

Warren, Wendy. *New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America*. New York: Liveright, 2016. 368 pp.

In her book *New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America*, historian and Pulitzer Prize finalist Wendy Warren examines the social and economic roots of slavery in the northeast from 1640 through 1700. Warren argues that colonial New England became integral in the transatlantic economy on many levels by exploiting the labor of enslaved Africans and Native Americans.

Warren's major argument is present throughout her seven mid-sized chapters, generally progressing chronologically forward from 1640 to 1700. Chapter one examines the Puritan influence in New England, where, Warren contends, the lack of a cash crop forced the pious Puritans to invest in more commonplace goods such as lumber, wheat, and fish. In the early years of the settlement, few institutionalized laws pertaining to slavery existed. Through an ad hoc process, however, slavery was made generally legal throughout the New England area.

In chapter two Warren emphasizes the close relationship that New England shared with the early plantation societies of the Caribbean. Not only did younger sons from New England migrate to the Caribbean in search of more opportunities, these two regions became increasingly interdependent as Caribbean islands specialized in sugar production. New England did not have much wealth, but its fishing and farming enterprises produced surpluses, and it soon became the breadbasket for the Caribbean. Diversification helped New England profit and develop. Here Warren carefully builds the economic connection through examining the regions' imports and exports, much of which were produced by slave labor. This strengthens her case for the two regions' cultural relationship.

In chapters three and four, Warren focuses, respectively, on the plight of Native American slaves and on the common experience of African slaves. When colonists captured natives in battle, they made them slaves. This stood in contrast to the African experience: "Indian slaves in New England were, mostly, sold because they had been captured in wars, whereas African slaves were captured in wars so that they might be sold"

(p. 91). Indeed, the difference between the two slave communities grew as time progressed, with prices for native slaves slipping in comparison to African slaves because the former were viewed as generally difficult to manage and less inclined to work. For both, however, the work forced upon them was generally the same kind of labor that other New Englanders had to endure, such as working in the fields, sapping trees, and cutting lumber.

In the following two chapters, Warren focuses on the effects of slavery on families and the evolution of law codes. She explores the challenges that both slave and interracial couples faced. In both cases, children became the explicit evidence of unions, while also confusing the early slave infrastructure. Slave owners or their slaves could be punished for such unions by the lash depending on the judge, and children of enslaved women often became slaves by default. In one instance, a slave named Zipporah so feared punishment that she attempted to hide her baby's birth and subsequent burial from her masters. The inclusion of Zipporah's story exemplifies Warren's writing style, which demonstrates larger trends through compelling narratives. Masters also threatened to sell their slaves to the Caribbean if they behaved poorly, and indeed this was done with many rebellious slaves as a form of long-term punishment. Slowly, New Englanders formalized their slave laws.

Chapter seven and the epilogue finish the monograph by examining the slow development of anti-slavery sentiment in New England in the latter half of the seventeenth century and the resistance this engendered. *The Selling of Joseph* by Samuel Sewall in 1700 demonstrates that many New Englanders wrestled with the institution, whereas Cotton Mather's "Rules for the Society of Negroes" shows that others were interested in formalizing slavery for blacks. Warren concludes that this early abolitionist discussion laid the groundwork for the gradual stamping out of slavery in the region. A minor criticism of Warren's point is that it took many of these colonies nearly a century to complete the process, raising questions about the significance of proto-abolitionist thought in 1700.

In review, the close connection that New England shared with the Caribbean as a critical part of the transatlantic slave system becomes apparent as Warren interweaves different colonial stories that focus on the common experience of New England slavery. Warren is a skilled writer

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and seamlessly blends short narratives of slave accounts into her argument with literary finesse. Slavery was not rare, but instead was part of ordinary life. The key difference between New England and the plantation societies was that slaves in the north fulfilled mundane tasks in which their white masters shared, in sharp contrast to the harsh demands in the south and the abysmal conditions in the Caribbean.

An implicit conclusion of the monograph is that the industries in New England, which focused more on common goods such as wheat, lumber, and fish, forced New England to diversify and therefore avoid investing in plantation-style slavery. Cash crops such as sugar and cotton were also very labor intensive, whereas New England labor was less demanding. Yet Warren's most profound point is that New England does share in a large portion of the guilt of the slave system. The 'City upon a Hill' ideal and institutionalized slavery were not mutually exclusive concepts in colonial New England. It is unsettling to learn that members of the Winthrop family played major roles in the establishment of New England slavery, yet were known as moral exemplars to the rest of the Puritan community. These accounts, gleaned from an extensive collection of journal entries and public records alike, fulfill her goal in re-contextualizing New England within the larger transatlantic slavery system.

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