

**“Africanized Colonies,” The Exploration of African Slave Cultures in
Colonial South Carolina from 1690-1800**

by

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ABSTRACT

“AFRICANIZED COLONIES,” THE EXPLORATION OF AFRICAN SLAVE CULTURES IN COLONIAL SOUTH CAROLINA FROM 1690-1800

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The development of slave culture in North American colonies was a complex and dynamic process, which varied depending on place. Gwendolyn Hall argued that lower Louisiana was “clearly the most Africanized slave culture in the United States”. Yet through the exploration of slave culture in colonial South Carolina, between 1690-1800, it becomes apparent that even though each place provided slaves with unique environments, slaves were always too able maintain their African cultures. Moreover, each colony included variables that affected the lives of the slaves and the process of creolization. This work looks at how elements such as laws, frequency of resistance, plantation formation, ethnic make-up and distribution patterns, affected slaves’ cultural experiences in individual places. A comparison of South Carolina to Louisiana provides a fresh perspective of the creolization process of slave culture in South Carolina. Regardless of where slaves ended up in the United States, they all contributed to the development of the places’ society and at the same time contributed their African cultures.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION	1
--------------------	---

CHAPTER 2

THE BEGINNING: COLONIZATION, THE SLAVE TRADE AND RICE	31
---	----

CHAPTER 3

THE YEARS LEADING UP TO THE STONO REBELLION: INCREASED RESISTANCE AND FEAR	55
---	----

CHAPTER 4

THE STONO REBELLION AND THE YEARS FOLLOWING: MAROONS COMMUNITIES, RESISTANCE AND SLAVE LAWS	85
--	----

CONCLUSION

AFRICANIZATION ACROSS PLACES: A FINAL COMPARISON OF SOUTH CAROLINA & LOUISIANA	109
---	-----

APPENDIX	117
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BIBLIOGRAPHY	131
--------------------	-----

Chapter 1 Introduction

“Culturally, all Americans owe a deep debt to Africa”
-Gwendolyn Hall¹

The slave population in South Carolina, such as in any of the early North American colonies, resisted slavery, embraced their African cultures and significantly contributed to the development of the colony's society, politically, socially and economically. Maroon communities, run away slaves and rebellions occurred throughout slave colonies and this was no exception in South Carolina. The Stono Rebellion, which occurred in 1739, and the Savannah River Maroons, which existed between 1779 and 1782, are strong examples of the power that slaves could yield in South Carolina. Slaves innate need for freedom is and has been apparent throughout history. An abolitionist from the eighteenth century reflected on slaves spirited, organized and capable nature through the events of the Savannah River Maroons. He wrote;

It is, however, apparent, from these accounts, that those brave and hardy sons of Africa, will occasion those States the loss of much blood and treasure, before they are subjugated- as notwithstanding their sufferings in their present exposed situations- their want of military apparatus to defend themselves... and their late defeat, the appearance they are not disheartened...the spirit of liberty they inherit appears unconquerable.²

Not only did slaves have a strong determination for freedom, but they also were able to act on it by resisting slavery and this required power and organization. The extent of slaves' power was partly determined by the place in which they existed. Thus the power that was displayed in South Carolina through examples such as the Stono Rebellion and

¹ Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the eighteenth century*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), xiv.

² Timothy James Lockley, ed. *Maroon Communities in South Carolina: A Documentary Record*, (Colombia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2009), 67.

Savannah River Maroons is also a reflection of the colony's unique features, which aided in slaves resistance. South Carolina was unique in providing slaves with a place that further allowed them to resist slavery. The combination of the high slave population density, geography, slave laws, existed in South Carolina contributed to this unique experience. While slaves adapted to South Carolina culture, they also heavily affected the development of South Carolina's culture. The creolization process was slow because of slaves push for freedom and South Carolina's unique features.

This paper will contribute to the scholarship that focuses on the complexity of cultures during the period of the slave trade. Slavery not only brought economic prosperity to the new world but it also brought together a diverse group of people. African slaves, colonists, and Native Americans, co-existed in the same spaces and brought with them different views, languages and morals. While, as will been seen in the following paragraphs, there is large debate surrounding African slaves cultural survivals in the United States, this paper will take a more neutral approach when looking at the culture of slaves in South Carolina. The focus of this work is to better understand the process of creolization that occurred within the United States. This paper will explore the process of how the African slave population both adapted to and resisted other cultures they encountered in the New World colonies. I will demonstrate how various elements of a colony, specifically Louisiana and South Carolina, could either help or hinder a slave's ability to preserve their African culture in a New world society. South Carolina will be compared to Louisiana in order to interpret how creolization varied throughout places. This thesis will argue that no matter the place that the slaves were brought to, they always remembered some features of their African cultures. More than this, slaves always found

various ways to resist slavery and push for their freedom. By comparing two very different and unique colonies, Louisiana and South Carolina, from 1690 to 1800, this paper will provide further information about creolization and the remnants of African cultures in New World colonies. Culturally, slavery heavily affected the New World by providing the societies with African traditions and social views. The exact process and degree in which slaves cultures affected the colonies was determined by a large variety of factors. These factors will be further explored in this paper and by examining a single colony closely I will further uncover which aspects of a place help slaves to adapt and which allowed slaves to resist slavery and create their own lives despite their restricted situations.

Culture is a set of learned behaviors passed down by previous generations that at the same time is molded by those groups of people that live in close proximity to each other. It is a “learned social response shared by humans living in organized aggregates of societies and kept relatively uniform by social pressure.”³ Simply, culture changes over time and is adaptive to its surroundings. For example, a specific cultural group will change and modify once another cultural group becomes present. Therefore, this does not undermine those whose cultures have been changed or adapted to another; it is just a natural occurrence of culture. The influences of other cultures can “lead to the destruction of that group”, while others combine together.⁴ Therefore because some African survivals are clearly present in New World societies and South Carolina, it can be concluded that the different cultures naturally blended together. This does not mean that African slaves were inferior because they could not keep their whole cultures in tact, blending is

³ Omar K. Moore & Donald J. Lewis. “Learning Theory and Culture.” *Psychological Review*. 59, no. 5 (1952): 382. <http://dx.doi.org.subzero.lib.uoguelph.ca/10.1037/h0055903> (accessed December 20th, 2015).

⁴ Moore & Lewis, *Learning Theory and Culture*, 383.

inevitable. This paper will therefore further explore some of the pieces that did continue to exist among a different culture, why they may have survived and what purpose they potentially served. This thesis argues that despite the severity of slavery, slaves were able to preserve parts of their heritage. Cultural features that were prevalent in South Carolina include, slave naming practices, military practices, rice cultivation and religion.⁵ In addition, slavery was different across places and throughout time and therefore each slave's experience was distinctive and individual.⁶ This thesis will look at South Carolina specifically in attempts to narrow down the field while at the same time show the unique situations that occurred in this state.

The scholarship that has molded this study begins with Franklin E. Frazier who argued that African cultures were “wiped clean” because of the fear, violence and restrictions that was involved with slavery. He insisted, “...probably never before in history has a people been so nearly stripped of its social heritage as were the negroes who were brought to America.”⁷ Other historians who have similar views include, Stanley Elkins, Kenneth Stampp and Eugene Genovese. In *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*, Elkins compared the institution of slavery to that of concentration camps in WWII. Like Frazier, Elkins also claimed that a series of ‘shocks’, including the initial capture, the middle passage and seasoning, destroyed slaves’ cultural

⁵ Although there are many other African cultural features that existed in South Carolina, this paper is restricted due to the time period from 1690-1800 of which is lacking primary source material demonstrating more of these cultural aspects.

⁶ Historians such as Peter H. Wood in *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion* (1974) and Ira Berlin in *Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society on British Mainland North America* (1980), wrote influential work regarding time and space.

⁷ Franklin E. Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 20.

heritage and thus led them to taking on their master's culture.⁸ Furthermore, Elkins described slaves as childlike and wholly dependent on their masters for survival.⁹ Kenneth Stampp responded to Elkins by taking his argument a few steps further claiming that slaves simply 'acted' in different roles to please their masters.¹⁰ In opposition to Elkins, Stampp explained that slaves only played the role of the 'sambo' when in front of white masters.¹¹ He argued that slaves were clever to play the role of sambo in front of whites because it reduced tension.¹² Overall both Elkins and Stampp argued in some form that African cultural retentions were minimal and close to non-existent in North America.¹³ Both Eugene Genovese and Kenneth Stampp explained that slave resistance was simply a sign of accommodation. Thus even those slaves who did resist slavery were still looking to accommodate to their new lives and that resistance did not symbolize slaves maintaining their African culture. These historians collectively contended that slaves willingly adapted to the new cultures they faced without attempting to maintain any significant amount of their African cultures.¹⁴ They have provided arguments that are the basis upon which scholars still argue today.¹⁵

⁸ Stephanie J. Shaw, "The Maturation of Slave Society and Culture", in John B. Boles, *A companion to the American South*. (Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 120.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Michael Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 389.

¹¹ Sambo refers to the state of slaves as a 'childlike' and lacking of independence as both Elkins and Stampp argue slaves were at times.

For more information see both; Stanley M. Elkins, 1980: *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*. 3rd ed. revd: (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959). And Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956).

¹² Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country*, 389.

¹³ Both of these scholars, as well as others writing post- WWII, have been influenced by the period in which they write. As Stephanie Shaw suggests, the events of the early civil rights movement shaped historians view as "American Negroes still awaiting their emancipation". Stephanie J. Shaw, "The Maturation of Slave Society and Culture", in John B. Boles, *A companion to the American South*. (Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 120 and Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), viii.

¹⁴ Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States*, 20.

¹⁵ Shaw, "The Maturation of Slave Society and Culture", 120.

Melville J. Herskovits was among the first to shift this perspective and argued that slaves were fully capable of remembering their African culture. He stated that African slaves were not ‘men without [pasts]’.¹⁶ Furthermore, Herskovits demonstrated that Africans were complex people who brought their political, religious and social views with them.¹⁷ According to Herskovits, slaves were highly motivated to maintain their cultural heritage. He explained that slaves both preserved parts of their African cultures and “reinterpreted” them in the New World colonies. Following Herskovits first major work it became clearer that slaves could not entirely be wiped clean of their pasts, such as Frazier suggested some years ago. This sparked further debates, which led to questions such as: to what degree did slaves remember their pasts? Which cultural elements were more easily maintained? Is there such a thing as an authentic culture or have all cultures been created through a blending of societies and experiences? More broadly speaking, many have sought to answer these types of questions and to further unravel the effect that slave cultures had on societies.¹⁸ Including religion, art, folklore and music, and as well language.

To start both Africanism and Creolization need further clarification in order to be properly used within this study because their definitions are complex.¹⁹ Herskovits defined creolization as, “elements of culture found in the New World that are traceable to

¹⁶ Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past*, 2.

¹⁷ Ibid, xviii.

¹⁸ This list includes the following; Joseph Holloway, Ira Berlin, Phillip D. Curtin, Sidney Mintz and Richard Price, Robin D.G. Kelley and Tiffany Patterson, John K. Thornton, Michael Gomez, David Littlefield, Gwendolyn Hall, Michael Mullin, Gregory O’Malley, Frances Ntaleodibe, David Olwell, Peter Wood, Robert Thompson, Sterling Stuckey, Kristin Mann and Michael Brown Ras.

¹⁹ While both of the terms, Creolization and Africanism, are controversial, they will be used in this study. Creolization in this paper will refer to the process by which African slaves adapted to and changed as a result of the new cultures they encountered. While originally this term directly referred to the formation of new languages in societies that experienced a mixing of cultures, the term has evolved to explain how slaves formed new cultures in the North American colonies.

Africanism will be used to describe the African cultural survivals that exist in South Carolina.

an African origin". He mainly focused on the Caribbean and examined the degree that slaves accommodated or adapted to their new homes and cultures.²⁰ His study, although it made major headway for the historiography in the 1950's, sparked new debates questioning his generalizations of "African" ethnicities. Historians, such as Michael Gomez, argued that Herskovits' study of Africans is too generalized and does not separate African ethnicities. Arguably Herskovits use of Africanism only further lumps Africans together.²¹ He proposed for historians to look at Africans as having poly-cultural rather than syncretic lifestyles and in order to accomplish this we must separate each culture.²² Mintz and Price were among the first to have argued that looking at one specific origin of an ethnicity could be problematic.²³ This led them to use the term creolization to explain the process that occurs when cultures congregate.²⁴ Mintz and Price argued that creolization occurred before slaves were even brought to New World

²⁰ Although there is lots of debate surrounding the use of the term Africanism, it is the best term for this study. For example, Michael Gomez argues that the term is too general and does harm in order to understand each separate African ethnicity (8-9). However if applied correctly I believe this term is applicable because it is one of the better terms available that help to explain the many aspects of slave culture that survived in the various slave countries. Because this study will is based on the premises that slaves did in fact affect the various countries in which they were brought to and therefore Africanisms were present, the finer details surrounding the term will not be important. Others who also use the term within their work include in a similar way, Gomez, Young & Holloway.

Holloway, *Africanisms in American Culture*, ix.

Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* 8.

²¹ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country*, 9.

²² Poly-cultural, Gomez explains, is a result of the process of acculturation. Where an African-American community emerged and slaves maintained related and distinguishable life-styles to their African cultures. In this approach, slaves lived out two separate cultures, American in some cases and African in others, hence "poly" cultural.

In opposition to poly-cultural, the syncretic view means that slaves merged with white society as a result of acculturation. In this case both African and American cultures blended together.

Ibid, 9.

²³ Sidney Mintz and Richard Price were among the first the points this issue out. Jason R. Young, *Rituals of Resistance: African Atlantic Religion in Kong and the Lowcountry South in the Era of Slavery*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007), 10.

²⁴ This includes; Sidney Mintz and Richard Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective*, Jason Young, *Rituals of Resistance: African Atlantic Religion in Kong and the Lowcountry South in the Era of Slavery*, Linda Heywood & John Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Making of the Foundations of the Americas, 1585-1660*, Richard Rath, *Drums and Power*, and Michael Brown, *African-Atlantic Cultures and the South Carolina Low-Country*.

colonies.²⁵ They disputed that slave culture was entirely new and separate from African culture. They attributed this to the fact that slaves were in contact with other cultures including European traders and other African slaves long before the slaves ended up on the ships.²⁶ Problems arose with Mintz and Price's study because it suggested that slaves immediately blended with the various cultures they came in contact with and this can also be associated with the term creolization. The process of creolization arguably promoted the integration process in New World societies.²⁷ Hall argued that creolization did occur in Africa but was neither fast nor immediate.²⁸ Interactions between Europeans and Africans before slavery, through the middle passage, and on plantations all played a part in forming creole cultures.²⁹ Yet, the same issues arise with this term as it does with Africanisms in that it views African ethnicities in a syncretic manner.³⁰

Similarly to what Michael Gomez states, others like Michael Brown and Richard Rath proposed a poly-cultural approach for defining the process of creolization.³¹ They

²⁵ Sidney Mintz & Richard Price. *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), 34.

²⁶ Mintz & Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture*, 82.

²⁷ Linda M. Heywood, and John Thornton. *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Making of the Foundations of the Americas, 1585-1660*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 65.

²⁸ He argues that slaves did not blend immediately by the exploration of slaves' marriage choices and their choosing to marry those who were of similar ethnicities to one another.

Colin A. Palmer, "Africa to the Americas: Ethnicity in the Early Black Communities of the Americas." *Journal of World History*. 6, no. 2 (1995), 223 & 225. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20078639> (accessed September 10, 15).

²⁹ Creole, as defined by Gwendolyn Hall, which is the definition this thesis will also use, refers to a person of non-American ancestry, European or African, who was born in the Americas and after the American Revolution, Americans used the term to define "creole culture" which helped to differentiate Anglo culture from the other. Finally creole developed to refer to the combination of Spanish, French and African cultures and languages that developed in Louisiana. Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 157. This can be seen as the parallel term then of Gullah, which referred to the combination of British and African culture and languages that developed in South Carolina as will be further discussed in the later chapters.

³⁰ For example Richard Cullen Rath in *Drums and Power*, and Linda Heywood and John Thornton in *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Making of the Foundations of the Americas, 1585-1660*, approach creolization in a syncretic manner. Yet, Michael Ras Brown and Robert Farris Thompson explain that it needs to be approached differently in order to be useful.

³¹ For further information see; Michael Ras Brown, *African-Atlantic Cultures and the South Carolina Low-Country*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 18-19.

argued that the process was much more complex and that people communicated between and across cultures without necessarily attempting to create one single new culture.³² Brown further explained that creolization is applicable in some situations but not in all.³³ Whereas, Thompson steered clear of the term altogether and stated that creolization can be problematic because it tends to blend both language and culture together. He argued that they are separate issues and should be treated as such.³⁴ Young, like Brown and Rath, pushed for a different approach, one where each ethnicity and element are separately explored instead of grouping them into a “hazy cultural mist.”³⁵ Although both these terms have been shown to be problematic, this study will argue that the problems arise depending on application.

In attempts to trace the roots of Africanisms that were present in slave countries many have started out by seeking to further understand each African slave culture separately. This method is opposite of some studies where African ethnicities and cultures were simply lumped together as one.³⁶ The slave trade imported slaves from all over the African continent and this provided North America with very diverse cultures and thus complicates historians’ abilities to trace slave culture. Hence, focus on the similarities or differences between African ethnicities involved in the slave trade are common and useful. Margaret Creel, Michael Brown, Gwendolyn Hall, Francis

³² Brown, *African-Atlantic Cultures*, 19.

³³ Ibid, 20.

³⁴ Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy*. 1st ed. (New York: Random House, 1983), 100.

Sterling Stuckey also stays away from this term claiming that it presents slaves as inferior, see; Sterling Stuckey, “Reflections on the Scholarship of African Origins and Influences in American Slavery.” *The Journal of African American History*. 91, no. 4 (2006), 428. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20064125> (accessed September 10, 15).

³⁵ Jason R. Young, *Rituals of Resistance: African Atlantic Religion in Kong and the Lowcountry South in the Era of Slavery*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007), 9.

³⁶ This is seen above in Sindey Mintz and Richard Price’s study.

Ntloedibe, John K. Thornton and Sterling Stuckey explored the similarities of African cultures and a cohesive slave population possibly impacted the development of slave culture. These historical works rejected the view of Frazier that ‘slaves had no past’.³⁷

Exploring the African diaspora and individual ethnicities helps to uncover cultural traits that African slaves may have brought to the New World.³⁸ Much of the data used by scholars looking at the African diaspora come from Philip Curtin’s influential work *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Consensus*. He analyzed and collected a large amount of data surrounding slave ethnicities and population throughout the periods of trade and across the Atlantic. Curtin closely examined “distribution of various ethnicities within space” from the early Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch and later the English and French traders through data from the trade vessels. Gomez explained,

in order to understand the process by which the African American identity was formed, and to flesh out the means by which relations within the African American community developed, it is essential to recover the African cultural, political and social background, recognizing that Africans came to the New World with certain coherent perspectives and beliefs about the universe and their place in it.³⁹

Understanding each individual African ethnicity that was involved in the trans-Atlantic slave trade is highly complex due to the lack of sources. Furthermore, there have been large gaps within the sources regarding the naming of ethnicities within Africa versus those found in New World colonies. Both Kongo and Angola are used within this study and are terms whose meanings have changed over time. Thompson argued that, “the

³⁷ Historians as mentioned above including; Franklin Frazier in *The Negro Family in the United States*, Stanley Elkins in *Slavery: A Problem in American* and Kenneth Stampp in *The Peculiar Institution*, who provided the perspective that slaves were child-like, incapable of remembering their own pasts and thus were wiped clean of their African cultures once enslaved to the new world.

³⁸ Including; Michael Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, Linda M. Heywood, and John Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Making of the Foundations*, Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash Spirit*, Kristen Mann, *Shifting Paradigms*, Margaret Creel, “*A Peculiar People*”, and Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture*.

³⁹ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 4.

broadening of the meanings of Kongo and Angola over the span of the Atlantic trade reflects the expansion of European slave trafficking into the heart of Kong and Kongo related societies during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.”⁴⁰ More specifically, Thompson explained that slave traders during the sixteenth century first applied the name ‘Kong’ specifically to Bankongo people but overtime it was used to describe any slave brought from West-Central Africa.⁴¹ As well, Angola at first described the Kimbundu culture but then broadened in definition over time to include all of modern Angola. In some cases the whole west coast of central Africa was included under this one term.⁴² Phyllis Martin further expanded on this issue and explained that the terminology can present problems because in many cases the regions were named and divided by trading zones.⁴³

Overall complications can arise because the first few generations of slaves were either not documented or their ethnicities were confused between their origins of where they were enslaved.⁴⁴ Historians grapple with the complexity of African ethnicities, partly because they do not always coincide with their African origins versus where the slave actually came from.⁴⁵ Ethnicities are dynamic and thus pose many complications

⁴⁰ Thompson, *Flash Spirits*, 103.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Phyllis Martin. *The External Trade of the Loango Coast, 1576-1870: the Effects of Changing Commercial Relations on the Vili Kingdom of Loango*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 84.

⁴⁴ Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. eBook Collection (EBSCOhost), EBSCOhost (accessed September 12, 2015), xiii.

Furthermore; Robert Farris Thompson explains that terms that separate ethnicities ‘meanings’ broadened over time to include more ethnicities and areas within Africa. For example Kongo-Angola, this term is problematic because it covers such a broad range of ethnicities, tribes and Kin that would have existed during slavery. Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash Spirit*, 103.

⁴⁵ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 30.

when trying to trace slave culture to Africa.⁴⁶ Gomez considerably contributed to this issue by breaking down each ethnicity and attempting to trace their roots.⁴⁷ He disputed that slaves actually derived largely from the same few areas within Africa and this allowed for slaves to have similar cultures, “the relative ebb and flow from these regions played a direct role in both the general direction and more subdued nuances of African American identity and culture”.⁴⁸ He separated, the usually lumped, Africans into their respective ethnicities according to geography, language and cultural customs. Kelley and Patterson explain that the diaspora is both a process and a condition.⁴⁹ While exploring African survivals it is also necessary to consider that diasporic identities are constantly changing and therefore the sense of collective identity among Africans is also shifting.⁵⁰

Leading off of their more generalized arguments surrounding African ethnicities Mintz and Price further argued that enslaved Africans were not closely tied to each other. In addition, slaves’ language and cultural traits were extremely diverse in Africa and accordingly slaves came to America as “heterogeneous cargos”.⁵¹ O’Malley shared this view and argued that the slave population was too diverse which inhibited Africanisms

⁴⁶ This has been a major focus for many including; Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, Gwendolyn Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities*, Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash Spirit*, & Michael Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*.

⁴⁷ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 33-34.

⁴⁸ Bight of Biafra, West Central African and the Gold Coast were the main sources of the slave trade throughout the first few generations.

Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 34.

⁴⁹ Tiffany Ruby Patterson & Robin D.G. Kelley. “Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World.” *African Studies Review*. 43, no.1 (2000),11. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/524719> (accessed September 10, 15).

⁵⁰ Kelly & Patterson, *Unfinished Migrations*, 19.

⁵¹ Frances Ntloebide. “A Question of Origins: The Social and Cultural Roots of African American Cultures.” *The Journal of African American History*. 91, no.4 (2006), 402. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20064123> (accessed September 10, 15).

from forming in North America and promoted quicker adaptation to local cultures.⁵² Mintz and Price had set out to challenge scholars before them, such as Holloway, who argued that most of West and Central African culture survived in America. However they argued that there were cultural discontinuities between slave ethnicities and this resulted in assimilation.⁵³ The random nature of slavery did not allow for imported slaves to continue specific African cultural identities, therefore slaves had to build a new life and culture in America.⁵⁴ Yet many historians such as Thornton, Ntloebide, Hall, Gomez, and Stuckey, viewed the duo's work as unreliable because it only focused on limited places and sources.⁵⁵ While Mintz and Price did not rule out African cultural survivals altogether, they did disagree with the idea of singular African cultures and ethnicities and focused on the creation of creolized cultures.⁵⁶

The Mintz and Price approach undermines the importance of each individual African ethnicity and their contribution to American culture. Reflected in the following passage are some of the clear flaws with Mintz' and Price's work, “[b]y collapsing the time span in their study of the transatlantic slave trade to Suriname, they concluded that Africans arrived as an incoherent crowd whose particular cultural identities and characteristics disappeared almost immediately after they landed in the Americas.”⁵⁷ Hall aimed to disprove this argument, she wrote, “the belief that Africans were so fragmented when they arrived in the western hemisphere that specific African regions and ethnicities

⁵² Gregory E. O'Malley, “Beyond the Middle Passage: Slave Migration from the Caribbean to North America, 1619-1807.” *The William and Mary Quarterly*. 66, no. 1 (2009), 133. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40212043> (accessed September 10, 15).

⁵³ Kelley & Patterson, *Unfinished Migrations*, 16.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 404.

⁵⁵ Largely their sources are limited to the region of the Caribbean.

Joseph E. Holloway, *Africanisms in American Culture*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), viii.

⁵⁶ Kelley & Patterson, *Unfinished Migrations*, 16.

⁵⁷ Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities*, 168.

had little influence on particular regions in the Americas.⁵⁸ She emphasized that the consideration of each African slaves' origin is extremely essential to the overall study. She explained that Senegambia and West Central Africa were the main areas that contributed to the slave trade and therefore slaves had much in common with one another. Unlike Mintz and Price, Hall claimed that, "large numbers of Africans speaking similar languages were heavily clustered over time and place in the Americas."⁵⁹ She contended that, "slaves were not immobilized, fractionalized, ignorant or isolated people, but aware of their descent [and] able to communicate with one another..."⁶⁰ Similarly, Herskovits contended that slave populations were not as scattered ethnically as had previously been perceived.⁶¹ He concluded that the slave system was actually much more unified than originally thought, that Africans had basic cultural commonalities and shared them accordingly.⁶² John K. Thornton explained that barriers, such as language and cultural similarities, were not quite so problematic.⁶³ He argued that the formation of languages occurred easily because many slaves shared similar dialects of language. Ntloedibe explained that, "[n]either culture diversity nor linguistic multiplicity served as obstacles to the development of African American cultures in the New World."⁶⁴ Even those ethnic areas in Africa that were separated by language, they still had to depend on each other for economic reasons and therefore must have had some form of

⁵⁸ Ibid, xiii.

⁵⁹ Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities*, 107.

⁶⁰ Gwendolyn Hall uses Louisiana as a starting point to break away from some of the misconceptions provided by previous historians. She proves that African slaves did have pieces of culture in common with one another, such as language, and that this allowed for them to create strong communities in the New World.

Hall, *Africans in colonial Louisiana*, 380.

⁶¹ Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past*, 293 & 295.

⁶² Ibid, 295.

⁶³ Thornton, John K., *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*. 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 8.

⁶⁴ Ntloebide, *A Question of Origins*, 402.

communication.⁶⁵ The formation of new languages developed because slaves brought from similar regions of Africa shared similar dialects of language. Arguably the majority of African slaves were enslaved from similar areas in Africa and those areas shared a lot in common culturally and linguistically.⁶⁶

Historians also look at elements such as religion and slave resistance as a way to prove that Africans did share cultural similarities and formed bonds in New World colonies.⁶⁷ Similarly, Stuckey Sterling and Margaret Creel have look at the similarities between various African religions in order to explain slaves' ability to relate to one another.⁶⁸ Acts of slave rebellion and resistance are used as strong examples of slaves' abilities to communicate and organize with each other.⁶⁹ African ethnicities shared a cultural oneness with one another and were able to stay connected in the New World.⁷⁰ Thornton looked at the Stono Rebellion of 1739 and Hall useed the Point Coupee conspiracy in 1795 to prove that slaves were not fragmented and they were clearly able to unite and rebel.⁷¹ Other important examples derive from slave revolts on ships, which demonstrate that recently enslaved Africans were able to communicate and relate to each

⁶⁵ Ntloedibe, *A Question of Origins*, 404.

⁶⁶ Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*, xiii.

⁶⁷This also of course depend on place, for example Gwendolyn Hall makes this argument for Louisiana because the majority of slaves came from Senegambia and they were therefore similar.

For further example see; Frances Ntloedibe. *A Question of Origins*, 402. & Hall, *Africans in colonial Louisiana*, 29-55.

⁶⁸ Kristin Mann, "Shifting Paradigms in the Study of the African Diaspora and of Atlantic History and Culture." *Slavery and Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies*. 22, no. 1 (2010), 4. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/714005181> (accessed September 10, 15).

⁶⁹ Other historians who have explored commonalities between African ethnicities through acts of rebellion and other elements include; Margaret Washington Creel, "A Peculiar People", Michael Ras Brown, *African-Atlantic Cultures*, Gwendolyn Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*, Francis Ntloedibe, *A Question of Origins*, John K. Thornton, *A Cultural History of the Atlantic World*, Michael Mullin, *Africa in America* and Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory*.

⁷⁰ Ntloedibe, *A Question of Origins*, 405.

⁷¹ Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 344 & Thornton, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion." *The American Historical Review*. 96, no. 4 (1991): 1101 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2164997> (accessed November 17, 2015).

other in some way.⁷² Even more indicative of slaves “cultural oneness” is the formation of maroon communities that can be seen throughout the slave trade period, especially in Louisiana and South Carolina.⁷³ There are many examples of large maroon communities living just off of plantations in cypress marshes and swamps.⁷⁴ Overall slave resistance has provided historians with strong evidence that demonstrates distinct African ethnicities communicating and organizing with each other which further shows slaves did not just adapt to slavery but continued to push for freedom.

Historians have sought to understand how Europeans viewed African ethnicities and what ethnicities Africans associated themselves with. Slave preference in South Carolina demonstrates that slave traders were knowledgeable of African ethnicities and chose specific slaves accordingly.⁷⁵ Historians, such as Littlefield, have explored the trends of slave ethnicities in South Carolina and have concluded that there was a preference for those from areas in Africa that cultivate rice, especially Gambia.⁷⁶

⁷² This is seen through Denmark Vesey’s resistance in, Walter C. Rucker, “I Will Gather All Nations”: Resistance, Culture, and Pan-African Collaboration in Denmark Vesey’s South Carolina.” *The Journal of Negro History*. 86, no. 2 (2001), 133. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1350161> (accessed October 20 2015) & throughout the French slave trade to Louisiana in, Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in colonial Louisiana*, 57-95.

⁷³ For more information see; Tim Lockley and David Doddington. “Maroon and Slave Communities in South Carolina Before 1865.” *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*. 113, no. 2 (2012) <http://www.jstor.org.subzero.lib.uoguelph.ca/stable/41698100> (accessed September 19, 15) & Hall, *Africans in colonial Louisiana*, 202-236.

⁷⁴ Hall looks at Point Coupee in Louisiana because of its high level of maroon communities that runaway to the cypress swamps in the French settlement, Bas du Fleuve, where maroons gained control and power. Hall, *Africans in colonial Louisiana*, 205.

Lockley and Doddington examine the swamps in South Carolina and specifically at the Savannah River maroons, who successfully lived together for a few years. Lockley and Doddington, 129.

⁷⁵ See; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the eighteenth century*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 288.

⁷⁶ This includes; Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina*, Joyce E. Chaplin, *Tidal Rice Cultivation and the Problem of Slavery in South Carolina and Georgia, 1760-1815*, Kenneth Morgan, *Slave Sales in Colonial Charleston*, Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion*, Robert Olwell, *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects: The Culture of Power in the South Carolina Low Country, 1740-1790*, and

Patterns of slave populations in South Carolina emulate that of rice production because both increased at a similar rate.⁷⁷ For example, the slave population in South Carolina outnumbered whites by the early eighteenth century when rice production was at its peak⁷⁸. Patterns of preference arose because Europeans slave buyers wanted specific physical attributes and personality traits, which were associated with ethnicity. Morgan looked at slave prices separated by ethnicity and concludes that ethnic preference is visible, while slaves from regions other than Gambia sold for much less at slave auctions.⁷⁹ Although slaves from Gambia were preferred, the other forty percent of the slave population was of slaves from Congo-Angola.⁸⁰ David Littlefield aimed to explore the possible factors that could explain why the Congo-Angola was prevalent in South Carolina if rice was so crucial. Littlefield determined that South Carolinians preferred slaves with skills in general and determined that Angolans were popular due to their mechanical skills.⁸¹ Whether slave traders bought slaves based on ethnicity or skills, there was clearly a desire to purchase slaves from Gambia and Littlefield argued that, in South Carolina, rice technology was the most prevalent cultural contribution deriving from African slaves.⁸²

This work will focus on one place, South Carolina, in order to better understand slave culture in North America. Since there has been extensive research on South

L.H. Roper, *The 1701 "Act for the Better Ordering of Slaves": Reconsidering the History of Slavery in Proprietary South Carolina*.

Wood, *Black Majority*, 59.

⁷⁷ Wood, *Black Majority*, 36.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Morgan, *Slave Sales in Colonial Charleston*, 919-20.

⁸⁰ Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 109 & 113.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 137.

He also attributes their popularity to being easily accessible.

⁸² Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves*, 4.

Carolina's slave culture I will gain a new perspective by applying the research findings of Gwendolyn Halls' *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, who explores slave culture in Louisiana, to it. There is no doubt that Louisiana is and was exceptionally culturally diverse. The vast combination of cultures that came together during the formation of the state formed the creole cultures seen today. Hall emphasized that Louisiana had uncommon attributes and argues the following,

[t]he chaotic conditions prevailing in the colony, the knowledge and skills of the African population, the size and importance of the Indian population throughout the eighteenth century, and the geography of lower Louisiana, which allowed for easy mobility along its waterways as well as escape and survival in the nearby, the pervasive swamps, all contributed to an unusually cohesive and heavily Africanized culture in lower Louisiana: clearly the most Africanized slave culture in the United States.⁸³

Furthermore, Hall argued that due to various conditions there was a sense of "racial openness" in Louisiana that differed from other states.⁸⁴ Whites, blacks and Native Americans relied on one another for protection during the first few years of colonization.⁸⁵ Moreover the large variety of colonizers involved during the establishment of the state, including both white and black, British, German, French and Spanish, criminals and misfits, allowed for a broader cultural and ethnic acceptance.⁸⁶ Hall argued that racial lines were blurred in Louisiana thus providing an exclusive experience to slaves in this space. Is it possible to argue that Louisiana was and is the

⁸³ Hall, *Africans in colonial Louisiana*, 161.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 240.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 238.

⁸⁶ Hall, *Africans in colonial Louisiana*, 14.

most Africanized state such as Hall claims? This thesis will demonstrate that while Louisiana was unique, South Carolina was comparable and Africanized in its own way.⁸⁷

I seek to further explore the relationship between slaves and their respective new homes in South Carolina. The goal is to gain a better understanding of the relationship that occurred between slaves, their owners, and South Carolina's society through a study of the colony and the application of some of Gwendolyn Hall's research questions. Subsequently, this approach will add to the large field of historical works that have focused on both slave culture and slavery in South Carolina. This research provides knowledge surrounding how a space can either nurture or hinder a culture. In South Carolina from 1670-1799, social characteristics such as slave distribution and ethnic preference of slave importation, the formation of the state and government, and the nature and occurrence of slave resistance, affected both white and black cultures' capability to adapt or resist one another.

The periodization for this work is determined by a few factors. The first is a reflection of Gwendolyn Hall's periodization because in order to fully apply her methods a similar time frame is necessary. The starting point, 1670, was established through Peter H. Woods' work, where he stated that it was not until this date that the region of South Carolina had a significant amount of whites and blacks.⁸⁸ In order to keep this work focused, I chose to cut off my research before the turn of the nineteenth century. This will allow me to explore the foundation period of South Carolina, the 1739 Stono Rebellion and its affects, and all of the eighteenth century. This study uses Gwendolyn Hall's

⁸⁷ The term Africanized is used to represent Hall's argument and her definition. She uses it as a term to describe Africans slaves' abilities to remember, preserve their cultural traits from their African places of origin. Louisiana is described here as the *most Africanized* because she argues that the state resulted in having the largest variety of Africanisms survive.

⁸⁸ Wood, *Black Majority*, 6.

approach to the study of slave culture in South Carolina while at the same time allowing the primary source materials available guide my own approach regarding a few major questions. Firstly is it possible to examine South Carolina's history in a similar method as Louisiana and are they even comparable? Secondly how similar or different was the characteristics of slavery across space? It will also contribute to the exploration of slave culture and the presence of Africanisms in South Carolina.

This work will also produce a deeper understanding of the relationship between place and the slave trade. Hall's central view is that Louisiana was extremely racially open and therefore, provided slaves with a space that was more tolerable of different cultures and ethnicities. This allowed for slaves to better retain their African heritage while also allowing them to resist more successfully and frequently than in most other colonies. In order to prove that whites in Louisiana were uniquely accepting of blacks and Native Americans, she looks at the colony's economic situation, population make-up, social and political views, and distribution patterns. Her chapters are organized chronologically and are separated by place and African ethnicity. She organizes her work by breaking down the foundation of Louisiana into stages. Hall closely examined the variety of colonists that inhabited Louisiana during the initial stages of colonization in Louisiana. This included French and Canadian, and Spanish colonization, along with short and sporadic visits by Germans.⁸⁹ Together they made up Louisiana's diverse culture while at the same time contributing to its unique qualities.

⁸⁹ French and Canadian settlers were among the first to settle in Louisiana. The colony developed slowly under French ruling, by 1706 Louisiana had 85 French and Canadian inhabitants. By 1726 there were about 1,952 colonists, which included some Germans who settled near New Orleans. Hall, 7-8.

The Spanish took control officially by 1763 following the French and Indian War and the loss of interest of the Canadians. Hall, 276.

Hall, *Africans in colonial Louisiana*, 14.

Hall began by looking at the first available census for Louisiana from 1699, “5 petty officers, 4 sailors, 19 Canadians, 13 pirates from the Caribbean, 10 laborers, 6 cabin boys, and 20 soldiers.”⁹⁰ In the early eighteenth century Hall concluded that the population was made up of prisoners, deserted soldiers, vagabonds and persons without means.⁹¹ She looked at court reports that reveal how the “misfits” behaved poorly and this led to difficulties in maintaining a functioning colony.⁹² Hall also argued in this chapter that Louisiana, from the start, was a very poor place and never really established a “self-sustaining economy.”⁹³ Therefore, she explained that French Louisiana was not a prosperous plantation society, but Louisiana started off as a poor and unstable place. Hall seemed determined to show that the state was unique in all facets.

While Louisiana was under French rule, Hall emphasized that Indians were very important to whites’ and blacks’, safety and success in the unknown and dangerous territory. Hall aimed to better understand the unique relationships that occurred between French and Indians. She concluded that people from France were much more tolerable of the Native Americans than English colonists were.⁹⁴ She argued that this resulted because, “the French were more interested in the fur trade and military alliances with Indians than taking over their land...[they] aimed to preserve the Indians while the English aimed to displace them.”⁹⁵ Moreover she argued that France relied heavily on

⁹⁰ Hall, *Africans in colonial Louisiana*, 3.

⁹¹ Ibid, 5.

⁹² Hall uses the term ‘misfits’ to describe the array of colonists that inhabited French Louisiana because it consisted of ‘criminals, deserted soldiers, vagabond and persons without means’ or the unwanted people from France. This is significantly different from South Carolina, which will be further seen in the following Chapters.

⁹³ Ibid, 6.

⁹⁴ Ibid, 9.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 13.

⁹⁵ Ibid,14.

Indian warriors in the colony because French troops were much less reliable.⁹⁶ Hall concluded that Louisiana was dangerous and unstable and it included many wars, minimal laws and frequently famine was an issue during colonization.⁹⁷ She remarked, “[m]ost of the soldiers, and many of the settlers, were the rejects of French society whose lives had no value as far as Louisiana’s officials were concerned. The French authorities looked to Africa for useful workers.”⁹⁸ She stressed that the Indian population not only provided military and economic support for French colonizers, but also, aided some slaves to escape their captors. Furthermore, the French were not only more open to working with Indians but were highly dependent on them.⁹⁹ Importantly the relationships between Indians and Africans remained strong throughout the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁰

Through the use of Philip Curtin’s organized data in *The Slave Trade: A Consensus*, Hall concluded that around two-thirds of the population of slaves was from Senegambia, Africa. She explored Senegambian slaves in further depth by providing more information on the individual African ethnicities. This allowed for a better understanding of the African cultures that slaves potentially brought with them to Louisiana. Hall demonstrated some of the stereotypes that were associated with various ethnicities and argued that these characteristics created patterns of ethnic preference. In order to focus her work, she broke-down the most popular slave origins and their specifics. Hall explored the religious, military and social views and as well the languages of the African ethnicities, such as Bambara, Mande, and Wolof. She paid special attention to Bambara slaves’ cultural ways in Africa, which included “functional and

⁹⁶ Hall, *Africans in colonial Louisiana*, 19.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 26.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid,19.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid,118.

resilient worldviews". These qualities transferred overseas and were reflected in the revolts that occurred on slave ships and slaves' abilities to create communities and organize resistance in Louisiana.¹⁰¹ Furthermore through analysis of ships revolts, Hall argued that slaves were not fragmented, but had similar languages and cultural features. Hall used ship logs, captain's memorandums, and census data to uncover slaves' experiences on the vessels and the frequency of revolts. She explained that, "in Louisiana, the impact of the founding African ethnic groups was especially great because of the pattern of introduction of slaves."¹⁰² She contended that from the start of colonization slaves derived directly from Africa and this resulted in a 'coherent, functional, well integrated, autonomous, and self-confident slave community' not one that was fragmented. By combining both information regarding specific African ethnicities and primary accounts of what occurred on the ships, Hall was able to show instances of slave resistance and she provided possible reasons for their occurrence.

The Code Noirs that were implemented under French colonization are also important to her study¹⁰³. She provides proof that slaves understood their rights and were able to use the Code Noirs to gain more power. She also explored the frequency of runaways and the maroon communities and the specific punishments the convicted slaves faced according to the Code Noir.¹⁰⁴ Through the examination of court records, runaways, their punishments and slaves ability to implement the Code Noir, Hall argued that,

¹⁰¹ Hall, *Africans in colonial Louisiana*, 54-55.

¹⁰² Ibid, 159.

¹⁰³ The Code Noirs were implemented in 1724 and were based off of earlier laws beginning in the mid-seventeenth century. They remained in place until the United States took control of Louisiana in 1803.

Louisiana's Code Noir (1724), BlackPast.org; Remembered and Reclaimed,
<http://www.blackpast.org/primary/louisianas-code-noir-1724> (accessed April 24, 2016).

¹⁰⁴ Hall, *Africans in colonial Louisiana*, 143.

Mere survival was on the line, and notions of racial and/or cultural and national superiority were a luxury beyond the means of the colonists. In French Louisiana, Africans and their descendants were competent, desperately needed and far from powerless.¹⁰⁵

Hall used large acts of slave resistance that occurred within Louisiana during both French and Spanish rule, to further show that slave resistance and Africanization of a colony were connected. The examples Hall used include the Natchez Revolt, the maroons at Bas du Fleuve and the Pointe Coupee conspiracy. Hall argued that all of these instances of slave resistance helped to prove that slaves were capable of communication and organization, which essentially led her to also show that slaves did culturally contribute to Louisiana. Most importantly to Hall's study is her examination of the 1795 Pointe Coupee conspiracy where she examined its cause and its implications. She mainly attributed the Pointe Conspiracy to have been caused by the rising tensions that resulted from the revolutionary war.¹⁰⁶ The importance of this conspiracy pertains to slaves' clear ability to not only be informed and knowledgeable about local politics, but also their ability to meet up and plan such an event. Other factors that are revealed through this conspiracy include Indians aiding whites to capture rebellious slaves. It proved that the slave populations were heavily Africanized because they mainly derived from Bight of Benin.

Elements from all of the scholarship will be important to this study. This thesis will stress the importance of African ethnicity in South Carolina and will accomplish this by breaking down slaves from Senegambia and the Congo-Angola. Africans from these areas were both preferred by slave traders and were among the most easily accessible to South Carolina. Africans certainly brought a large variety of cultural attributes to the

¹⁰⁵ Hall, *Africans in colonial Louisiana*, 155.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 374.

colony and contributed to the creation of Gullah language and culture¹⁰⁷. Slaves were able to not only communicate with one another but also collectively form communities and successfully resist against the institution of slavery through revolts, running away and forming maroon communities. All of these forms of slave resistance will be explored in detail within this work. I will do so by applying Hall's methods and theories to South Carolina. This will provide a new look at the history of slave culture in South Carolina during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by seeking to answer how a specific space provided a unique experience for slaves. I will explore the following questions: to what degree does a difference of space alter slaves' ability to preserve their African roots? Was South Carolina "racially open" or at least a place where slaves were able to keep their culture in tact? If not, how did this influence slaves experience? What aspects or variables of South Carolina either allowed or disallowed slaves to maintain African cultures within the state? Did the various slave ethnicities brought from Africa have a lot in common with one another, like those brought to Louisiana, thus providing an easier platform for slaves to build communities with one another? Was slave resistance as common and successful? Finally, aside from rice technology what types of cultural retentions did Africans bring with them to South Carolina and did pieces of African culture have a lasting impact on the state?

Of course the two states are very different, both geographically and in terms of their development, but was Louisiana actually superior in providing a space where slaves could easily preserve their African cultures as Hall suggests? Or was it simply in a

¹⁰⁷ Gullah refers to the group of African slaves that formed while living in the low-country of South Carolina. Similarly to the term "Creole", Gullah refers, not only to the language of slaves that was formed in the South called "Gullah", but is also applied to the whole cultural group that developed from the creolization process. Furthermore, Gullah refers to the African and English cultural mixing that occurred in the slave communities in South Carolina.

different way? What were the traits that made Louisiana a superior place for African slaves to resist the consequences of slavery? Hall explored numerous aspects of Louisiana in order to show its exclusivity, including patterns of African ethnicities, types of colonizers, slave resistance, state laws, native relations and gender patterns. For the purposes of the length of this work, I will only focus on few specific aspects from Hall's work and will gain a better understanding of South Carolina and its slave culture.

The first chapter will look at the beginning stages of the slave trade in South Carolina from the sixteenth century onwards. Moreover, here the thesis will establish the basic foundation of the distribution patterns of the slave trade in South Carolina. Also the exploration of the types of people that made up the first few years of colonization in South Carolina will be examined. This will provide a deeper understanding of why and what slavery was like in later years. This includes African slaves, Spanish explorers, British colonizers and Native Americans. The beginning of South Carolina's foundation was much less culturally diverse than seen in Louisiana and this provided slaves with a different environment than Louisiana. However, this did not restrict slaves from resisting or maintaining their cultures in South Carolina as they did in Louisiana. Following this point I will also examine the relationship that occurred between Native Americans and the British colonizers. While Native Americans played extremely important roles in both colonies, they were different. I will also look at the types of African ethnicities that were most common due to ethnic preference and rice cultivation. The changes of origins of slave ethnicities over time will be explored in order to better understand how little or how much slaves had in common with one another in the colony. The shift from slaves being imported from the Caribbean and then directly from Africa had various implications on

South Carolina society and culture. I will argue that there was a clear preference of slaves from Senegambia but slaves from Congo-Angola also made up a large portion of the population. Arguably these slaves were not fragmented and therefore were able to connect, communicate and resist against slavery in South Carolina. The chapter will look at the black majority that occurred in the eighteenth century, which allowed slaves to further maintain their African cultures because of a lessened white influence.¹⁰⁸ Overall I will establish the relationship between people in South Carolina while providing context for the remainder of this work. This chapter will reveal how imperative a colony's foundation period can be in its ability to nurture slave culture.

Chapter three will seek to breakdown those ethnicities that were most popular in the South Carolina slave trade. This will include slaves from Senegambia and Congo-Angola, who together made up approximately eighty-four percent of the population in the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁹ Gwendolyn Hall argued that slave resistance and acts of rebellion were symbolic of slaves' clear ability to communicate¹¹⁰. Furthermore, Hall contended that acts of resistance were high in Louisiana because slaves shared a lot in common culturally and linguistically.¹¹¹ She argued that, slave resistance in Louisiana was more frequent and accessible then in other colonies. By breaking down African cultures from Senegambia and Congo-Angola it will become clear that they included specific traits and characteristics that enhanced the frequency of escape. Through the exploration of slave

¹⁰⁸ According to Peter H. Wood, Africans began to outnumber Europeans around 1720. Wood, *Black Majority*, 131.

¹⁰⁹ Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves*, 113.

Hall breaks down the most prominent area that slaves derived from, Senegambia, and explored the various ethnicities within it. This thesis will seek to do the same with those involved in South Carolina. For more information see; Hall, *Africans in colonial Louisiana*, 29-49.

¹¹⁰ See Page 4 of this Chapter for arguments by Genovese and Stampp who both argue in opposition to Hall's point.

¹¹¹ See Chapter 2 in Hall's, *Africans in colonial Louisiana*, 22-55.

resistance, runaways and maroon communities in South Carolina it will become obvious that slaves in South Carolina were also able to relate to each other. Moreover because of factors such as rice plantations, black majority, state laws, slaves were able to successfully runaway in South Carolina. This section will show that despite the clear difference between Louisiana and South Carolina, slaves in South Carolina were able to resist the bonds of slavery.

Lastly, chapter four will focus on the Stono Rebellion of 1739 and use it as an example of slaves' abilities to communicate and demonstrate power. The political state of South Carolina will also be explored because it has been questioned if due to the conflicts between the Spanish and British, this led to slave unrest, which then led to the rebellion. Again some of the different characteristics of Senegambia slaves will be included here in order to show the meaning of the use of dance and drums during the rebellion. From this the role that religion played will also be examined in order to better understand the possible instigators. Both of these elements can be traced directly to African roots and therefore are strong examples of Africanisms in South Carolina during an early period. The *Act of Bettering Ordering Slaves* from 1740 will be examined because it shows the fear that evolved afterwards. I will also examine the roles that Native Americans played after the Stono Rebellion through the examination of these laws. The Stono Rebellion demonstrates that slaves were able to organize, communicate, preserve their African cultures and push for freedom. It is therefore also a very good example of how slaves were able to maintain their cultural heritage and how their experiences varied across places.

This chapter will also examine other forms of slave resistance that occurred

following the Stono Rebellion. The continuation of slave runaways and formation of maroon communities is further proof that the new slaves codes implemented following the rebellion were not highly effective. Most importantly maroon communities were highly present in South Carolina during the mid-eighteenth century and some were comparable in size to maroons seen in the Caribbean. A close examination of the Savannah River maroons will provide further insight into the strategies and characteristics of slaves that were a part of maroon communities. Overall slave resistance in South Carolina following the Stono Rebellion remained strong and was highly reflective of slaves' ability to take advantage of a cultural space in order to organize against slavery.

This work will provide the study of slavery in South Carolina with a fresh look. While I was inspired by the work of Gwendolyn Hall, I was also intrigued by how time and place impacted slavery and slave culture. I became curious about how these factors could be examined and what new information would emerge. South Carolina is the best option for this application because Hall refers to this state as the opposite of Louisiana. How can these two extremes be compared and did slaves goals, needs and contributions really change all that much depending on space? Hall concentrated on slave resistance, laws, geography, the process of colonization and the population of Louisiana. This thesis seeks to do the same by putting emphasis on foundation of South Carolina and the level of slave resistance that occurred during until the 1800's. This work will show that runaways, maroon communities and major acts of rebellion were all present in South Carolina, as they were in Louisiana. Conclusively, the impact of slavery and the experience of slaves varied across place and more specifically, depending on the state.

Even though Louisiana and South Carolina were extremely different states, in both cases slaves were still able to preserve their African cultures. No matter what kind of place slaves were presented with, they still had the strong urge to resist the institution of slavery. Consequently different places did not alter a human's need to be free, happy and healthy. Although slave's experienced slightly different situations across place the larger picture remained the same, the institution of slavery was barbaric and unnatural.

Chapter 2

The Beginning: Colonization, the Slave Trade and Rice

“Mere survival was on the line, and notions of racial and/or cultural and national superiority were a luxury beyond the means of the colonists. In French Louisiana, Africans and their descendants were competent, desperately needed, and far from powerless”

-Gwendolyn Hall¹¹².

English settlement began during the mid-seventeenth century in South Carolina and it included slaves from the Caribbean. These slaves were already exposed to slavery in the Caribbean making them, creolized slaves, and significantly contributed to the formation of slave culture in South Carolina. This first group of slaves had major implications on the future generations of slaves that would be brought directly from African by the early eighteenth century. The creolized slaves population, mainly from Barbados, provided the colony with laborers during the early periods of settlement and helped to build the colony. South Carolina was one of the eight British colonies and a well-established place where colonizers from Barbados, Europe and other North American colonies inhabited. By 1670, significant settlement was established and South Carolina quickly became a successful and lucrative colony for the British.¹¹³ The slave population shaped the development of the colony's society and culture. The foundation of South Carolina, as well as the make-up of African ethnicities, importance of rice, slave preference, black majority, colonists and Native Americans, will be explored. This chapter will establish the basic foundation of the colony and thus will provide context for the slave trade in South Carolina between the sixteenth and eighteenth century. While

¹¹² Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 155.

¹¹³ Wood, *Black Majority*, 9.

slaves adjusted to the surrounding cultures in South Carolina they also brought their own cultures and this helped to shape the colony and society of South Carolina,

Whether tending isolated herds of cattle, working alone in the forest to turn pine tar, voyaging independently into the backcountry to trade with Native Americans, or fighting beside their masters in the colonial militia, enslaved Africans were crucial and creative contributors in the establishment of low country society.¹¹⁴

The slave population was an integral part of this process and helped to build the colony's economy, structure and society.

I The early colonization period until early eighteenth century

The first known importation of Africans to the colony of South Carolina occurred in 1526.¹¹⁵ Throughout the sixteenth century South Carolina was visited by a variety of different Spanish explorers who brought with them slave populations from the Caribbean. Slaves were present and a significant part of the colony's population from the beginning. Along with the Spanish explorers, there were also a small number of French explorers who attempted to create colonies at Port Royal, in South Carolina.¹¹⁶ Neither the French nor the Spanish stayed for long periods of time and were therefore not overly influential to the colony's culture.¹¹⁷ This was due to various factors including lack of labor forces, from the absence of Indian populations, lack of cash crops or precious metals, high disease and death rates all leading to an overall lack of interest.¹¹⁸ Shortly after the

¹¹⁴ Olwell, *Masters, Slaves and Subjects*, 43.

¹¹⁵ Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion*. (New York: Norton Library, 1943), 3.

¹¹⁶ Robert M. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History*. Colombia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1997. *Ebook Collection (EBSCOhost)*, EBSCOhost (accessed January 17, 2016), 6.

¹¹⁷ This is a distinctive difference between South Carolina and Louisiana, while both places experienced French and Spanish influences in Louisiana they stayed and heavily influenced its cultural formation. South Carolina however was dominated by the British and lacked French and Spanish cultural influences.

See Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 276.

¹¹⁸ Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 7 & 46.

The major diseases included, malaria, dysentery and yellow fever. Disease in South Carolina was so prominent it became known as a place to go to if one wished to die and was nicknamed "the Carolina Phiz"

unsuccessful presence of French and Spanish colonizers, “Carolina coast reverted to no man’s land, claimed by Spain but visited by French corsairs and English privateers.”¹¹⁹

Towards the end of the sixteenth century South Carolina became strategically useful to the British due to the increased tensions with the Spanish.¹²⁰ The combination of unpredictable weather, disease and tensions between Native Americans and colonists, made South Carolina a difficult and dangerous place to settle. Many settlers died, some left shortly after arriving, while at the same time many stayed because of the incentive of land ownership and the potential for successful crops.¹²¹ The colony of South Carolina was small at first, 31,000 square miles in size, containing the Savannah River, Appalachian Mountains and Cypress Swamps.¹²² Those settlers who stayed did so because of the incentives such as becoming wealthy.¹²³ In 1663, eight men from England officially became proprietors of South Carolina granted by Charles II.¹²⁴ It became the goal of the British to increase population density in order to create a successful colony. One of the ways this was accomplished was through advertisements that were geared toward potential colonizers from other colonies, such as Virginia or Barbados.¹²⁵ Details regarding the regions of the settlers are further seen in an advertisement written by a British traveler, R.F. who wrote,

[s]o in America (to my own observations) several Families have transported themselves from the Ports of Barbados; but what from the rest of the Caribes, I

or physiognomy (Weir, 40). The weather in South Carolina varied in both topography and climate and hurricanes were a common threat to the colony (Weir, 35-36).

¹¹⁹ Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 7.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid, 46.

¹²² Ibid, 38.

¹²³ Ibid, 48.

¹²⁴ Ibid, 49.

¹²⁵ Ibid, 51.

The British did not want to send its own people to the colonies because it was feared this would weaken their own nation, thus they looked to other, older colonies.

know not: yet a, credibly inform'd (and from very good hands) that divers are gone, and going from thence: also from New-Providence, Bermuda, New-York, New Jersey, New-England, Long Island, De-la-ware, Maryland, Virginia; but great numbers from Scotland, and several from the borders of Ireland.¹²⁶

By mid-seventeenth century Barbados became a major contributor to the colony's population. Between 1670 and 1690 approximately one half of the total white population in South Carolina were from Barbados.¹²⁷ These white colonists also brought along with them a significant number of slaves from Barbados. At the same time, colonists also emigrated from other American colonies and other places in Europe.¹²⁸ Hence, South Carolina's initial settlers were diverse, many of which were experienced settlers although with little money or power. Not only did Barbados provide the colony with many settlers, but also a large portion of its slave population. Slaves from Barbados were sought after because they were more seasoned and did not cost as much as direct imports from Africa.¹²⁹ Indeed in comparison to other British colonies, the heavy Caribbean presence, black and white, was unique to South Carolina.¹³⁰

Britain's efforts to bring in more settlers finally began to pay off following 1670, which is when documents indicate significant and permanent settlement in South

¹²⁶ R.F., *The Present state of Carolina with advice to the Setlers*. 1682. Printed in London: John Bringhurst. EEBO :Early English Books Online. ProQuest, 2003-2006. (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com.subzero.lib.uoguelph.ca/>), 6.

R.F. wrote *The Present State of Carolina with advice to the Settlers*, in 1682 to assumedly provide detailed information, as well as a first hand account, about the qualities of South Carolina, what to expect and how to act once arrived.

¹²⁷ Little, *Rice and Slaves*, 88.

¹²⁸ At the time there were eight American colonies, colonized by the British, which helped to supply South Carolina with experienced people such as Virginia.

¹²⁹ Wood, *Black Majority*, 15.

¹³⁰ Large colonies mainly received the majority of their slave imports from Africa, whereas smaller colonies such as Louisiana or Florida received a majority from the Caribbean. South Carolina, even though it was a larger colony, received a large portion of slaves from the Caribbean until the early eighteenth century. In this sense, Louisiana and South Carolina were similar. O'Malley, *Beyond the Middle Passage*, 131.

Michael Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 4.

Carolina. One of their successful tactics was that they provided people who did not have a lot of money with economic opportunity. Furthermore by becoming an indentured servant, colonists were given fifty acres of land in South Carolina.¹³¹ Plenty of South Carolina's first settlers were made up of poor whites from other colonies or the Caribbean who were able to settle this way. R.F. wrote,

... yet is there fifty acres allotted unto them notwithstanding they come over as Servants; and their Provision and Accommodation the Disposition and Charge of another: which proportion of Fifty Acres is ratified unto them after the expiration of the time contracted, and covenanted for by Indenture, or other wife.¹³²

This contract required those to serve as indentured servants for four years and after that term needed to marry to complete their service. This further encouraged permanent settlement and population increase.

Similar efforts were also made to increase the black population. Settlers were offered twenty acres for every black male and ten acres for every black female brought to the colony.¹³³ This helped to speed up the colonization process while also providing the foundations for the “black majority” that occurred in the later years. It only took about twenty years or so for the black population to equal that of whites.¹³⁴ South Carolina continued to grow and strengthen following 1670 as the population increased,

So that now to describe the present strength of the southern settlement of the flourishing Carolina (by modest computation) we calculate their Artillery to fourteenth, or fifteen hundred resolute, and gallante fighting men under excellent conduct, and discipline; as well arm'd as most men & as well as any Colony provided with Ammunition. Their women also are healthful, and fruitful; and their Children generally beautiful, and strong. Nor have we hitherto considered the Negro Slaves. Whose labour proclaims the Settlers plenty; and whole service

¹³¹ Note: the quantity of acres that these settlers were offered varies. For example, Robert Weir claims that it was only ten acres and this may depend on the source retrieved from, time period or even space.

Regardless this work will use the quantity of fifty acres as seen in the primary source used here.

¹³² R.F, *The Present state of Carolina*, 18-19.

¹³³ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 4.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

doubles their security, if provided a Foreigner should attempt to invade them. Moreover it enervates the feminine Native, if at any time he conspires against the Inhabitant, who can never be insensible of the natural antipathy the Native and the Negro has one against another; which the rather confirms the Settlers security.¹³⁵

A lot can be determined from this passage including the relationship between the settlers, Native Americans and slaves. Some caution must be taken while using this source because the goal was to appeal to potential settlers, therefore some matters may have been left out while some truths may be embellished. It does however reflect the strengths of the colony. Unlike Louisiana, which had a weak economy, poor security and whose colonists consisted of those who were unwanted from France such as criminals and lower class, South Carolina had a strong economy, military and those who colonized South Carolina included all types of British families. As well, the British government economically supported the growth of the colony and was able to purchase many strong and healthy slaves. This contributed majorly to the colony's success and safety as reflected in the passage. The writer emphasized the importance that the large slave population had for the colony's safety in case of attack. Arguably because the colonizers had the support they needed from the British government along with the profitable land that South Carolina provided, they did not depend on the slaves or Native Americans for protection. This resulted in a separation between cultures and possibly provided slaves with more time away from their owners. The beginning stages of the colonization process in South Carolina provided slaves with an enhanced environment where they could maintain their African cultures.

¹³⁵ R.F, *The Present State of Carolina*, 5.

II The Native American Population

As reflected in Gwendolyn Hall's work, Native Americans could either negatively or positively affect the experiences of the slave population. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in South Carolina, white colonists viewed Native Americans as a barbaric and untrustworthy people who needed to be removed or civilized in order for the British colony to flourish. The British had already encountered Native Americans before the arriving to South Carolina and believed that they were well prepared to handle the Natives Americans in the new colony. The earliest documented source on this issue derives from John Smyth's estate, which demonstrates that in 1682 small plantations included black slaves, Native Americans and Britons living together.¹³⁶ But for the most part, colonists saw Indians as an unnecessary threat to their political dominances. Unlike in Louisiana where the colonists depended on Native Americans for protection, security in South Carolina was strong because of the England's strong military presence and enforced laws. The Native American population was not needed for military purposes and this resulted in different relationships, than in Louisiana, between the separate cultures. This is an important difference between the colonies because Hall claims that Louisiana was more racially open partly because the French were more accepting of the Native Americans and this led to an environment that better allowed slaves to maintain their African cultures. However, as will be shown throughout this work, though South Carolina was not as accepting of the Indians and possibly not as "racially open", the African slaves were still able to maintain their cultures and resist slavery.

¹³⁶ It documented that there were: nine negroes, four Indians, and four whites living together on the small plantation.

Wood, *Black Majority*, 113.

Also refer to Appendix B of Wood's book for the full Primary source of Smyth's Estate.

The colonists dealt with the Native Americans in a variety of ways, one of which was by attempting to convert them to Christianity in hopes of “civilizing” them. One newspaper article from 1732, reflects the push for conversion to Christianity,

Christianity will be extended by the Execution of this Design; since the good Discipline established by the Society will reform the Manners of those miserable Objects...who shall behave in a just, moral and religious Manner, will contribute greatly towards the Conversion of the Indians...¹³⁷

Overall the success rate of converting the Indian population in South Carolina was quite low. While civilizing the Native Americans was one option, the colony also sought to minimize their power dealt with them by enslaving and trading them into the Caribbean.¹³⁸ South Carolina became one of the main colonies that exported the Indians population through the slave trade.¹³⁹ This is also indicative of the fact that the British did not depend on the Native Americans but rather preferred to remove them from the colony. In another article, published by the South Carolina Gazette in 1732, compared the colonization of South Carolina to the colonization of Virginia.¹⁴⁰ Interestingly it was concluded that South Carolina had the potential to be a more advanced and a stronger colony than Virginia because there were fewer Native Americans present from the beginning. The presence of Native Americans then was seen to directly correlate to the success of a colony. So while in Louisiana the Native American population was high and the colonists relied on their help, South Carolina had fewer Indians and the two cultures remained separate and this potentially led to a less “racially open environment”.¹⁴¹ Yet

¹³⁷ “Containing the freshest Advice Foreign and Domestic” *The South-Carolina Gazette*. Issue 55 December 9th, 1732.

¹³⁸ Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 26. & O’Malley, *Beyond the Middle Passage*, 143

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, 26.

¹⁴⁰ SCG, Issue 47, 1732.

¹⁴¹ The term “racially open” derives from Hall’s work where she uses it to explain the open environment that occurred in Louisiana which she showed existed by providing proof of interracial marriages and

the less “racially open” environment allowed slaves and whites to more frequently be separated, which would have slowed the creolization process.

The relationship between Native Americans and British in South Carolina was tense, the British wanted to civilize or remove the Indians from the area instead of working alongside them or relying on them for protection as seen in Louisiana. This difference can possibly be one of the reasons that South Carolina’s perspective and views on African slave ethnicities and culture was somewhat different than in Louisiana. Finally as the colony grew over the years, and while plantation life also became more important to the colony, both British and Native populations diminished while the African slave population grew becoming the “dominant demographically in the coastal lowlands”¹⁴². The strength of South Carolina’s colonizers was the ultimate demise for Native Americans as they were pushed out and separated from connecting with both colonizers and slaves in the area.

III Distribution

It is not until 1710 that there is recorded evidence of a slave ship that directly imported slaves from Africa to South Carolina. Before this date, slaves were mainly imported from the Caribbean. Between 1670 and 1690 around fifty-four percent of settlers who immigrated to South Carolina were from Barbados.¹⁴³ Furthermore, between 1670-1700 there were approximately 1,665 total ship arrivals from the Caribbean to South Carolina.¹⁴⁴ However even once South Carolina slave traders began to import

families. This term in this work simply means an environment that was more accepting of different cultures.

¹⁴² Wood, *Black Majority*, 130.

¹⁴³ Green, Colonial South Carolina, 197

¹⁴⁴ Gregory E. O’Malley, “Beyond the Middle Passage: Slave Migration from the Caribbean to North America, 1619-1807.” *The William and Mary Quarterly*. 66, no. 1 (2009): 142, Table II. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40212043> (accessed September 10, 15).

slaves from African, trade with the Caribbean remained strong. While settlers from the Caribbean slowed down in the eighteenth century, trade, including slaves and commodities, continued.¹⁴⁵ From 1690 to the eighteenth century, the colony “experienced three overlapping waves of slave importation” including slaves from the Caribbean, Senegambia and Gulf of Guinea.¹⁴⁶ Caribbean slaves therefore formed the initial population in South Carolina and were therefore given the opportunity to create their own specific creole cultures before the introduction of other Africans occurred.¹⁴⁷ Importantly slaves from the Caribbean were seasoned, meaning they had already experienced slavery and been affected by various cultures¹⁴⁸. The high presence of creolized slaves in the colony would have influenced the following generations of slaves that were brought directly from Africa. Therefore the first generations of seasoned slaves from the Caribbean would have heavily affected the development of slave culture in South Carolina.

From the start, South Carolina’s pattern of slave importation was complex and highly dynamic. The complexity of tracking African cultures is heightened because of the creolized slave population that was brought from the Caribbean to South Carolina. For South Carolina this includes; the Gold Coast, the Bights of Benin and Biafra and together they made up the main population of African slaves during the initial stages of South Carolina’s development. Between 1706 and 1775 approximately 93,000 slaves were imported into the colony.¹⁴⁹ The profitability of rice plantations in South Carolina

¹⁴⁵ See Table 1 in the Appendix for Caribbean slave imports from 1670 to 1790.

¹⁴⁶ Smith, *The Stono*, 95.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ ‘Seasoned’ is a term used by historians such as O’Malley to refer to those who experienced slavery in North American colonies.

¹⁴⁹ Kenneth Morgan, “Slave Sales in Colonial Charleston.” *The English Historical Review*. 113, no. 453 (1998): 905, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/578661> (accessed November 17, 15).

transformed the colony into a major player in the slave trade. With the large influx of slaves it becomes necessary to further examine exactly which slaves were involved. Arguably each state purchased slaves of different African ethnicities. Patterns of trade varied across time and place, “[t]he slave trade was a process, constantly changing and closest integrated with other processes in the Atlantic economy over more than four centuries.”¹⁵⁰

The distribution patterns of slaves brought to South Carolina were a dynamic determining factor in the colony’s development. South Carolina saw a large populations of slaves enter the colony from Africa and the Caribbean throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Information regarding the number of inhabitants that occupied South Carolina before 1670 is lacking. Peter H. Wood estimated that approximately 800 people were living in South Carolina in 1666.¹⁵¹ Yet according to state records of populations in South Carolina, there were about 148 whites and only 5 blacks in 1670.¹⁵² The resulting data from the state records makes Wood’s account questionable. Either way, it is obvious that the numbers were much lower before the eighteenth century. By 1715, however, 6,000 whites were living in South Carolina, which demonstrates the rapid expansion that occurred in the eighteenth century.¹⁵³ It is unknown however what percentage of the population were black slaves or free whites. The early years of settlement only included small populations of slaves and it expanded at a slow rate. South

¹⁵⁰ Phillip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Consensus*. (Wisconsin: Wisconsin University Press, 1969), 95.

¹⁵¹ Wood, *Black Majority*, 17.

See, O’Malley, *Beyond the Middle Passage*, 140. He estimates by 1695 the colony contained around one thousand slaves.

¹⁵² This document reveals that although the estimates of whites may be somewhat lower, that black’s population numbers should be quite accurate because of reliable tax books.

David Duncan Wallace. *The History of South Carolina*, Volume III. (New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1961), Appendix IV.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

Carolina was nothing but “a colony of a colony” during the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁴ At this point only a few of the wealthiest whites would have owned slaves on small farms. Slaves were not afforded much opportunity to communicate or meet other slaves outside the confines of the plantations.¹⁵⁵ This is very different from what developed in the eighteenth century when slaves were increasingly afforded opportunity to leave plantations. This will be shown in the following chapters to have provided more opportunity to escape.

According to the data collected by Philip D. Curtin, the Royal African Company delivered about 27% of slaves during 1673-89, mainly from the Windward Coast, to Barbados and Jamaica.¹⁵⁶ Other slave origins that were found in the Caribbean slave trade include, twenty-one percent from Gold Coast, twelve percent from Senegambia and Sierra Leone and twelve percent from Angola.¹⁵⁷ This is important because, during the first years of colonization in South Carolina, a large percentage of the slave population was exported from the Caribbean. Therefore those African ethnicities that were brought to the Caribbean essentially made up the slave population in colonial South Carolina.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore the Gold and Windward Coasts accounted for forty-eight percent of English

¹⁵⁴ Wood, *Black Majority*, 34.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, 47. o

¹⁵⁶ Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 122.

See Table 2 in Appendix.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

Although Curtin is concerned with some inflation of these numbers that result from complications regarding missing information from outside interlopers (see page 125), he does conclude that it is accurate information to reveal the patterns of trade.

¹⁵⁸ For extra clarification each African *area* will be further defined in terms of present day countries. Senegambia includes Gambia and Senegal. Sierra Leone extended further than today's version of the country to Casamance in the North to Cape Mount in the South. The Windward coast changes over time, during the eighteenth century the English used it to refer to present day Ivory Coast and Liberia, but during the nineteenth century the Windward Coast referred to space surrounding Sierra Leone. The Gold Coast mainly refers to present day Republic of Ghana. Angola broadly refers to Central Africa that included many different trading regions.

See Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 127-9, for more detailed information.

exports from Africa.¹⁵⁹ Since British slave traders depended on a few major areas in Africa to provide the majority of the slave population, it was inevitable that those slaves would share many cultural qualities between each other.

By the eighteenth century the patterns of the South Carolina slave trade shifted slightly. While importations from the Caribbean remained strong, increasingly South Carolinian slave traders began to rely on direct importation from Africa. A survey of the ships from Africa reflects this in 1710 three ships came from the Gold Coast, two from Senegambia and offshore Atlantic, two from the Bight of Biafra and eleven unknown ships.¹⁶⁰ At the same time there were an estimated 625 slave vessels arriving from the Caribbean between 1706-1710¹⁶¹. By 1730 there were twenty-six unknown, twenty-five from West-Central Africa, ten from the Bight of Biafra and twelve ships from Senegambia.¹⁶² As the number of ships from Africa increased, those from the Caribbean decreased slightly. Between 1726-30 only 509 slave ships came to South Carolina from the Caribbean.¹⁶³ This demonstrates the increase in direct African importations that occurred throughout the eighteenth century in South Carolina.¹⁶⁴ While importations from Africa continued to grow, there was still a steady stream of slaves from the Caribbean. In total, between 1619 and 1810 there were approximately 188,114 slaves

¹⁵⁹ Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 123.

¹⁶⁰ *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, 1514-1866*. (2013) “First Place of Slave Landing,” South Carolina, North America from 1514-1750. <http://slavevoyages.org/>, (accessed October 20th, 2015).

¹⁶¹ O’Malley, *Beyond the Middle Passage*, 142 Table II.

¹⁶² *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, 1514-1750*.

¹⁶³ O’Malley, *Beyond the Middle Passage*, 142 Table II.

¹⁶⁴ While it is not known exactly what percentage of the tonnage recorded on these ships were actually the weight of slaves, it can largely be assumed that slaves were a large part of the trade that was occurring between these countries. This is attributed to the date and the places that the ships were traveling to. It is known that during this period the slave trade was expanding rapidly, therefore these ships must have been bringing some slaves, if not a large majority of their cargo was slave based.

directly imported from Africa and 21,122, about ten percent, from the Caribbean.¹⁶⁵ As South Carolina grew economically, so too did the demand for slaves direct from Africa, making the region unique. With the high percentage of African born slaves that were brought to the colony, slaves were able to experience strong African cultural communities.¹⁶⁶

V Rice, ethnic preference and the development of a black majority

Settlers moved to South Carolina with strong hopes that the land would be profitable and it was. Rice became a dominant crop by 1695 and helped the colony to become wealthy and successful.¹⁶⁷ Yet before 1695 the colonists were not exactly sure which crops would be lucrative. In R.F.'s lists of the commodities that were most valuable to the colony in 1682, interestingly rice is excluded “So that the staple commodities of Carolina will be Wine, Oyle, Silk, Hides, Wool, Tallow, Honey, Beeswax, Tobacco, Hemp, Flax, Linning and Woolling cloth; Pitch, Tar, Cordidge, and Masts for Shipping...”¹⁶⁸ Grains from England, which does not include rice, are also listed and he predicted that they would be very successful.¹⁶⁹ He did however mention rice in his section entitled *Advice to the Carolina*, “the issue may alike prove profitable: and the rather if they propose to proceed upon Wines, Oyles, Smyrna Cotton, Rice and Indego; as already begun upon.”¹⁷⁰ Clearly at this time the settlers did not know what crops and commodities would be the most profitable.

¹⁶⁵ O’Malley, *Beyond the Middle Passage*, 166 Table XI.

¹⁶⁶ Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 178.

¹⁶⁷ Wood, *Black Majority*, 36.

¹⁶⁸ R.F, *The Present state of Carolina*, 11.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, 8.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 32.

But by the turn of the eighteenth century, rice became very important to South Carolina's economy and was closely linked to the pattern of slave imports. One scholar noted, "South Carolina's especially heavy commitment to the use of Negro labor coincided closely with the development of rice as a new and profitable staple."¹⁷¹ Thus as rice exportation increased so did the importation of slaves. For example in 1700 around 400,000 pounds of rice was exported while by 1720 this number tripled.¹⁷² Similarly in 1690 there were approximately 1,500 slaves and this number also tripled in size by 1720.¹⁷³ As will be further demonstrated, the majority of importations derived from rice growing regions in Africa so arguably the increased slave population in South Carolina can be assumed to be for rice production. Demand for slaves from rice growing regions in Africa increased which mainly derived from the similar areas in Senegambia. Therefore a large majority of slaves were imported from rice growing regions which allowed more slaves the opportunity to communicate with each other. Similar languages allowed for such slaves to build stronger networks in the colony, which led to an increase in resistance. Rice provided the colony with a solid foundation, strong economy and the ability to afford large quantities of slaves.

South Carolina's slave trade patterns show a clear ethnic preference that was intrinsically tied to rice. South Carolina tended to purchase more slaves that came from areas in Africa that knew how to cultivate rice. Although it is difficult to say how much knowledge slave traders and buyers had regarding specific African ethnicities, they did know which Africa knew how to cultivate rice. Due to the British's lack of rice

¹⁷¹ Wesley Frank Craven, 1968. *Colonies in Transition, 1660-1713*. New York: Harper & Row in Wood, *Black Majority*, 37.

¹⁷² Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 145.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

cultivation knowledge, they turned to African slaves to do the work. This is reflected in the slave vessel data and slave prices. Those slaves from rice growing regions, such as Senegambia, sold for significantly more than other Africans.¹⁷⁴ Slaves from Senegambia, Gold Coast, the Windward Coast and Angola were most popular in South Carolina, with a special preference for slaves from the River Gambia.¹⁷⁵

Plantation owners and slave traders commonly referred to the ethnicity of their slaves in documents such as account books, slave lists or runaway and to be sold advertisements. The prominence of ethnic preference is further shown through plantation accounts where slave owners commonly included their slaves' places of origin or ethnicity.¹⁷⁶ This is seen in large plantation owners such as Robert Pringle, the Ball family and John Guerard. For example Robert Pringle wrote in his account book, "Capt. George Willsons' Brother Capt. Wm. Willson of the mermaid has been here with a Cargo of Negroes from Angola..."¹⁷⁷ As well, John Guerard a major slave trader and plantation owner, is an example of a slave trader who preferred slaves from Senegambia. According to the data collected by Peter Wood, he actively imported a significant number of both Senegambian and Angolan slaves between 1735 and 1740. Guerard imported 148 Gambian slaves in 1736, in 1736, 247 Angolans, in 1738, 430 Angolans and 169

¹⁷⁴ For more insight on this see Morgan, *Slave Sales in Colonial Charleston*, 920-1 and Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves*, 8-32.

¹⁷⁵ Morgan, *Slave Sales in Colonial Charleston*, 920.

¹⁷⁶ What is seen throughout the documents I collected are records of slaves from either Angola, Senegambia or Guinea and sometimes Antigua. Other regions are lacking from this collection.

*Note Guiney or Guinea referred to slaves from a wide range of areas and this change over time and place. The early Portuguese and Spanish traders used it for slaves from Upper Guinea. The Europeans however referred to Guinea slaves as those from West African Coasts from Senegal to Angola. For Atlantic slave traders is often was extended to the entire region of Senegambia. Therefore when seeing this term in documents it is not exactly clear if the slaves were from Angola or Senegambia. Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities*, 80-1. Also for more information see Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 159.

¹⁷⁷ The Letterbook of Robert Pringle, 1738, (South Carolina Historical Society & Special collections, College of Charleston), 50.

Gambians and 12 Antiguan slaves, in 1739.¹⁷⁸ Guerard mainly imported slaves from Senegambia and Angola, further reflecting the data that these were the major African regions that provide slaves for South Carolina. His account book provides significant information on the trade that occurred between South Carolinians, the Caribbean and Africa. His work is filled with matters of trade and is a reflection of the importance the slave trade had on single plantation owners. His account book also reflects the importance and popularity of Senegambian slaves,

Tho if I do not do as well as those that have already been sold this summer before me, it must be [imported] to slaves not being in that good [order] as I could wish, that parcel of 100 Gambia negroes and [Hutchison] from Gambia and were the first imported this season sold extremely well the choice meant ... since that another parcel of 100 Gambia negroes from Barbados which came in a ship that said two or three days after our vessel and arrived here nine days before her, sold I believe full as well...¹⁷⁹

Notably, creolized Gambian slaves from the Caribbean are also represented here. Guerard's account clearly shows that slave traders separated African slaves by origin and those from Senegambia were, if not preferred, at least sought after. Slaves from Senegambia also seemed to sell easily as well as for higher prices, "[t]he negroes...from Gambia of your Island brought, sold at a great rate..."¹⁸⁰ This plantation owner's account book reflects that slave traders and buyers were knowledgeable that slaves from Senegambia were more profitable because they could cultivate rice. Due to clear preference of Gambian slaves, there was a high population density of the in South Carolina. Therefore they were not fractionalized because a large majority of slaves

¹⁷⁸ Wood, *Black Majority*, 339.

¹⁷⁹ John Guerard Letter Book, 1752-1754, South Carolina Historical Society & Special collections, College of Charleston), 165.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

imported from Africa derived from similar areas.¹⁸¹ Thus, those slaves would have shared similar cultures, values and languages. High volumes of slaves, from similar vicinities would have provided a space that helped to nurture the maintenance of African cultures with a diminished influence from surrounding cultures.

Hampshire	Gambia	— — — 41
Paul	Do	— — — 45
Black Jack	Do	— — — 42
Will	Do	— — — 40
Harry	Do	— — — 26
Quash	Do	— — — 34
London	Do	— — — 34
Scipio	Do	— — — 39
Doctor	Do	— — — 34
Cortius	Do	— — — 39
York	Do	— — — 34
Dolodore	Do	— — — 34
Eboney	Do	— — — 29
Natt	Do	— — — 29
Gomeshit	angola	— — — 55
Marcus	Do	— — — 55
Josey	Do	— — — 55

Figure 1: Record of slaves owned of the Ball Plantation.
John Ball Papers, 1680-1840, South Carolina Historical
Society & Special collections, College of Charleston.

Preference also becomes apparent when examining advertisements for buying and selling of slaves¹⁸². For example, an advertisement from May 2nd 1774 looks to sell, “Three

¹⁸¹ It has been argued that slaves from major slave areas, such as Senegambia, Gold Coast ect., were extremely diverse and came from many different kin groups. Although this is true, looking at the larger patterns it is argued here that these slaves came from similar areas at the same time and were able to relate to each other on some level. Even though culturally they were diverse, at the same time they were similar enough that they developed *creolized* languages in order to communicate. Therefore we can argue that they were able to unite and build new communities. This will also be further discussed in Chapter 3.

¹⁸² Advertisements are seen throughout the South Carolina Gazette, the example here is from SCG, May 2nd 1774.

Hundred and Fifty Healthy and Prime Gold Coast Negroes" in an auction on May 11th. Here it becomes obvious that slaves from the Gold Coast region are a significant selling feature and clearly in high demand. Another advertisement from 1759 writes, "To be sold on Tuesday the 9th of October. A Cargo of One Hundred choice healthy Negroes, just-arrived in the Snow Rainbow, Joseph Harrison Marier, directly from the River Gambia by Middleton and Bradford."¹⁸³ The advertisement demonstrates Senegambian slaves as a clear selling feature. Therefore evidence of the trade that occurred between Angola, Senegambia and South Carolina is not lacking by any means. Through all the gathered evidence it can be concluded that the importation of slaves from these regions was reoccurring and quite common.

Notably, slaves from Kongo-Angola were not familiar with rice cultivation but were almost as common as slaves from Senegambia were in South Carolina. This can be attributed to convenience, availability and lower prices. For example between 1730 and 1744 only about 12 percent of Africans arriving in South Carolina were Gambian whereas 64 percent were Angolans. Even though slaves from Gambia were preferred, they were not always accessible. This is shown through the weight of the vessels, 25 ships from Angola between 1717 and 1776 weighed 2,780 tons versus a total of 12 ships from Gambia weighing only 970 tons.¹⁸⁴ As argued by Littlefield, even though slaves from Gambia made up significantly less of the population than those from Angola, it can be concluded that Gambian slaves were the popular choice of slave traders in South Carolina because the percentage was higher than any other place in the English slave

¹⁸³ SCG, Issue.1309, 1759.

¹⁸⁴ The weight of ship's cargoes are relevant because it can help to estimate the quantity of slaves that were being imported at a time when no records exist. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves*, 111.

trade.¹⁸⁵ It is estimated that approximately 43 percent of all slaves brought to South Carolina in the eighteenth century derived from rice growing regions and 40 percent were from Angola.¹⁸⁶ Therefore it can also be concluded that because these slaves were loaded from similar African ports they were probably able to relate to each other linguistically and religiously.¹⁸⁷ The ‘high concentrations of Angolans’ and Senegambians heading for South Carolina would have allowed slaves to communicate and share some similar cultural traits.¹⁸⁸ Even those from diverse areas within Angola and Senegambia, which provided the majority population in South Carolina, would have shared similar beliefs and languages, enough so that they could build new ways to communicate once overseas.¹⁸⁹

Rice continued to be one of the staple cash crops in South Carolina during the eighteenth century, as rice plantations grew the colony did too. In the following, written by Robert Pringle in 1739, the importance of rice is represented; “[w]e have a good Prospect for a large Crop of Rice & if the Season Continue to be favorable we shall have a very Large Quantity of Rice again this year.”¹⁹⁰ Moreover within the SCG, issues and matters surrounding rice crops filled the papers with articles and essays. One, written in 1732, is a proposal for new ways to increase the value of rice and it reflects how reliant the state was on the success of rice crops,

There have been several Essays from the Prefs on the Culture of Hemp, Silk and other useful Manufacturers, of which this province is supposed capable, in order to

¹⁸⁵ Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves*, 113.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Frances Ntloedibe. “A Question of Origins: The Social and Cultural Roots of African American Cultures.” *The Journal of African American History*. 91, no.4 (2006):405.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20064123> (accessed September 10, 15).

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 406.

¹⁸⁹ Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy*. 1st ed. (New York: Random House, 1983), 104.

¹⁹⁰ The Letterbook of Robert Pringle, 122.

encourage such as have Genius, and Ability to cultivate them, and thereby lessen the Quantity of Rice, which will of course make that Commodity more valuable.¹⁹¹

The writer continued this article to propose some of his own ideas on how to improve the overall value and demand of rice. The thought was that if the colony decreased the amount of rice that was produced, it would be in higher demand thus hopefully increasing the value in order to diversify the economy. Another issue of the *SCG* included a table showing the quantity of export goods in South Carolina between 1747 and 1759 around 762,921 barrels of rice were exported.¹⁹² Rice quickly dominated in South Carolina and deepened the colony's dependence on slavery. It tended to cluster slave populations around Charleston, South Carolina's major slaving port, where around 90 percent of the South Carolina's slave population lived close to Charleston.¹⁹³ Therefore rice was affiliated with ethnic preference and due to the importance of rice it is easy to see how slaves from rice growing regions became crucial to South Carolina's success. Blacks not only derived from similar places, as argued in Hall's work regarding Louisiana, but they also were able to establish strong cultural ties with one another.¹⁹⁴ Like Louisiana, South Carolina was filled with slaves from Senegambia, and Hall argued that slaves from this region were able to better adapt to other cultures. In South Carolina slaves morphed their African heritage and British influences into Gullah culture which in later years dominated as one of the major cultures in the colony.¹⁹⁵ Lastly because slave traders in South Carolina and Louisiana preferred a few specific kinds of slaves, those slaves most likely

¹⁹¹ *SCG*, 55.

¹⁹² See Appendix, Figure 1.

SCG, Issue. 1305, September 11th 1759.

¹⁹³ Gomez, *Exchanging our Country Marks*, 4.

¹⁹⁴ See; Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 190.

¹⁹⁵ Again, Gullah meaning a syncretic mixture of English and African influences.

Robert Olwell, *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects: The Culture of Power in the South Carolina Low Country, 1740-1790*. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1998), 43-4.

established deeper connections with each other and thus maintain more of their African roots.

Another unique feature of South Carolina was that throughout the eighteenth century slaves outnumbered the white population. This is important because it not only is indicative of the importance of slave labor but it also provided slaves with different opportunities, such as more less isolation and surveillance of whites, and more power than other slaves may have experienced in colonies where whites were the majority. It has been calculated that blacks started to outnumber whites by 1708, out of 9,580 total population there were 4,080 whites and 4,100 blacks, and seemed to follow the pattern of the growth in importance of rice plantations following this point.¹⁹⁶ Increase in both birth rate and slave importation in South Carolina contributed to the high population levels. Another reason for the high black population and low white population could be because whites had the opportunity leave the colony while blacks had no choice but to stay.¹⁹⁷ Even when the natural population growth of slaves lessened over time, importation rates increased.¹⁹⁸ Wood concludes that in 1708 there were at least one hundred more blacks than there were whites.¹⁹⁹ At the beginning of the eighteenth century the white population did not increase as quickly as blacks, for example in 1720 there was roughly 9000 whites and 12000 blacks.²⁰⁰ However, as the years went on white population improved along with the improved quality of life, as their lives improved black slaves' conditions worsened. This did not change the black majority, even though natural reproduction

¹⁹⁶ Wood, *Black Majority*, 36.

¹⁹⁷ In some cases, when things got difficult due to violence, difficult weather and poor economic opportunities, white colonists would leave South Carolina.

Olwell, *Masters, Slaves and Subjects*, 31-2.

¹⁹⁸ Wood, *Black Majority*, 165.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 144 Table 1.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

levels decreased importation levels continued to rise.²⁰¹ This is revealed throughout the state census records for South Carolina, which show that by 1719 there were 5,000 whites and 7,000 blacks, this pattern continued throughout the eighteenth century and only became more extreme as the years continue.²⁰² By 1720 black populations began to double and this pattern remains strong until 1790.²⁰³ Not only this but a shift in the location of slave importation occurred in the eighteenth century. By 1710, slaves were imported directly from African alongside those slaves deriving from the Caribbean.

While importation from the Caribbean remained strong, the increased demand of slaves and improved economy in South Carolina made it necessary to import slaves from Africa as well in order to keep up with the demand. Interestingly throughout the eighteenth century “the colony had a higher density of blacks and lower percentage of whites than any other part of North America.”²⁰⁴ The black majority increased social anxieties and raised racial tensions regarding slaves potential to organize large acts of resistance. The results of this will be further explored in my next two chapters when I look at slave resistance.²⁰⁵ It will be argued that the black majority not only provided slaves with a unique experience, but also allowed for slaves to better maintain their own culture while at the same time they experienced a slight increase in power that resulted from fear of the high slave population. Importantly, black majority was unique to South Carolina and is argued to have further enhanced the state’s Africanization process.²⁰⁶

²⁰¹ Wood, *Black Majority*, 150.

²⁰² Wallace, *The History of South Carolina*, Appendix IV.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Wood, *Black Majority*, 179.

²⁰⁵ Ibid, 166.

²⁰⁶ See Table 5 in the Appendix

South Carolina was undoubtedly a unique space for African slaves where they were able to exert power in the form of resistance while also they were experienced more frequent opportunities to create communities away from white owners.

As rice production increased in popularity, the demand for slaves did as well. Furthermore, slaves from rice growing regions grew to be the preference and therefore there was an increase in direct importation from Africa. Slaves, mainly from Senegambia, had experience with rice cultivation in Africa and therefore were sought after for South Carolina rice plantations. With the increase in demand for slaves from rice growing regions there was a large percentage of slaves coming from similar regions in African. This allowed for the slaves to have a better opportunity to communicate using African languages, therefore building communities with fellow slaves, while at the same time maintaining African cultural aspects. Conclusively, South Carolina presented slaves with some very interesting features that were unique to this place. Ethnic preference, black majority and lack of Native Americans all contributed to providing a place where slaves' African cultures could prosper. The rest of this work aims to further uncover these specific experiences through slave resistance.

Chapter 3

The Years Leading up to the Stono Rebellion: Increased Resistance and Fear

“Its ambitious plans were destroyed by a convergence of revolts of Africans in Senegambia, at sea, and in Louisiana, where Africans, allied with the Indian nations, cooperated in conspiracies and revolts to take over the colony”

—Gwendolyn Hall²⁰⁷

On March 8th 1780 James H. Thomson sent out a letter in response to Francis Marion that demonstrated the extent in which slaves resisted in South Carolina. At the end of the letter, which was concerning a specific female slave who had runaway from plantation in Charleston, he wrote, “the Negroes of that estate have almost all proved runaways & rogues. There is no knowing a Slave”.²⁰⁸ Although this letter was written much later than the Stono Rebellion of 1739, and this chapter seeks to focus on the time period beforehand, it certainly expresses the difficulties plantation owners faced in South Carolina. In South Carolina, slave resistance was a daily occurrence for plantation owners. This chapter looks to explore the unique features that contributed to the frequent occurrence of slave resistance in this colony. Factors such as slave preference, the high slave population, geography of South Carolina and the formation of rice plantations helped slaves to more frequently runaway.

Slaves resisted in a variety of ways including running away, revolting and creating maroon communities. The overall number of runaways was not extremely high considering the population density of slaves living in South Carolina.²⁰⁹ However the constant flow of slave resistance created more than enough fear and concern between the

²⁰⁷ Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 95.

²⁰⁸ Letters Francis Marion to Major Isaac Harleston also Letters between Members of Harleston Family and Other Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1780, (South Carolina Historical Society & Special collections, College of Charleston), 4.

²⁰⁹ Lathan A. Windley, ed. *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790*, vol. 3, (London: Greenwood Press, 1983), xiii.

white societies, which is reflected in the continuous stream of new laws. Fear of slave resistance was further intensified because slaves not only ran away but also were able to successfully create maroon communities on the outskirts of the plantations. Evidence of resistance is found in runaway advertisements from the local South Carolina Gazette newspaper, and written documents from plantation owners and military officials include other forms of resistance like maroon communities and acts of rebellion.²¹⁰

The prevalence of slave resistance suggests that there was a fairly coherent slave culture in South Carolina. While it was established in the previous chapter that greater Senegambia and Congo-Angola provided the colony with the majority of its slave population, here a more detailed breakdown of the various ethnicities that came from these slave regions will be attempted. Subsequently, I will consider the role that language played as well as the religious and social views of the slaves. An exploration of the laws that were implemented, or at least established, before the Stono Rebellion, will be examined. Both maroons and runaways created fear amongst the white society, which pushed them to enforce more restrictions and at the same time the features of South Carolina influenced slaves ability to escape and resist slavery. Therefore factors such as the black majority, rice cultivation, land geography and topography and local politics are crucial to this study.

I Ethnic Analysis of Senegambia and Angola

The greater Senegambian region and Angola contained many distinct ethnicities and cultures. It is not enough to track which African ports provided slaves to specific American areas because those export ports serviced a variety of different African

²¹⁰ See Timothy James Lockley. ed. *Maroon Communities in South Carolina: A Documentary Record*, Colombia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2009.

societies and ethnicities in the region. Exact African ethnicities among slaves did not always correspond to the point of export.²¹¹ Complexity arises because slave traders often differentiated African slave ethnicities by location instead of by linguistic or cultural features.²¹² In Senegambia these ethnicities included Wolof, the Malinke of the Mande speakers, the Sereer, the Fulbe and Bambara.²¹³ The Wolof and Malinke lived around the central and upper valleys of the Senegal River.²¹⁴ The Bambara lived further inland in the upper Niger.²¹⁵ Senegambians therefore consisted of a variety of different ethnic groups with different political, social and cultural norms. Yet even though these groups of people varied, they also shared some commonalities, including languages, of which consisted of similar dialects deriving from the same West Atlantic family. As well, their societies were structured in a similar manner and normally consisted of a group of free people and slaves.²¹⁶ Senegambia consisted of state-like societies that possibly prepared slaves to live in South Carolina.²¹⁷ The Senegambians mainly consisted of a population that was made up of cultivators and farmers, which contributed to their usefulness on South Carolina plantations and in preponderance in the slave trade of the Carolinas.²¹⁸

Sierra Leone also consisted of a mainly rural population, however their societies were not organized in a state-like manner but by villages. Moreover, Sierra Leone was purely rural, whereas Senegambia also had a number of urban areas as well.²¹⁹ The villages in Sierra Leone were organized by households, which included an older male

²¹¹ Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*, 30.

²¹² This was a result of slave traders generalizing slaves' origins depending on the area of trade and not the actual original location they were retrieved.

²¹³ Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*, 82.

²¹⁴ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 45.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid, 47.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid, 48.

²¹⁹ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 92.

figure, his wives, their children, and grandchildren.²²⁰ Rice was a crucial crop for the Mande speakers of Sierra Leone, and was mostly produced by women.²²¹ Thus, it is possible that the success of rice in South Carolina was partly a contribution of women. However, there were not as many women as there were men in the colony and therefore the few women that were there most likely taught the male slaves how to cultivate rice.²²² While Senegambia provided approximately 35.2 percent of the slave population in South Carolina between 1751 and 1775, Sierra Leone was responsible for 20.4 percent.²²³

In opposition to slaves from Senegambia and Sierra Leone, slaves from Angola were the inadequate choice of the slave traders. Notably, even though slaves from Angola tended to be avoided, they still made up a majority of the slave population. This was due to slaves from Angola being more accessible and affordable. Angolan slaves derived from West-Central Africa, more specifically the Loango Coast, Angola and Luanda.²²⁴ Kongo speakers mainly came from the Loango coast while people who spoke Kimbundu were those that became known as Angolans.²²⁵ There were also groups of Bantu-speaking populations that included a large variety of ethnic groups such as Duala, Bakweri and

²²⁰ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 93.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Judith Carney, "Rice Milling, Gender and Slave Labour in Colonial South Carolina." *Past & Present*. 153 (1996): 108. <http://go.galegroup.com.subzero.lib.uoguelph.ca/> (accessed May 4th, 2016).

Overall the gender ratio in the North American slave trade was generally 2 to 1 males over females.

²²³ Importantly from 1751 to 1775 Hall estimates that 50.4 percent of all the Atlantic slave trade vessels came in between these times to South Carolina, making Senegambian population even more influential. Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*, 93.

²²⁴ Ibid, 152.

²²⁵ Ibid.

Thus while these are two different places, they have been lumped together entitled *Congo-Angola* due to past sources from slave traders also not differentiating them. In most documents from South Carolina, they refer to slaves from this diverse area simply as Angolan but it is highly likely that many of these slaves were also Congo speaking from the Loango Coast (see, Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*, 160). Due to the complexity this paper will rely on Congo-Angola for simplicity sake from here on.

Yambassa, to name a few.²²⁶ Like those from Senegambia and Sierra Leone, slaves from Congo-Angola had their own views of society, politics and religion. As well, the political organization ranged “from kingdoms to villages to small-scale units.”²²⁷ In the central Congo basin was a group of Kikongo-speaking people who founded the kingdom of Congo and whose rulers were heavily involved in the slave trade.²²⁸ By the mid-fifteenth century, European colonists had introduced Christianity in the Congo.²²⁹ Due to the early Christian and European influence in Congo, many Africans brought to South Carolina were already exposed to European culture, which contributed to the Gullah culture that formed in South Carolina.

Due to some of their specific regional characteristics mentioned above, Europeans viewed slaves from Senegambia and Angola in very different ways. Stereotypes developed due to preference for slaves from rice growing regions and this affected whites perceptions of slaves. For example Angolans were viewed as “‘docile and ‘comely’ but not particularly strong.”²³⁰ The stereotypes of slaves from specific regions evolved to determine slaves’ tasks on a plantation. For example those from Congo-Angola were considered to be more productive in the household than in the fields because of their ‘laid-back’ qualities.²³¹ Senegambians on the other hand “were readily accepted-if not preferred” because their skills were especially needed for rice and indigo production both of which were cultivated in South Carolina.²³² While Angolans did not derive from rice growing regions they did have other skills that were useful to the colony such as

²²⁶ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 134.

²²⁷ Ibid, 141.

²²⁸ Ibid, 141-42.

²²⁹ Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*, 145.

²³⁰ Creel, *A Peculiar People*, 30.

²³¹ Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves*, 13.

²³² Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 90.

mechanical and craft skills²³³. Slaves from Senegambia were attractive because slave buyers knew exactly what type of qualities and skills, rice cultivating skills, they were purchasing. On the other hand the skills of the slaves from Angola were much more random and therefore less appealing to purchase. For example, in an advertisement about runaway slaves from 1774 the skills of two runaways is included, it states,

Simon and Ned, carpenters; Simon is a well made black fellow about 5 feet 10 inches high, and about 28 years of age, one of his feet has been split with an ax, and is grown up with a ridge: Ned, is a short well made fellow, of the Angola country, about 5 feet 4 inches high and about 27 years of age; he has several scars on his head...They carried their carpenters tools with them, in order to deceive people who may meet them.²³⁴

This source, which displays slaves' various skills like carpentry, demonstrates that Angolan slaves had many uses within a colony. However slaves from Senegambia were not only used to help cultivate rice but also were skilled craftsmen. Both ethnicities of slaves had significant impacts on building the colony.²³⁵ Common tasks that any slave could have fulfilled included working as "ploughmen, axe men, field slaves, and sawyers."²³⁶ Both slaves from Angola and Senegambia played a crucial role in the establishment of South Carolina. More importantly, these two regions provided South Carolina with the basis of its African slave population. Slaves in the colony can be argued to have been more culturally cohesive and this may have contributed to their ability to resist slavery and maintain their African cultures. As will be seen in the following section, this also meant that they shared similar dialects of African languages, which

²³³ Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves*, 140.

²³⁴ Lathan A. Windley, ed. *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790*, vol 3. (London: Greenwood Press, 1983), 694-5, June 28th, 1774.

²³⁵ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 44.

²³⁶ See Appendix Figure 2, i & ii.

created strong communication ties, which also aided in the Africanization of South Carolina

II Language and Gullah

Gullah was the creole of South Carolina and reflects cultures blending together as they met in new spaces.²³⁷ Language was one of the first major adaptations both whites and blacks needed to evolve in order communicate with one another. In South Carolina the first few generations of slaves developed the Gullah language in order to communicate equally among one another while also providing opportunity to communicate with the Europeans.²³⁸ Gullah emerged from a fusion of African loan words and inflections and new European language culture they experienced.²³⁹ This new dialect began internally in Africa when slaves of various tribes and regions were brought to the same trade ports on the African coast and improvised ways of communicating with one another.²⁴⁰ The European, mainly British, slave traders at the ports became familiar with the new dialect and were also able to communicate with the slaves. Gullah became somewhat of a mediator between all the existing cultures that came together in South Carolina through slavery. The society in South Carolina created an atmosphere that did not encourage blacks to learn English and therefore they relied on Gullah instead.²⁴¹

²³⁷ Gullah and Creole are of course very different, what I mean here is simply that Gullah is the comparable fusion of various cultures and the development of a new language that occurred through slavery in South Carolina, in the same way that the term Creole represents for Louisiana.

Hall argues that the Gullah dialect “was probably never widely spoken on the mainland by blacks or whites”, while I do not have the required primary sources to completely prove this remark wrong, it was definitely a prominent culture in the Southern low-country. See Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 161.

²³⁸ According to Gwendolyn Hall, “the choice to speak a particular language in Louisiana and to adopt or retain speech patterns identified with a given social group is an act of cultural identity” see page 189.

²³⁹ For further information regarding the formation of Gullah see: William S. Pollitzer. “The Relationship of the Gullah Speaking Peoples of Coastal South Carolina and Georgia Their African Ancestors”, *Historical Methods*, 26 no. 2 (1993): 53-67. <http://search.proquest.com.subzero.lib.uoguelph.ca/> (accessed May 5th, 2016)

²⁴⁰ Wood, *Black Majority*, 173.

²⁴¹ Ibid, 188.

As the popularity and reliance upon the Gullah language grew, so too did the communication and connection between blacks and whites.²⁴² At the same time Gullah allowed for the different African ethnicities communicate and this possibly further strengthened their communities. Some runaway advertisements depict that slaves from Senegambia and Congo-Angola accounted for the majority of the non-English speaking population. Data from runaway advertisements include information regarding the runaway's ability to speak English. In total 85 percent of Senegambians and 83 percent of Angolans did not know any English, while only 13.1 percent of Senegambians and 1.6 percent of Angolans spoke *excellent* English.²⁴³ The following is an example of this pattern, "Runaway from Mr. George Sommer's the Beginning of August last, two tall Gambia Negro Men, named Prince and Chopco, talk but little English...."²⁴⁴ Another slave advertisement specified, "...*a new Gambia negroe man, 6 feet high speaks broken English.*"²⁴⁵ The newly arrived slave from Gambia spoke *broken* English, which was most likely learned through slave traders in Africa and on the ship.

The slave population in South Carolina is shown to learn a large variety of degrees of English. Some slaves did not learn any English and some only partially learned English but for the most part maintained their African languages or used Gullah. Arguably the unwillingness or inability of these slaves to learn English would have proved to be somewhat of a barrier, which slowed the acculturation process into the English language culture. The high percentage of slaves recorded as having broken

²⁴² Wood, *Black Majority*, 190.

²⁴³ Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves*, 151- 4. See Table 12 in Littlefield.

For totals for all slaves see Appendix Table 4.

The slave advertisements in the South Carolina Gazette included English ability by describing it as either, excellent, very good, good, little, very little, bad, poor, very poor, indifferent, no English or it was not included.

²⁴⁴ Windley, ed. *Runaway Slave Advertisements*, 31, February 16th to 23rd 1738.

²⁴⁵ See Appendix, Figure 3.

English or none at all signifies that slaves in South Carolina did not blend into English society quickly and continued to maintain parts of their African languages and heritage. The following runaway advertisement reaffirms the slow rate that slaves learned English in South Carolina; “Run away from Benjamin Godin’s Plantation, about 3 weeks since, 3 Angola Negro men, named Harry, Cyrus and Chatham, they have been in the Country three years, and speak little English...”²⁴⁶ This advertisement is particularly interesting because it demonstrates that some slaves living in South Carolina for at least three years were hardly able to speak English. While slaves were certainly influenced by the British colonizers’ cultures, they did not immediately accommodate nor did they give up all of the language they brought from Africa.

Slave names further prove that African linguistic culture was maintained in South Carolina. Hall argues that in Louisiana a large majority of slaves were able to keep their original African names²⁴⁷. In South Carolina, while slaves did not directly keep their African names, they did successfully maintain aspects of their African naming system. Slaves re-used names that were given to them by their masters throughout generations and adapted those names to their African intergenerational naming culture was common in various African regions and carried through to South Carolina. The frequent repetition of slaves’ names is proof of this practice and this is revealed from the documents of the Ball Family Plantation.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁶ Windley, ed. *Runaway Slave Advertisements*, 31, March 23 to March 30 1738.

²⁴⁷ Hall, *Africans in colonial Louisiana*, 166.

Through slave lists, Hall determined that Louisiana slaves were more Africanized because they rejected French names and the records included a lot of Islamic slave names. This however was similarly reflected in South Carolina as well, where slaves kept aspects of the African naming system.

²⁴⁸ In parallel to the Ball Family Plantation, Gwendolyn Hall provides the example of the Dubreuil Estate from the 1730’s which one third of its slaves had names originating from Africa.

In 1726 plantation owners purchased two slaves from Gambia named Windsor and Angola Ame, who were the first generation on the plantation and with whom this naming process persisted through each generation.²⁴⁹ Windsor and Angola Ame's children were named after the day of the year they were born, such as Christmas and Easter. The following two generations of slaves thereafter mainly dropped this practice but used their grandparent's names to name the following generations. Names like Amey, Christmas, Windsor and Easter are seen throughout the generations, which further indicate the slave naming practices that occurred on plantations. Due to this pattern of re-using names on throughout plantation slave families, slaves' masters adapted a system in order to differentiate between the slaves by applying descriptive adjectives to the repeated slave name.²⁵⁰ For example names like, 'Old Nancy' or 'Black Jack' or 'Angola Marcus' are seen throughout plantation documents.²⁵¹ The modifiers included a slave's birthplace, age range, skin color or occupation. In South Carolina other original African naming practices seen in the documents include naming someone based on the day or month they were born. Pressured to accommodate to English, African slaves used names of English weekdays but in most cases names such as March or Monday seen in documents, which are the direct or partial translation of their African names.²⁵² Similarly, the name Abba, which meant Thursday, sometimes evolved into Abby.²⁵³ This relationship between African names and the English language also reflects the

²⁴⁹ See Appendix, Figure 4, i.

²⁵⁰ Cheryll Ann Cody. "There was No "Absalom" on the Ball Plantations: Slave- Naming Practices in the South Carolina Low Country, 1720-1865." *The American Historical Review*. 92, No. 3 (1987): 572. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1869910> (accessed, November 15, 2015).

²⁵¹ See Appendix, Figure 4 i & ii.

²⁵² See Appendix, Figure 4, i, *slave called March*.

²⁵³ Wood, *Black Majority*, 183.

development of the Gullah language where a combination of both languages evolved into a new one.

Overall the resistance of Africans to speaking the English language in South Carolina as well as the survival of African names are examples of how both cultures, slave and non-slave, blended together at a slower rate over the years. As well in many instances the two cultures did not blend together at all, such that slaves had an autonomous culture that they could mobilize in moments of resistance or rebellion.

III Slave Codes

Slave codes in South Carolina provide valuable information regarding the views of the colonists and the formation of the society. Not only do they reflect colonists' fear of the growing slave population in South Carolina, but they are also a demonstration of the restrictions that slaves experienced. By closely examining the slave codes that were instituted from the late seventeenth to the early eighteenth century, a deeper understanding of structure of South Carolina's society and how they coped with the growing slave population will become apparent. Moreover the slave codes provide insight into the experiences of slaves specifically to South Carolina.

As the slave population in South Carolina grew so did the fears of white slave owners.²⁵⁴ By the 1720's blacks outnumbered whites significantly and so did the tensions between whites.²⁵⁵ The heightened fear in the colony is reflected in the slave codes that were implemented. Slave resistance was a growing concern in the colony and specific slave acts were enforced in hopes of controlling slaves by restricting slaves ability to runaway or resisting at all. Earliest evidence of such codes is from 1686, when an act was

²⁵⁴ Wood, *Black Majority*, 238.

²⁵⁵ Ibid, 238.

passed that discouraged slaves and servants from trading with free persons. This act, *Inhibiting the Trading with Servants and Slaves*, stated;

...it shall not be lawful for any freeman or free servant or slave, to buy, sell, barter, bargain, contract or exchange any manner of goods or commodities whatsoever ...and any person offending in any manner as aforesaid, shall be liable, both buyer and seller, if servants to serve each of their masters one whole yearer more than their contracted time...²⁵⁶

This law continued to include that slaves needed a pass from their masters in order to leave the plantation property, this is how they restricted slave's mobility.²⁵⁷ By 1691 South Carolina legislators came up with a series of codes to tighten police regulations that hopefully would provide better security for the colony.²⁵⁸ These first codes while they did not directly pertain to the issues of slavery, nonetheless, restricted slaves' ability to acquire resources. "The Act for the Better Ordering of Slaves" was first passed on February 7th, 1691 and was a direct reflection of laws that were established in Barbados; a direct reflection of the colony's insecurities regarding the growing slave population.²⁵⁹ Similarly to the early version, the act included a variety of laws that sought to further control slaves through limiting the movement of the slaves. This act also included a law that required slaves to have a ticket, again restricting their mobility. If a slave was caught without a ticket, whoever found or captured the slave was by law required to punish him or her by moderate whipping. If the slave was resistant or "offer any violence, by striking or like, to any white person" he will be severely whipped, nose could be slit, or face

²⁵⁶ Note this quote is from the 1691 act and it may be worded differently from the earliest version.

**Also these early acts included white indentured servants as well as slaves because the colony consisted of both types of people.

Thomas Cooper, ed. *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, vol. 2, 1682-1716, (Colombia, S.C., A.S. Johnston, 1837), 52.

²⁵⁷ Little, *The South Carolina Slave Laws Reconsidered*, 95.

²⁵⁸ Ibid, 97.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

could be burned “in some place”.²⁶⁰ The languages used in the laws are vague, like “moderate or severe”, which possibly left a lot of room for interpretation for how one could punish the slave.

While at this point in time there had been no significant acts of rebellion in the colony, fear had increased because South Carolinians heard about violent cases of resistance that were occurring in other colony’s such as in Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland.²⁶¹ Slave resistance was increasingly an issue and legislation sought to solve this. The acts provided clear punishments for anyone, both free men and slaves, who attempted to help a slave run away.²⁶² Some of the major offences that a slave could commit included murder, forming insurrections or rebellions against their masters, baring arms or any weapons or the formation of “conspiracies for raising mutinies and rebellion.”²⁶³ This act was constantly being updated in order to better control the slave population, which is reflected in the following early letter from 1711. This source is one of the earliest records that depict a maroon community existing in South Carolina. In this letter, Governor Richard Gibbes expressed his concern regarding a runaway, known as Sebastian, who was the leader of a large maroon community on the outskirts of one plantation:

...since we are on this subject, do you think it a matter worthy of your highest consideration, immediately to draw up such a Bill for the Better Ordering of Slaves, that effectively prevent those fears and jealousies wee now lye under from the Insolence of the negroes we have already in this province & the numbers that are daily brought unto us.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁰ David J. McCord. ed. *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, vol. 7, (Colombia, S.C., A.S. Johnston, 1840), 343, Act 1.

²⁶¹ Little, *The South Carolina Slave Laws Reconsidered*, 96.

²⁶² David J. McCord. ed. *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, vol. 7, (Colombia, S.C., A.S. Johnston, 1840), Acts, VI, VII & IX.

²⁶³ Ibid, 346, Act X.

²⁶⁴ Who the letter is addressed to it not known, this information is missing with the document.

It becomes clear from documents such as the aforementioned that white society was fearful of slaves growing power due to their large population in the colony.

Despite the concentration on limiting slaves from resisting slavery, the act also included some laws that provided for slaves safety and well-being. The act stated that slaves were required to go to trial by “two justices of peace and three able freeholders” who decided if the slave was found guilty and could be punishable by death.²⁶⁵ It also protected slaves from being killed “without means” if this occurred the accused would have to serve three months in prison.²⁶⁶ Interestingly a fine of forty shillings was charged to anyone who captured a run away let them die in his or her custody.²⁶⁷ This is also an example of an early slave code that protected slaves.

While Gwendolyn Hall considered the Code Noir, the series of laws enforced by the French colonists in Louisiana, as unique because they protected slaves, the Act for Better Ordering of Slaves provided slaves with similar protection. Both the laws put limitations on the punishments and violence against slaves. For example, act XVII, from the 1722 version, outlines the restricted punishments that runaways slaves could receive from their owners. Interestingly, the punishment of runaways was death, whereas in Louisiana the Code Noirs restricted the punishment to “25 blows with soft implement”.²⁶⁸ This large difference can possibly be attributed to the increased fear that was a result of the very high black population in South Carolina. However similarly to the Code Noirs,

Timothy James Lockley. ed. *Maroon Communities in South Carolina: A Documentary Record*, (Colombia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2009), 9, October 10th, 1711.

²⁶⁵ McCord, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 346, Act X.

²⁶⁶ Ibid, 346-7, Act XII.

²⁶⁷ David J. McCord. ed. *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, vol. 7, (Colombia, S.C., A.S. Johnston, 1840), 344, Act III.

²⁶⁸ Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 145. & McCord, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 377, Act XVII.

“the Act for the Better Ordering of Slaves” also restricted slave owners punishments depending on the offence. For example “any slave or negroe” who attempted or managed to steal corn or rice under the pretense that they were hungry, “shall not suffer death, but be punished with branding on the right cheek, and be whipped not exceeding thirty –nine lashes”.²⁶⁹ It becomes apparent that the two sets of laws contained many similarities, which arguably provided slaves with similar rights, opportunities and restrictions.

Another important feature of the act was that slaves were afforded the opportunity to bring their cases to trial. For example, slaves who committed crimes such as, “burglary, robbery, burning of houses, killing or stealing of any neat of other cattle...” were afforded a trial.²⁷⁰ The judge decided if the accused was guilty or not; “and if upon examination, it probably appeared that the apprehended are guilty, he shall commit them to prison or take security for their forthcoming, as the case shall require, and also to certify to the justice next to him the said cause...”²⁷¹ While cases of slaves going to trial were quite rare, the inclusion of such laws are a reflection of the overall fear of the slaves’ potential for rebellion. Therefore in contrast to Louisiana, where power derived from a reliance on the slave population for protection and economic survival, slaves in South Carolina had some power due to the fear that evolved from the black majority.²⁷² Slave codes that protected slaves from being extensively abused are indicative of colonists’ awareness that slaves needed to be kept content in order to prevent massive uprisings. A letter written by plantation owner Robert Pringle in 1738 demonstrates the

²⁶⁹ McCord, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 374, Act XII. Also see Hall’s, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, page 142, where she explains that the Code Noirs restricted runaway slaves to be punished by no more than forty-three whips. Very similar to “The Act of the Better Ordering for Slaves”.

²⁷⁰ Ibid, act VIII, 345.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana* 155.

intense fear that people had about the potential for slave resistance. In the letter, addressed to John Walker, Pringle expresses his fear of insurrections on his own plantation. He wrote, “... for fear of an Inseruction of the Negroes but hope their wicked Designs will prove abortive & turn to their own Confusion”.²⁷³

In alliance then with Hall’s interpretation of the Code Noirs in Louisiana, slaves in South Carolina also experienced protection through slave codes.²⁷⁴ There is evidence of cases where slaves were brought to trial in South Carolina as early as 1673. For example the “Re Batten case” from February that year involved two fugitives who stole a slave from his owner and slave cases were increasingly popular by the end of the eighteenth century.²⁷⁵ “The White v. Chambers” case from 1796 involved a slave who was wrongfully beaten and the slave’s owner demanded compensation for the loss of a worker.²⁷⁶ Many of the cases seen in court were in interest of the slave owners but at the same time provided slaves with slight protection. “The Guardian of Sally v. Beaty” was a case in regards to a slave, Sally, whose rights were denied to her by her owner because they would not allow her to buy her freedom.²⁷⁷ Uniquely, in this case, the jury sided with the slave and granted Sally to ability to buy her freedom.

One speech, made in 1732, by Robert Johnson, a Captain and Commander in Chief, to the House of Commons reflects this awareness and continuous push for improved laws, “Our Negroes are also become very insolent and ungovernable, for want

²⁷³ The Letterbook of Robert Pringle, 67, February 5th, 1738.

²⁷⁴ See; Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 128 & 144.

²⁷⁵ A.S. Salley, Jr., ed. *Journals of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina: For the Two Sessions of 1697*, South Carolina Department of Archives & History, (The State Company, Colombia, S.C., 1913), 271.

²⁷⁶ Ibid, 278.

²⁷⁷ Ibid, 276.

of proper Amendments to the Law for their Governance, and for settling Patrols.”²⁷⁸ Such as Johnson suggested, the acts continued to evolve throughout the eighteenth century and helped to better control the growing slave population. The growth of the slave laws mirrored that of the growth of the number of runaways in South Carolina. So as the number of runaways increased so too did the number of and intensity of laws. By 1700 “An Act for the Prevention of Runaways Dissenting this Government” was established and increased the penalties of those who assisted runaways from the previous version to fifty pounds or six months in prison from only forty shillings.²⁷⁹ Shortly after, the “Act for the Encouragement of the Importation of White Servants” was created and it reflected colonists’ desire to lessen the power of the growing black majority. It states, “[w]hereas, the great number of negroes which of late have been imported into this Collony may endanger the safety thereof if speedy care be not taken and encouragement given for the importation of whites servants.”²⁸⁰ Those colonists who brought white servants with them to the colony were awarded thirteen pounds, an incentive which was hoped to help balance out the population with more whites and less blacks. In 1708 “An Act for Enlisting such Trusty slaves as shall be through serviceable to this Province in Time of Alarm” was established, which stated;

[w]hereas, it is necessary for the safety of this province, in case of actual invasion, to have the assistance of our trusty slaves, to servers against out enemies; and it being reasonable that the said slaves should be rewarded for the good services they may do us, and that satisfaction may be made to the owners of such slaves, either on their death, freedom or maiming...²⁸¹

²⁷⁸ SCG, issue 48, December 9th, 1732.

²⁷⁹ Approximately twenty shillings amounted to one pound in the 1700’s. Tim Hitchcock Clive Emsley and Robert Shoemaker, “London History- Currency, Coinage and the Cost of Living”, *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, February 24th, 2016).

²⁸⁰ Cooper, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 153.

²⁸¹ McCord, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 349.

This law is significant because it demonstrates that in some cases South Carolinians used slaves for protection and in the military. However, unlike Louisiana where the colony was highly dependent on slaves for protection, South Carolina also had its own strong British militia, therefore providing more control over slaves. It becomes apparent that slaves in colonial South Carolina fulfilled a variety of different roles, each having their own significant implications on the creolization process of the individual slave. While some of the slaves were rebelling and resisting slavery, others were working alongside whites to help capture such slaves.

The degree these laws were actually implemented cannot fully be known, however they did reflect the fears and anxieties of slave owners and white society. The slave codes were updated and were adapted throughout the eighteenth century and significantly after the Stono Rebellion. The slave codes before the Stono Rebellion sought to control slaves in order to prevent massive uprisings and any form of disobedience from the growing slave population. Nonetheless the slave codes did not prevent all slaves from rebelling and resisting slavery. In South Carolina, even though the colony enacted strict laws, slave resistance was a daily occurrence. Moreover the Stono Rebellion was the most successful rebellion in the North American region, thus indicating that in this specific place slaves found unique opportunities to rebel regardless of the slave codes.

IV Roots of Resistance & Religion

There are some unique features of South Carolina that provided slaves with increased opportunities to resist slavery. These features included the high black population, religion, Native Americans and the geography of rice plantations. Blacks

outnumbered whites two to one by the 1720's and this pattern carried out throughout the century and this pattern was highly unique to South Carolina.²⁸² Hall argued that factors which, included distribution and the large populations of slaves that arrived into Louisiana at the same time, provided a unique space for slaves to resist slavery and maintain their African cultures. Similarly it can be argued that the demographic preponderance, what Wood calls "black majority", of slaves' populations, no matter from where they derived, provided slaves also with special circumstances. It can be expected that the higher population of blacks led, not only to an increase in communication, but also facilitated their success of running away. Throughout the eighteenth century, the black majority in South Carolina provided slaves with a heightened level of power and increased opportunities to more frequently resist slavery.

Religion is an important element that needs to be considered in order to fully understand the roots of resistance in South Carolina. Slaves who came abroad with Christian roots would have had adapted differently to the new cultures. Furthermore, some slaves from Congo-Angola arrived to North American with knowledge and experience of Christianity. This allowed them to better prepare for New World culture while at the same time it contributed towards their ability to rebel.²⁸³ Religion is also important because some slaves experienced Christian education in South Carolina. Furthermore a small portion of white Christian slave owners and members of the church saw it as beneficial for slaves to become familiar with the Christian faith. Importantly in 1701 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, or SPG, was

²⁸² Ntobide, *A Question of Origins*, 58.

²⁸³ This will be further explored in Chapter 4; the examination of the Stono Rebellion as a religious rebellion.

established and was active in Charleston throughout the eighteenth century²⁸⁴. Most importantly, this group sought to Christianize both Native Americans and slaves in colonies throughout North America. In 1743 the SPG established a Negro School in Charles Town where young slaves were able to learn about Christianity and how to read the bible.²⁸⁵ The following advertisement from the South Carolina Gazette demonstrates the goals of the SPG;

The Society for propagating the Gospel of Foreign Parts...have lately resolved on the following Method of pursuing this good land; by purchasing some Country born young Negroes, causing them to be instructed to read the Bible, and in the chief Principles of the Christian Religion, and thenceworth employing them... as School Masters, for the same instruction of such Negro or Indian Children as may be born in the said Colonies.²⁸⁶

The crucial piece to this movement was the fact that learning about Christianity also meant learning how to read and this made many plantation owners extremely uneasy. Slaves who were literate were more likely to resist slavery and rebel from their owners. As discussed earlier on, planters passed certain laws that constrained the aforementioned goal of the SPG such as not allowing slaves to leave plantations on Sundays without permission.²⁸⁷ One law emphasized that “that no slave shall be free by becoming a Christian...”²⁸⁸ Clearly there was significant fear around the strength that slaves possibly could gain through religion. The fear was further intensified by the colony learning about other colonies which experienced large rebellion and resistance which were mainly the

²⁸⁴ The SPG was a British missionary organization that was highly active in the eight American colonies from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the American Revolution.

Creel, *A Peculiar People*, 67.

²⁸⁵ Creel, *A Peculiar People*, 76.

²⁸⁶ SCG, issue 468, March 14th, 1743.

See Appendix Figure 5.

These advertisements were present throughout the South Carolina Gazette, the SPG was looking for funding in order to build churches and further their cause.

²⁸⁷ Creel, *A Peculiar People*, 75.

Also see “The Act of Better of Ordering Slaves” in; Cooper, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*.

²⁸⁸ McCord, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 343, Act II.

result of literate slaves, for example in the 1736 Antiguan rebellion that was led by literate slaves.²⁸⁹ A series of laws restricted the SPG from empowering too many slaves.

Religion and resistance correlated and many plantations owners pushed to limit the movement of the SPG. The SPG however was not the only way that slaves experienced Christianity. As mentioned before, many slaves, such as those from the Congo-Angola region, were already Christians or had at least experienced it through foreign slave traders. The various religions in the colony slowly mixed together and what resulted was a combination of Gullah culture and Christianity that combined African traditions and Anglo-Christianity. The deep roots of Christianity among the slave population in South Carolina provided slaves with stronger communities that were “unified by race and culture.”²⁹⁰ Therefore religion not only helped slaves to further resist by teaching them important skills, such as reading, but also provided African cultures with a platform that may have further allowed them to congregate, communicate and subsequently resist slavery.

V Roots of Resistance & Native Americans

Native Americans presence profoundly affected slaves ability to runaway whether they aided in their escape or prevented them. From the beginning of the development of the colony, Natives American population was profound and would have lived among the settlers and slaves.²⁹¹ Even though the relationship between the British and the Native Americans and the French and the Natives varied, in both situations the Native

²⁸⁹ Creel, *A Peculiar People*, 75.

²⁹⁰ Young, *Rituals of Resistance*, 12.

²⁹¹ Wood, *Black Majority*, 115.

Americans aided the slaves to escape slavery.²⁹² Native Americans in South Carolina were treated as a nuisance and colonizers hoped to either remove them or convert them to Christianity. However in other ways they needed the support of the Native Americans in order to control the runaways. White colonists continued to push for slaves and Native Americans to remain separated from each other by forbidding blacks to trade with them and encouraging Native Americans to bring runaways back to whites.²⁹³ The following runaway advertisements depict two different cases of Indians running away from plantations along with slaves; “Run Away from Roger Saunders, on Saturday the 22nd Inst. An Indian Man, named Peter... Also run away about two Years since, a Negro Man, named Abram”²⁹⁴ and “Deserted from on Board the Sloop May-flower, a tall rough Spanish Indian Fellow, had on when he went away a short red Jacket, & speckled Shirt & Trowsers, also well set Spanish Negro Fellow.”²⁹⁵ Evidently in some cases enslaved Native Americans would have runaway alongside African slaves. The Native Americans, being more knowledgeable of the land, would have helped slaves to more successfully runaway. On the other hand Native Americans also helped whites to capture the runaways. Moreover the British colonizers in some cases looked to employ Indians to capture runaways. The following account from 1711 is an example of this,

Read an address to ye Governor to request him to issue forth his commission to prepare prsons to apprehend, hunt & take the runaway Negroes & to Employ a number of Indians to assist them.²⁹⁶

²⁹² See Hall’s argument in *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 14, “The French aimed to preserve the Indians while the English aimed to displace them”.

²⁹³ Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 31.

²⁹⁴ Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements*, 32, April 27th, 1738.

²⁹⁵ Ibid, 41, July 35 to August 1st, 1740.

²⁹⁶ Timothy James Lockley, ed. *Maroon Communities in South Carolina: A Documentary Record*, Colombia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2009), 8, no 1.1, June 21st, 1711.

This is the earliest example available of a maroon community in South Carolina. They were searching for a “Spanish Negroe” slave named Sebastian who was the leader of the maroon community. By providing rewards to the Native Americans, the colonists were able to employ them to help capture the runaway slave.²⁹⁷ This is reflected in the following passage;

Ordered. That Richard Berisford Eqr Publick Receiver do pay out of the Publick Treasury unto the Indians who took & killed Bastian, the Spanish Negroe, the summe of fifty pounds currnt money as a reward for that Publick Service and that this order be sent to the Governr & Council for their Concurrence.²⁹⁸

Arguably Native Americans were useful to the colony and were used as a tool to help control the slave population. But the colony was not dependent on the help of the Native Americans in order to protect themselves. Furthermore, unlike Louisiana where the colonists had no choice but to depend on the Indians for protection, the colonists in South Carolina chose to use their help. This resulted in a different relationship between the Native Americans and British colonists in South Carolina, than the French and Native Americans in Louisiana. The British colonists had much more power and control over the Native Americans and slave populations and therefore were not as racially tolerant. Some of the Native Americans became allies of the British:

Generall Olgethorpe we are Inform'd has taken a Journey into the Creek Nation of Indians that lye to the Westward, toward the Mississippi being one of our ally'd nation of Indians.²⁹⁹

The relationship, then, between Natives and colonizers, as well as the Natives and slaves, seems to have been highly dynamic and complex in nature. In some ways the Native

²⁹⁷ Cooper, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 181.

²⁹⁸ Lockley, *Maroon Communities in South Carolina*, 9, issue, 1.1, October 11th, 1711.

²⁹⁹ The Letterbook of Robert Pringle, 121.

Americans were important to the colony and in others they were seen as a nuisance. At the same time, the Native Americans were shown to have helped and hindered the slaves. Conclusively then the Native Americans were not nearly as important to the colonists of South Carolina, however at times they still proved to be useful.

VI Roots of Resistance & Rice Plantations

Rice was a staple crop in South Carolina by the eighteenth century and therefore was highly influential on the slaves. The process of rice cultivation affected the lives of slaves in profound ways. It was a unique system in South Carolina that provided slaves with special circumstances that helped them to resist slavery. During the earliest stages of settlement, individual slaves were given specific land and certain time frames in order to cultivate the crop.³⁰⁰ This first system provided slaves with unique situations because they were able to grow their own food and have more free time away from whites. Arguably these slaves were less likely to runaway because they were more content.³⁰¹ But this land provision system slowly faded, rice plantations quickly took over and changed slaves experiences. By the 1720's plantation agriculture was fully established in the colony and most of the settlers were knowledgeable of rice cultivation.³⁰² Soon after South Carolinians learned that rice was more easily cultivate by growing it along the swamps and marshes that covered South Carolina.³⁰³ Uniquely to South Carolina, these rice plantations were organized by task systems.³⁰⁴ In difference to other large plantations, where slaves worked long days, on rice plantations they only worked until

³⁰⁰ Little, *The South Carolina Slave Laws Reconsidered*, 90.

³⁰¹ Ibid, 90-1.

³⁰² Chaplin, *Tidal Rice Cultivation*, 31.

³⁰³ Ibid, 32.

³⁰⁴ Ibid, 33.

they were done a task, which typically was for about eight hours.³⁰⁵ Slaves therefore had more freedom than in other systems of slavery, which provided them with more opportunity for slaves to build their own communities. This would have strengthened their connections, understanding of the land and thus their ability to runaway.

Importantly, the task system also increased the distance between the slaves and their masters. This was because the rice fields were divided into sections of about one-quarter acre per slave on the outskirts of the plantation, which separated slaves from their owners living quarters.³⁰⁶ South Carolina's rice production grew partly due to the topography of the land, which included a lot of swampy areas that could be turned into rice paddy fields. Not only was the task system beneficial to slaves but the geography of the rice plantations were as well because they provided slaves with accessible shelter from their owners. The following runaway advertisement from 1738 reflects the importance of South Carolina's geography and swamps;

Runaway from Richard Wright's Plantation on Caucaw Swamp 5 Negro Men, one named Cyrus, born in Carolina, formerly belonging to Mrs. Trott, one named Will formerly belonging to Mr. Swinton at Winyaw, one called Cain a Bambra Negro, Two Angola Negro Men, one named Ben the other Symon.³⁰⁷

The generation of slaves who were brought up on rice plantations became extremely familiar with the plantation properties.³⁰⁸ Slaves worked away from the owners on the outskirts of the plantations and were able to get to know the land better than their owners therefore allowing them a better chance to runaway. As well, slaves working the rice plantations normally gained a variety of engineering skills that were used for rice

³⁰⁵ Olwell, *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects*, 46.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements*, 33.

³⁰⁸ Chaplin, *Tidal Rice Cultivation*, 55.

cultivation but were also then transferable to survival skills that aided in their escape.³⁰⁹

This type of plantation life provided slaves with more freedom, which included more free time and more space away from their owners.³¹⁰ The land formation of rice plantations in South Carolina provided slaves with a place where they could create their own spaces for example cemeteries.³¹¹

Rice plantations varied depending on the preference of plantation owners as to what methods they wanted to use to cultivate the crop. There were three methods including, rainfed inland swamps and tidal floodplains, all of which consisted of different geographical spaces that inevitably affected slaves.³¹² Tidal irrigation required more capital and labor than inland swamp cultivation and therefore was not used everywhere.³¹³ So some of the slaves, who worked on tidal irrigation rice plantations, benefited from the increased free-time, distance from whites and close proximity to swamps.

Importantly, those slaves who were the least acculturated into South Carolina culture were those who were more likely to runaway. For example, more than a quarter of those slaves recorded to have runaway in the 1730's were born in Africa.³¹⁴ The importation of African slaves in South Carolina during the eighteenth century was high and a significant number of slaves ran away. The majority of runaways were male and high percentages were of the Ibo ethnicity that pushed slave traders to avoid these

³⁰⁹ Chaplin, *Tidal Rice Cultivation*, 55.

³¹⁰ See Appendix, Figure 6.

³¹¹ This is shown in Appendix, Figure 6.

³¹² Judith Carney. "The Role of African Rice and Slaves in the History of Rice Cultivation in the Americas." *Human Ecology*. 26, no. 4 (1998): 530.

<http://www.jstor.org.subzero.lib.uoguelph.ca/stable/4603297> (accessed, December 20th, 2015).

³¹³ Chaplin, *Tidal Rice Cultivation*, 36.

³¹⁴ Wood, *Black Majority*, 249-50.

slaves.³¹⁵ Runaways in South Carolina headed for the boarders of North Carolina and the swamps surrounding the plantations like in Louisiana. Rice plantations provided slaves with a better chance at running away the Native Americans both helped and hindered this process.

VII Maroon Communities and Resistance before 1739

As shown above, slaves in South Carolina seemed to have experienced a heightened opportunity to resist slavery while also maintaining their own African cultures. Slaves continued to use the features of South Carolina to their advantage and resisted slavery by not only running away, but also by building new communities on the outskirts of plantations. Similar to Louisiana, these maroon communities surrounded the plantations where slaves took shelter in the swamps that were around the rice fields.³¹⁶ As fear of slave resistance rose, the need to further control slaves through laws did as well. Yet as control was tightened, slaves sought to rebel even more. Running away was risky and it required a variety of skills in order to successfully leave a plantation without getting caught for a long time frame.³¹⁷ Although these communities normally did not last for long periods of time, some are recorded to have lasted around a year. Like the act of running away, the formation of maroon communities posed huge threat to the system of slavery and whites feared the strength these slaves gained.

While many slaves after running away decided to head back to plantations for various reasons, such as missing family members and lack of available resources, some

³¹⁵ Wood, *Black Majority*, 240 and 250.

³¹⁶ “They did not distance themselves from the plantations and towns; they surrounded them”. See Hall, Africans in Colonial Louisiana, 203.

³¹⁷ Olwell, *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects*, 264.

managed to form maroon communities.³¹⁸ Unfortunately there are very few existing examples of maroon communities from before the Stono Rebellion. In 1733, the South Carolina Upper House of Assembly offered a reward for known maroons that had found refuge in Native American territory and the swampy area on the north side of the Congaree River.³¹⁹ Rewards were provided to those who captured the runaways;

... several run away negroes who are near the Congarees & have robbed Several of the Inhabitants Thereabouts. Ordered, That a Reward of £20 p head be paid by the Publik Treasurer to any Person or Persons whatsoever who shall take them a Live & Ten pounds p head for Those shall be taken dead.³²⁰

Similarly, in 1735, the governor sought the assistance of the militia to bring the maroons back. The following is an example of slaves who fled to a swamp near a river, it is clear that the governor was fearful of the maroons;

Where I have received Information that Several White persons and blacks, have committed many Outrages and Robberys and lye in the Swamp at the Head of Wando river... to seize and apprehend those disturbers of the Peace, by taking them alive, and causing them to be safely conducted to the Gaol in Charles Town, or in case of resistance from them, to exercise military discipline; either by shooting them or otherwise.³²¹

The language used in this letter demonstrates how white society viewed rebellious slaves as highly problematic.

Most of the maroon communities in this time period were fairly small and none were able to remain as free maroons for a long period of time. The more successful and larger maroons are seen in the later years. It is apparent however that slaves continued to resist slavery and sought to live their own lives' away from plantation life. Whether or

³¹⁸ Tim Lockley and David Doddington. "Maroon and Slave Communities in South Carolina Before 1865." *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*. 113, no. 2 (2012): 128.

<http://www.jstor.org.subzero.lib.uoguelph.ca/stable/41698100> (accessed September 19, 15).

³¹⁹ Lockley, *Maroon Communities in South Carolina*, 10.

This space would become a favorite place for maroon communities to hide, having both Natives as a resource and the swampy terrain, which aided with remaining hidden.

³²⁰ Ibid, 10, no., 1.2.

³²¹ Ibid, 11, no., 1.3.

not they managed to runaway for a long time does not matter, what does is the fact that they continued to push away from the confines of slavery. Slaves in South Carolina in some cases are shown to have maintained close-knit communities, have access to valuable resources that aided in their escape from slavery and to form large acts of rebellion. The laws in South Carolina continued to adapt to the changing circumstances and this is indicative of the increasing awareness of slaves' growing power through their increasing population density in the colony.

South Carolina possibly provided slaves with increased chances of resistance. The geography of South Carolina included swampy areas surrounding many of the rice plantations, which allowed for slaves to hide from their masters. Furthermore the culture of rice plantations provided slaves with the opportunity to have valuable time away from white overseers and at the same time get to know the surrounding land. The laws the colony implemented in one way possibly made it more difficult for slaves to runaway, but on the other hand the number of runaways increased as the laws strengthened. Some of the laws also looked to set limitations against slaves abuse and required the slaves to be properly fed and clothed. It is not clear if slaves were aware of these laws such as they were in Louisiana where Hall claims slaves knew their rights and used them to their advantage.³²² These laws did however provide guidelines for dealing with runaways, resistance and rebellion. Overall there are quiet a few parallels between Louisiana and South Carolina regarding the African diaspora, laws, geography, alliance with Native Americans and heavy reliance on their slave population for the colony's success.

Louisiana and South Carolina were both filled with a majority of Senegambian slaves and both places are shown to have very different cultures in the present day,

³²² Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 212.

therefore it can be argued that while the African ethnicities definitely shaped the space, the space had an effect on resulting slaves cultures. It is interesting to consider the fact that both Louisiana's and South Carolina's main source of slaves were from the greater Senegambian region. The states have very different outcomes of cultural influences for example while sweet grass baskets became a common artistic and economic form of expression for blacks in South Carolina, in Louisiana these are non-existent. While Louisiana is the birth-place for jazz music, rooting from African heritage, in South Carolina jazz is not nearly as prevalent. Conclusively then the politics, foundation, and surrounding people of a space affected the development and maintenance of slaves culture. While slaves were able to keep aspects of their African cultures alive in the New World, they were also heavily influenced by their surroundings. Gullah and Creole cultures were what resulted.

Chapter 4

The Stono Rebellion and the Years Following: Maroons Communities, Resistance and Slave Laws

“This conspiracy demonstrated that the slaves of lower Louisiana were not fractionalized, immobilized, ignorant, isolated people who were incapable of organizing themselves to overthrow the slave systems”

— Gwendolyn Hall³²³

The Stono Rebellion of 1739 was a reflection of slaves' discontentment. But even more, it was a demonstration of their ability to organize themselves and communicate with each other. This meant that in some situations, slaves on plantations in South Carolina were able to create close communities and experienced increased free time, which further allowed them to plan a large event like the Stono Rebellion. The Stono Rebellion implied that slaves in South Carolina were able to exercise a certain amount of power. Like running away, a large organized rebellion demonstrates that slaves did not simply adapt to the other cultures. The Stono Rebellion further confirmed whites', already existent, fears of the growing slave population in South Carolina. While the actual event itself was not overly long or destructive, it did generate more fear in the colony. Furthermore, the aftermath of the Stono Rebellion is indicative of the increased fear through the intensified laws that were set in place. However, this did not stop slaves from continuing to resist slavery by running away and creating maroon communities.

This chapter seeks to further explore the true nature of the Stono Rebellion and its affect on South Carolina society in the following years. The goal is to gain a deeper understanding of the implications that the Stono Rebellion had on South Carolina. Arguably the Stono Rebellion is a reflection that slaves in South Carolina were

³²³ Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 376.

Africanized and consisted of a fairly consistent ethnic population.³²⁴ South Carolina provided a place where slaves did not fully assimilate into the impending cultures. Moreover various elements of South Carolina, such as the organization of rice plantations, slave laws, the black majority and land formation, most likely contributed to slaves power and preservation of their African cultural qualities.

I The Stono Rebellion

There are many possible factors that could be reasons for the timing and occurrence of the Stono Rebellion. Some of them have already been explored in the previous chapter such as the increase in laws that restricted slaves, religion, opportunities on rice plantations and the environment that South Carolina provided slaves which aided in more frequent resistance. Caribbean influence is one connection that can be made when exploring the Stono Rebellion. Moreover because of the constant trade networks that occurred between South Carolina and the Caribbean, slaves and colonists in South Carolina were aware of the large rebellions that occurred in the other colonies³²⁵. This potentially led to more fear amongst colonists and further desire to rebel from the slaves. An increase in disease and in tension between the Spanish and English are two possible reasons for the Stono Rebellion occurring in 1739. The slaves were aware of the growing issues between the Spanish and English and took advantage of a weakened state.³²⁶ Also, the timing of the rebellion could also have been a result of the further intensification of slave laws. More specifically, just weeks before the rebellion there was discussion of a

³²⁴ “Africanized” is used in the same context as Gwendolyn Hall. She argued that Louisiana was an extremely Africanized state, which led to rich African culture and increased slave resistance. She uses large slave rebellions to help prove this such as the Point Coupee Conspiracy, I am arguing that South Carolina was also Africanized and the Stono Rebellion, like the resistance in Louisiana, is one of the many reflections of this.

³²⁵ Greene, *Colonial South Carolina*, 200.

³²⁶ Wood, *Black Majority*, 313 & 314.

new law that required whites to carry firearms in churches that would be enforced.³²⁷ It is probable that slaves were aware of this new law and decided to take action before it was implemented. Coincidentally the Stono Rebellion occurred on Sunday September 9th 1739, “Mr. Oglethorpe told us here that the misfortune with the Negro rebellion had begun on the day of the Lord, which these slaves must desecrate with work and in other ways at the desire, command and compulsion of their masters...”³²⁸ Slaves did not have to work on Sundays, the rebellion most likely occurred on Sunday because it provided slaves with the time they needed in order to organize the rebellion.

The rebellion consisted of violent killing, arson and robbery as the slaves moved through small towns, Southwards towards Florida. The following is a firsthand account from Lt. Governor Bull depicting the event,

... on the 9th of September last at Night a great number of Negroes Arose in Rebellion, broke open a Store where they got Arms, killed twenty one White Persons, killing all they met, and burning Several Houses as they passed along the Road.³²⁹

Bull was involved in the rebellion, where he attempted to stop the rebels that crossed his path on his way home. He noted that a total of forty-four slaves were killed and some escaped and fled to a nearby forest. Those slaves that fled were difficult to capture, therefore the Council employed Native Americans to help capture the remaining rebels, “... encourage[d] some Indians by suitable Reward to pursue and if possible to bring back Deserters, and while the Indians are thus Employed they would be in the way ready

³²⁷ Wood, *Black Majority*, 314.

This was an extension of an act that had been implemented to encourage whites to carry firearms on Sundays.

³²⁸ “Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America”, in Mark M. Smith. ed. *Stono: Documenting and Interpreting a Southern Slave Revolt*, (Colombia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005), 11.

“... in which they massacred twenty-three Whites after the most cruel and barbarous Manner”.

³²⁹ Lt. Gov. Sir William Bull to the Board of Trade, Charleston, October 5th, 1739, in Smith, *Stono*, 17.

to intercept others that might attempt to follow.”³³⁰ Bull clearly demonstrated a sense of fear and worry that this rebellion would only lead to further violence and slave resistance; “[i]f such an attempt is made in a time of peace what might be expected if an Enemy Should appear upon our Frontier with a design to Invade us?”³³¹ The Stono Rebellion was a reminder to South Carolinians that slaves had power because of their high population density and that depending on the circumstances, would use this to their advantage.

Tensions had already existed between the British and Spanish before the rebellion and further increased afterwards. Some believed that the Spanish instigated the rebellion by promising slaves improved lives in St. Augustine, Florida.³³² This was partly true because, “there was a Proclamation published at Augustine, in which the King of Spain (then at Peace with Great Britain) promised Protection and Freedom to all Negroes...”³³³ War between the Spanish and English occurred shortly after the Stono Rebellion due to the magnified tensions. The following shows that the war began only four days after the Stono Rebellion broke out, “...and of Yesterday’s Date from the Magistrates in and near Port-Royal, confirming the war (between England and Spain) being actually declared.”³³⁴ The tensions are revealed in the following passage;

... [n]ow it fully appeared, that the securing that Spaniard some Time ago (*vide* July 29) was not upon groundless Suspicion (as some People then termed it, who are rarely pleased with whatever is done, because they have not the doing it) for it is

³³⁰ Lt. Gov. Sir William Bull to the Board of Trade, Charleston, October 5th, 1739, in Smith, *Stono*, 17.

³³¹ *Ibid.*

³³² Smith, *Stono*, xii.

Also see; “Among other things, these Spaniards were believed to be stirring up the slaves, offering freedom to any who would runaway, as indeed many did” Thornton, “African Dimensions”, 1102.

³³³ “An Account of the Negroe Insurrection in South Carolina,” in Smith, *Stono*, 13.

³³⁴ “The Journal of William Stephens” in Smith, *Stono*, 4.

*Note the *Yesterday’s Date* was Thursday, September 13th, 1739 and the revolt started on September 9th, clearly depicting the closeness of the war and the tensions between the Spanish and English during the rebellion.

more than probable, that he has been employed a pretty while, in corrupting the Negroes of Carolina...³³⁵

Another Document shows the blame that was placed on the Spaniards, it explained, “That the Negroes would not have made this Insurrection had they not depended on St. Augustine for a place of Reception afterwards was very certain; and that the Spaniards had a Hand in promoting them to this particular Action there was but little Room to doubt...”³³⁶ The sense of awareness surrounding slaves’ rights are also seen in other colonies, such as Louisiana or Jamaica, that experienced slave rebellions on a similar scale to the Stono Rebellion.³³⁷

Regardless of the actual level of involvement from the Spanish, the intensified tensions between the British and the Spanish provided an opportunity for the slaves to rebel during a weakened state. Slaves were aware of the activities of local and external politics in the colony and used them to their advantage. It was believed that rebel slaves’ motivations to rebel derived from their awareness that the Spanish promised them freedom. This is depicted in the following quote, “[l]ong had liberty and protection been promised and proclaimed to them by the Spaniards at Augustine, nor were all the negroes in the province strangers to the proclamation.”³³⁸ Local politics provided slaves with the opportunity to rebel during a weakened time, and on top of this they knew that they outnumbered the whites in the colony and used this strength to their advantage. It is

³³⁵ “The Journal of William Stephens” in Smith, *Stono*, 6.

³³⁶ “Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Causes of the Disappointment of Success in the Late Expedition against St. Augustine” in Smith, *Stono*, 28-29.

³³⁷ Again, slaves in South Carolina were aware of these large rebellions as well and this possibly gave them techniques and ideas on how to rebel.

See, David Geggus, “The Enigma of Jamaica in the 1790s: New Light on the Causes of Slave Rebellions.” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 44, No. 2 (1987): 274. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1939665> (accessed, January, 10th, 2016), and Hall’s *Colonial Louisiana*.

³³⁸ Alexander Hewatt. “An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia”, in Smith, *Stono*, 33.

apparent that South Carolina was a place that provided the slaves with elements of power and unique opportunities, which contributed to the organization of the Stono Rebellion in 1739.

The rebellion was led by a slave named Jemmy and started with around twenty slaves.³³⁹ They started out in Stono “in the Heart of our Settlements not twenty miles from Charles Town”,³⁴⁰ and made there way to “Stono Bridge where they had Murthered two Storekeepers.”³⁴¹ While it has been assumed that the rebel slaves would have mostly been plantation slaves, it is possible that these slaves included maroons. The rebels started in Stono, which was near large swamps that housed many maroon communities during this time³⁴². Maroons had a number of advantages over plantations slaves that would have contributed to the successes of such a large rebellion. Therefore some of the advantages these slaves experienced included, free time away from owners, easy acces to weapons and military skills.³⁴³

The rebels continued south through the local towns and ended up in a local store where they stocked up on ammunition, weapons and liquor before continuing. One source explains that the slaves were, “dancing being most of them drunk with the liquors they found in the Stores.”³⁴⁴ The surviving sources regarding the rebellion contained detailed accounts of the event. They emphasize that slaves “marched in an organized and military manner” possibly hinting at their Kongo military backgrounds or military experience

³³⁹ “An Account of the Negroe Insurrection in South Carolina,” in Smith, *Stono*, 14.

³⁴⁰ “Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Causes of the Disappointment of Success in the Late Expedition against St. Augustine” in Smith, *Stono*, 28.

³⁴¹ “A Ranger’s Report of Travels with General Oglethorpe, 1739-1742”, in Smith, *Stono*, 7.

³⁴² Lockley, *Maroon Communities in South Carolina*, 12.

Maroons are further discussed in this Chapter, section III.

³⁴³ Timothy James Lockley. ed. *Maroon Communities in South Carolina: A Documentary Record*, (Colombia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2009), 12.

³⁴⁴ “A Ranger’s Report of Travels with General Oglethorpe, 1739-1742”, in Smith, *Stono*, 7.

with the British militia.³⁴⁵ Proof of this derives from Governor Bull's first hand account of the rebellion, he wrote, "and were marching the next morning in a Daring manner out of the Province, killing all they met, and burning Several Houses as they passed along the Road."³⁴⁶ Not only did they march in a military order, but the rebels also used drums and song to get more slaves to join in. These specific actions trace back to Africa and are reflected in primary sources such as the following one, "...on which they halted in a field, and set to dancing, Singing and beating Drums, to draw more negroes to them..."³⁴⁷

Many of the techniques that the rebel slaves used can be argued to have been direct reflections of their African heritages. Some slaves that were imported from Kongo were very likely to have been soldiers, due to the high war rate in this region during the slave trade. Potentially then, those slaves passed along some African military skills such as the ability to handle guns, the use of drums and, most importantly, dance.³⁴⁸ Dancing was intrinsically tied with African military culture because they used dance to quicken their reflexes to prepare for war.³⁴⁹ Unlike the use of guns, marching and flag flying, dancing was not used by the English colonists and therefore can be directly traced to Africa.³⁵⁰ While the dancing that occurred on the open field during the rebellion could possibly be attributed to slaves drunkenness, it can also directly be tied to Kongo culture.³⁵¹ Dance was more than a drunken act because the rebel slaves can be traced from Kongo roots and because of the other actions, such as marching, singing, flag

³⁴⁵ Thornton, "African Dimensions", 1111.

³⁴⁶ Lt. Gov. Sir William Bull to the Board of Trade, Charleston, October 5th, 1739, in Smith, *Stono*, 17.

³⁴⁷ "An Account of the Negroe Insurrection in South Carolina," in Smith, *Stono*, 15.

See also, Thornton, "African Dimensions", 1102.

³⁴⁸ Thornton, "African Dimension", 1109 & 1111.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 1112.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*

flying, depicted in the primary accounts combined provide strong evidence of African culture. Drumming was also associated with some African military traditions and with the ability to organize revolt and rebellion.³⁵² In the “Account of the Negroes”, it was reported that, “Several Negroes joined them, they calling out Liberty, marched on with Colours displayed, and two Drums beating pursuing all the white people they met with...”³⁵³ Slave buyers in South Carolina tended to avoid purchasing slaves from areas where slaves played the drums in fear that they would more frequently create large rebellions.³⁵⁴

The Stono Rebellion therefore re-emphasized those fears and stereotyped views of slaves from certain areas in Africa. The dancing, singing and drumming that took place during the Stono Rebellion are strong examples of the African culture that survived in South Carolina. More so, since we can trace those involved in the rebellion to the Kingdom of Kongo, it becomes obvious that slaves in South Carolina were “not fractionalized”.³⁵⁵ Slaves in South Carolina did not lose their entire African heritage and the creolization process arguably was slow. Slaves in South Carolina were brought from similar regions, such as Kongo-Angola and Senegambia, and seemed to have created stronger communities that led to the Stono Rebellion. It is possible to contend that South Carolina provided slaves with the opportunity to get together, communicate and preserve their African culture.

³⁵² Rath, *Drums and Power*, 107.

³⁵³ “An Account of the Negroe Insurrection in South Carolina,” in Smith, *Stono*, 14.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 108.

³⁵⁵ So in similarity with Hall’s major argument for the Pointe Coupee conspiracy in Louisiana, the Stono rebellion also demonstrates that slaves in this state were able to communicate, plan and maintain many aspects of their cultural heritage.

In total, twenty or so whites were killed during the rebellion and around forty rebel slaves were killed.³⁵⁶ As an organized slave rebellion, the Stono was one of the most successful in the North American colonies. The rebels were able to violently kill, loot and burn houses before eventually they were stopped by the white militia. About thirty slaves escaped the initial killing and fled to a nearby forest, which the colonists later sent Native Americans to help capture them³⁵⁷. As seen before, the colonists relied on the help of the Native Americans to capture the remaining rebels. This is demonstrated in “An Account for the Negroes”:

...ordered out the Indians in pursuit, and a Detachment of the Garrison at Port Royal to assist the Planters on any Occasion, and published a proclamation ordering all the Constables &c. of Georgia to pursue and seize all Negroes, with a Reward for any that should be taken. It is hoped these measures will prevent any Negroes from getting down to the Spaniards.³⁵⁸

The intensity of the Stono Rebellion required extra help from the native population. Around ten or so Indians helped capture the Stono rebels and were rewarded with, “ a Coat, a Flap, a Hat, a pair of Indian Stockings, a Gun, 2 Pounds of Powder & 8 Pounds of Bullets.”³⁵⁹ On September 28th 1739, the Boston Gazette published an article stating that the progress of capturing the rebels had only been moderately successful because not all the rebels had been captured. The newspaper article stated that, “...pursuing after them, within two Days kill’d twenty odd more, some hang’d and some Gibbeted alive. Number came in and were seized and discharged, and some are yet out, but we hope will soon be

³⁵⁶ "Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Causes of the Disappointment of Success in the Late Expedition against St. Augustine" in Smith, *Stono*, 28.

³⁵⁷ “An Account of the Negroe Insurrection in South Carolina,” in Smith, *Stono*, 15.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁹ “A Commons House of Assembly Committee Report”, in Smith, *Stono*, 18.

taken.”³⁶⁰ It is not known for sure if they captured all of the slaves that were involved in the rebellion, but the Native Americans were extremely helpful regardless.

II The Effects of the Rebellion

While fear was present throughout the early stages of the colony, it became even more profound following the Stono Rebellion. Fear of the growing slave population in the colony continued to rise throughout the eighteenth century. This intense fear is presented in a South Carolina report;

On this Occasion every Breast was filled with Concern. Evil brought Home to us within our very Doors awakened the Attention of the most Unthinking. Every one that and any relation any tie of Nature; every one that had a Life to loose were in the most Sensible Manner shocked at such Danger daily hanging over their Heads.³⁶¹

The heightened fears following the Stono Rebellion had major ramifications on the way that colony would progress in the following years. Alexander Hewatt comments on the fears that were present in the colony, he wrote, “[that] Carolina was kept in a state of constant fear and agitation...[the] insurrection openly broke out in the heart of the settlement which alarmed the whole province.”³⁶² Slave traders and buyers shifted to buying more slaves from the greater Senegambian region as a result of the association of the rebel slaves deriving from the Kongo.³⁶³ South Carolinians feared that the Stono Rebellion would ignite other rebellions and this fear of the possibility of more rebellion due to the influence of Kongo slave import was reflected in the decreased records of slave vessels from Kongo between 1740 and 1800.³⁶⁴ Following the Stono Rebellion the colony decided to deal with the fact that the slave population outnumbered whites. Duties

³⁶⁰ “An Account of the Negroe Insurrection in South Carolina,” in Smith, *Stono*, 12.

³⁶¹ “Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Causes of the Disappointment of Success in the Late Expedition against St. Augustine” in Smith, *Stono*, 29.

³⁶² Alexander Hewatt. “An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia”, in Smith, *Stono*, 33.

³⁶³ Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities*, 90.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 160.

were enforced on any new slaves that entered South Carolina after 1740 in order to reduce the slave population densities.³⁶⁵ Hence, while South Carolina experienced its peak slave population in the 1730's, following the rebelling the slave importations patterns shifted and the population density of new African slaves in the colony changed.³⁶⁶ In 1739 there were nearly 15,000 whites and 40,000 blacks in South Carolina but by 1749 the white population had increased by 10,000 to 25,000 while the black population by 1,000 to 39,000.³⁶⁷ Thus, the change in laws affected the rate of slave importation as the whites population strengthened and grew, but these numbers demonstrate that progressively after the Stono Rebellion the population became more balanced.

In this “alarmed state” the colony further adapted and changed the laws and amendments that were set in place long before the rebellion. The need to control the large slave population grew following the Stono and this is reflected in the changed laws. Robert Pringle, one of the larger slaveholders in South Carolina during this period, expressed the need for altered laws; “I hope our Goverm’t. will order Effectual methods for the taking of St. Augustine from the Spaniards which is now become a great Detrim’t. too this province, by the Encouragement, & Protection given by them to our Negroes that Run away there.”³⁶⁸ By 1740 the “Act for the better ordering and governing of Negroes and other Slaves” was formed in order to better control the slaves. One of the first major differences seen in this series of acts in comparison to the period before the rebellion is that this version changed slaves label from simply being freedhold property to chattel;

³⁶⁵ Wood, “Anatomy of a Revolt”, in Smith, *Stono*, 68.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ See Table 3.

³⁶⁸ The Letterbook of Robert Pringle, 1702-1776, South Carolina Historical Society & Special collections, College of Charleston, 131.

...in this Province, and all their issue and offspring, born or to be born, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be... absolute slaves ...and shalle be deemed held, taken, reputed and adjudged in law, to be chattels personal, in the hands of their owners and possessors, and their executors.³⁶⁹

Noticeably the language changed too and this reflects the affects the rebellion had on South Carolina. South Carolinians wanted to “keep the peace” and immediately deal with any slave that would possibly “disturb the peace”.³⁷⁰ The hopes for peace, while they of course existed before the rebellion, are directly stated in the revised laws of 1740. Punishments of slaves who challenged white authority in any form increased considerably. For example, if a slave happened to, “wound, main or bruise any white person” they would “suffer death”.³⁷¹ Also, the laws further inhibited slaves being able to travel in groups, which lessened the groups to no more than seven slaves at a time, which hopefully would prevent large groups of slaves from interacting away plantations.³⁷² Some of the other limitations the colony set on slaves’ opportunities included disallowing writing, trading, renting of property, being in possession of any weapons, or own any type of farm animals like cattle, horses or hogs.³⁷³

On the other hand, the new laws following the rebellion also sought to better restrict the actions and rights of slaves’ masters.³⁷⁴ Uniquely to South Carolina, the 1740 law outlined rules that would hopefully create more peace and happiness among the slave populations.³⁷⁵ Through the Stono Rebellion, slaves brought attention to their

³⁶⁹ David J. McCord. ed. *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, vol. 7, (Colombia, S.C., A.S. Johnston, 1840), 397.

³⁷⁰ Ibid, 399, Act VII.

³⁷¹ Ibid, 405, Act XXIV.

³⁷² Ibid, 413, Act XLIII.

³⁷³ Ibid, 410-13, Acts, XXX, XXXIV, XLII, & XLV.

³⁷⁴ Lockley, *Maroon Communities in South Carolina*, 5.

³⁷⁵ According to Morris this law was later adapted by Louisiana. Morris, Thomas D. *Southern Slavery and the Law, 1619-1860*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 183.

unhappiness and their strength. In some ways, the rebellion was successful, because some of the laws were altered in favor of slaves happiness and well-being. The 1740 laws included acts that sought to further protect slaves from extreme mistreatment. For example, a few decades following the rebellion, Governor William Bull wrote a report for the British Government outlining the event, which included protection of their slaves; “[t]here is a particular system of laws adapted to the condition of slaves called our Negro Act passed in 1740, calculated to punish offending and to protect abused slaves.”³⁷⁶ The laws acknowledged that slaves were often overworked, “management and overseeing of slaves, do confine them so closely to hard labor, that they have not sufficient time for natural rest.”³⁷⁷ In order to create fewer tensions between slaves and their masters, the laws limited the hours slaves were required to work. The statutes included the following statement, “[slaves] shall work or put to labor any such slave or slaves, more than fifteen hours in four and twenty hours...or more than fourteen hours in four and twenty hour...”³⁷⁸ Even more remarkably, the act outlined that slave owners would be fined if they did not provide their slaves with “sufficient cloathing, covering or food.”³⁷⁹ Such consideration for slaves’ well-being is extremely indicative of the colony’s fear following the rebellion, they hoped that by providing slaves with some protection they would not create another rebellion.

However the degree that these laws were followed and infringement adjudicated is unclear. The wording of the laws provided masters with the ability to justify their

³⁷⁶ Gov. William Bull, “A Representation of the present of religion, polity, agriculture and commerce”, in Smith, *Stono*, 30.

³⁷⁷ David J. McCord. ed. *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, vol. 7, (Colombia, S.C., A.S. Johnston, 1840), 413.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Ibid, 411, Act xxxviii.

actions and most likely get away with mistreatment. Furthermore, slaves could not testify against their masters in court and this made it extremely difficult for a master to ever be convicted.³⁸⁰ Yet regardless of the effectiveness of these laws, they reflected the structure of the society of South Carolina and its deep connection with slavery.

Following the Stono Rebellion, slave owners experienced conflicting feelings regarding their own safety regarding the laws of slavery. While many saw it as beneficial to provide slaves with improved lives, others found this to be controversial and dangerous. The colony had difficulties balancing Christian values and the protection of the white slave owners.³⁸¹ Governor William Bull in a report explained that while in other colonies, like Maryland or Virginia, killing a slave was punishable by death, this law could not be applied to South Carolina because the slave population was too large.³⁸² The purpose of this letter was to inform the British government of the proposed laws. He advised that it could be “dangerous to the public safety to put them on a footing of equality in that respect with their masters, as it might tempt slaves to make resistance and deter masters and managers from inflicting punishment with an exemplary severity tho’ever so necessary.”³⁸³ So from this perspective the laws did not need to incorporate increased slave protection because he feared this would give them too much power in South Carolina in a colony where the slave population was so dense.

³⁸⁰ Morris, *Southern Slavery and the Law*, 184.

³⁸¹ Ibid, 183-4

³⁸² Gov. William Bull, “A Representation of the present of religion, polity, agriculture and commerce”, in Smith, *Stono*, 30-1.

³⁸³ Ibid, 30-1

Following this he wrote; “By the happy temperament of justice and mercy in our negro Acts, and the general humanity of the masters, the state of slavery is as comfortable in this province as such a state can be...”

William Bull believed that protection was further secured through restricting slaves actions and arming whites. He established, “An act for the better security of this province against the insurrection and other wicked attempts of Negroes and other slaves...” which was a continuation of the act of better ordering and governing. It outlined whites’ right to bare arms in the church and the general rules surrounding their rights to protect themselves “against the insurrections and other wicked attempts of negroes and other slaves...”³⁸⁴ The news laws are undoubtedly in response to the rebellion and hoped to better protect South Carolina against further slave violence. The Stono Rebellion heavily affected the society and changed some of the rights of both the slaves and the rest of the population. This shift would have altered the experience of the lives of the slaves in the colony but the true implications of such laws are hard to define simply because its difficult to determine the degree they were enforced. The period following the Stono Rebellion was contradictory, in some ways slaves gained new rights and in others they experienced more restriction but neither of these situations stopped them from continuing to resist slavery.

III Slave Resistance and Maroon Communities After the Stono Rebellion

Runaways following the Stono Rebellion continued to be substantial in South Carolina. In many cases runaway slaves were either captured or decided to return back to the plantations because of issues like insufficient skills or resources. However some slaves successfully created new spaces for themselves after they escaped. Popularly they would find refuge in the nearby swamplands and in some cases remained there for years at a time. These slaves found strength in numbers, the higher the population in a maroon

³⁸⁴ David J. McCord. ed. *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, vol. 7, (Colombia, S.C., A.S. Johnston, 1840), 417.

community the stronger their success rate. Therefore maroons can be a reflection of slaves' general cultural similarities, because they show their abilities to communicate and organize themselves into maroon communities. Maroon communities were more prevalent in the Caribbean and Latin American than in North American colonies, South Carolina had the most maroons out of all of the other colonies.³⁸⁵ South Carolina was seemed to have been conducive to runaways and maroon communities because of the geography, which included a lot of rivers and swamp areas.³⁸⁶ The swamps provided slaves with safe spaces where plantation owners could not easily find or access the slaves. The difficulty with finding such communities is portrayed in the following account;

But as there are several large Parties of Runaways still concealed in large swamps, not easily accessible by the ordinary way of performing the Patrol duty, I have caused 47 Catawba Indians to come down, whose manner of hunting renders them sagacious in finding an Enemy by their track...³⁸⁷

This is another reason why the colonists turned to Native Americans for help because they were more knowledgeable of the land and marshy areas. Yet even once maroons were found, they were difficult to capture because they were usually well equipped with weapons and able to runaway further into the swamp or forests. The swamp provided slaves with advantages and played an important role in their lives' as a place of refuge and security.³⁸⁸

Some of the swamps on rice plantations were unsuitable for cultivation and were left unused. Often times, these swamps became areas for maroons because plantation owners

³⁸⁵ Lockley and Doddington, *Maroon and Slave Communities*, 127.

³⁸⁶ Ibid, 129.

Maroons were also heavily prevalent in Louisiana as Hall demonstrates. Similarly to South Carolina, Louisiana included many advantages for slaves to runaway and for them to create maroon communities, including swamp-lands and marshes. See Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 142.

³⁸⁷ Lt. Gov. Sir William Bull to the Board of Trade, Charleston, October 5th, 1739, in Smith, *Stono*, 31.

³⁸⁸ Lockley and Doddington, *Maroon and Slave Communities*, 42.

were not present and the slaves worked nearby which gave them an opportunity plan their escape.³⁸⁹ South Carolina's swampy land provided ideal places for slaves to runaway to or create maroon communities. These places possibly provided slaves improved environments to maintain their African cultures because they increased the distance from their owners. This could have led to the colony containing strong African communities.

The largest and most successful maroon community lived near the Savannah River right on the boarder of South Carolina and Georgia. This community was well established and posed a significant threat to South Carolinians. This large maroon community demonstrates that slaves in South Carolina were Africanized.³⁹⁰ The power of the Savannah River Maroons is apparent because the British militia attacked them many times before they were successfully stopped. These slaves were powerful because of their size, organizational skills, location of maroon community and their resources. There are records of multiple attacks occurring throughout 1787 and the first attempted attack was reported in a local newspaper, which stated,

A number of runaway Negroes (supposed upwards of 100) having sheltered themselves on Belleville Island, about 17 or 18 miles up Savannah River, and for some time past committed robberies on the neighbouring planters, it was found necessary to attempt to dislodge them.³⁹¹

Here the militia managed to kill three or four slaves and injured a few others and they hoped those causalities would be enough for the rest of the maroons to surrender. But the rebels remained a significant threat to South Carolina's society as noted by Gen. James Jackson, who commented that; "[a]fter we dislodged them from this side, they collected

³⁸⁹ Lockley and Doddington, *Maroon and Slave Communities*, 130.

³⁹⁰ Hall uses the maroon communities in Bas du Fleuve to argue that slaves in Louisiana were the most Africanized in the United States. Arguably however, the Savannah Rive Maroons were just as successful and thus further prove that South Carolina was also Africanized. See Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 202-236.

³⁹¹ "Newspapers report on the first engagement between the militia and the Savannah River maroons", in Lockley, *Maroon Communities*, 44-5.

some weeks after in south Carolina, from whence they are in fact much more troublesome to the citizens than when we routed them.”³⁹²

From December to August 1787, there were a lot of letters and newspaper articles that reveal the strength and size of these maroons. All of them discussed the best ways to capture the maroons or how to solve the difficulties posed to the militia by the runaways’ hideout in the “impenetrable swamp.”³⁹³ This community was well organized and well armed; it contained twenty soldiers and a leader Captain Cudjoe, who successfully led them to fight against the British militia³⁹⁴. Slaves on nearby plantations supplied these maroons with food and other necessities and this was a common practice among maroon communities. For example some slaves brought; cows, corn, rice, guns, ammunition and clothes to this maroon community.³⁹⁵ A report indicating the strength of this colony noted that it “was one of the most daring Gangs of Fellows that ever infested the Province...”³⁹⁶

A newspaper report indicated that,

...with the increase [in their] numbers, they exercised the principle of union, and opposed and harassed their masters until they were obliged to treat with them; and they are now an actual independent colony, the example of which is felt as the greatest inconvenience.³⁹⁷

Here the power of this maroon community is clearly stated and shown to have been a major concern for whites. Importantly this shows that slaves had managed to create an

³⁹² “Gen James Jackson writes to the governor of Georgia about the maroons”, in Lockley, *Maroon Communities*, 47.

³⁹³ “Newspapers report the second encounter between militia and the maroon community on the Savannah River”, in Lockley, *Maroon Communities*, 60.

³⁹⁴ “Trial record of Lewis forwarded to the governor of Georgia by Savanna magistrates”, in Lockley, *Maroon Communities*, 64.

Importantly the leader of this group chose to call himself Captain Cudjoe because this was the name of the leader from a large maroon community in Jamaica. This is proof that slaves in South Carolina were aware and knowledgeable about the events of other slaves in places as far as Jamaica (Lockley, 62).

³⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 64-5.

³⁹⁶ “Newspaper report on the capture and execution of Caesar, 1774” in Lockley, *Maroon Communities*, 37-8.

³⁹⁷ “Newspapers report the second encounter between militia and the maroon community on the Savannah River”, in Lockley, *Maroon Communities*, 60.

independent colony despite all of the hardships they faced through slavery. This is one of the more prominent examples of a maroon community demonstrating their strength, tremendous organization, and efficient flow of communication between slaves from various plantations. Even though by June of 1787 the British finally captured the maroons, they had managed to survive on their own for around a year and had effectively protected themselves against many attacks by the British militia.³⁹⁸

Through the evidence of slave resistance following the Stono Rebellion it becomes apparent that the changed laws in South Carolina did not have any major implications on slaves ability to runaway or create maroon communities. While the laws increased both in slaves favor and against them, neither affected their ability to run away from their plantations. The Stono Rebellion was the most damaging single event during the eighteenth century in the colony but South Carolinians experienced a constant flow of runaways and maroon communities that posed threats to the society throughout the eighteenth century. As mentioned before, rice plantations were a crucial aspect of the space that allowed slaves an improved opportunity to gather away from their masters' sight and this was no less important for the years following the rebellion.³⁹⁹ The overseers on the rice plantations were not the plantation owners, but Drivers who were

³⁹⁸ None of the documents specifically explain a single event of the final demise of this large maroon community, however there is a final report in June 14th, 1787 from a newspaper that wrote about Lewis, one of the head-men of the maroons, execution. Following this the documents refer the aftermath and affects on South Carolinian society of defeating such a large maroon community. Therefore this document can affectively mark the end of the Savannah River maroons.

See; "Newspaper report of Lewis's execution" in Lockley, *Maroon Communities*, 66.

³⁹⁹ This element is also in parallel to Louisiana such as Hall argued. She wrote, "The growth of the cypress industry led to a new form of maroonage. Families of creole slaves adapted to the ecology of the swamp by finding permanent settlements". Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 202. So while Cypress cultivation in Louisiana provided slaves with a better opportunity to resist slavery and create successful maroon communities, rice plantations were proven to do the same in South Carolina.

buffers between white authority and the slave population.⁴⁰⁰ Slave owners therefore kept a low profile on the rice fields and many traveled to places such as Charles town and left the plantations in the hands of the drivers.⁴⁰¹ The larger plantations were organized into “distinct settlements of about thirty slaves each.”⁴⁰² Due to the swampy terrain, these plantations were often isolated further allowing slaves a chance to create their own spaces. Therefore slaves on some rice plantations in South Carolina were more removed from the influence of white society and able to create stronger African communities.⁴⁰³

Another element that provided slaves with greater opportunity as discussed in the previous chapter, was that they outnumbered the white population. This “black majority” provided slaves with more power and this is proven through the high frequency of runaways and maroon communities that emerged in South Carolina.⁴⁰⁴ All of these factors put together provided slaves with a unique social space where they could create strong African communities. The freedom that slaves experience on rice plantations can be shown through a letter by Robert Pringle for instance was concerned that the amount of freedom that slaves experienced on plantations was dangerous. He considered it as “putting too much trust in Negroes.”⁴⁰⁵ Pringle revealed that slaves needed to be closely watched otherwise they would easily get into trouble and, as in this case, they could runaway or resist in other manners. Slaves then were able to runaway and create maroon communities throughout the eighteenth century.

⁴⁰⁰ Chaplin, *Tidal Rice Cultivation*, 57.

⁴⁰¹ Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 179.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Chaplin, *Tidal Rice Cultivation*, 54.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ *The Letterbook of Robert Pringle*, 122.

Runaway slaves continued following the Stono Rebellion and many ran away for long periods of time. Many of the runaway advertisements in the South Carolina Gazette following 1740 depict slaves having been ‘lost’ from the plantations for over a year or more. For example, “Run Away from the subscriber, about the 10th of October last, a negro fellow named Hamlet.”⁴⁰⁶ Another example from the gazette demonstrates a similar time frame, “Run Away from the Subscriber in St. Stephen’s parish, the middle of September last, a negro man of the Guinea country.”⁴⁰⁷ Interestingly these slaves could have been some of those who managed to create maroon communities in the swamplands of South Carolina. Runways were common in South Carolina and posed significant threat to slave owners. One plantation reveals the trouble that the runaways caused, “The Negroes of that estate have almost all proved runaways & rogues. There is no knowing a slave.”⁴⁰⁸ Clearly slaves were able to run away fairly frequently and for long periods of time and in the more extreme cases create maroon communities away from their masters. The frequency and concern from plantation owners regarding runaway slaves is reflected in the following newspaper article from 1787, they wrote, “[i]n indeed Running away had already become more prevalent than usual.”⁴⁰⁹ Furthermore, following the Stono Rebellion, maroons are well documented and were prevalent enough to create intense fear and anxiety in South Carolina. Through their military experience from Africa or internally in South Carolina, slaves successfully resisted slavery and built new lives for

⁴⁰⁶ Windley, ed. *Runaway Slave Advertisements*, 684, November 3rd 1772.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid, 684, February 2nd 1773.

⁴⁰⁸ Harleston Letter from Marion 1780, “Letters Francis Marion to Major Isaac Harleston, also Letters between Members of Harleston Family and Other Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1780, copy from the original possession of John Harleston Family, by Julia W. Reynolds, 4.

⁴⁰⁹ “Newspapers report the second encounter between militia and the maroon community on the Savannah River”, in Lockley, *Maroon Communities*, 60.

themselves under exceptional circumstances.⁴¹⁰ It is noteworthy that popular newspaper opinion in colonial South Carolina linked the slaves' resistance by formation of maroon communities with the slaves' African heritage. For instance, one newspaper reported concerning, "some of the Negroes who formed the late camp", that it is, perhaps, the wish of interest, as well as of Philosophy, that they were all in Africa.⁴¹¹

Other conspiracies and acts of resistance, aside from the issue of the maroons, occurred and further pushed South Carolinians to change their laws to restrict the slave population. For instance, on a Tuesday in November of 1797 a group of French slaves were caught in the act of conspiring against South Carolina to set fire to the city.⁴¹² The newspaper reportage of the trial further emphasized the whites' fears and the need to prevent further slave resistance by being "fair" to the slaves. While the newspaper reported that the accused slaves at first denied their involvement in the conspiracy, it indicates that "a number of witnesses were examined and fully proved the guilt" of the slaves.⁴¹³ The leader "Jean Louis, was to be hung" while the others either were "transported" or were "under confinement, for further examination."⁴¹⁴ This is a firm example of a slave case being brought to trial and more fairly convicted of crimes such as creating conspiracies. South Carolina slaves experienced an array of special circumstances that allowed them to better resist slavery. The maroon communities, run-

⁴¹⁰ Lockley, *Maroon Communities*, 3.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² Manuscript, AOB, Isaiah Thomas, 1797, December 20th "Conspiracy of Several French Negroes to Fire City and to Act there as they had formerly done" Massachusetts SPP. or Worcester Gazette , VOL. XXVI.

⁴¹³ Isaiah Thomas, December 20th 1797, *Conspiracy of Several French Negroes to Fire City and to Act there as they had Formerly Done*, Vol. XXVI, No. 1288, South Caroliniana, University of South Carolina. See Appendix 9 for full article.

Furthermore the article specifically portrays the whites as innocent through a written remark of a slave, "Jean Louis, he turned to the two Figaro's and said, "I do not blame the whites, though I suffer; they have done right; but it is you have brought me this trouble". Importantly the newspaper article depicts the slaves as at fault even through the eyes of other slaves and shows that the slaves were in the wrong.

⁴¹⁴ Thomas, *Conspiracy of Several French Negroes*, 1797.

aways, conspiring acts and any other form of resistance required organization that could only occur if slaves had the connections, time and distance from whites, such as they did on rice plantations in South Carolina.

The Stono Rebellion is a great example of slaves gaining a considerable amount of control and power over their circumstances despite the confines of slavery. Its effects on South Carolina society were major. The rebellion intensified the fear of the slave owners, pushing them to alter their laws so as to increase their control over the slave population. The Stono Rebellion brought further awareness to slave owners in relation to the increased black population, which was at its highest point by the 1730's. Notably the Stono Rebellion occurred within this time frame, further confirming the slave owners' fears of the growing slave population. The Stono Rebellion shifted slave traders purchasing patterns and led to a deliberate reduction in importation of slaves from Africa, and especially from the Kongo-Angolan region. Even with these changes slaves continued to resist slavery. In fact, South Carolina provided many advantages for slaves that allowed them too more easily runaway, rebel and create maroon communities in the nearby swamps. The "black majority" played in the slaves favor and could have provided slaves with increased power than those in places where they were the minority. Moreover, rice plantations provided time away from the plantation owners while also being conveniently surrounding by swamplands that gave slaves a space to find refuge in. The swamps made it very difficult for runaways or even full maroon communities to be caught. Slaves were able to get to know the land well because they worked in close proximity to the swamps. South Carolina landscape was an important factor of the lives of slaves and contributed to their ability to resist slavery and white influence. The Stono

Rebellion, maroon communities and constant flow of runaways in South Carolina during the eighteenth century are highly reflective of slaves strong will to break away from slavery and they reflected the significance of the maintenance of some African cultural roots away from the eyes of their masters.

Conclusively, in order for the slaves to have created a large rebellion, like the Stono Rebellion, or large maroon communities, such as the Savannah River maroons, they needed to be able to plan and organize which would have required major communication between nearby slaves, both within the same plantations and surrounding ones. Events such as the aforementioned can lead to the conclusion that the slaves in South Carolina were not fractionalized but reasonably “Africanized” and fairly cohesive.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁵ Similarly to Hall’s argument that Louisiana slaves were not fractionalized but derived from similar areas and were able to use a common language to create strong bonds and communities in the New World, which allowed them to better resist slavery and maintain their African cultures. She argues that all slaves derived directly from Africa and this resulted in a ‘coherent, functional, well integrated, autonomous, and self-confident slave community’ not one that was fragmented’.

Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 159.

Conclusion

Africanization Across Places: A Final Comparison of South Carolina & Louisiana

"The chaotic conditions prevailing in the colony, the knowledge and skills of the African population, the size and importance of the Indian population throughout the eighteenth century, and the geography of lower Louisiana, which allowed for easy mobility along its waterways as well as escape and survival in the nearby, the pervasive swamps, all contributed to an unusually cohesive and heavily Africanized culture in lower Louisiana: clearly the most Africanized slave culture in the United States"

-Gwendolyn Hall⁴¹⁶

The maintenance of African slave culture in New World societies and the affects that slaves had on them are crucial areas to study in order to better understand the complexities of the slave trade. Over the years, historians have disputed over the degree that African slaves were able to remember their African cultures in the New World. There have been a large variety of arguments about slave culture, which rooted from the Frazier- Herskovits debate. Unlike what Frazier argued some years ago, African slaves did contribute their African heritage to the New World colonies. This work contributes to the field of study by examining how much slaves were able to maintain their African cultures in the New World. More specifically by concentrating on a single place, South Carolina, this study gains a deeper understanding of slaves' abilities to maintain their African cultures. Uniquely, I also look at how the process of creolization varied across places by comparing Louisiana to South Carolina. Overall, I have combined different elements that effected slaves' abilities to maintain their African cultures such as; ethnic distribution, slave resistance, land geography, plantation formation, religion, language and slave laws, and applied them all to one place, South Carolina.

In order to better understand slave culture in South Carolina, it is necessary to examine the various African ethnicities separately⁴¹⁷. This work examines the distribution

⁴¹⁶ Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 161.

of African slave ethnicities that entered South Carolina during the slave trade. While there are still gaps in the study, this work contributes to the ethnic distribution in South Carolina by exploring the most popular places of importation from Africa. Specifically a focus on the Senegambian and Congo-Angolan ethnicities and as well as the separate cultural features aid in the breakdown of African culture in South Carolina. Through the separation of African ethnicities in larger places like Senegambia and Congo-Angola, a deeper understanding of which cultural features carried over to South Carolina's society was formed. This paper also combines the elements of time and place by comparing Louisiana and South Carolina, and examining South Carolina from 1690 to 1800. A variety of arguments in regards to slave culture have been applied to South Carolina in order to gain a new perspective. By focusing on a large variety of elements in one colony this thesis contributes to the field of slave culture in the New World between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The process of creolization is also explored by comparing Louisiana and South Carolina. By analyzing the two places, this work further demonstrates the complexity of creolization. Hall argues that Louisiana was a unique place because creolization occurred at a slower rate and therefore slaves were better able to maintain their African cultures in Louisiana versus other colonies. Furthermore she argues that Louisiana was more "racially open" than other colonies, such as South Carolina, and this further allowed for slaves to maintain their African cultures⁴¹⁸. However, as this work demonstrates, South Carolina also provided slaves with a social space where they were able to keep their

⁴¹⁷ This was argued in; Jason R. Young, *Rituals of Resistance*, 2007. Michael Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 1998, Gwendolyn Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities*, 2004, Gwendolyn Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 1992 & Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 1969.

⁴¹⁸ Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 14.

cultures alive. Even though the experiences of slaves varied throughout places, in any place they never fully lost their African cultural roots. Gwendolyn Hall argues that Louisiana was special because it provided slaves with a heightened opportunity to preserve their Africans cultures in the New World setting. She argues that Louisiana's size, importance of Native Americans and geography all "contributed to an unusually cohesive and heavily Africanized culture in lower Louisiana"⁴¹⁹. While some of these aspects were prevalent in South Carolina, some were not, but regardless South Carolina was not less Africanized than Louisiana. Both colonies contained individual features that provided slaves with beneficial opportunities that enabled them keep their African cultures. Thus while Louisiana may have been more tolerant of different races, South Carolina provided slaves with other various opportunities which also allowed them to resist slavery and maintain their culture.

The parallels between South Carolina and Louisiana are extensive and were displayed throughout the chapters presented. Firstly, both places featured geography that allowed slaves to more frequently resist slavery and create their own social spaces out of the confines of their masters. Swamps surrounded both areas and provided slaves with the perfect environments to run away from the plantations. The swampy places also allowed slaves to create their own communities of maroons. Both colonies imported a majority of their slaves from the Senegambia. Therefore, in Louisiana and South Carolina, slaves from the Senegambia had a strong effect of the development of the creolized cultures that formed. The degree of the fragmentation of slaves' cultures arriving in South Carolina and Louisiana was therefore limited. Since both places imported the majority of the slaves from Senegambia, the slave populations that arrived were more culturally

⁴¹⁹ Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 161.

connected. This contributed to slaves' abilities to maintain their African cultures through the development of strong communal ties as well as helped them to resist slavery. Both colonies also had extremely successful trade commodities, which consisted of indigo in Louisiana and rice in South Carolina. Rice was grown in both places, however it was much more important to South Carolina's economy. While Hall argues that the rice technology and cultivation process was stronger in Louisiana than in South Carolina, rice never became a large export commodity for the former⁴²⁰. Both colonies formed extensive slave laws that protected the colonies and that sought to restrict slave resistance.

Both places also experienced significant number of runaways and slave forming maroon communities throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In Louisiana slaves took over Bas du Fleuve and in South Carolina slaves occupied a space along the Savannah River. Both of the maroon communities demonstrated significant power and organization. The swampy areas that were near the plantations in Louisiana and South Carolina allowed for slaves to runaway and form communities in close proximity to the plantations they were from. This allowed them to get supplies from the nearby plantations and contributed to their overall success. Finally both colonies experienced significant slave resistance in the mid to late eighteenth century. In Louisiana the Pointe Coupee conspiracy in 1795 and the Stono Rebellion occurred in 1739 in South Carolina. These rebellions demonstrate many specific parallels that further prove the strong presence of Africanization in both places. In both cases slaves were aware that they outnumbered the white population and heard of promises of freedom. The Spanish in St. Augustine were thought to have pushed slaves to rebel through their promises of freedom in Florida,

⁴²⁰ Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 122.

whereas slaves in Louisiana were instigated to rebel because of the American Revolution that promised freedom⁴²¹. Both rebellions were led by Africanized slave communities that seized the opportunity provided by the swampy areas around the plantations in the colonies to mobilize for and organize the rebellions. In both cases as well, the rebellions altered the slave societies' views on what was required for effective slave. Existing slave laws were adapted and intensified following the rebellions in order to better prevent them from further occurrences. Even though the similarities between South Carolina and Louisiana are extensive, the two states inevitably had clear differences as well. There are some aspects of Hall's work that are not applicable to South Carolina simply because the elements did not occur or they did not happen in the same way as Louisiana.

A considerable difference between Louisiana and South Carolina was the variety of colonists that inhabited the each place. Unlike Louisiana, which experienced long lasting colonists from Spain, France and Canada, South Carolina was strictly a British colony until the American Revolution. Hall argues that the Canadian, Spanish and French influences in Louisiana contributed to Louisiana's racially open environment⁴²². According to Hall's argument, South Carolina's British colonists' were less tolerant of the slave and Native cultures. Whether or not this was the case, it did not inhibit slaves from preserving parts of their African cultures or from resisting slavery. Because there was only one group of colonists, South Carolina did not experience various shifts in political, cultural and societal regimes that Louisiana did because of different set of

⁴²¹ The release of the rights of man during the American Revolution increased tensions between slaves and whites and Hall argues that knowledge of this sparked slaves to rebel.

Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 349

⁴²² *Ibid*, xiv-xv.

succeeding colonists. This simplifies the analysis for South Carolina but enhances my focus on the British colonists.

The initial stages of Louisiana's development also show differences between the two colonies. Hall reveals that French Louisiana, unlike the British colonies, was never a prosperous plantation society that produced large quantities of export goods⁴²³. Unlike South Carolina, Louisiana was poor and unstable in the beginning and this contributed to the colonists' reliance on slaves for protection and success. South Carolina was a plantation society from the beginning, yet even with this large difference both places contained similar geography, which provided slaves with substantial places in the swamps where they were able to form their own communities.

The Native American population, although they contributed to the development of South Carolina's colony, was not as crucial to the British colonists as they were to the colonists that inhabited Louisiana. In Louisiana the French colonists relied on Native Americans for extra protection due to the colony's instability. Louisiana was a dangerous place during the initial stages where wars, famine and violence were a daily occurrence⁴²⁴. Unlike South Carolina, where the colonists derived from other British colonies in the Americas, the colonists were made up of criminals and French rejects. This created a hostile environment where colonists depended on the help of the Native Americans for security and protection. The Native American population in South Carolina was not as central to the safety of the colonists. Hall further argues that the reliance on Indians further contributed to the racial openness that Louisiana had during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Therefore even though Native Americans were

⁴²³ Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 9.

⁴²⁴ Ibid, 26.

an important aspect of South Carolina's colony, because they helped slaves to runaway and at the same time helped colonists to capture the runaways, the relationship between the colonists and the Indians was definitely different than in Louisiana.

Both colonies constituted significant slave laws, however they demonstrate different aspects of the colonies' societies. Slaves in Louisiana are shown in Hall's work to have been knowledgeable of the slave laws that were implemented called the Code Noirs. Hall therefore argues that slaves were able to use this as an advantage to more successfully resist slavery. Direct examples of slaves being aware of their rights in South Carolina are lacking, but it can be assumed that some would have had some knowledge of the slave laws. The laws in South Carolina however were a direct reflection of the colonists' fears and insecurities that derived from the high slave populations⁴²⁵. South Carolina experienced high slave populations from the very beginning of its colonization. However Louisiana's slave population was much slower to progress, more specifically French Louisiana's poor economy made it very difficult for them to purchase slaves. Unlike South Carolina, Louisiana accepted the cheapest and weakest slaves because it was all they could afford⁴²⁶. Therefore the fear of slave resistance and rebellion in Louisiana was not as prominent as it was in South Carolina and this is reflected in the South Carolina slave laws.

Through the application of Gwendolyn Hall's work on creolization in Louisiana to a different place such as South Carolina, a new perspective of slave's experiences in the colony becomes apparent. Places across the United States and globally had slight variations that affected each individual slave's experiences. Each place provided slaves

⁴²⁵ Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 128.

⁴²⁶ Ibid, 86.

with various advantages and disadvantages that contributed to their abilities to resist slavery. Yet, it is controversial to argue that one state or place was more Africanized than the other. This is demonstrated through the comparison of the two individually unique places, Louisiana and South Carolina. It becomes apparent that although they have different features they both provided a place that was conducive to slave resistance and maintain their African roots. Furthermore, neither place, no matter the differences between them, inhibited slaves from either resisting the bonds of slavery or remembering their African cultures. In both places, slaves were able to significantly contribute some of their African cultural aspects to the colony, which had lasting effects on the colony's society.

Appendix

Figure 1: The South Carolina Newspapers, *Charlestown Gazette* no 1305, September 11th, 1759, South Carolina Historical Society & Special collections, College of Charleston.

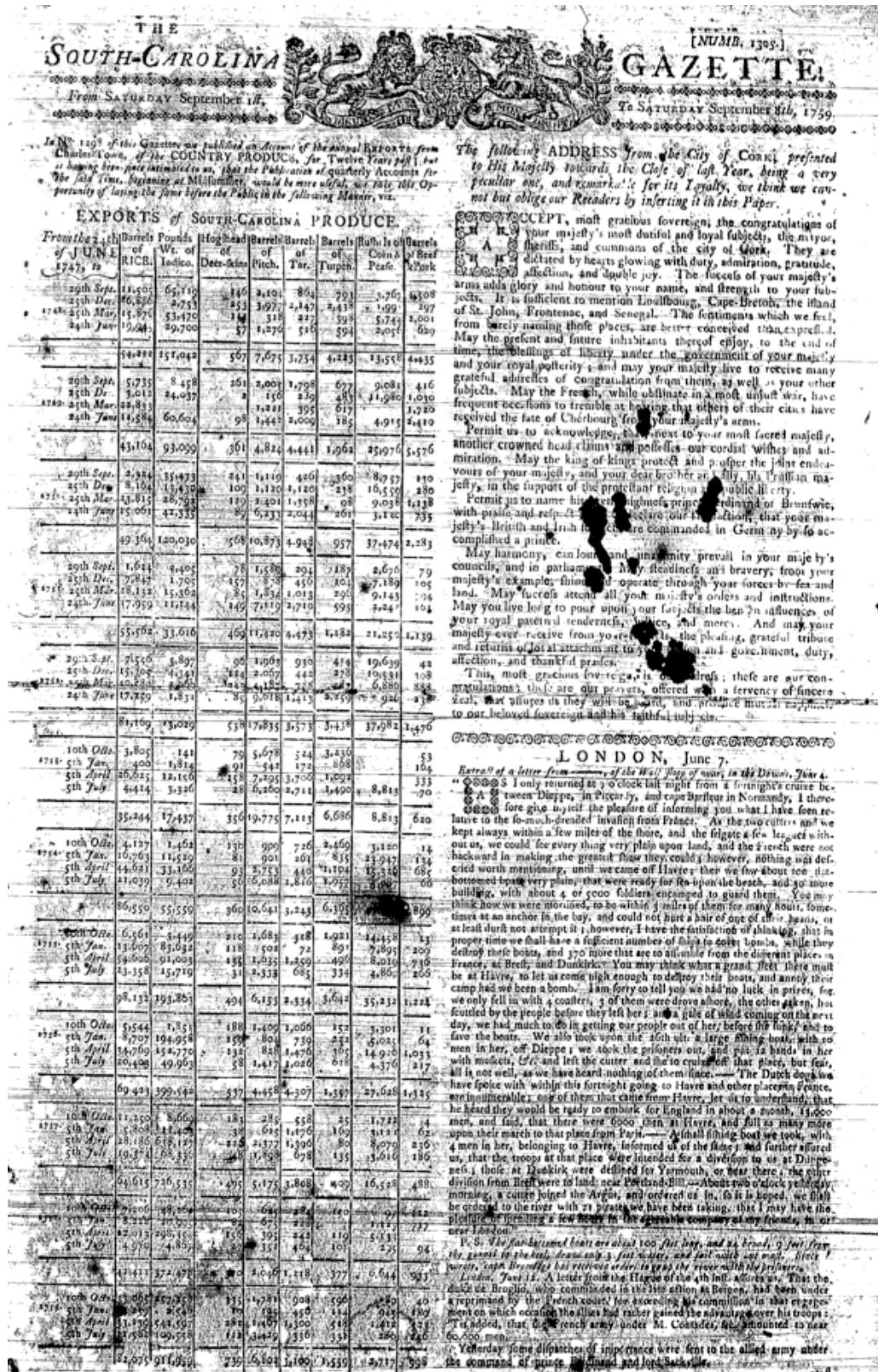


Figure 2. i, John Torran Papers, South Carolina Historical Society & Special collections, College of Charleston.

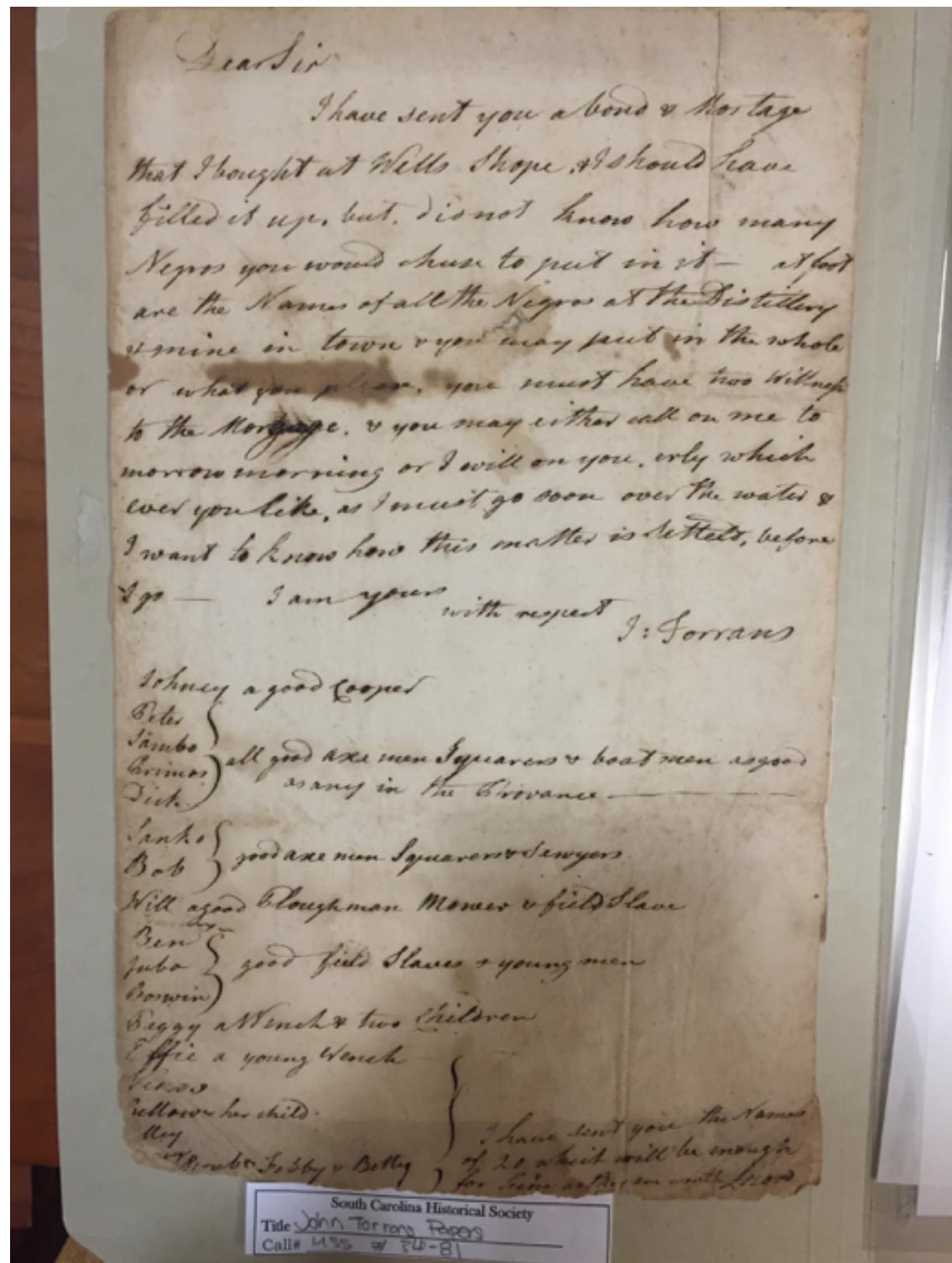


Figure 2, ii, Taylor Family Papers, 1775-1783, South Caroliniana, University of South Carolina.

14025

A List of all the Negroes at Harrall

[concl. 2 Feb. 1773]

D.	E.	C.	J.
Adam			cuffey & Dick.
Bob	Befo		Tuba
Sawyer	Censor		Grenahar, Phillis, James, Dolley & Silla.
Sawyer	Johnathan		Diggy, June.
dd.	George		Lure, Linda, Hannah, & George.
Pate		Amoritta, Joevey, Sunday, & Pall, Little Prince	
Blind	Paddy	Note	pompey & Jugg.
Prince		Rose	& Floroa.
cooper	Fring laco	Callia	& Diana
coventer	Peter	Sueyey	& Abraham
			Quaminooe, Harry, & Danniall
Sawyer	Bob	Sampson	Affy, & dye
		Tim	Grace, Prince, cornelia, Matt, Petley, & vigil.
Sawyer	Tom	Phillis	Fibby, censor.
		Renty	Willingby, cyron, king & Pallidore.
cooper	Will		Daffney, & Bark.
	Joe		Whate
	cooper	Horch	& Rose
	French		Frances
4. Single Andrew	Examinee		Old, Mrs. These are all the Fellowes & their Wifes & children in my Plantation
old Bob		Elsey	Elsey, belinda, & Rachael
Cypioe		Sarah	Judy, censor, & Silvia
Sawyer	Job	Sue	Suetira, Robin, & Harry
	Jack		& Phillis
	Jony	Judy	Peter, & Quash
Sawyer	Prinouse	Bellar	
old Prinouse		young note	
Sawyer	Strong	Dolley	
	young Sam	old Joan	
	Limous		
old Robin			
Sam			
cooper	Endgoes		
	Grace		
	Yorke		
old Prince			
Sawyer	Billig & wife Nancy		
Driver of Worms, his wife Janney			
	Ned		
		4. Hannabell yell @ grover county, To Sandie Sonny, their Father	
		The column shar'd With 4. Lett. D. are the Names of the Fellowes, the Second mark'd with the	
		Letter E. is the Names of their Wifes, & the third With 4. Lett. C. is the Names of all	
		their children they have.	

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Taylor Family Papers

Figure 3, The South Carolina Newspapers, *Charlestown Gazette, January 27th to Thursday February 1st, 1759.* South Carolina Historical Society & Special collections, College of Charleston.

capt. Roper's wharf, or to

AUSTIN and LAURENS.



Run away from the subscriber. the 25th of Sept. 1758. viz.
Jack a Calabar born, sensible, arch, middle-sized fellow, about 22 years old, speaks good English, well-made, but bow-legg'd, and has a remarkable whale a little above his hip, and pretends to be free; his drefs uncertain, as he took with him some indigo bags, of which he may have made cloaths: He is well acquainted about Cheehaw, Ponpon, Horse-Savannah, and Beach-Hill, and from thence to the Cherokee Nation, on the road to which 3 other negroes that accompanied him have been taken above Martin Friday's Ferry. Also, Galloway, a new Gambia negro man, 6 feet high, speaks broken English, and is about 24 years old, has some bumps on his right hand knuckles, his little finger stands out strait, and he has lost two of his fore teeth. They took with them a flat-built cypress canoe 24 feet long, 4 feet wide, and low at her bow, that rows with 4 oars, and steers with a rudder. A broad ax, a pitching ax, drawing knife, &c. Who ever delivers them to James Shepherd blacksmith at Ponpon, or the subscriber on Wadmelah, shall have 10 l. reward for Jack, and 5 for Galloway, besides reasonable charges: And if any person will prove that they are harboured by white persons or free negroes, such person shall have 20 l. besides the above reward; or 10 l. upon conviction of slaves of the like offence, as I am determined to punish such villainy with the utmost severity.

WILLIAM SMITH.

This Slave Advertisement demonstrates a variety of levels of English that slaves spoke.

Figure 4, i, John Ball Papers, 1720-1778, *Account & Blanket*, South Carolina Historical Society & Special collections, College of Charleston.

1739	Elias Ball Junr. to George Austin	Nov 28	10/6
	To 60 yards of Negro Cloth		
60-50	Do	this account is settled up to	31/10
<hr/>			
1749 those Negroes under retin. had blankets			
Nov 1	Rouie	Clarinda	
2	Clarinda	-	May 1751
3	Clarinda	-	1 Cupit
4	Philippe	-	2 Portions
5	Minder	-	3 Do Devonshire
6	Old Nancy	had an old blanket	4 Steak & Exitor
7	Old Nancy	-	5 Flats
8	Mimber	-	6 Gosey
9	Hannah	-	7 Calibare
10	Bellon	-	8 Sambo
11	Beatty	-	9 Chilis
12	Lynor	-	10 March
13	Nancy	-	11 angolatnareus
14	Samson	-	12 Nero
15	Cestalia	-	13 Vidat
16	Ames	-	14 Grindge
17	Good flora	-	15 Moones
18	Alice	-	16 Cate
19	Prigee	-	17 Sydwicks
20	Cupit	-	18 Shamont
21	Tom	-	19 Isaac
22	Robin	-	20 Bambra Peter
23	Brawley	-	21 Nell
24	Pinoe	-	22 Harry
25	Abraham & Cuff	-	23 Black Jack
26	Charles	-	24 Wm. or
27	The House gardies	-	25 Young Quashaw
			26 Almidaser August 13
			27 Cuper Marcus Sept 7 25
			28 Hannah Oct 22

South Carolina Historical Society
 Title BALL Family Papers. Account & Blanket
 Book 1720 - 1778
 Call#

Figure 4, ii, John Cordes, 1764-1789, *Account Book*, Philip G. Porcher, Stratton Place, Mt. Pleasant, S.C., (Sponsored by; South Carolina Historical Society & Special Collections, College of Charleston, 1935-1937), 142.

HUNTERS, in Possession of Francis Cordes			Page
241	Pino	100	
	November	100	
	Stephen	100	
	Tony	80	
	Dublin	70	
	Bristol	110	
	Sempy	70	
	Simon	70	
	Marianne	75	
	Esther	75	850
251	Sally	75	
	Cilly	70	
	Priscila	45	
	Old Sally	50	
	Celia	35	
	Sophy	50	
	Will	110	
	Cornelia	70	
	Little Will	70	
	Gain	50	625
261	Jacky	70	
	Snow	1	
	Pompey	90	
	Stephen	90	
	Danice	90	
	Old Stephen	50	
	Hep	50	441
			13662
268	Amount brought forward		13662
	Binah	30	
	Cinder	25	
	Peter	20	
	Joe	15	
	Moses	10	
	Seipio	110	
	Binah	50	
	Cyrus	70	
	Billy	50	
	Little Nancy	35	415
278	Tenah	25	
	Scipio	20	
	Gundy	15	
	Jenny	70	
	Linda	40	
	Galloway	45	
	Grigg	30	
	Primas	20	
	Holly	15	
	Cudjoe	10	290
288	Phebe	70	
	Thomas	50	
	Paul	25	
	Caty	20	
	Sue	15	
	Nelly	60	

Figure 5, The South Carolina Newspapers, *Charlestown Gazette*, March 14th, 1743, South Carolina Historical Society & Special collections, College of Charleston.

Advertisements.

THE Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts, having had long and much at Heart the Propagation of the same among the Negro and Indian Slaves, in his Majesty's Colonies in America, have lately resolved on the following Method of pursuing this good End; viz. by purchasing some Country born young Negroes, causing them to be instructed to read the Bible, and in the chief Principles of the Christian Religion, and thenceforth employing them (under the Direction of proper Trustees) as School-Masters, for the same Instruction of all such Negro or Indian Children as may be born in the said Colonies. In Pursuance of this Method, the said Society have purchased, about 15 Months ago, two such Negroes for the said Service in this Province, and have since appropriated One of them for the same in Charles-Town, who will be sufficiently qualified for it in a few Months, and to whom all the Negro and Indian Children of this Parish may be sent for E-

ducation, without any Charge to their Masters or Owners.

But whereas the said Society have no other Fund to depend on for carrying on this good Work, but (under the Blessing of God) the voluntary Contributions of pious and well disposed Christians, they are not without Hopes of the charitable Assistance of some such in these Parts towards it. But more especially as they have appropriated One of their said Negroes for the Service of Charles-Town, they hope that the Inhabitants thereof will voluntarily contribute so small a Sum as 400 £. Currency, for building a convenient School-House for him, which the Subscriber consents may be done on a corner Piece of the Glebe Land near the Parsonage. This Building is to be finished in 3 or 4 Months from this Date, and whoever shall be disposed in their Hearts to contribute towards it, may pay their Contributions into the Hands of either of the Church Wardens of Charles-Town, or of the Subscriber; and the same shall be accounted for in the most publick and authentick Manner by

ALEXANDER GARDEN.

Table 1

Slave Imports to South Carolina from the Caribbean, 1670-1790 (retrieved from
O'Malley, page 142)

Year	Estimated Total Arrivals
1670	40
1671-75	200
1676-80	200
1681-85	200
1686-90	200
1691-95	200
1696-1700	625
1701-5	625
1706-10	625
1711-15	625
1716-20	885
1721-25	421
1726-30	509
1731-35	881
1736-40	223
1741-45	112
1746-50	305
1751-55	2,270
1756-60	1,279
1761-65	2,505
1766-70	862
1771-75	3,412
1776-80	Unknown
1781-85	1,724
1786-90	801

Table 2
The Slave Trade of the Royal African Company, by Origin and Destination, 1673-89

Region	No. Slaves	%	Annual Average
Coastal Origin of			
Slaves exported:			
Senegambia &	10,700	12.0	
Sierra Leone			
Windward Coast	24,400	27.3	
Gold Coast	18,600	20.9	
Ardra & Whydah	14,000	15.7	
Benin & the	6,000	6.7	
Calabras			
Angola	10,700	12.0	
Other & unknown	4,800	5.4	
Total	89,200	100.00	5,250
Imported into:			
Barbados	26,200	38.4	
Jamaica	22,900	33.6	
Nevis	6,900	10.1	
Other & Unknown	12,200	17.9	
Total	68,200	100.00	4,010

From curtin page 122.

Table 3
Population of South Carolina- 1670-1799

Year	Whites	Negroes	Total
1670	About 148	5 are known	
1700			About 5,000
1715	6,000		
1719	5,000	7,000	12,000
(1719)	6,400		
1720	6,800		
1720	6,525	11,828	18,353
(1721)	9,000	12,000	21,000
(1721)	14,000		
1722	12,000		
(1723)	14,000	18,000	32,000
(1724)	14,000	32,000	46,000
1730	15,000		
(1734)	7,333*	22,000	29,333
(1735)		40,000	
1736	Near 15,000		
(1739)		40,000	
(1749)	25,000	39,000	64,000
1753	30,000		
1757	25,000 or 30,000		
(1760)	31,000 or 32,000	52,000	84,000
1761	30,000	57,253	87,253
(1763)	35,000	70,000	105,000
(1765)	40,000	90,000	130,000
(1769)	45,000*	80,000	125,000
(1773)	65,000	110,000	175,000
(1775)	60,000*	80,000	140,000
(1775)	70,000	104,000	174,000
1775	93,000		
1790	140,178	108,895	249,073

*Underestimates of whites

**Note I have left out the data from 1800 –1930 because it is irrelevant to this study

*** Figures are of slave population are retrieved from tax books, figures in parenthesis he got from McCrady's South Carolina

Wallace Duncan, Appendix IV

Table 4

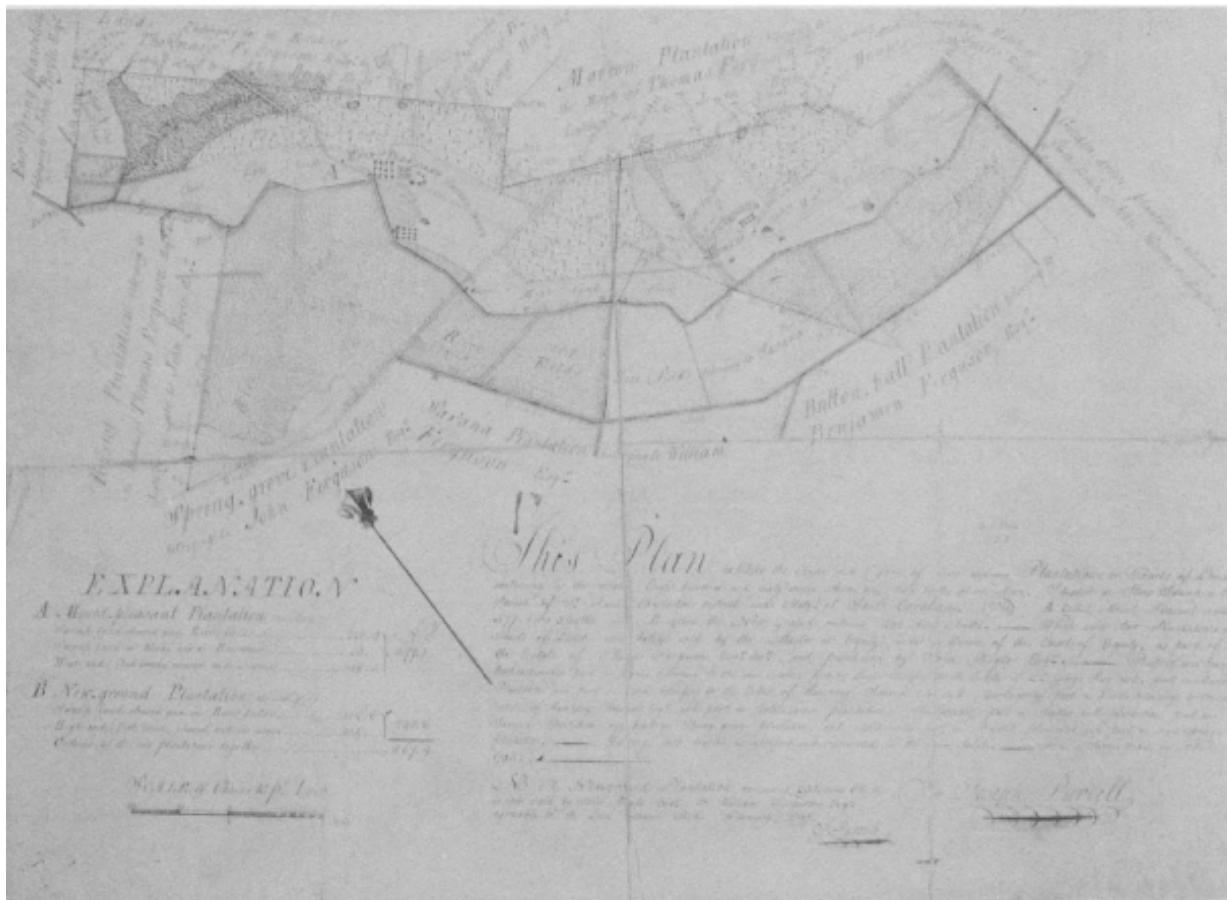
English Proficiency of Runaway Slaves in Colonial South Carolina		
English	Number	Adjusted Percentage***
Excellent	23	3.0
Very Good	114	15.0
Good	211	27.0
Little*	97	12.4
Very Little **	103	13.2
No English	232	30.0
Total	780	100.00

* This includes those listed as Bad, Poor and Indifferent.

** Includes very poor.

***Retrieved from Littlefield, 158. Removed from here is the total percentage, which also excludes the unknown slaves. Thus only the adjusted data remains.

Figure 6, Retrieved from Chaplin, Joyce E. "Tidal Rice Cultivation and the Problem of Slavery in South Carolina and Georgia, 1760-1815." *The William and Mary Quarterly*. 49, no.1 (1992): 58. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2947334> (accessed November 17, 2015)



This map demonstrates slaves individual spaces that they were able to form on rice plantations in South Carolina.

Two settlements are reflected in the black shaded areas. A. "Mount Pleasant" and B. "New Ground".

Two cemeteries appear in this map as well, the dark ovals near the road.

Figure 7, 1747 Bowen Map of the Southeastern United States (Carolina, Georgia, Florida), "A New & Accurate Map of the Provinces of North & South Carolina", *Wikimedia Commons*, accessed May 4th 2016, www.commons.wikimedia.org

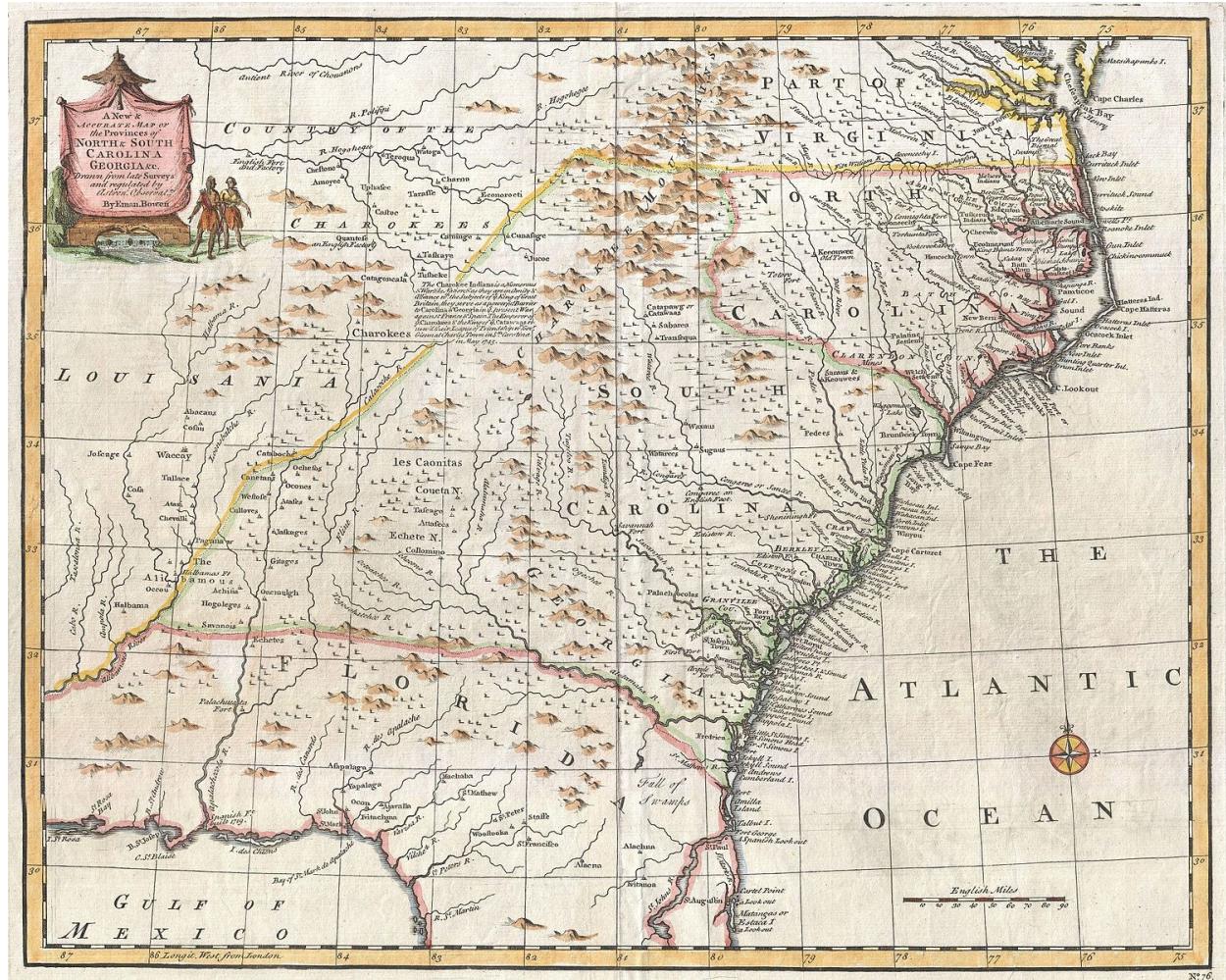


Figure 8, J. Dension, "Map of North and South Carolina", From Jedidiah Morse's *The American Universal Geography*. Boston: Thomas & Andrews, June, 1796, retrieved from; The Philadelphia Print Shop Ltd. (accessed May 4th, 2016), <http://www.philaprintshop.com/>



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