

APPENDIX 3

Registry of Negro Prisoners

MELTANKY A. BENDERS

No. 100

*Registry of negro prisoners captured, etc.—Continued*

No.	Name	Sex	Place taken, or owner	Estimated age	Remarks
80	Ben	Male	.....	22 0	
81	Jacob	do	.....	24 0	
82	Murch	do	.....	20 0	
83	Murray	do	.....	35 0	
84	Pinch	do	.....	35 0	
85	Toney	do	.....	25 0	
86	Toby	do	.....	32 0	
87	Teten	do	.....	15 0	
88	Tompey	do	.....	20 0	
89	Jacob, 2d	do	.....	20 0	
90	Dally	do	.....	22 0	
91	Mandy	do	.....	1 0	
92	George	do	.....	1 0	
93	Phillip	do	.....	4 0	
94	Morris	do	.....	1 0	
95	Lydia	Female	.....	30 0	
96	Abraham	Male	.....	50 0	
97	Tony Burnett	do	.....	36 0	
98	Polly Burnett	Female	.....	36 0	
99	Becky	do	.....	2 0	
100	Grace	do	.....	5 0	
101	Lydia	do	.....	5 0	
102	Mary Ann	do	.....	3 0	
103	Mathias	Male	.....	1 0	

Notes.—In addition to the above, under these negroes, the property of others is taken and secured by the troops.

THOMAS S. DUDLEY, Major-General, Commanding.

Notes

Introduction

1. Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 64.
2. Peter Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York, 1974), 28–34, 55. On contemporary Mandinga life along the Gambia, see Douglas Grant, *The Fortunate Slave: An Illustration of African Slavery in the Early Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1968), 11–25.
3. Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana, Ill., 1999), 25.
4. Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 24.
5. Richard Jobson, *The Golden Trade; or, A Discovery of the River Gambia, and the Golden Trade of the Ethiopians* (London, 1688), 51; Donald R. Wright, *The World and a Very Small Place in Africa* (Armonk, N.J., 1997); Charlotte A. Quinn, "Niumi: A Nineteenth-Century Mandinga Kingdom," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 38 (October 1968): 443–455.
6. Scholars hotly debate the origins and meaning of these African ethnonyms. I have used them throughout as they appear in Spanish documents. See, for example, Paul E. Lovejoy, "Identifying Enslaved Africans in the African Diaspora," in Lovejoy, ed., *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery* (London,

2000); Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005); Philip D. Morgan, "The Cultural Implications of the Atlantic Slave Trade: African Regional Origins, American Destinations and New World Developments," *Slavery and Abolition* 18:1 (1997): 122–145.

7. Landers, *Black Society*, 35–45.

8. *Ibid.*, 59–66.

9. See Olaudah Equiano, *The Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself* (London, 1789); "Narrative of the Enslavement of Ottobah Cugoano, a Native of Africa; published by himself, in the Year 1787," in *The Negro's Memorial, or Abolitionist's Catechism* (London, 1825); *The Biography of Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua: His Passage from Slavery to Freedom in Africa and America*, ed. Robin Law and Paul Lovejoy (Princeton, N.J., 2001); Randy J. Sparks, *The Two Princes of Calabar: An Eighteenth-Century Odyssey* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004).

10. R. R. Palmer, *The Age of Democratic Revolution: Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1959–1964); Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution [Europe], 1789–1848* (London, 1962).

11. Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (New York, 1961); Sylvia R. Frey, *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton, N.J., 1991); Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution* (New York, 2006); Gary Nash, *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006); Cassandra Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and Their Global Quest for Liberty* (Boston, 2006); David Patrick Geggus, *Haitian Revolutionary Soldiers* (Bloomington, Ind., 2002); Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004); Madison Smartt Bell, *Toussaint Louverture: A Biography* (New York, 2007).

#### 1. African Choices in the Revolutionary South

1. Memorial of Juan Bautista Whitten, July 31, 1819, East Florida Papers (hereafter cited as EFF), microfilm reel 14, P. K. Young Library of

Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida (hereafter cited as PKY).

2. Berlin, *Mary Thousands Gone*, 64–76.

3. Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), 444–445. The practice of throwing dead slaves into the Charleston harbor was still common in 1807, and Juries of Inquests ruled these deaths a "visitation of God." *Charleston Courier*, April 8, 21, and 22, 1807, and August 24, 1807, cited in Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, vol. IV (Washington, D.C., 1935), 526–527.

4. Equiano, *Life of Olaudah Equiano*; "Narrative of the Enslavement of Ottobah Cugoano; Biography of Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua; Sparks, *Two Princes of Calabar*.

5. After analyzing more than 27,000 slave trading voyages, David Eltis and his collaborators found that the 1770s and 1780s were high points in the "Guinea" trade. David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Hebert S. Klein, *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999). That data has now been updated online at [www.slavevoyages.com/tast/index.faces](http://www.slavevoyages.com/tast/index.faces). See also David Eltis and David Richardson, eds., *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven, Conn., 2008).

6. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 241, 244, 245.

7. Robert Higgins, "Charleston: Terminus and Entrepôt of the Colonial Slave Trade," in *The African Diaspora: Interpretive Essays*, ed. Martin L. Kilson and Robert I. Rothberg (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), 129; Converse D. Clowse, *Measuring Charleston's Overseas Commerce, 1717–1767: Statistics from the Port's Naval Lists*, 31, Table A-21; Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York, 1974), 132.

8. Data from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database [TSTD], [www.slavevoyages.com](http://www.slavevoyages.com), cited in David Eltis, Philip Morgan, and David Richardson, "Agency and Diaspora in Atlantic History: Reassessing the African Contribution to Rice Cultivation in the Americas," *American Historical Review* (December 2007), Table 1, 1336.

9. Darold D. Wax, "The Great Risk We Run: The Aftermath of Slave Rebellion at Stono, South Carolina, 1739-1745," *Journal of Negro History* 68, no. 2 (Summer 1982): 136-147.
10. Henry Laurens to John Knight, March 17, 1773, and *South Carolina Gazette*, September 20, 1773, cited in Donnan, *Documents*, vol. IV, 459, 464. On Laurens's long association with Oswald, Grant, and Company, owners of an important slave factory at Bance Island in the Sierra Leone River, see Donnan, *Documents*, vol. IV, 347, 429. A Philadelphia merchant visiting Charleston in January 1774 also reported that almost 10,000 Africans had been imported into Carolina in 1773. William Pollard to Messrs B. and J. Bower, Manchester, cited in H. Roy Merrens, ed., *The Colonial South Carolina Scene: Contemporary Views, 1698-1774* (Columbia, S.C., 1977), 275-278.
11. Non-Importation Agreement, 1774, and *South Carolina Gazette*, May 16, 1774, cited in Donnan, *Documents*, vol. IV, 467, 470-471.
12. *South Carolina Gazette*, September 26, 1775; <http://timmonstree.org/maps/Mouzon-SC-Map-2-Georgetown.jpg> (accessed 8/30/08). In other sources, Whitten appears as Witten.
13. Alexander Semple to Lt. McFernen, December 16, 1786, To and From the U.S. 1784-1821, EFP, microfilm reel 41, PKY.
14. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 58-79, and *Henry Laurens Papers*, II, 230, 357, cited in Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 68; John Tozer, "Postillion," to the Royal Africa Company, May 2, 1704, T 70/13, f.61 Voyage id, 15005, cited in David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 165; Walter Rodney, "Upper Guinea and the Significance of the Origins of Africans Enslaved in the New World," *The Journal of Negro History* 54 (1969): 327-345.
15. European accounts of this region span the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, and all note the presence of these peoples. This leads Michael Gomez to argue that ethnicity in Senegambia was "unambiguous," and he uses the term "Gambian" as eighteenth-century South Carolinians did. Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill,

- N.C., 1998), chap. 3. Other scholars generally agree that ethnic identifications in Africa, as well as in the Americas, were fluid and contingent, and must be used with care. Joseph Miller describes terms like "Kongo" as an "ethno-linguistic abstraction" and a creation of the Atlantic slave trade. Joseph Miller, "Retention, Reinvention, and Remembering: Restoring Identities through Enslavement in Africa and Under Slavery in Brazil," in José C. Curto and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *Enslaving Connections: Changing Cultures of Brazil and Western Africa During the Age of Slavery* (Amherst, N.J., 2004), 81-121. Robin Law makes a similar argument about "Yoruba" in "Ethnicity and the Slave Trade: 'Lucumi' and 'Nago' as Ethnonyms in West Africa," *History in Africa* 24 (1997): 205-219, and about "Mina" in "Ethnicities of Enslaved Africans in the Diaspora: On the Meanings of 'Mina' (Again)," *History in Africa* 32 (2005): 247-267.
16. Eltis, *Rise of African Slavery; South Carolina Gazette*, December 20, 1773. The revolt aboard the *New Britannia* occurred on January 18, 1768. Captain Ebenezer Daniël of the sloop *Charming Salley* reported the attack on Fort James. *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, January 31, 1769.
17. "Charleston, S.C. in 1774 as Described by an English Traveller," *Historical Magazine*, 9 (November 1865), 341-347, reproduced in Merrens, *Colonial South Carolina Scene*, 280-289.
18. Peter H. Wood, "'Taking Care of Business' in Revolutionary South Carolina: Republicanism and Slave Society," in Jeffrey J. Crow and Larry E. Tise, eds., *The Southern Experience in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1978), 268-293; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 250-251; W. Robert Higgins, "The Ambivalence of Freedom: Whites, Blacks and the Coming of the American Revolution," in Higgins, ed., *The Revolutionary War in the South: Power, Conflict, and Leadership* (Durham, N.C., 1979), 43-63; Robert O'Connell, "Loose, Idle and Disorderly: Slave Women in the Eighteenth-Century Charleston Marketplace," in David Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine, eds., *More Than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas* (Bloomington, Ind., 1996), 97-110.
19. John Chestnut to Robert Henry, April 15, 1794, cited in Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 238-239. On the mobility and independence of black

boatmen on the Cooper River, see Higgins, "Ambivalence of Freedom," 57, and Philip D. Morgan and George D. Terry, "Slavery in Microcosm: A Conspiracy Case in Colonial South Carolina," *Southern Studies* 21 (1982): 121-145. See also Wax, "The Great Risque We Run."

20. Robert Stansbury Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution* (Columbia, S.C., 1987), 168.

21. Mouzon Map of 1775, [www.gaz.jrshelby.com/canty.htm](http://www.gaz.jrshelby.com/canty.htm) (accessed 6/30/08). The Canteys (also spelled Canty) were one of the oldest European families in South Carolina, having arrived on the "first fleet from Barbados" in 1670, and they became important military and political figures in Charleston and later in the inland districts. See Walter B. Edgar, ed., *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, vol. 2 (Columbia, S.C., 1974), cited in Thomas J. Kirkland and Robert M. Kennedy, *Historic Camden, Colonial and Revolutionary*, vol. 1 (Columbia, S.C., 1995), 354-357.

22. Camden jury complaint, April 1773, cited in Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden*, 95-99; James H. O'Donnell III, "The South on the Eve of the American Revolution: The Native Americans," in Higgins, *Revolutionary War in the South*, 64-78.

23. William Stephens, *A Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia* (Savannah, 1740), 592.

24. "A Teacher's Journal, 1740," *Colonial South Carolina Scene*, 130-137; Higgins, "Ambivalence of Freedom," 57. One slave in the 1749 plot told his master that "they would run away to Augustine," upon which the master allegedly responded that "they might go and be damned." Morgan and Terry, "Slavery in Microcosm," 144; Wax, "The Great Risque We Run."

25. Landers, *Black Society*, chap. 2.

26. Daniel E. Meaders, "South Carolina Fugitives as Viewed Through Local Colonial Newspapers with Emphasis on Runaway Notices, 1732-1801," *The Journal of Negro History* 60 (April 1975): 288-319.

27. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 97.

28. Wood, *Black Majority*, 108-110.

29. This data comes from Berkeley County probate inventories for 1769-1779 analyzed by George D. Terry, "Champaign Country: A Social History of an Eighteenth-Century Lowcountry Parish in South Carolina: St. Johns Berkeley County" (Ph.D. diss., University of South Carolina, 1981), 249, cited in Olwell, *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects*, 45.

30. Mark Catesby, "The Manner of Making Tar and Pitch," cited in Merrens, *Colonial South Carolina Scene*, 106-108; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 215.

31. In Spanish Florida Prince began his own timbering business, hiring as his crew other freed runaways from South Carolina. Claim of Prince Whitten, March 28, 1848, Settled Miscellaneous Treasury Accounts, No. 98273, Treasury Accounts, September 6, 1790-September 29, 1894, Office of the First Auditor, Records of the Accounting Officers of the Department of the Treasury, Record Group 217, National Archives and Record Administration (hereafter cited as NARA). I would like to thank Frank Marotti for generously sharing this file with me.

32. Donnan, *Documents*, vol. IV, 470. Camden signatories included Samuel and John Canteys, Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden*, 107-108.

33. Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 54. During the Stamp Act crisis of 1765, slaves marched through the streets of Charleston shouting "Liberty!" Memories of those public marches must have still been alive when war finally broke out. Wood, "Taking Care of Business," 277.

34. Peter H. Wood, "Impatient of Oppression: Black Freedom Struggles on the Eve of White Independence," *Southern Exposure* 12, 6 (November-December 1984), 14.

35. *Ibid.*, 15.

36. Josiah Smith to James Poyas, May 18, 1775, cited in Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 57.

37. Colonel William Thompson reported to South Carolina's Council of Safety on July 22, 1775, that "King Prow and about 59 of the Catawbas are at Camden on a friendly visit." Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden*, 117. The Catawbas were allies of inland settlers during their wars against the

Tuscaroras and Yamasees and had served the colonists as slave catchers since at least 1772. "The Tuscarora Expedition Letters of John Barnwell," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 9, 1 (1908): 28-54.

38. Lord William Campbell, British Public Records Office (hereafter cited as BPRO), Trans., 35: 184-188, 207-208, cited in Wood, "Taking Care of Business," 283-285, 292 n. 49; Olwell, *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects*, 236.

39. Meaders, "South Carolina Fugitives."

40. Rachel N. Klein, "Frontier Planters and the American Revolution: The South Carolina Backcountry, 1775-1782," in Ronald Hoffman, That W. Tate, and Peter J. Albert, eds., *An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry during the American Revolution* (Charlottesville, 1985), 37-69.

41. In one famous incident Patriot James Cantey refused to yield a shipment of gunpowder to his Loyalist uncle, Daniel McGirtt. Walter Edgar, *Partisans and Redcoats: The Southern Conflict that Turned the Tide of the American Revolution* (New York, 2001), 32-33; Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 132.

42. On the disaffected Loyalists, Brown, Cunningham, and McGirtt (or McGirt), see Rachel N. Klein, *Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in South Carolina Backcountry, 1760-1808* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990), 98-108.

43. Laurens reported only three or four "Negroes killed" at Sullivan's Island. Henry Laurens to Richard Richardson, December 19, 1755, Papers of Henry Laurens, 10, 576, cited in Olwell, *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects*, 241.

44. Henry Laurens to Stephen Bull, March 16, 1776, Papers of Henry Laurens, 11, 172, cited in Olwell, *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects*, 242-243.

45. On the reluctant revolutionaries of Charleston see Olwell, *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects*, 243.

46. Alexander Semple to McFerman, December 16, 1786, EFP, microfilm reel 41, PKY.

47. Archibald Campbell to [?], January 9, 1770, Prioleau papers, South Carolina Historical Society, cited in Philip D. Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry," in Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, eds., *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville, 1983), 83-141; Olwell,

*Masters, Slaves, and Subjects*, 245. Among the surrendered Patriots were three Cantey brothers: James, Zachariah, and Philip.

48. Jerome J. Nadelhaft, *The Disorders of War: The Revolution in South Carolina* (Orono, Maine, 1981), 52-64; Klein, *Unification of a Slave State*, 102-104.

49. Edgar, *Partisans and Redcoats*, 132-134.

50. *Letters of Elija Wilkinson*, ed. Caroline Gilman (New York, 1969), 29, 62.

51. Colonel Otho Williams, Adjutant General to Gates's army, disparaged the attire and arms of Marion's multiracial force. William Gilmore Simms, *The Life of Francis Marion* (Freeport, N.Y.), 106, 178.

52. Nathanael Greene, December 1780, cited in Robert Stansbury Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution* (Columbia, S.C., 1987), 198, 199-215.

53. Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 132-133.

54. Nadelhaft, *Disorders of War*, 60-62; Certificate of John McKinnon, November 27, 1782, Charles Town, cited in The On-Line Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies, [www.royalprovincial.com/military/mems/sc/clm\\_johnston.htm](http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/mems/sc/clm_johnston.htm) (accessed 6/28/08).

55. Colonel John Watson to General Francis Marion, Cantey's House, March 9, 1781, and General Francis Marion to Colonel Peter Horry, October 29, 1781, in Robert Wilson Gibbes, *A Documentary History of the American Revolution* (Columbia, S.C., 1857), vol. 3, no. 52, p. 33. The Swamp Fox was still in residence at Mount Hope when Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in October 1781, and the Patriots quickly organized a celebratory ball at the Cantey plantation. Francis Marion to Peter Horry, Cantey's House, October 29, 1781, *ibid.*, no. 202, p. 200.

56. Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 133-134.

57. Many captured Patriots also died of smallpox and typhus aboard prison ships in the Charleston harbor or in makeshift prisons at Camden. Elizabeth A. Fenn, *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775-82* (New York, 2002), chap. 4.

58. Philip D. Morgan and Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy, "Arming

Slaves in the American Revolution," in Christopher Leslie Brown and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Arming the Slave from Classical Times to the Modern Age* (New Haven, Conn., 2006), 180-208; Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 99-100, 138-139.

59. Johnston alleged that after Cornwallis's surrender, General Howe inquired after him and would have hanged him if friends had not concealed him aboard the *Rhinoceros*, on which he escaped to England. Claims and Memorial petition of Thomas Johnston of South Carolina, London, July 21, 1786, BPRO, Audit Office, Class 13, vol. 70b, part 1, folios 301-302, cited in The On-Line Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies, [www.royalprovincial.com/military/mems/sc/clnjohnston.htm](http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/mems/sc/clnjohnston.htm) (accessed 6/28/08).

60. Governor Rutledge's order of June 28, 1781, to Francis Marion. On October 6, 1782, Governor John Mathews ordered Marion to execute any blacks taken in arms. Quarles, *Negro in the American Revolution*, 128; Deposition of J. Doyle, Major, BPRO, Audit Office, Class 13, vol. 4, folio 321, cited in The On-Line Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies, [www.royalprovincial.com/military/mems/sc/clnjohnston.htm](http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/mems/sc/clnjohnston.htm) (accessed 6/28/08).

61. On the use of black troops in Georgia and South Carolina, see Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 99-100, 138-140; Quarles, *Negro in the American Revolution*, 127, 149-151; Klein, *Unification of a Slave State*, 105-107; Olwell, *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects*, 256-260; Foner, *Blacks in the American Revolution*, 59-67; Betlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 291-301; Morgan and O'Shaughnessy, "Arming Slaves," in Brown and Morgan, eds., *Arming the Slave*, 180-208.

62. Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 137; Nadelhaft, *The Disorders of War*, 50-65; Klein, *Unification of a Slave State*, 97-108; Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists*, 216-226; Edward Cashin, *The King's Ranger: Thomas Brown and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier* (Athens, Ga., 1989).

63. Betlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 304.

64. Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists*, 220-221. On blacks among and plunder by McGirtt's and Cunningham's bands, see August 18, 1779, September 17, 1779, and Aedanus Burke to Governor Guerard, July 27, 1785, in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*; Francis Marion to Governor John Matthews, August 30, 1782, cited in Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 138.

65. Alexander Semple to McFarnan, December 16, 1786, EFP, microfilm reel 41, PKY. On the widespread plundering of slaves in South Carolina, see Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 122-137; Klein, *Unification of a Slave State*, 106-107; and Betlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 296-298. On the efforts of slave owners to be compensated for slaves lost to the British, see John H. Bracey, Jr., Sharon Harley, and August Meier, eds., *Race, Slavery, and Free Blacks: Series I, Petitions to Southern Legislatures, 1777-1865*, ed. Loren Schweminger and Robert Shelton (Bethesda, Md., 1998).

66. Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists*, 219; Statement of Prince, January 9, 1789, Census Returns, 1784-1814, EFP, microfilm reel 148, PKY.

67. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Florida in the American Revolution* (Gainesville, Fla., 1975). On British plantation development in Florida, see Daniel L. Schafer, "Yellow Silk Ferret Tied Round Their Whists: African Americans in British East Florida, 1763-1784," in David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers, eds., *The African American Heritage of Florida* (Gainesville, Fla., 1995), 71-103; "Family Ties That Bind: Anglo-African Slave Traders in Africa and Florida, John Fraser and His Descendants," *Slavery & Abolition* (December 1999); and "A Swamp of an Investment?": Richard Oswald's East Florida Plantation," in Jane G. Landers, ed., *Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida* (Gainesville, Fla., 2001), 11-38.

68. Twenty-eight of Alexander Patterson's slaves "eloped" during the evacuation. Robert Robinson's slave, Jack, ran away on the day of Robinson's departure for Halifax "for his dread of encountering so cold a climate." Wilbur Henry Siebert, ed., *Loyalists in East Florida, 1783-1785: The Most Important Documents Pertaining Thereto, Edited With an Accompanying Narrative*, 2 vols. (Deland, Fla., 1929), 125, 140.

69. Weed was among the founders of the frontier town of St. Marys, which became the southernmost port of the United States and where the new U.S. government established a garrison. Between 1786 and 1788 the Georgia Assembly granted Weed more than 80,000 acres in Camden County. [www.camdencounty.org/ccnews/jacob\\_weed.html](http://www.camdencounty.org/ccnews/jacob_weed.html) (accessed 9/18/08).

70. Semple to McFarnan, December 16, 1786, EFP, microfilm reel 41, PKY. Semple operated a dry goods store on Cumberland Island which was frequented by Floridians living along the St. Marys River. Susan R. Parker,

"Men without God or King: Rural Settlers in East Florida, 1784-1790," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 69 (October 1990): 135-155.

71. Carlos Howard to Luis de las Casas, July 2, 1791, Cuba 1439, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain (hereafter cited as AGI); Helen Hornbeck Tanner, "Zéspedes and the Southern Conspiracies," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 38 (1959): 15-28.

72. Carlos Howard to Luis de las Casas, July 2, 1791, Cuba 1439, AGI; Robert Francis Crider, "The Borderland Floridas, 1815-1821: Spanish Sovereignty under Siege," (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1979), 9-10.

73. Memorial of the Italians, Greeks, and Minorcans, July 12, 1784, and July 13, 1784, and Zéspedes to Bernardo de Gálvez, October 20, 1784, cited in Joseph Byrne Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785: A Collection of Documents Assembled and Many of Them Translated* (Berkeley, 1949), 232-233, 285-286. For the history of this community, see Patricia C. Griffin, *Mullet on the Beach: The Minorcans of Florida, 1768-1788* (Jacksonville, Fla., 1991), and "Blue Gold: Andrew Turnbull's New Smyrna Plantation," in *Colonial Plantations and Economy of Florida*, 39-68. Intimately tied to the urban economy, the Minorcans clustered near St. Augustine and along the North and Matanzas Rivers. Susan R. Parker describes the coastal estuaries north and south of St. Augustine as a "Minorcan littoral." Parker, "Men Without God," 138.

74. Memorials of Francis Philip Fatio, February 23, 1785, and James Clarke, February 26, 1785, cited in Lockey, *East Florida*, 464-465. For more on Fatio, see Susan R. Parker, "Success through Diversification: Francis Philip Fatio's New Switzerland Plantation," in *Colonial Plantations and Economy of Florida*, 69-82.

75. Landers, *Black Society*, 205-209.

76. On British plantation development and the African slave trade to Florida, see Schafer, "Yellow Silk Ferret," "Family Ties," and "A Swamp of an Investment," and David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995).

77. Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes to Joseph de Ezpeleta, October 2, 1788, Cuba 1395, AGI.

78. Proclamation of Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes, July 26, 1784, cited in Lockey, *East Florida*, 240-241. Royal slaves traditionally labored on public works, in mines, and in galleys. See María Elena Díaz, *The Virgin, The King, and the Royal Slaves of El Cobre: Negotiating Freedom in Colonial Cuba, 1687-1780* (Stanford, Calif., 2000).

79. Patrick Tynyn to Lord Sydney, December 6, 1784, cited in Lockey, *East Florida*, 339. Most of the declarations simply stated the name and race of the petitioner, who showed the Spanish notary documents signed by British military authorities attesting to his or her free status. More complete declarations gave information on previous owners, family composition, occupations, reasons for escaping, and employment in St. Augustine. Census Returns, 1784-1814, EFP, microfilm reel 148, PKY.

80. "Principe" stated that he ran three years before his registration date of November 14, 1788, from Pedro Whitten of South Carolina. He made no mention of Young or Weed. Census Returns, 1784-1814, EFP, microfilm reel 148, folio 183, PKY.

81. List of the free blacks who have presented themselves to the Government and the names of the subjects with whom they are staying as required by the edict of February 18, 1792, EFP, Miscellaneous Papers, 1784-1821, microfilm reel 174, folio 1488, PKY.

82. Ira Berlin, Steven F. Miller, and Leslie S. Rowland have argued that British slaves understood their society "in the idiom of kinship" and that, for slaves, "familial and communal relations were one." Mediterranean cultures also viewed society as an extension of family structures. Institutions of extended kinship like *parentela*, which included blood relations, fictive kin, and even household servants and slaves, and *clientela*, which bound more powerful patrons and their personal dependents into a network of mutual obligations, were deeply rooted in Hispanic society. Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492-1700* (Minneapolis, 1984), 39-40.

83. Alice Bellagamba, "A Matter of Trust: Political Identities and Interpersonal Relationships along the River Gambia," *Paideuma* 46 (2000): 37-61.

84. Landers, *Black Society*, 76-79.

85. Maureen Flynn, *Sacred Charity: Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain, 1400-1700* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989); Alonso de Sandoval, *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud* (Madrid, 1987). A number of recent works have addressed the experiences of black Catholics in Africa. See, for example, Linda Heywood and John Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles and the Making of the Foundation of the Americas, 1585-1660* (New York, 2007); John Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beariq Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684-1706* (Cambridge, 1998); Miller, "Retention, Reinvention, and Remembering." For Mexico, see Nicole Von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities and Social Mobility for Afro-Mexicans* (Gainesville, Fla., 2006); Herman L. Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570-1640* (Bloomington, Ind., 2003); Joan Cameron Bristol, *Christians, Blasphemers, and Witches: Afro-Mexican Ritual Practice in the Seventeenth Century* (Albuquerque, N.M., 2007).

86. Baptisms of Polly and Glasgow, August 16, 1788, St. Augustine Catholic Parish Registers (hereafter cited as CPR), Black Baptisms, vol. 1, P. 41, no. 85 and no. 86, microfilm reel 284 J, PKY. Glasgow's godparents were Domingo Martineli and his wife, Mariana Cavado, and Polly's godfather was Pedro Cosifacio. Newcomers Prince Paten and Flora Spole had six of their children baptized in a five-year period. In the same period, Juan and Mila Right baptized four children, Antonio and Anna Overstreet baptized five, and Antonio and Ester Capó also baptized five children. *Ibid.*

87. One eighteenth-century Cuban example of this *doctrina* exam consisted of twenty-six questions with set answers on the nature of the Trinity, creation, immaculate conception, Christ's death and resurrection, sin, confession, and salvation. *Doctrina Para Negros*, trans. and ed. Javier Laviña (Barcelona, 1989).

88. The fact that more black adults than white were converted over the course of the second Spanish regime in Florida (1784-1821) probably reflects the efforts of fugitives from the United States, like the Whittens, to secure and protect their freedom. Unlike some whites, the fugitives had no intention of returning to a land of slavery, and thus had more to gain by the

conversion that guaranteed them sanctuary. Baptisms of Prince and Judy, January 11, 1792, CPR, Black Baptisms, vol. 1, microfilm reel 284 J, PKY.

89. Godparents typically gave gifts at the baptism and were expected to provide for the spiritual and material care of their god-"child" in the event of the parents' death, but more important were the ties that bound the members of the newly-linked "family." Such extended kinship may have had even stronger significance for adult converts, many of whom were uprooted and kinless *bozales* (recently arrived and unacculturated Africans). Joseph Miller argues that Africans understood Christianity as a form of healing, as well as of social integration. Miller, "Retention, Reinvention, and Remembering."

90. Black parents may have considered the Whittens good role models, or they may have hoped for more tangible aid for their children. Whitten's origins may have also made him a desirable choice of godfather for some African-born parents. CPR, Black Baptisms, microfilm reel 284 J, PKY.

91. Michael Gannon, *Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870* (Gainesville, Fla., 1965), 99.

92. Other formerly enslaved students included Antonio Capó, whose father, Antonio, was Guinea-born and whose mother, Ester, was born in Virginia, and Antonio Florencio, the mulatto son of Mariana Bisit, of New York. Roster of school boys by Josef Monasterio, March 25, 1796, SD 2531, AGI.

93. Rules and instructions to be observed by the Government in the direction of schools, 1786, SD 2588, AGI.

94. William Pengree to Carlos Howard, July 10, 1787, EFP, microfilm reel 82, PKY. Pengree, a Loyalist who remained in Florida after the cession, was a wealthy planter. James Roberson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town: An Illustrated History of Jacksonville* (Jacksonville, Fla., 1985).

95. Ambrosio Nelson to Governor Zéspedes, April 20, 1787, EFP, microfilm reel 77, PKY. While living in St. Augustine, Prince entered into a work contract with the Minorcan carpenter Francisco Pellicer. Contract with Francisco Pellicer, January 9, 1789, Census Returns, 1784-1814, EFP, microfilm reel 148, p. 183, PKY.

96. Memorial by Prince Witten, November 12, 1789, EFP, microfilm reel 148, PKY. Prince signed with an X, and the governor ordered McGirtt to appear and respond to Prince's complaint.
97. Death of Juan Fatio, free black, natural son of Prince and Judith Witten, born July 20, 1789, CPR, Black Baptisms, vol. 1, p. 53, no. 103, microfilm reel 284 J, and CPR, Deaths, vol. 2, p. 11, no. 27, microfilm reel 284-L, PKY.
98. Petition of Prince, free black, November 12, 1789, EFP, microfilm reel 77, PKY.
99. Some years later, Judy also filed suit against McGirtt, asking to be paid for laundry she claimed to have washed for his imprisoned brother, Daniel. Judy could not sign her petition but added her mark. Memorial of Rafaela Lluly, August 9, 1796, and response of James McGirtt on petition of Judith, alias Rafaela, July 15, 1797, EFP microfilm reel 79, PKY.
100. Memorial of María Witten [sic], August 27, 1798, and responses by don José and don Bernardino Sánchez, Memorials 1784-1821, EFP, microfilm reel 79, PKY. For more on how African American women used the Spanish legal system, see Landers, *Black Society*, chap. 5, and "African-American Women and their Pursuit of Rights through Eighteenth-Century Texts," in Anne Goodwyn Jones and Susan Donaldson, eds., *Haunted Bodies: Gender and Southern Texts* (Charlottesville, Va., 1997), 56-76.
101. Report of Domingo Rodríguez de León, December 9, 1789, SD 2558, AGI.
102. Victor M. Uribe-Uran, "The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America During the Age of Revolution," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, no. 2 (April 2000): 425-457. Uribe-Uran frames this period as the birth of a public sphere and of challenge to monarchy and old hierarchies, but at least for some new Spanish subjects, it was a period of welcome incorporation.
103. Royal decree of May 17, 1790, included in Captain General Luis de las Casas to Governor Manuel de Zéspedes, July 21, 1790, Letters from the Captain General, 1784-1821, EFP, microfilm reel 1, PKY; Thomas Jefferson to Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, December 17, 1790, and August 9, 1791,

- Letters To and From the United States, 1784-1821, EFP, microfilm reel 41, PKY; Revocation of sanctuary notice of Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, August 23, 1790, *Georgia Gazette*, September 23, 1790, p. 2; Luis de las Casas to Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, November 11, 1790, Miscellaneous Papers, EFP microfilm reel 174, PKY.
104. Petition of Juan Bautista Whiten [sic] to quarry coquina stone on Anastasia Island, August 22, 1797 (Francisco Whiten signed "for my father who does not know how"), EFP, microfilm reel 79, PKY; Manuel Romero to Enrique White, reporting he owed Prince fourteen pesos for cutting wood for the construction of the San Juan Battery, November 12, 1803, EFP, microfilm reel 57, PKY; Census of 1793, Census returns 1784-1814, EFP, microfilm reel 148, PKY.
105. Baptism of Francisco Xavier Quinty [sic], November 23, 1794, CPR, Black Baptisms, vol. 2, p. 34, no. 65, microfilm reel 284J, PKY.
106. Declaration of Manuel Fernández Bendicho, February 22, 1792, EFP microfilm reel 174, PKY.
107. Census of 1793, Census Returns, 1784-1814, EFP, microfilm reel 148, PKY.
108. An extensive literature on black military service in the Spanish colonies includes Joseph P. Sánchez, "African Freedmen and the Fuero Militar: A Historical Overview of Pardo and Moreno Militiamen in the Late Spanish Empire," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 3 (1994): 165-184; Lyle N. McAlister, *El fuero militar en la Nueva España (1764-1800)* (Mexico City, 1982); Allan J. Kuethe, *Military Reform and Society in New Granada, 1773-1808* (Gainesville, Fla., 1978), 8-27, 38-39; Christon I. Archer, *The Army in Bourbon Mexico, 1760-1810* (Albuquerque, N.M., 1977), 4, 224-231; Christon I. Archer, "Pardos, Indians and the Army of New Spain: Inter-Relationships and Conflicts, 1780-1810," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 6, 2 (1974): 231-255; Leon Campbell, "The Changing Racial and Administrative Structure of the Peruvian Military Under the Later Bourbons," *Americas* 32 (1975): 117-133; Margarita Gascón, "The Military of Santo Domingo, 1720-1764," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 73 (1993): 431-452.

109. Ben Vinson, III, *Bearing Arms for His Majesty: The Free-Colored Militia in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, Calif., 2001), 25.
110. Herbert S. Klein, "The Colored Militia of Cuba: 1568-1868," *Caribbean Studies* 6 (July 1966): 17-27; Pedro Deschamps Chapeaux, *Los Batallones de Pardos y Morenos Libres* (La Habana, 1976); Landers, *Black Society*, chaps. 9 and 10.
111. See David P. Geggus, ed., *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Columbia, S.C., 2001); David Patrick Geggus, *Haitian Revolutionary Studies* (Bloomington, Ind., 2002); Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass, 2004); Laurent Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004).
112. Royal Order, May 18, 1791, cited in Richard K. Murdoch, "The Genesis of the Genêt Schemes," *The French-American Review* (April-June 1946): 81-97.
113. France's grand scheme included revolutionizing Louisiana, Canada, and Spanish possessions in North America, including Mexico. Richard K. Murdoch, *The Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1793-1796: Spanish Reaction to French Intrigue and American Designs* (Berkeley, 1951), 9-72, and "Elijah Clarke and Anglo-American Designs on East Florida, 1791-1798," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 3 (September 1951): 173-190.
114. "Proposals for Enlistment in the French Service," cited in Murdoch, *Georgia-Florida Frontier*, 19. The commanding officers were to receive commissions after becoming French citizens, and their payment would be large tracts of land.
115. *Ibid.*, 23.
116. Governor Sebastián Kindelan to Governor George Matthews, November 14, 1795, and response, November 15, 1795, Cuba 1439, AGI.
117. War Council, St. Augustine, June 1795, Cuba 1428, AGI, cited in Charles E. Bennett, *Florida's "French" Revolution, 1793-1795* (Gainesville, Fla., 1981), 179.
118. Leslie also commanded a unit of black slaves attached to the anti-

- lery. He may have been selected because he could underwrite the unit's expenses, or he might have been chosen because he had a black consort and mulatto children. Report of Gonzalo Zamorano, April 30, 1794, EFP, Letters with the Accountant of the Exchequer, 1784-1821, microfilm reel 26, PKY; Accounts of 1795, Accounts of the Royal Treasury, 1784-1796, SD 2635 and 2636, AGI.
119. Accounts of 1795, SD 2635, AGI. Black sailors also served on river boats during this invasion. *Libros de Asientos*, Cuba 486, AGI.
120. David Patrick Geggus, "Slavery, War, and Revolution in the Greater Caribbean, 1789-1815," in David Barry Gaspar and David Patrick Geggus, eds., *A Turbulent Time: The French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean* (Bloomington, Ind., 1997), 1-50.
121. Included in Carlos Howard to Bartolome Morales, Letters from the St. Johns and St. Marys Rivers, July-September 1795, EFP, microfilm reel 52, PKY.
122. Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada to Luis de Las Casa, October 26, 1795, Letters to the Captain General, 1784-1823, EFP, microfilm reel 10, PKY.
2. The Counter-Revolution in Saint-Domingue
1. Jorge Biassou to Captain General Joaquín García, July 15, 1793, Guerra Moderna (hereafter cited as GM) 7157, no. 7, Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter cited as AGS). This document is also signed by Field Marshal Belair.
2. Médéric-Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint-Mery, *A Civilization That Perished: The Last Years of White Colonial Rule in Haiti*, trans. Ivor D. Spence (New York, 1985), 114-127, 131-137, 145-148; Madison Smartt Bell, *Toussaint Louverture: A Biography* (New York, 2007), 63-64.
3. Bell, *Toussaint Louverture*, ch. 1; Jorge Biassou to Captain General Joaquín García, July 15, 1793, GM 7157, no. 7, AGS.
4. Toussaint to Biassou, Grande-Rivière, October 15, 1791. The letter is signed General Doctor. Général Nemours, *Toussaint Louverture fondée*