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party, at the end of the seventeenth century, the Holy Office at Cartagena de Indias denounced to the Spanish Crown three Portuguese agents who were responsible for the traffic there—Felipe Enríquez, Juan Morín, and Gaspar de Andrade—for being “of the hebraic nation.” These three men had allegedly even been seen, in Cartagena, after a delivery of slaves, both killing lambs and keeping the Sabbath in the Jewish manner. But the accusations never bore fruit; the persons concerned were able to escape castigation easily.

In English America, the voices of doubt about, or hostility to, slavery were a good deal more frequent. In 1676, for example, a Quaker, William Edmundson, a wild friend and companion of George Fox, the Society’s founder, dispatched a letter from Newport, Rhode Island, to Quakers in all slave-owning places. He put forward the theory that slavery should be unacceptable to a Christian. It was “an oppression on the mind.” This caused the aged Roger Williams, the father of the colony, to denounce him as “nothing but a bundle of ignorance and boisterousness.”<sup>26</sup> Edmundson also justified rebellions of slaves in Barbados, where two Quakers (Ralph Fretwell and Richard Sutton) had been fined by the governor for the crime of “bringing Negroes into their meetings for worship.” There were similar accusations, and similar fines, in Nevis.

Twelve years later, in 1688, in Germantown (Philadelphia), a group of German Quakers originally from Krisheim, in the Rhineland, signed a petition against the idea of slavery, not just the trade.\* In both 1696 and

\* *These Germans had opposed the slave trade from early on: some Germans held slaves, but most of them thought the institution evil. The German press in North America differentiated itself from the English one in this respect, and generally did not carry advertisements for the sale of slaves, nor notices about escaped ones.*