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THE EMPIRE AND THE SEAPORT : TRADING OVERSEAS IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC

LECTURE FINDING AID & TRANSCRIPT

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Video Description

From 2012 Press Release: Author Robert Booth will discuss Federal Period Gloucester in the context of his new book, *Death of an Empire: The Rise and Fall of Salem, America's Richest City*. Robert Booth is the author of the new nonfiction book *Death of an Empire: The Rise and Murderous Fall of Salem, America's Richest City* (Thomas Dunne Books, St. Martin's Press). Booth, a Harvard graduate and native of Marblehead, grew up on salt water, racing sailboats and working as a lobsterman. He is an authority on historic architecture and maritime culture,

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and helped to rescue America's only Revolutionary War privateering base, which was moved from Marblehead to Derby Wharf in the Salem Maritime Historic Site. He works as executive director of the Center for Clinical Social Work, a national advocacy and education association for members of the largest mental-health-care profession in the country. His guidebook, Boston's Freedom Trail, has stayed in print for nearly thirty years, and he writes about history for the Boston Globe online Salem edition. He is curator emeritus of the Pickering House of Salem, a co-founder of the on-line Salem History Society, and the author of an essay in Salem: Place, Myth & Memory (Northeastern U. Press, 2004). He lives in Marblehead with his wife and children.

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Subject List

Captain Joseph White	Federal Period Salem
Stephen White	Privateering
Elias Hasket Derby	Post-Revolutionary War maritime trade
Jacob Crowninshield	Slave trade
William Bentley	Panic of 1819
Robert Booth	Federalists
Gardner-Pingree House	Jeffersonian Republicans
<i>Death of an Empire: The Rise and Murderous Fall of Salem, America's Richest City</i>	

Transcription

Courtney Richardson, Director of Education and Public Programs:

Wow, great turnout. Thanks for coming. My name is Courtney Richardson. I'm director of Education and Public Programs here at the Cape Ann Museum. I'm holding on to my phone as a reminder to ask you to turn your cell phones off.

As most of you know, January is Cape Ann Museum membership month. Our museum memberships help support the museum and they curate the collection and they also help to bring us programs like this. So please consider joining if you aren't a member already and you can find one of these upstairs. You will also receive as a member, you will receive our Calendar of Events, so you know in advance about events like this, and I see a lot of familiar faces from our program this morning. So it just is a reminder that you get early notice of events so you can

make a reservation and attend. We have, make sure you grab one of these on your way out so you can see our list of programs that will take us through the end of the month.

We have a special presentation next weekend from our museum docents called “Winter Shorts”, and our docents are presenting mini-tours of their favorites. And so the subjects are “Dragon Boats, Porcelains, and Stowaways: Treasures from China”. “Then and Now, a Survey of the Collection from Historic to Contemporary”. “Design and How, Virginia Lee Burton's Folly Cove Designers”. “Father and Daughter, Captain Elias Davis and Daughter Mary, An Examination of their Belongings.” “Into the Woods, a Walk Through Decades of Woodworking on Cape Ann”. “Why Dogtown Belonged to Marsden Hartley”. Hartley was passionate and possessed by Dogtown, come hear about when and why. “Keeping Up With The Joans of Arc, Anna Hyatt Huntington's Joan of Arc in Gloucester and Beyond”. That's on the 21st of January, all of those are.

And then the following Saturday we have a special family program. It's a Saturday showcase and we're celebrating Pat Lowry Collins's novel called *Daughter of Winter* and there's a card upstairs at the front desk that will tell you all about the program for the day. Also, just a quick reminder that there are only two weeks left to enjoy “Jay McLaughlin, 55 Years of Woodworking and Design” before we close for the month of February, so make sure you get upstairs to see that.

2:54

So enough of the business. This afternoon, I'm pleased to welcome you, I mean, I'm pleased to present “The Empire and Seaport: Salem and Gloucester, Trading Overseas in the Early Republic” with Robert Booth. Robert is the author of the new nonfiction book, *Death of an Empire, the Rise and Murderous Fall of Salem, America's Richest City*, and he's been kind enough to present a talk today including Gloucester and Cape Ann. So we're very happy to have him here. You can purchase copies of his book upstairs at the front desk and he'll be happy to sign them after his presentation.

Bob is a Harvard graduate and a native of Marblehead. He grew up on the saltwater racing sailboats and working as a lobsterman. He's an authority on historic architecture and maritime culture, and helped to rescue America's only Revolutionary War privateering base, which was moved from Marblehead to Derby Wharf in the Salem maritime historic site. He works as executive director of the Center for Clinical Social Work, a national advocacy and education association for members of the largest mental health care profession in the country. His guidebook, *Boston's Freedom Trail* has stayed in print for nearly 30 years and he writes about history for the Boston Globe online, Salem edition. He is curator emeritus of the Pickering House of Salem, a co founder of the online Salem History Society, and the author of an essay on Salem, “Place, Myth and Memory”. He lives in Marblehead with his wife and children. Please join me in welcoming Robert Booth.

Robert Booth 4:48

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Thank you Courtney and thank you to the Cape Ann Museum for sponsoring this talk. Happy New Year football fans.

This talk is called “The Empire and the Seaport”. And I did write this book called *The Death of an Empire*. But one of the great things about Gloucester is that there's no death of the seaport. So congratulations to you. I do promise to talk about Gloucester somewhat but honestly, what I know best is about Salem. And for me, it seems like my happy new year is always stuck around 1820 so I do want to say that this talk is structured as a, as a bit of a lecture, as a talk, and I will go to some slides. And then I hope that you will feel free to ask some questions towards the end.

So, the book, which was published in August, is about Salem's worldwide empire of trade. There's not a witch to be seen in it, although by, by the 1820s, some people in Salem did feel cursed. The book is about how this empire was threatened more than how it grew. My interest was to see how could something so extraordinary as what Salem had created in the 1780s, 90s in the first decade of 19th century, go away so completely. And, and, and in some ways, be so completely forgotten. And so that was my, my main interest in the story. It actually began about five years ago, as an effort on my part to write a brief article about an infamous murder that took place in Salem, the White murder. And let me say that for those of you who have not read the book or midway through the book, the book does have a fairly extensive murder mystery and trial in it, and I will not be the spoiler, so I'm going to stay away from all of that bad stuff and let you explore that through the book. But the point is that the White murder of 1830 was one of the very first national murder cases covered all across the country, a sensational crime that involved the murder of a Captain Joseph White, at that time 82 years old, and one of the richest men in America. And I thought it would make for a saleable magazine article. I was long familiar as many people are with the fact of the White murder, which took place in Captain White's own home while he was sleeping in his bedroom.

8:02

As I researched the people involved in this killing, I found that it really opened up a whole world of Salem, in that decade of the 1820s as it was losing its grip on the empire that it had created. And so I became more interested in trying to understand who these people were and what they were fighting for. And one thing lead backwards to another and the next thing I knew I was sketching out this book. So really, it's a book about how Salem tried very hard to fend off the changes in America and in the world that were conspiring to tear it down as a world capital of commerce. And when I say a world capital of commerce, that's not a trope. Today, Salem, there is really no relation to the rest of the country than it did, say, in 1800. At that time, Salem was the sixth largest population center in the United States. Today that's Miami. It had nearly 11,000 people. It doesn't sound like much until you begin to compare it to every other place in in the early republic.

9:32

It also had a fleet of 200 tall ships, which is, very, it's a number, it's a factoid. It's a very hard thing to picture Salem Harbor, at this time in 1800. For those of you who are familiar with Derby Wharf and the federal maritime park there, they do have a wonderful replica East India ship, the *Friendship* there, but to understand Salem in 1800, you'd have to multiply that times 200. So, it really had an extraordinarily large fleet of tall ships. Many of them were ships, sailing ships. Some of them were brigs, the balance were schooners, but these were large vessels. Some of them could carry up to 400 tons of cargo. So, with 200 ships bringing in 200, 300, 400 tons of goods, and arriving almost every day from around the world. You can imagine that Salem was an extraordinary place by 1800. There were more than 1,000 experienced merchant sailors who lived in Salem at that time in order to carry out the merchants' plans for commercial domination. And there were more people moving into Salem every day at that time. Salem was a huge center of financial gravity and prosperity and opportunity.

So we see people moving in, particularly tradesmen, people who are not trained to go to sea but who have skills as housewrights or furniture makers, or block makers or sailmakers, moving in all the time, and some of those people did come from Cape Ann. Probably the leading sailmaker in Salem at that time was a man named Lane from Lanesville. And, and we know that even before this time, even before the Revolution, some Haradens and others from Gloucester had moved to Salem to experience the opportunities that there were for moneymaking around the world.

So Salem was no colossus, but it was gaining on Boston, and it was a huge player in world markets in Europe and the Caribbean and the Mediterranean but especially in the Orient, in Arabia and Sumatra, and Java, in the Philippines, in China and in India, Salem vessels were everywhere. Often, these Salem brigs, which are two-masted vessels, had been the first to open trade with these overseas peoples and Salem had taken full advantage of the first-comers opportunities to make friends with foreign cultures, and to create long-lasting partnerships. And it was interesting to me to see this was as true of the Muslim world as much as any other.

13:00

So, in the 15 years after the close of the Revolution, Salem accumulated amazing amounts of wealth at the time that the rest of America was only beginning to prosper. Salem's leading merchant was a man named Elias Hasket Derby who lead the way in trade with the Orient so that when he died, he was by far the richest of about 70, seven zero, very rich merchant ship owners in Salem, where the overall amount of money was astronomical. It can perhaps best be gauged by my telling you that at his death in 1799, Hasket Derby was worth in modern currency \$35 billion. He was richer than the other merchants, but he was only twice as rich as the next two merchants. So I hope this gives you some idea of what we're talking about. Salem was not a quaint seaport. Salem was a huge enterprise on a worldwide scale, the richest place per capita by far in the United States and, and perhaps the richest place in the world at that time.

At any rate, I tried to write about the economic and social history of the years 1815 to 1830 as seen through the White family of Salem, which rose and fell with Salem itself. Most of the book

describes the realities of Salem's maritime commerce, as it affected all classes in the town. But as I say, it also involves eventually, it involves crime and murder. The, as with any empire, as Salem began to fail, strange things began to happen. As Salem declined, so did many of the seafaring families who could no longer make money by sailing or shipping, and they'd not been prepared for anything else. When the younger shipmasters and sailors found themselves marooned and having an economy with a dead-end career as a Mariner, they became desperate to get a hold of the money that their fathers and grandfathers had made. Some were so desperate that they were willing to resort to murder. In the case of the Whites, some younger men decided to assassinate the old and fabulously wealthy Captain Joseph White to get their share of their inheritance or so they thought. But I won't spoil it. I will tease you.

So I'm here to talk about Salem and how it became a powerhouse in the world of trade and how it fell, and how that relates to Gloucester as well. Both of these places, of course, began as seaports at the time of the Revolution. Salem had about 6,000 people, and was about twice as populous as Gloucester at that time. Gloucester being primarily a fishing port with very little history of overseas trade before the Revolution. It's interesting to note as a Marbleheader, it's interesting to me to note that at that time, Marblehead was bigger than Salem. It was more populous, and it was richer, and it had a thriving fishing fleet, as well as a very lucrative trading fleet. So at on the eve of the Revolution, Marblehead had actually overtaken Salem. But these are all colonial places without the opportunities that would soon come to them as Americans who are free to trade anywhere in the world. As it turns out this upcoming war, which went on for eight years around here, would play havoc with Gloucester and Marblehead but would give Salem all the wealth, armament and shipping that it needed to start as a significant player in post-War commerce.

17:34

So how did that happen? Primarily, it occurred through privateering, which in those days was the only means by which a place could enrich itself during this very long war. Privateering as conducted in New England was a fairly simple matter of merchant ship owners converting their trading vessels into warships. They were not free to do so as a matter of private enterprise, however. It all had to be done through the government, with permissions from what was in those days, sort of the independent state of Massachusetts. So if you were a merchant who wished to arm a trading vessel, and to man it and supply it on a mission of predation against British merchant shipping, you would have to go through a process with the legislature of Massachusetts. And eventually, this process also involved the Continental Congress. So privateering was carried out on ships that already existed in these harbors, owned by individuals who had been trading or trying to trade with Europe or the West Indies. And of course, a very big reason for the war was that the British had begun cracking down on American trade in the 1760s. And so by the early 1770s, it was very, very difficult to make a profit as a merchant. The British had pretty much prescribed the usual avenues of trade, which, which are described sometimes as smuggling.

But that's not at all what was really going on. There was two or three generations of free trade that was conducted from Boston and Gloucester and Salem and Marblehead and other New England ports with the West Indies. And pretty much they worked with any willing trader down there, whether, whether it happened to be French or Danish or Spanish, or English, and that was the basis for profit. That's how these houses were built. That's where the money came from to build more ships. The British decided in the 1760s, that New England merchants were no longer free to conduct a trade on that basis. And as far as most of the merchants were concerned, and all of the seafaring men, that was a good enough reason to go to war. So, at the time that we have a real war in 1776, most of the men who have gone off to war are coming back from being soldiers, and they want to go privateering. They have to rely on the rich people in their town to outfit these ships. A typical privateer might be a very small vessel, but it's important to understand that even a small vessel which might carry six to eight cannon onboard could capture very easily a very large British merchant vessel, because the British merchant vessel had no armament at all.

21:14

And so this was something that a lot of out-of-work soldiers that the new Republic that couldn't pay them for their work we're pretty excited about doing. One of these people was a man named Joseph White. In 1776, Joseph White was a 29-year old sea captain in Salem. And he owned with his, with his uncle, a man named Miles Greenwood, he owned two vessels before the Revolution. One of them was a sloop called the *Charm'g Molly*, and one of them was a brigantine, called the *Tartar*. And he came from a very poor background. His father had died when he was young and he was raised by his mother, along with his brother and sister, in the household of an uncle, a fairly well-to-do uncle in Salem. But Joseph White was making his money as a shipmaster, primarily sailing from Salem to the West Indies in the 1760s and the 1770s. He married, but he and his wife had no children and an early point, they adopted two orphan nieces. They would later adopt two nephews as well.

At any rate, Captain White was the grandson of a man from Gloucester, as it turns out, although no one had ever tracked that down, and his cousin, a woman named Elizabeth Elkins, married Thomas Sanders, also known as Saunders from Gloucester and Thomas Saunders moved to Salem to make his fortune before the Revolution. And indeed, he did make his fortune and the Saunders's, who married into the Saltonstalls, were the first people to build huge mansions on Chestnut Street in Salem. So there were some of these Gloucester connections, tenuous as they may have been.

And we see this very ambitious young sea captain who is trying to make a living, despite the British prescriptions against the type of living that he'd been trying to make. And, at a certain point, in 1776, the vessel that he did not command, but that he had a man named Benjamin Dean serving as the ship master. The *Tartar* was captured by the British here at this early date in February of 1776 and impounded and everything on board and the vessel itself was taken away from White and Greenwood and left them, of course, furious. There was no really declared war, the Declaration of Independence had not yet occurred but the British were doing

what they could to, to interfere with, with what seemed to be a province in, in rebellion. And so he and his uncle converted their remaining vessel, the *Charm'g Molly*, a sloop into a privateer, which was a very expensive proposition in those days. For one thing, one not only had to find the armament, which wasn't exactly just lying around for cheap, but also had to get the gunpowder. One also had to sign up a crew of sometimes up to 60 to 80 men, and they would all crowd on a very small vessel, maybe a 60-foot vessel. And the idea was that when the vessel went to sea, it went with the hopes that it would capture, of course, several British ships. Someone had to sail the British ship back into an American port so the reason that so many men went off on one individual privateer was that they would hope to capture five or six British vessels and each time they captured a British vessel they would have to lay off seven or eight of the Americans to get it back in. So it costs a lot of money to outfit a privateer.

However, Greenwood and White had good relations with the merchant Hasket Derby, who I've mentioned, and with a man named Joseph Lee, a veteran, who was married to a Cabot. And they had, Derby and Lee, had very deep pockets, and they were willing to sponsor these privateering crews. And so, in mid-May 1776, Joseph White went out in command of his own sloop the *Charm'g Molly*, which they had renamed the *Revenge*. And as, as an experienced shipmaster, sailing both to England and to the West Indies for many years, he knew exactly where to go to find his prey. And on this three-month voyage, he certainly did. In exactly three months, he and the men of the *Revenge* were able to capture six very large British vessels that were packed with rum and sugar and supplies. And so as, as a privateer, you got to keep half of what you captured, and then you had to dole out some money to the government and dole out some money to the men in your crew. So having captured what would be the equivalent of six supertankers today, Joseph White never had to go to sea it again in his whole life. He retired and became the owner of privateers and partnered often with Derby and with other Salem merchants throughout the Revolutionary War.

So that was the founding of the family fortune. I want to contrast that with Gloucester, in that we have a privateer sailing out of Gloucester at roughly the same time. It was commanded by a man named John Colton, although his real name appears to have been Colston. He was an Englishman who had come to Gloucester before the War and had married a Dolliver here. And in October of 1776, he was given command of the *Warren*, which had been Gloucester's very first privateer and sailed earlier that year. The *Warren* had eight guns and 60 men on board and she was formerly a 70-ton fishing schooner, not even built for merchant trade, just a bluff bound [?] schooner.

28:07

It was interesting to me to see that by October of 1776, the *Warren* was owned, not out of Gloucester. It had been, ownership had shifted to a Newburyport and a Boston man but it was sailing out of Gloucester. Again, it's very expensive to outfit a battleship. And so, when one looks at what Salem was able to accomplish versus what was happening in Gloucester, the first thing you have to look at is, what were the reserves, what were the assets of the merchants of Gloucester by the mid-1770s, versus the kind of money that was floating around Salem at that

time. At any rate, Colston and his men sailed for three months and for their efforts, they took one small West Indies trading vessel. That was it. On her next cruise, the *Warren* was captured. So that was the end of that. However, Colston wasn't on board the *Warren* on her next cruise.

So he was given the honor of commanding a brand new large brigantine that had been built right here in Gloucester for owners, specifically to go privateering. Built for David Pearce, Daniel Warner and a syndicate of lesser owners and this was the brigantine *Gloucester*, which sailed in 1777, from the port of Gloucester with high hopes. And I want to contrast what happened to Colston and the *Gloucester* with what happened with White and the *Revenge*. And I'll take it from your historian, John J. Babson.

“Not long after leaving port, she captured the brig *Two Friends*, a valuable prize with a cargo of wine and salt and sent her in under charge of John M’Kean. She also took on the banks of Newfoundland, a fishing brig called the *Spark* having onboard part of a fare of fish and some salt. This vessel was brought in by Isaac Day as prize-master. Turns out these two men John and Isaac were the luckiest men on board. No further tidings of the *Gloucester* were ever received.”

She’d sailed with 60 men on board.

Various conjectures were entertained as to the cause of her loss, some founded upon the model of the vessel, some upon other circumstances; but nothing was ever known concerning it. The number and names of those who were lost in her cannot now be ascertained but current tradition has always affirmed that 60 wives in Gloucester were made widows by the loss, and that the calamity overwhelmed the town with sadness and gloom. To the mourners, the following winter was one of unutterable grief, which was somewhat aggravated by the tales which superstition bore to their dismal firesides, that the fate of their friends had been indicated by signs from the invisible world. It was currently reported and believed by many that one dark night about the time it was supposed the ship was lost, a ball of light (called by seamen, a corposant) was seen to move about the town in a mysterious manner, and approach successively the homes of all who were onboard of her, remaining a few moments at each one of them, to indicate the melancholy fate that had befallen the ship and her unfortunate crew.”

31:38

So, to make a long sad story short, the net result for Gloucester of this war at sea, the private Navy was, was the loss of probably 150 men and a losing tally on the balance sheet for David Pearce, Daniel Warner and the other merchants who had started out with such high hopes. And on the other side, and I must say Babson is very eloquent on this, so I recommend you picking up your Babsons when you get a chance and reading about that section of the 17 or 18 privateers that sailed out of Gloucester. I will say that the opposite was true in Salem and what Salem was able to achieve at the turn of the time of privateering was extraordinary. And it gave them a huge fleet of heavily armed ships. Not only had they themselves continued to buy and build privateers throughout the course of this war but they'd been capturing very large British

ships, as well, and arming them. So, at the time that the war came to a conclusion in 1783, someone like Hasket Derby was sitting on 30 very large, heavily-armed ships and, and a fortune that he had not had before the War began.

So the question for Salem was, what do we do with all this money? What do we do with all these ships? Derby, and others, Joseph White being one of them, resumed, tried to resume trade. Of course, the British islands in the West Indies were shut to them and so they had to find other markets. Derby was the leader in Salem in exploring other markets and tried to open trade, profitable trade with the Baltic, with Russia, with other such places, and did not find that he was able to make the kind of profit that he had grown accustomed to as a privateering warlord. However, it was no secret that the luxury goods that had always come from England actually came from the Orient and that the highest markup of any goods in the world was on the goods from the Far East. And so, in 1786, Elias Hasket Derby turned his attention very seriously to sending vessels out into this unknown world where Americans had never been. In 1784 and '85, a couple of other vessels had sailed out of New York, and one out of Boston, but it occurred to Derby to send out several vessels at a time so that if there was money to be made over there at all he would make a lot of it and have the opportunity to make the first connections in various ports in the Far East.

And of course, his idea was a brilliant one and it was something that would end up making him the richest man on the planet at the time that he died and it was all done on trade with the Orient. And curiously, it was not done primarily in trade with China. Salem's specialty was with India. India was worth three times more to Salem than the China trade was. And Salem also had a specialty in trade with Arabia, coffee, and with Java, coffee, and with Sumatra, pepper and spices. And so while others tried to rival Salem, it turned out that since Salem's vessels were there first and the Salem men knew how to make friends with people overseas, it gave them a huge advantage and essentially closed down not only American competition, but in many of these places, it closed down the Brits, the Dutch, and the French, who had always gone into these ports with guns blazing or at least the threat of violence. Whereas, Salem went into these ports with a hearty handshake, and an attempt to go native and to learn the local trading language and to make buddies out of these people with turbans and culottes.

36:54

At the same time that Salem was expanding all over the world, Gloucester did have a foreign commerce but Gloucester's foreign commerce was not based on a huge fleet of privateers. It was based on converted fishing schooners, small vessels that were not, not set up to go over to the Orient. So Gloucester, which did not have much money either by the end of the Revolution, had to confine itself to a modest trade with the West Indies, and also the old fishing trade, the old trading in salt fish to Spain and Portugal. Which is not to say that there wasn't a fair level of prosperity here. As I look at the Salem crew lists, who were the men that were crewing on these sailing ship sand where do they come from, it's pretty impressive how few of them actually do come from Cape Ann. And I think that's because between fishing and the modest overseas trade, Gloucester was able to employ most of the surviving sailors here on Cape Ann.

But one finds on almost every vessel sailing out of Salem, there's a Burnham or a Babson, or someone else who comes from Cape Ann.

So we find that the Piersons and the Pearce sons and people like that were holding their own in the modest markets in the West Indies. They would be competing with what Salem would consider its minor merchants, people sailing out of Union Wharf, who had a fleet of maybe two or three small schooners. Gloucester's market specialty was in Paramaribo, which is Dutch Guyana or Suriname but, you know, there wasn't real money in that thing. They traded barrel staves and fish for sugar and molasses. The molasses, as you probably would know, was primarily used to turn into rum back here in New England and Pearce had a distillery in Gloucester. So it was a busy but minor trade.

At the same time Salem is taking on the whole world, Gloucester is doing what it can to build up its own fortunes, which have been devastated by the War. I do find occasionally that a Gloucester captain and crew will command a Salem vessel. I found that in 1806, the Salem brig *Reward* was commanded by James Hayes Jr. of Gloucester and his 10 man crew included four young men from Gloucester, so that would happen from time to time. More often what would happen is the Salem merchants would employ Marbleheaders since Marblehead was busted four times flatter than Gloucester, after the Revolutionary War.

40:10

Anyway, I would like to go to the slides and show you a little bit about what I'm talking about. Here is an old print of a watercolor of Salem before the Revolutionary War, when it was just one more colonial seaport. This is Washington Street in Salem, which is where City Hall is today. In the middle of the street, you see the courthouse, which is a fairly new building at that time, and some modest houses and shops leading up to a very large three-story building. And that is the house that Elias Hasket Derby took over in 1784 and kind of rebuilt for himself at that time. So that was the great house in Salem. But in 1765, Salem was a fairly quiet place, as I say, it wasn't even doing very well. This is the great man Derby, a man with one blue eye, and one brown eye. And with both of those eyes, he was quite a visionary. He lived to be only 60 years old when he died with his \$35 billion. This is Joseph White at the time that he went off privateering in the *Charm'g Molly*, a.k.a. *Revenge*, probably a portrait that was painted at the time of his marriage in 1770. And a man who 60 years after this portrait will be slaughtered in his own bed as one of the richest men in America.

As I said, privateers can be quite small. The vessel on the left, a little brig, could easily take a very large merchant ship. Since the merchant ship had no cannon, and the merchant, the merchant ships, captain and crew had no interest in being blasted into eternity over a cargo of rum. So that's all it took. But you had to be extremely lucky and you have to know where these British ships were and you had to avoid the Royal Navy while you're out there in your privateer. This is a print of the Salem waterfront, roughly the area where Derby Wharf is today the federal maritime park. Everything to the left in Salem trends towards what was known as the West End. The West End is where Chestnut Street is and some very large houses. And that part of Salem

became the enclave for the richest of the merchants, who were in politics, Federalists, and their names were things like Pickman and Derby. And on the east side of town where the Common is in Salem today was the lower end or East Parish. This is sort of our dividing line old map. And the Republicans, there actually were a large cohort of Jeffersonians in Salem, the Republicans built their large mansions in the East End, and their names were things like White and Crowninshield.

43:40

And these two groups of rich merchants hated each other with a passion that is almost inconceivable. And by 1800, they had completely split Salem, the city of Salem, the town of Salem, in half. They had not only separate neighborhoods, but separate newspapers, separate churches and even separate observances of the Fourth of July. However, Salem operated on the principle of divided we stand and these great rivalries between the Crowninshields and the Pickman's and the Derby's, between the Federalists and the Republicans, seem only to have added to the competition and to the amount of money that they were able to take home.

Salem was not a shipbuilding center before the war, but during the war, Hasket Derby had some notable shipbuilders move in and start building him ships under his own supervision to become wartime traders as well as privateers. So by 1800, Salem was a shipbuilding center. By the 1790s, as I say, Salem was all over the globe and was also still heavily armed, although it traded very peacefully with the peoples of the Archipelago and out in the Orient, and I should mention, because I didn't and that is, what were they trading for with India that was so valuable, and it was textiles. It was cotton muslin more than anything. America had absolutely no ability to produce cloth and all almost all the cloth in America, in early America came directly from India. And so that was how Salem made its money.

At any rate, during the 1790s all was not peace and love with the British and the French. We had a quasi-naval war with Britain in 1793-94 and then towards the end of the decade, there was a naval quasi-war with the French. So this really did not throw a crimp into Salem's style, since its vessels went out heavily armed to begin with, and its sons and the old privateers themselves knew how to handle both the ship and its gunnery. And so, Salem actually prospered a great deal during the time that the British and French tried to, tried to restrict our commerce through warfare, because most of their vessels got through and at a time of diminished availability, the stuff that they were able to bring back was worth more than ever.

Salem, as I say, was as at home in India, as it was in Canton, China, where Boston tended to trade. Boston had a Western route around Cape Horn, and pretty much left the eastern route around the Cape of Good Hope to Salem since Salem had already made the strongest contacts with the markets in that part of the Far East. By 1785, that colonial street that we were looking at had turned into a street that had been reconfigured to be, to have the appearance of the capital of an empire. And Samuel McIntire happened to be available as one of the very first architects in America and designed this very famous courthouse, which suddenly went into all the magazines in America as a model of what a Main Street in America ought to look like. So a

lot of Salem was remodeled and rebuilt along the lines of classical architecture, using Samuel McIntire as their designer.

48:00

Of course, the waterfront was also transformed as a result of the prosperity of the war. Here you are looking at Salem's waterfront at about the place where Derby Wharf is today at the federal maritime park. This is about 1800. And the wharf with the three warehouses is the wharf of Elias Hasket Derby at the time of his death. His heirs in 1806 extended that wharf almost half a mile out into Salem harbor, and they had a ship parked on both sides of that wharf, so the trade was just astronomical and the number of vessels coming and going was, was also incredible. The wharf in the foreground was actually the wharf that was used by Joseph White. Let us not forget that he was also a very prosperous merchant.

In Salem, with all this money and this ambition, it attracted extremely able people. They built the churches, most of them were Unitarian. William Bentley was a young minister from Boston who came to Salem in 1783. Ended up writing a diary, was a very, very strong partisan of the Republican Party, an adherent of the Whites and the Crowninshields and their never ending war against the Derby's. And a man who was determined to try to bring the enlightened principles of a new republic to his somewhat benighted parishioners amongst the seafaring families of the lower end.

Salem also had the incredible asset of Nathaniel Bowditch, a local boy, a kid who had grown up in poverty, who never had the chance to go to school after the age of 12. And he served as a counter clerk at a ship chandlery for his entire teenage years. But his incredible mind was appreciated by Jonathan Hodges, the man who owned the ship chandlery, and Jonathan Hodges just happened to be first cousin to Hasket Derby. So, people were paying attention to this kid who at the age of 16, taught himself Latin so he could translate the *Principia Mathematica*. Yeah. So, Bowditch is known today as the man who took hold of English navigational tables in the late 1790s and completely rewrote them. He found more than 8,000 errors and in the course of correcting these navigation tables, he made it possible for ships to sail safely all around the planet. And that's why he was famous.

Salem also had Nathan Reed, who was an inventor and an early industrialist up on the Danvers River. He married a Bowditch and he was a congressman. It's important to understand, in comparing Salem to any other places, that the Salemites deliberately went after national power. They had such an incredible enterprise, that they knew that they would have to protect it from people who wanted to get at it. And people who wanted to get at it included a lot of people in Congress.

51:30

And so Salem from the beginning has Timothy Pickering as Secretary of State under George Washington and John Adams. Benjamin Goodhue is United States Senator at the same time (and) happens to be Timothy Pickering's cousin, and then this guy, Nathan Reed is their

Congressman. These are all Federalists, and these are all men who are trying to influence George Washington, Alexander Hamilton and John Adams to make sure that foreign commerce is the important moneymaker in the United States of America.

After the death of Derby in 1799, there were several others who rose to the fore. None of them was richer or more dynamic than this guy, Billy Gray. Born in Lynn, came as a very young boy, his father was a shoemaker in Salem. Billy Gray, like so many of the great merchants of Salem, started out as a young man on board a privateering vessel who just got lucky and luckier over time, and by the end of the War, was right up there with Joseph White and some of the Crowninshields in terms of his wealth, and after the War found a way to do worldwide commerce better than they did and was the great man of Salem in his decade.

And this is Pickering, a controversial political character. He was never a merchant. He was a lawyer who grew up in Salem. He tried his hand as a merchant afterwards, after the War, in Philadelphia. Washed out completely, kicked around, looking for a good job in the administration of his old buddy George Washington. Pickering had been the quartermaster general of the United States Army throughout the War, certainly had earned a decent job somewhere, couldn't find one. Finally, Washington punted and made him, originally, the Postmaster General. And then when the secretaries of state got antsy, Pickering was the fifth choice and ended up as Secretary of State under George Washington. And John Adams inherited him but didn't like him.

By the early 1800s, in Salem, politics as I say was brutal. The city was split. The Crowninshields and Derby's were at each other. It's an astonishing thing to think, but who were Crowninshields, who were Derby's. Hasket Derby had married a woman named Elizabeth Crowninshield. Elizabeth Crowninshield's brother, George Crowninshield, had married Hasket Derby's sister. So their children were double first cousins. They're essentially the same people but they hated each other with a vengeance. And this is Jacob Crowninshield, one of the five Crowninshield brothers, who in the early 19th century, took off with Salem's commerce and became one of the wealthiest trading firms in the world. He was also, though had no education, he was an East India shipmaster. When he came back to Salem, he was dragged into politics, and he defeated, in a huge upset, he defeated Timothy Pickering in the race for Congress, and so, from that point forward, from 1802 forward, local politics had been shanghaied by the Republicans, by the Whites and the Crowninshields, away from the Federalists, and nationally speaking, the Federalists never got it back. So what did this mean? This meant that the Whites and the Crowninshields controlled everything to do with the federal government, all the Custom House work, all the duty collection, everything that took place that had federal impact in Salem was now controlled by Whites and Crowninshields. It was a huge turning point and the Derby's never got it back.

55:34

This is India Wharf built by the Crowninshields just in time for the embargo. So that was bad timing. And here's a picture of Samuel McIntire, the architect who I mentioned, a boy who grew

up, again, not well to do at all, the son of a carpenter who'd been trained as a carpenter, but loved to carve things and had a talent for design. And again, his patrons, we look at what McIntire was able to accomplish, we have to understand that he had patrons who today would be considered billionaires, and they paid him for his designs about the same that they would have paid him to carve the headboard of a bed. This is one of his most famous compositions, today known as the Gardner-Pingree house. In the old days, it was built for John Gardner a Federalist but by 1814, Joseph White had come along and got a line on the mortgage that was held and scooped it. As a leading Republican, he was very happy to steal the house of a leading Federalist. And it was designed by McIntire in 1805 and was for the rest of his life, long life, Joseph White's home on Essex St.

Salem was able to do wonderful things like fill in a bunch of ponds that had been the sad swamp-like Common area of their town, and flatten everything out, fill it in with, with ground, with new fill, and turn it into a 14-acre Common. And at each corner of the Common, they built these huge arches with the medallion of George Washington on them. And for those of you who have read my book, the hero of my story about Salem is Stephen White, who is one of the adopted sons of Captain Joseph White. And Steven White is the person who, as Salem suffers blow after blow in quick succession and I will just sketch them for you and that is during the War of 1812, America began its own factory production of textiles. What did this mean? It meant that when Salem went off to India to get textiles, as it always had after the War of 1812, those Indian textiles are now in competition with American cloth.

And the other thing that is huge as they go after the War of 1812 is they discover Britain has won this world war that's been going on with France for 20 years. And the Brits dominated every market, everywhere. So Americans still had to sail under the sufferance of Britannia ruling the waves. Amongst other things, the British had completely transformed the economy of India. And during that three years of warfare, when there were no Americans or others coming over to mess with the British, they essentially, they took the weavers of India and turned them into plantation field hands. And they taught them how to grow cotton and that cotton was used by the industrial plants of Manchester and Scotland and other places in Britain. And so they were able to take the world production of textiles away from India in a matter of three years, and place it squarely in Britain.

Of course, the War of 1812 comes along, people think we were fighting the war against Britain, but they had one hand tied behind the back. Why? They did not want to ruin the only market left in the world that hadn't been devastated by this war. They had giant amounts of industrial production textiles, they wanted to sell it to a prosperous America. And so they were very happy to sign the Treaty of Ghent and bring peace back into the world. And then they flooded our markets with their beautiful textiles. And this was a huge problem for Congress. Henry Clay and the men from the west, were looking at a country that was going to be an industrial producer, and where American cotton was going to be ka-ching. And here were the Brits, flooding our markets with the very stuff that Clay thought America should be producing. And so what happens, the Tariff of 1816. Clay, the Speaker of the House, passes a tariff so high that the

British can't afford to import, or export their textiles to America anymore. This was also a killer for Salem, because it meant anything, textiles coming from overseas, including textiles coming from India, were subject to the same tariff. So this meant that 15 vessels that ordinarily sailed back and forth to Calcutta from Salem, were cut down to only two vessels trading back and forth to Calcutta. So Congress became the enemy. They still had incredible clout at the national political level but these new states in the West just kept growing and they were determined to change the whole basis of the American economy from being a world trader to a producer.

1:01:18

And so I'm about to finish up and I think the tape is being changed. So while the tape is being changed, I will talk about a couple of other little factors real quick. And that is, although Salem and its great fleet of vessels, was able to, was damaged severely by these trade policies and by the British dominance of the world and its ports, in 1817, 1818 and 1819, Salem was able to overcome all these restrictions. People like Steven White opened up brand new markets in South America. They got heavily involved in the opium trade, carrying trade, carrying opium from the Mediterranean into, into South Asia. Not something that we're proud of, but that was what was going on world trade in those days. And in fact, Salem regained its profitability in 1817, '18 and '19, and was as good as ever. But then came the Panic of 1819, the first worldwide economic depression.

Salem, a relatively small place, meaning it's not a big market itself, it's able to make huge money by having [...tape break...] and that's what was important. And then by 1822, Salem, which had not recovered from this worldwide depression, turned, a lot of the merchants turned their money towards New Hampshire and began investing in industrial production on the rivers. They built a huge textile factory in Newmarket, New Hampshire, near Exeter. It was the largest textile factory in the United States of America in 1822. It was all done with Salem money. But of course it wasn't employing Salem people. And, and this was the problem for Salem. Is that, since they could not recover from this worldwide economic depression, and since the only real profit left for people with big money was industrial production and since Salem had no fast-moving rivers on which to build factories, or textile production, Salem went into a very severe tailspin and the merchants who remained ended up not so much responsible for their own bank accounts but for trying to employ thousands of out-of-work seafaring men, who had been heading up households of small children and, and really had nowhere to go with their careers. So that is the somewhat, the sad, ending in which Salem comes to the end of its great empire.

I will, as I say, I'm going to leave out the part about crime. I will just read you from the end of the section of my book and say:

“In the end, Derby's Salem could not be sustained. Sailors had to give up their dreams and adventures and find work ashore. Most of the merchants holding tight to their fortunes, became industrial capitalists and even tried to transform Salem into a manufacturing center. So this is also the story of internal collapse in the form of efforts that fell short, people who failed or gave up, amusements that turned sinister and casual criminality that devolved into robbery, plunder and finally murder. Out in the

world, Salem's humanistic values were eroded by its own commercial overreaching, the trade in opium, high-risk extended voyages, intrusion into hostile cultures, and by the takeover of the nation's foreign policy by the racist militarists of the Jackson Administration.

By the late 1820s, imperial Salem was breaking its promises to its sons and daughters. One young sea captain, drunk in his boots and cut off from the career that he had thought would make him rich, wondered aloud if anyone had the grit to kill a man for money. From a dark corner of the seaport's night town, he received a faithful answer. Its portent of murder and vengeance was repeated on the far side of the planet, along the coast of Sumatra, as a Salem vessel figured in an incident that would forever change America's relations with other peoples. Although much has been forgotten in Salem, its seafaring commerce were astonishing creations of young America, worldwide in scope, revolutionary in impact, colored with high adventure and vaulting ambition, and worthy of a place in the national story."

1:06:41

Thank you. I would be happy to take questions if you'd like to ask.
(Applause.)

Audience Member

Bob, can you just explain how there happened to be these Republicans there. It would seem their mercantile economy would be perfectly suited to a city-wide federalism or federalist sentiment. Why were there people on the other side?

Robert Booth

That's what the Derby's wanted to know. It's an easy answer. It wasn't politically or philosophically motivated. It was that the Derby's at that time in the late 1790s dominated all phases of local government, as well as, as being society's leaders. And the Crowninshields felt excluded by their cousins, from all the things that they believed they were entitled to, respect being one of them. And so, they made a marriage of convenience with the Jeffersonians, with Jefferson. And they simply decided since there were two parties in the United States now formed, and since there was no serious body or champion of the Democratic-Republicans, they simply stepped forward and announced that was their party.

And it's often hilarious to see the incredibly bad fit between Jefferson and Jacob Crowninshield, whose picture I showed you. Jacob Crowninshield was Jefferson's advisor on commerce, but Jefferson really didn't believe in commerce. So, so when we look at Jacob Crowninshield and the role that he played in the Jefferson administration, he was the guy who was the chair of the House Committee on Commerce and Manufacturing. So essentially, Jefferson had to let Crowninshield have his way and promote maritime commerce at the expense of manufacturing throughout his administration. And then of course, all of this ends with Jefferson persuading

Congress to impose an embargo on all of the seaports. And Crowninshield was not enthusiastic about this idea, but had to go along with it as the top guy in Washington from New England.

And I just say he died very suddenly in 1808, and when, after he keeled over, the Crowninshields back in Salem held a caucus to determine who would be the successor to Jacob Crowninshield as the congressman from Salem, and they, as usual, they turned to their *consigliere*, their lawyer, Joseph Story from Marblehead, the only Democratic-Republican who had ever passed the bar and who had been their advisor on legal matters for eight years. And they asked him to put together the caucus and make sure that Benjamin Williams Crowninshield won and succeeded his brother. But Story had two sisters who had just married Joseph White Jr. and Steven White, and so he put the caucus together, but he made sure that he ended up as the nominee. And Joseph Story went off to Congress in place of the Crowninshields, he never looked back, classic case of biting the hand that feeds you, and as soon as he got to Congress, Joseph Story realized that Jefferson and the Democratic Republicans had no intention at all of ever, ever terminating the embargo. This was the way it was going to be. As soon as he realized that, he went around lobbying, literally in those days it meant going to the lobby of the boarding houses of the other representatives they stayed in, he went around lobbying until he was sure that he had a majority of his own party, Jefferson's own party, lined up in favor of terminating the embargo. And then, before the vote he cleared out of Dodge, came back to Salem and he never returned to Washington. So, three years later, this very, very dangerous political operative, Joseph Story, a guy who had really beaten Jefferson at his own game, was very carefully placed in a spot where he could do no more political damage, which was at the age of 32 being placed on the Supreme Court of the United States. That was a long answer to your question.

Audience Member 1:11:56

In the years before the fall when they're bringing back textiles from and I guess coffee from these foreign lands, what were they taking out? (From Salem?) Or in other words, were their goods that were capable of being sold in India?

Robert Booth

No, the Indians had no interest in anything that was produced in New England. What they brought was specie. This was a huge difference between Boston and Salem. Boston did not feel that they had a good enough access to hard currency markets. And so Boston's westward trade, which as I say, went around Cape Horn, was based on being able to sail up the coast of South America and North America, and grab seal pelts and seal pelts was the medium of exchange that they used to do their trade in China. The Chinese love these seal pelts. Salem was much more practical. And they would just load up a treasure chest with \$60,000 worth of silver and gold and get sailing in ballast. And they might first stop at Marseille, Smyrna, or some other place and spend some money to get a cargo of wine or whatever, so that they had something to trade as they bounced around out there in the Indian Ocean. But most Salem vessels left in ballast with a king's ransom of gold and silver in the captain's cabin.

Audience Member 1:13:41

You talked about the tariff legislation that was enacted in early 1816. Now, the other thing I wanted to ask you about is the Erie Canal. Of course DeWitt Clinton built the Erie Canal. Was it the tariff or was it the Erie Canal that was the demise of Salem. Because I've always wondered, I think New England's commerce was largely put to bed by the Erie Canal. I've always theorized about that.

Robert Booth

Well, I think it's, I don't think the Erie Canal had anything directly to do, Salem was already in a terrible tailspin by 1825 when the Erie Canal was opened. The Erie Canal was obviously a huge challenge, more, more of a huge challenge to Boston. Boston by then had taken over much of Salem's commerce. Even the ships that were owned in Salem by that time were sailed out of New York or Boston for their major markets. So it was, honestly, it was really, the killer was this worldwide economic depression in 1819. It lifted, for places like Boston which had transformed themselves into a metropolis but a place like Salem was way more vulnerable. Proportionately, it had many more ships out there in those markets where everything was disastrous. And it did not have the large corporations that might want to buy a lot of stuff. Whereas Boston not only had this large population but had engaged in a campaign by 1820 deliberately to put places like Newburyport and Salem out of business. They built canals up to the Merrimack River. They had also cut off Providence the same way with their canals. And after the canals, 10 years later, it will be the railroads. Boston turns itself into the hub of all transportation, internal transportation coming in and going out by the 1820s. And and they have to do that in order to compete with New York. As you say, there's, it was no laughing matter with the incredible success of the Erie Canal. It just, it changed the whole game on the East Coast. And if you read my book, you will see that Stephen White, who was the last of the great Salem merchants, does leave for Boston and ends up on the Erie Canal in his last attempt at business recovery. Just an astonishing story, an astonishing game. That's where he was right up there on the Erie Canal, because that's where the money was.

Audience Member 1:16:33

I have a question about what role Baltimore played in the trade in spices and specifically the McCormick Spice Company and others.

Robert Booth

I'm no expert on, on Baltimore, but I can tell you that by the 1820s, a lot of the younger Salem merchants were moving to Baltimore, because Baltimore had grown enormously and did have a very competitive overseas trade with Asia in spices.

Audience Member 1:17:04

But was that because the country was moving south, toward Washington, to be closer to larger markets?

Robert Booth

It was because the transportation routes to the interior were vastly improved in the 1820s. So, as New York became the, the great entry point for all of the internal northeast going all the way to Ohio, now, Baltimore becomes the great entry point for all the markets going out to the Piedmont. Not only does it have Chesapeake Bay and this inexhaustible supply of flour for the rest of the country, but now it has really good roads and canals leading into the backcountry so it becomes a huge distribution point. Then of course it always was huge for tobacco so it just, Baltimore got bigger and bigger and more powerful and left places like Salem in its wake by the 1830s.

Audience Member 1:18:01

Little different subject, getting back to the ships in Salem Harbor. I know how small Salem harbor is. Did they have a tugboat service like we had Captain Hadley in Gloucester, who who brought a lot of the ships into, into the piers. And I can't envision a 100 foot schooner sailing up to the pier and mooring, you know.

Robert Booth 1:18:24

Well, they didn't. The time I'm talking about is before the age of steam, so they would not have had tugboats but they had pilots. And absolutely, pilots before the Revolution had small schooners. And when somebody put out the cry that a ship had appeared on the horizon coming in from Halfway Rock, the pilot would go out to guide the ship, assuming that it wasn't nighttime and it could be found to try and guide the ships in. And it's a good point because they didn't sail in past Marblehead Neck. Their way of getting into Salem harbor from the sea was to come in on the Cape Ann side and kind of hang a left at Misery Island and get in over Bowditch's Ledge and that sort of thing. But at night and in bad, bad storms, they sometimes would pile up on Baker's Island. And that's why Baker's Island is one of the first places to get a lighthouse, because it was just a really bad scene for many shipwrecks. And for that matter, so was Eastern Point. There are many, many sad stories of ships that had made a 25,000 mile round trip from Canton only to go up on the rocks at Eastern Point.

Audience Member 1:19:53

I don't know how to phrase this question but just one word: slavery.

Robert Booth

Okay, slavery. I can answer it in terms of Salem through Joseph White. As I mentioned Joseph White as a kid, he lost his father when he was only four or five years old. He was raised in the household of a, an uncle of his named John White Jr. John White Jr. had made his money in the 1750s and 60s, as they all did, as a mariner. But he had set up as a merchant before the Revolution, and he had a wharf and warehouses and he owned vessels. John White Jr. had eight daughters and a house full of slaves. So Joseph White actually grew up in in a house where there were often as many as ten African-American slaves in that household. So he was kind of comfortable with the idea of the slave trade.

And it's a fascinating part of his early life in the 1790s that amongst the many other things that he tries to do with all his money, is to send vessels over to the coast of Guinea. Not to become a slave trader per se, but to lease his vessels out to those who were engaged in buying and selling humans. And so it was frowned on here in Salem. It was frowned on in Massachusetts. John Adams' constitution for Massachusetts in 1780 essentially outlawed slavery in Massachusetts, but of course these guys are out of sight, across, over the horizon, so all bets are off, that's what they thought. And this is where the ministers come into play. And that guy I showed you, William Bentley, minister of the Unitarian downtown seafaring church, was in fact Joseph White's minister. He's a lot younger than Joseph White but when he found that White was involved in the slave trade, White happened to be his wealthiest parishioner.

So it was very difficult for Bentley, what do I do, the guy was paying my salary and maintaining the church and he's also now found to be off engaged in the slave trade. And so Bentley did this very cool thing, he founded a men's group made up of sea captains and merchants, and he got all the other guys to shame Joseph White into leaving the slave trade. And, and, and, and you can tell from Bentley's diary that Bentley was afraid for his life. White was so furious for being called out on any form of being a [?]. But the pressure from the public was enormous. And he had these two young kids that he was raising to be merchants and he didn't want them to fall under the shadow of his own nefarious practices. So he bagged it. He had cousins who went down to Cuba, the Graftons and kept up the slave trade until they were killed by whatever disease killed Yankees in Cuba in those days.

But the slave trade itself seems to me to be something that was not conducted out of Salem but Salem vessels were leased out to people who did it. And there's a very, very famous case of a Salem merchant before the Revolution named Gedney Clark, who saw a much greater opportunity for wealth down in the West Indies, and moved away and set himself up as a slave trader and became incredibly wealthy and as I recall, his his daughter married a Fairfax nobleman who was the brother-in-law of George Washington.

So, slave trade. But let's face it for people like Timothy Pickering, that was the only issue when it came to the Constitution of the United States. And these Federalists to a man were opposed to the slave trade and to the holding of slaves. And so there was a quite black line that was, it was written in large print right down the middle of this country at that time, and Pickering from Salem was probably the most ferocious anti-slavery voice in Washington administration. And he and the Federalists had this moral high ground where, partly because of Pickering's stance, political stance, people like Derby stayed out of the slave trade. As a Federalist that's something you didn't do, as a Jeffersonian, it was OK to own slaves and to be involved in that stuff, until it was, the slave trade was outlawed I believe in the 1820's it was finally addressed when you could own slaves but you couldn't trade in them.