had entire families broken up and sold separately, never to meet each other again.<sup>45</sup>

Convicts who were deported to the New World as involuntary laborers were often sold inside the ships that had carried them across the Atlantic.<sup>46</sup> A convict named William Green stated in his 1758 memoir, that when potential buyers boarded the ported ship, "They search us there as the dealers in horses do those animals in this country, by looking at our teeth, viewing our limbs, to see if they are sound and fit for their labour."<sup>47</sup> Under such circumstances, a woman named Eleanor Bradbury was sold with her three sons to a buyer in Maryland, while a man who lived in Pennsylvania purchased her husband.<sup>48</sup> Thus, it can be concluded that many forced "indentured servants" faced the prospect of being degraded to the level of auctioned property and a likelihood of being separated from their families, perhaps permanently.

Imported African slaves and their enslaved descendants were to face varying degrees of treatment, depending on the personality of their master(s) and on their jobs. Much of this labor,

particularly in the southern British colonies of Continental North America, was pitiless field labor.<sup>49</sup> Brutal and torturous maltreatment certainly occurred, as with any system that functioned on the moral level of African enslavement; where one man (or woman) is given ownership over the life of another. Enslaved Africans and their enslaved descendants were also subject to unbelievably harsh punishments for running away from their master(s) or attempting to organize or take part in a slave rebellion. Some colonies went as far as to punish African and African descended slaves with being burned alive for involvement in rebellion.<sup>50</sup>

White "indentured servants" likewise were used for brutal manual labor on plantations and without pay. William Eddis, writing from British North America in 1774, went as far as to declare that white indentured servants were worked harder on plantations than enslaved Africans/African descendants, because the latter were property for life and were too valuable to a master to be lost.<sup>51</sup> A personalized example of the hardships experienced by the unfree white laborers of the Colonial America, can be found in the case of David Evans, who spent his servitude doing the task of removing trees and clearing virgin land.<sup>52</sup>

Convict "indentured servants" were often the victims of brutal whippings and were commonly chained and placed in iron collars, as were enslaved Africans.<sup>53</sup> Like the enslavement of Africans and their descendants, there were cases of masters and their handymen flogging, raping, and murdering their indentured servants.<sup>54</sup> Advertisements for runaway convict indentured servants often mentioned scars, bent backs, and ugly burns which could testify to a hardened life of impoverishment in Britain and the physical stresses of labor for their master(s), perhaps some type of abuse while serving as involuntary laborers.<sup>55</sup>

The fact that there were indentured servants who ran away from their masters and became fugitives is a further contrast to consider. Stiff laws existed in several colonies for runaway indentured servants who were captured to be flogged and have their servitude extended. In at least two cases in Maryland, one in 1743 and the other in 1754, white "indentured servants" and

black slaves actually ran away from their masters together.<sup>56</sup>

White "indentured servants" in the late seventeenth century were so impoverished and abundant in the colony of Virginia that they "kept the province on the brink of civil war."<sup>57</sup> Two armed rebellions of "indentured servants" actually broke out in Virginia, in 1661 and 1663.<sup>58</sup> This was one reason why Virginia plantation owners began to turn more toward African and African descended slavery in the next century.<sup>59</sup>

One argument that could be proposed against the assertion that the existence of indentured servitude in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was white slavery, similar to that of African enslavement, is that some, perhaps many, white indentured servants had sold themselves freely and did not necessarily receive poor treatment at the hands of their buyers. This is partially true, in that some indentured servants almost certainly did willingly sell themselves into servitude and some, such as Peter Williamson, were fortunate enough to be bought by masters who treated them well, abided by the indentured contract, and perhaps allowed them to receive a sincere apprentice education.<sup>60</sup> However, as has already been shown, there were numerous cases where people were abused, tricked into involuntary labor contracts, and shanghaied without ever signing a contract. Furthermore, to discount the massive amount of forced indentured servitude and abuses because some indentured servants received decent treatment would be like arguing that enslaved Africans and their enslaved descendents were not really slaves at all, because some black slaves received decent treatment and may have even been given their freedom from a master.

A far more compelling argument for the profound differences in the two systems is made when the issue of indentures, and the specified terms of service inherent in them, is contrasted with the life-long bondage that was the normal experience of most African and African-descended slaves. Such an argument would note that indentured servants were only bondspersons for a particular period and were subsequently freed from labor at the end of their terms. Thus a matter of lifelong bondage or

temporary bondage would become the highest determination for what constituted slavery.

To confront this argument, it should first be restated that there are colonial records which tell of white "indentured servants" being murdered by their masters and thus never surviving their term of service. Secondly, again one must take account of the countless number of people who were forced into "indentured servitude" yet never signed any indenture. Added to this, one must study the reality of the indenture system as opposed to its theoretical working.

Many indentures promised "freedom dues" of land, usually fifty acres, to those who signed them. However, the overwhelming majority of "indentured servants" who entered Maryland from 1670 and 1680 either died in service or were simply denied the land they had worked for.<sup>61</sup> Some servants were maltreated near the end of their terms in order to make them runaway and thus have their terms lengthened.<sup>62</sup> Such actions clearly show that the indentured system may have been in no way what it theoretically appeared to be.

Methods of the owners of the indentures of female indentured servants for keeping their laborers past their contractual terms could be very nefarious. The colony of Virginia recognized that there were men who were impregnating their female indentured servants, with the intention of having these servants sentences expanded for having illegitimate children. Even more shocking is the fact that "The 'bastard' or 'obscene' children, as they were called... were bound over... for a period of thirty-one years! This heinous child-slavery from birth was not modified until 1765 when the Assembly of Virginia declared it to be 'an unreasonable severity to such children' and limited the term of bondage for such White children to a 'mere' 21 years for boys and 18 years for girls."<sup>63</sup>

In what manner can human suffering be measured, even at the individual level, to say nothing of the collective? Earlier in this study, William Eddis was mentioned for his statement that he felt that the "indentured servants" he saw laboring were made to suffer worse than the African and African descended slaves that worked the same plantations. This account is

noted because it is testimony to the hard labor assigned "indentured servants," not to suggest that one type of collective heartache can be judged better or worse than another.

Some who would be perhaps critical of the study presented might claim that it is insensitive to the experience of enslaved Africans and their enslaved descendents by simply comparing and contrasting their plight with that of white "indentured servants." This is in no way the desired outcome of this work. Rather, this work has been written to argue that those who suffered in the system of indentured servitude were often no better than slaves themselves. A piece that discusses the Armenian genocide by Ottoman Turks in 1915 is not an attack on the collective suffering of the Jewish community in the twentieth century, as this paper is no way a refutation of the black slavery experience.

Most modern Americans are aware of the enslavement of Africans and their descendents that occurred in Western Civilization right up to the second half of the nineteenth century. Some

Americans are also aware that Africans had enslaved other Africans long before European and Euro-Colonial slave ships appeared. However many Americans do not know of the striking similarities between European enslavement of Africans and European forced labor of other Europeans.

Given the evidence presented, it is suggested here that the term "indentured servitude" was a euphemism used by a "civilized" Western elite that in fact enslaved impoverished whites (mostly British). In the twentieth century, some have talked of how they believe black slavery to have left a long enduring and negative legacy. Given the way in which the wounds of man's misdeeds often produce more suffering, they are probably right. However, when one reads of Caudill's impoverished and backward Appalachians of the 1960s, one can not help but wonder if "indentured servitude" also left its scars.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Harry M. Caudill, *Night Comes To The Cumberlands*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1962), ix-x.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 4-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 5-6.

<sup>4</sup> *The American Heritage Dictionary*, 3 ed., (New York: Laurel: 1990), 768.

<sup>5</sup> Oscar and Mary F. Handlin, "Origins of the Southern Labor System," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 7:2 (April, 1950): 205.

<sup>6</sup> Alden T. Vaughan, "The Origins Debate: Slavery and Racism in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," in Colin A. Palmer, ed., *The Worlds of Unfree Labour*, (Aldershot, United Kingdom: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1998), 54-55.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Burton, *Parliamentary Diary: 1656-59*, vol. 1, (London: Henry Colburn, 1838), 253-274.

<sup>8</sup> *Journals of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina: 1692-1775*, vol. 5, 294-295.

<sup>9</sup> Walter Rodney, "African Slavery and Other Forms of Social Oppression on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Context of the Atlantic Slave-Trade," in Colin A. Palmer, ed., *The Worlds of Unfree Labour*, (Aldershot, United Kingdom: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1998), 243-245.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, 248.

<sup>11</sup> Sharon V. Salinger, *"To Serve Well and Faithfully": Labor and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania, 1682-1800*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 92.

<sup>12</sup> Michael A. Hoffman II, *They Were White and They Were Slaves*, (Coeur d'Alene, Idaho: The Independent History & Research Company, 1991), 68.

<sup>13</sup> Oliver P. Chitwood, *A History of Colonial America*, (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1931), 414.

<sup>14</sup> George Novack, "Slavery in Colonial America," in *America's Revolutionary Heritage: Marxist essays*, (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1976), 142.

<sup>15</sup> D. M. B. Eason, *The Curse of Cromwell: A History of the Ironside Conquest of Ireland, 1649-53*, (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1971), 176.

<sup>16</sup> Hoffman 69.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, 125.

<sup>18</sup> Caudill 5-6.

<sup>19</sup> John van der Zee, *Bound Over: Indentured Servitude & American Conscience*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1985), 195-196.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, 197-198.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 196.

<sup>22</sup> Peter Williamson, *Sufferings of Peter Williamson*, (Stockbridge, MA: n.p., 1796) microfiche EB48027 at the Ohio State University Main Library, 1.

<sup>23</sup> Hoffman 70.

<sup>24</sup> James Truslow Adams, *A History of American Life, Volume III: Provincial Society, 1690-1763*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927), 175-176.

<sup>25</sup> A. Roger Ekirch, *Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts into the Colonies, 1718-1775*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 66-67.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 111.

<sup>27</sup> Caudill 5-6.

<sup>28</sup> Salinger 91.

<sup>29</sup> Marcus W. Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in America, 1607-1783: studies of the economic, educational, and social significance of slaves, servants, apprentices, and poor folk*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), 50-51.

<sup>30</sup> Ekirch 102.

<sup>31</sup> Adams 176.

<sup>32</sup> Chitwood 422.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Elaine Kendall, "Review of *Bound Over* by John van der Zee," *Los Angeles Times*, 1 September 1985, sec. BKS, p. 1, 7.

<sup>35</sup> Vaughan 64-65.

<sup>36</sup> George M. Fredrickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American & South African History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 72.

<sup>37</sup> Hoffman 63-64.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 70.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, 65.

<sup>40</sup> Hilary Beckles, *Natural Rebels: A Social History of Enslaved Black Women in Barbados*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 56-57.

<sup>41</sup> Leslie Howard Owens, *The Species of Property: Slave Life and Culture in the Old South*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 189.

<sup>42</sup> Salinger 95.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, 97.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Adams 177-178.

<sup>46</sup> Ekirch 122.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, 123.

<sup>48</sup> Van der Zee 165.

<sup>49</sup> Chitwood 425.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, 422-423.

<sup>51</sup> Van der Zee 134.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, 137-138.

<sup>53</sup> Ekirch 150.

<sup>54</sup> Hoffman 107.

<sup>55</sup> Ekirch 157-158.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 196-198.

<sup>57</sup> Ekirch 133.

<sup>58</sup> Hoffman 102.

<sup>59</sup> Ekirch 133.

<sup>60</sup> Hoffman 54.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 85-86.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 89.

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