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Converging Identities

Blackness in the Modern African Diaspora

Edited by
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40. Sulaimon Olanrewaju, "Moaning as Remittances from Abroad Decline," *Nigerian Tribune*, December 19, 2011, http://odili.net/news/source/2011/dec/19/600.html.

41. Ibid.

42. For example, some Nigerians who studied and worked in the U.S. have gone back to participate in politics with the objective of developing their own communities. For example, Prof. Julius Ihonvbere, a political scientist and professor in the U.S., served as a Special Adviser on Project Monitoring in the Olusegun Obasanjo administration and remains active in Nigerian politics. Also, Dr. Kayode Fayemi, who was Strategy Development Adviser at London's City Challenge and research fellow at the African Research and Information Bureau in London, is now the governor of Ekiti State. In Ghana, there is the Fihankra community of Africans from the diaspora. See Godfrey Mwakikagile, Relations Between Africans and African Americans: Misconceptions, Myths and Realities (Grand Rapids, Michigan: National Academic Press, 2005), Chapter 8.

43. Julius O. Adekunle, "Political Violence, Democracy, and the Nigerian Economy," in *Democracy in Africa: Political Changes and Challenges*, eds., Saliba Sarsar and Julius O. Adekunle (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2012), 89–110.

44. Ari Aisen and Francisco Jose Veiga, "How Does Political Instability Affect Economic Growth?" *IMF Working Paper*, 2010, 3, http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2011/wp1112.pdf.

45. Segun Adelakun, a Nigerian Lawyer in the U.S.

46. See John. A. Arthur, *Invisible Sojourners: African Immigrant Diaspora in the United States* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2000).

47. Tom Jacobs, "Loving, and Fearing, thy Neighbors," *Miller-McCune: Smart Journalism. Real Solutions*, May/June 2011, 76–77.

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49. Arthur, 75.

Chapter 10

The Things They Carried: From West Africa to Low Country Georgia, 1750–1800

Karen Cook Bell

Lucia, a young girl transported to the Georgia low country during the 1760s, brought with her a deft understanding of her provenance. Prior to her forced migration, her father established her identity by placing "a black stroke over each of her cheeks" as a mark of her ethnicity.[1] Her family's conception of their historical reality no doubt included reverence for naming ceremonies, secret societies, and the rituals associated with such societies, gendered roles, warrior traditions, and untrammeled freedom. For Lucia, running away was the final act of resistance to enslavement. It was a Pyrrhic victory against a system that sought to subsume her traditions and knowledge of herself. Within this system of inhuman bondage, however, enslaved Africans such as Lucia remained free. They retained a sense of themselves and relied upon an informal network of both enslaved and free Africans for support, including the quasi maroon communities developed by Africans who escaped enslavement.

The ideology of freedom can be discerned through eighteenth century fugitive slave advertisements which reveal that enslaved Africans carried hidden and explicit ideologies of knowledge and resistance. These overt and covert ideologies of knowledge and resistance created a public and private culture within the community of the enslaved, which made their discursive reality discernible. As a central epistemological category of the human experience, narratives, reflected in slave advertisements, represent a body of ideas that help to explain relations, structures, and the conjuncture of discourse and power.[2]

This chapter is written against the "master narratives" of slavery to reveal the individual oral narratives of enslaved men and women. It tells of their engagement with slavery and freedom in a region where slavery received legal

sanction two decades before the Revolutionary War began in 1775. In this context, this chapter argues that the fissures within slavery provided opportunities for symbolic moves in an essentially polemic and strategic confrontation that persisted throughout the era of North American slavery. First, the slave trade to Georgia will be examined and reconstructed, and then the various manifestations of resistance (with a focus on running away) will be analyzed.

The Subaltern's Landscape

Within transatlantic communities, resistance to enslavement became an integral part of the landscape. As discrete communities based on shared transatlantic pasts, these groups were linked by regional origins, American destinations, and New World cultural developments. By examining colonial records, a composite picture of the enslavement, forced migration, and resistance of Africans emerges. The examination of colonial records also illuminates the extent of the transference of African cultures and knowledge systems in the low country. Slave ship manifests, published documents of the slave trade, advertisements of the arrival of slave ships from the Rice and Grain Coast in the *Georgia Gazette* reveal a great deal about slave life in the Georgia low country. The accounts of planters and merchants such as Joseph Clay demonstrate that the forced migration of specific populations from West Africa transferred the technology and culture of rice production to the low country. Moreover, through an examination of the origins of rice production in Africa, the forced migration of enslaved Africans (from rice growing regions in West Africa to South Carolina and Georgia) and similarities between the technology and culture of rice production in West Africa and North America may be compared. This has been demonstrated in the work of scholars such as Daniel Littlefield, Judith Carney, and Edda Fields-Black. These scholars have illuminated the process by which African origin and ethnicity informed rice cultivation in the Americas.[3]

In this chapter, political activity is understood as an organized collective action that affects power relations. Sterling Stuckey, Lawrence Levine, and Eugene Genovese have each looked beyond subversive acts for evidence of the deeper cultural and social resistance found in folkways, religious practices, and family life.[4] Enslaved Africans in the Georgia low country retained much of their African cultural identities as a result of three inwardly related factors. First, the ratio of the African and African American population to the white population remained disproportionately high in several low country counties in 1790. This pattern continued throughout the slavery era (see Table 1). Second, the continued importation of new Africans in the years following the

Table 1. Population of Low Country Georgia, 1790

County	Slave/Free Black*	White	%Black Population
Chatham	8,313	2,426	77%
Liberty	4,052	1,303	75%
Glynn	220	193	53%
Camden	84	221	27%

* There were 112 free blacks in Chatham County; 27 in Liberty County; five in Glynn County; and 14 in Camden County. By 1820, 65 percent of Camden County population was black. The fifth low country county, McIntosh County, was separated from Liberty County in 1793.

Source: *United States Population Census*, 1790.

1808 ban on the slave trade persisted, which reinforced African cultural traditions and reduced assimilation. Third, the low country environment with its string of barrier islands separated the island communities from the mainland white population and this reinforced the collective identity and consciousness of enslaved Africans in the Georgia low country.[5]

By 1790, three principal transatlantic communities had emerged: the Savannah-Ogeechee District (located between the Savannah and Ogeechee Rivers containing Chatham County), The Midway District (located between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers and containing Liberty and McIntosh Counties), and the Altamaha District (from the Atlantic between the Altamaha and St. Mary's Rivers) that contained Glynn and Camden Counties. These communities served as watersheds, which by definition is the land area which contributes surface water to a river or other body of water. Consequently, settlement in watershed areas is characterized by a complex system involving social, ecological, and physical factors.[6] The regions five large rivers, Savannah, Ogeechee, Altamaha, Satilla, and St. Mary's, were vital to the growth of rice and served as the focal point for settlement.[7]

The arrival of over 13,000 Africans in low country Georgia led to the creation of a new language structure, the Gullah/Geechee language, which had a common semantic and stylistic form. This shared language made possible the reclamation of a territory to establish a sense of place. The cultural identity of these forced transatlantic communities emanated from shared traditions, perspectives; and intersecting relations and languages.[8] Building on both their African background and American experience, Africans in low country Georgia retained their African culture and established cultural resistance to their enslavement. Cultural resistance represented a salient form of opposition to

federally sanctioned enslavement. The establishment of rice plantations along the coastal and inland areas of Georgia in the eighteenth century created a unique environment for enslaved Africans to re-create social and cultural institutions. Functioning within the constraints of an inhumane system, Africans and African Americans established familial bonds, preserved agricultural techniques, re-created artistic expressions, maintained Islamic practices, and syncretized African religious beliefs with Christianity.

The legalization of slavery in Georgia in 1750 and the concomitant expansion of the Transatlantic Slave Trade shaped the evolution of African slave communities in the low country. In low country Georgia, as well as in other parts of the New World, enslaved Africans perceived themselves as part of a community that had distinct ethnic and national roots. Randomization was not a function of the Middle Passage. Although slave ships traversed the coast of Africa to secure Africans, in some instances, slave ships also drew their cargo from only one principal port. These ports included the Island of Gorée, Bonny, Calabar, Elmina, and the Biafra.[9] Slave ships bound for Georgia included captive Africans who shared a similar linguistic heritage; for example, Mande speakers such as the Malinke and Serer. To a large extent, the Transatlantic Middle Passage in the North Atlantic defined and shaped African perceptions of kinship, ethnicity, and community, although the voices of captive Africans have been difficult to "hear."[10] With few exceptions, their words and thoughts are absent from extant archival records. Constructing a cultural map of the Transatlantic Slave Trade to Georgia to establish the geographical dimensions of the trade, the cultivation of rice as the primary plantation crop, and African cultural resistance provides an important historical frame of reference for "hearing" the voices of enslaved Africans.[11]

The demand for African slave labor increased with the establishment of rice and Sea Island cotton plantations during the late eighteenth century. As rice became a profitable export crop in coastal Georgia, merchants in Savannah imported Africans from the Rice and Grain Coast of West Africa, which extended from the Senegambian region to Sierra Leone.[12] From 1755–1767, 53 percent of slaves imported into Savannah originated from the Caribbean, while 35 percent came directly from the Rice and Grain Coast.[13] Comparatively, during the intermediate period from 1768–1780, 68 percent of slaves imported into Savannah originated from the Rice and Grain Coast.[14] From 1784–1798, West African captives from rice growing regions accounted for 45 percent of slaves imported to Savannah (see Tables 2–5).[15]

Most voyages across the Atlantic Ocean from West Africa to Savannah occurred during the period from April to September. Merchants believed that seasonal changes affected the health of captive Africans considerably, and thus

Table 2. Savannah Planter Merchants Who Received and Sold West Africans from Rice Growing Regions, 1765–1771

Name of Firm	Origin of Africans	Quantity Sold
Ingliss and Hall	Gambia and Sierra Leone	667
Clay and Habersham	Gambia	320
John Graham/Ingliss and Hall	Rice Coast	340
John Graham	Sierra Leone	200
Craig, MacLeod, and Co.	Isle of Banana (Sierra Leone)	237
Joseph Clay	Gambia	170
Robert Watts	Bance Island, Africa	95
Cowper and Telfair	Windward Coast	90
Robert Watts	Gorée Island (Senegal)	84
Broughton and Smith	Senegal	78

Source: *Georgia Gazette*, 1765–1771; Inward Slave.

preferred to arrange for vessels to arrive during the relatively mild spring and summer months. In 1766, all five of the slave vessels from Africa arrived between April and October. This pattern continued, with few exceptions, through the decade of the 1790s. The duration of the voyage combined with the prolonged confinement of enslaved Africans increased the spread of infectious diseases. To prevent the spread of infectious diseases in Savannah, city officials in 1767 authorized the construction of a nine-story quarantine facility, a "Lazaretto" (pest house, in Italian) on the west end of Tybee Island. Prior to entering the Savannah port, slaves brought directly from West Africa remained quarantined at Lazaretto where they were inspected by a physician who determined if they harbored infectious diseases. Diseased slaves remained at the facility. Slaves who died of infectious diseases were buried on the west end of Tybee Island.[16]

Transatlantic Transformations and African Resistance

The Middle Passage can be characterized as a space of "in betweeness" with its links to the origins of captive Africans.[17] As a voyage through death, the

Table 3. Slaves Imported into Savannah by Origin and Time Period, Early Period, 1755–1767

Island	Number	Percent of Africans
Montseratt	137	4%
St. Kitts	156	13%
St. Croix	76	2%
Curacao	92	3%
Grenada	75	2%
Other Islands	166	5%
Arrivals from U.S.	120	4%
Total	3,318 (822)	33%

Table 4. Slaves Imported into Savannah by Origin and Time Period, Middle Period, 1768–1780

Origin	Number	Percent of Africans
Gambia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Windward Coast	2,932	68%
Gold Coast	287	6%
Angola and West Central Africa	500	12%
Origin Unknown	280	6%
Caribbean	337	8%
Total	4,336	100%

Table 5. Slaves Imported into Savannah by Origin and Time Period, Final Period, 1784–1798

Origin	Number	Percent of Africans
Gorée Island (Senegal), Gambia, Sierra Leone, Windward Coast	2,829	45.4%
Gold Coast	1,518	24.3%
Origin Unknown	1,146	18.3%
Total	5,493	88%

Source: Inward Slave Manifests, Savannah, RG 36, NARA, Washington, D.C.; Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade,* Vol. 4, 612–663; Eltis et al., *The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database,* http://www.slavevoyages.org.

Middle Passage paradoxically asserted life through its destructive process.[18] Through the marginal spaces of slave ships, captive Africans forged bonds of kinship and created forced transatlantic communities under desperate conditions. Captive Africans such as Lempster, James, Peter, Fanny, and Silvia, who may have arrived on the same slave vessel, survived the Middle Passage and labored on the Ogeechee rice plantation of James Read. Identified as Gola slaves, they maintained ethnic and kinship ties through their forced migration, settlement, and collective escape from slavery. The ethnic and cultural make-up of the African supply zones for the Georgia low country in the late eighteenth century included the Fula, Igbo, Gola, and Mande speakers—the Malinke, Bambara, and Serer, all in West Africa.[19]

The late eighteenth century represented a critical watershed period for West Africa. The thirty-year period from 1760–1790 represented the most violent phase of conflict in the hinterland region of Futa Jallon, the interior of present day Guinea. Internecine wars, caused by an alliance of Fulbe and Jallonke Muslims against non-Muslims, resulted in a greater than 100 percent per annum increase in slave exports from the region. From 1760–1780, the Transatlantic Slave Trade peaked with 65,500 captive Africans reaching the Americas annually. Walter Rodney estimated that 75 percent of the eighteenth century trade came from the interior.[20] From 1778–1783, the hostilities between the American colonists and the British extended to Africa, as a result of a French alliance with the North American colonies in 1778. This alliance exacerbated hostilities between Great Britain and France, in Africa to maintain zones of influence over important slave forts along the West African coast, such as Saint James (in the Gambia), Saint Louis in Senegal, and Gorée Island off the coast of Senegal.

The Senegambian supply zone provided the greatest number of African captives during the middle period of direct importation to Savannah. Extending from the Senegal River to the Casamance River and from the Atlantic coast to the upper and middle Niger valleys, this area produced three conduits for the capture and sale of Africans. During the 1760s and 1770s, Africans shipped from the Gambia and Senegal came from sources closer to the coast. Beginning in the second half of the 1780s, and continuing through the next decade, Senegambia became a major center for the Transatlantic Slave Trade to North America.[21] The two most important staging zones for this trade were the coastal areas from the lower Senegal to the lower Casamance valleys, and the mid-range area encompassing the middle and upper Senegal and Gambia valley. The Wolof dominated these regions and maintained strong political centers in the coastal states of Waalo, Kajor, and Baol.[22]

Islamic reform movements, which originated in Morocco and spread into Senegambia during the first half of the eighteenth century, had a significant im-

pact on the coastal states of the Senegambian region and the direct trade to Savannah and other parts of the Americas. Islamic expeditions coincided with periods of the worst climatic crisis. Low rainfall caused a series of famines that spread throughout Senegambia between 1700s and 1760. This period witnessed depopulation in Senegambia as famine and the export slave trade took a heavy toll on the region. The second half of the eighteenth century saw a general improvement in both climate and disease, with the exception of low rainfall in the south bank region of the Gambia and the hinterland of the southern rivers in 1786.[23]

In Waalo, continuous conflict with North African Muslims from neighboring Trarza culminated in a series of devastating raids between 1775 and 1776. The North African Muslims, who were subsidized by the French and English, captured between 9,000 and 10,000 West Africans during this period.[24] These raids invariably extended southward into Kajor. Wars and raids resulted in the enslavement of large numbers of people from within Waalo and Kajor, and from border-states during the late eighteenth century.[25] Rulers even preferred to integrate captives into their societies. Some kings in Futa, who objected to the massive export of males in the slave trade, retained men who were captured in raids.[26]

The second staging area for the trade, the upper Senegal and Gambia valley, produced a significant number of slave exports from the Senegambian region. The slave trade from Gajaaga and the Gambia reached its peak in the 1780s, when one-third of the slaves exported came from the interior beyond Gajaaga, and two-thirds came from the Gambia. During this period of escalation in the slave trade, the demand for slaves from the Senegambian region increased. Savannah merchant Joseph Clay asserted in 1775 that Gambian slaves were preferable to the "Ibos, Conga's, Cape Mounts, and Angola Negroes," because of their knowledge of rice cultivation.[27] Although Igbos were not preferred, slave traders captured Igbos like Carolina Underwood of Sapelo Island as a young man in Guinea. During the eighteenth century, Igbos became significant actors in the Transatlantic Slave Trade, regulating trade and generating captives for the slave trade.[28]

The Transatlantic Slave Trade imposed serious restraints on agricultural production, and paradoxically, served to reinforce domestic slavery in West Africa. In the Fouta Djalon territories controlled by the Fulas, Mandingos, and Susus, enslaved Africans not purchased by European traders cultivated rice and other commodities when their average prices fell.[29] These local captives engaged in intense agricultural activities. An indication of the production of rice in Sierra Leone, the secondary slave supply zone, is provided by Major A.G. Laing who traveled in the region. Major Laing observed that the capital of the Sulima Susus, Falaba, had its own slave town, Konkodoogoree. Laing found

the fields of the area the best tilled and best laid out than any other region observed throughout his travels.[30] Similarly, Chief William Cleveland, a powerful mulatto slave trader near the Banana Islands of Sierra Leone, maintained extensive rice fields cultivated by enslaved Africans.[31] Early accounts of West African rice culture demonstrate the range of cultivation techniques employed. These techniques included the construction of earthen embankments, canals, and sluices; the use of tides, flood recession, and rainfall for planting; specialized implements for preparing heavy soils; as well as the seasonal rotation in land use between rice field and cattle pasture.[32]

Recent scholarship by David Eltis, Philip Morgan, and David Richardson has challenged the contributions of diasporic Africans to rice production in North America. Based upon an examination of slave ships from *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM*, they argue that enslaved Africans from rice growing regions had very little impact on the rice industry in South Carolina and Georgia.[33] According to Eltis, Morgan, and Richardson, the Rice and Grain Coast was a secondary slave supply zone that supplied enslaved Africans to the tobacco-producing Chesapeake region, as well as the South Carolina and Georgia coast. However, an examination of extant ship manifests from the *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database of Slave Voyages* reveal that 60 percent of slave vessels which arrived in Georgia brought slaves from rice producing regions in West Africa from 1755–1858.[34] The Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and the Windward Coast provided the largest percentage of slaves over a 108-year period. Although it may be difficult to determine the exact number of vessels that disembarked from West Africa, and embarked in Georgia, records of extant slave voyages underscore a pattern of securing slaves from rice producing regions.[35]

In assessing the validity of the arguments presented by Eltis, Morgan, and Richardson, Gwendolyn Midlo Hall and Walter Hawthorne contend that a major problem with the *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database of Slave Voyages* is the exclusion of data on specific ethnicities that arrived in rice producing regions of the Americas.[36] Without such data, the overarching conclusions reached by Eltis, Morgan, and Richardson are flawed. The Mandinka, Bambara, and Wolof were rice producing ethnicities from the Upper Guinea Coast who constituted a significant presence in rice producing districts in Louisiana, Maranhão, Brazil, and low country Georgia.[37] Moreover, the reliance on quantification without considering other qualitative forms of evidence, such as Carney's "geographic perspective" and Fields-Black sociolinguistic evidence creates an asymmetrical view of human transformations.[38]

Indeed, African technology created and sustained rice cultivation in West Africa and North America. African rice cultivation systems received recognition from

French botanist August Chevalier who hypothesized in 1914 that *Oryza glabberima* represented a separate and African specie of rice. Receiving its appellation from German Botanist Ernst Gottleib Studel in 1855, the *Oryza Glabberima* specie formed the nucleus of a sophisticated knowledge system that enabled the adaptation of the crop to lowland and upland environments. Cultivation cycles ranged from three to six months and included such techniques as direct seeding, broadcasting (which refers to the process of planting rice seedlings to intensify their growth), and transplanting.

Women were central to the planting, milling, and processing of rice. In Senegambia and other areas settled by the Mandinka, rice was a women's crop, and women's labor informed the diverse microenvironments (e.g. water availability, the influence of salinity, flooding levels, and soil conditions). Milling rice with a mortar and pestle and winnowing rice in fanner baskets represented a transfer of specialized technology to the low country and constituted a significant component of female farming systems in West African societies. Similarly, in low country Georgia, the labor force for cultivating rice was disproportionately female as women were valued for their productive and reproductive abilities.[39] In this context, women such as Katie Brown, who continued to cultivate rice as a "money crop" during the early twentieth century, retained specialized knowledge of rice cultivation as did previous generations of Sapelo Island women.[40]

Enslaved Africans labored on barrier islands that were on the periphery of time and space. For nearly a century, they produced rice and Sea Island cotton within the confines of an isolated environment on Georgia's six largest offshore islands, Cumberland, Jekyll, St. Simons, Sapelo, St. Catherines, and Ossabaw Islands. These Africans were living in a state of distance from the larger society.[41] Two of the larger barrier islands are St. Simon's Island and Jekyll Island. St. Simon's Island lies eighteen miles east of Brunswick, Georgia. It is approximately thirteen miles long and two miles wide. Jekyll Island lies south of St. Simon's Island and is ten miles long and consists of 11,000 acres.[42] This region is divided into six natural ecosystems, which include barrier islands, coastal marine, estuaries and sounds, mainland upland, rivers, and swamps. A culture of strategic resistance permeated the marshlands and tidal rivers of low country Georgia. This landscape also included a host of smaller barrier islands and inland rice districts such as Skidaway, Butler, Argyle, and Whitemarsh Islands.[43]

Within transatlantic communities, the oral narratives of escaped Africans, which reveal acts of strategic resistance, were central to the expression of human agency.[44] Illustrative of this is Ben and Nancy who escaped their enslavement on James Read's rice plantation in early December 1789 by crossing the Ogeechee River with several other captives. Prior to their escape, Ben and Nancy had married. Their marriage and plans to escape slavery by making their way to Spanish settlements in Florida underscored the determination of enslaved Africans to subvert slavery and the structures and powers, which perpetuated the system.[45] Like Ben and Nancy, Patty and Daniel (of William Stephens Bewlie's rice plantation) planned to escape slavery by running away to Spanish Florida. Nine months earlier, Patty had given birth to a son, Abram. Wearing a green wrapper and coat, and carrying additional clothing with which to change, Patty carried her son through the swamps of the Ogeechee Neck in route to Florida and freedom.[46]

Invariably, women fugitives sought out a town as the place to pursue diverse objectives for running away.[47] Savannah and the outlying areas of the city proved an opportune environment for runaways. In Sunbury, a "negro girl, 16 years old and Guiney born," escaped from the Ogeechee River ferry en route to Savannah still wearing handcuffs.[48] Similarly, Sally and her two mulatto children found refuge in the woods near Savannah as their owner, Alexander Wylly, promised severe prosecution to any person harboring or concealing them.[49] From the 1730s to 1805, one out of five runaways, or 18 percent, were women.[50]

In several instances, newly arrived Africans saw enslavement as a problem to be solved collectively. In August 1764, two "new negroe men, both branded on the right breast" with the initials IB, escaped from the plantation of Alexander Wylly on the Savannah River.[51] Proximity to rivers and other bodies of water facilitated get-away as runaways usurped canoes to make their escape. Both Colerain and Derry, branded with the initials IB, absconded from Wylly's plantation with a canoe in February 1765. By all accounts, Colerain was a repeat offender and perhaps the organizer of planned escapes as his name and a description of him, along with other Africans, reappear in advertisements submitted by Alexander Wylly over a period of several months.[52] For newly enslaved Africans, planning an escape involved utilizing networks on the plantation. These networks centered upon shared occupations as well as shared origins. On Mark Carr's plantation near Sunbury, Bridgee, a "prime sawyer," who spoke fluent Portuguese and Spanish, organized other sawyers on the Carr plantation. He also included his wife Celia in his plans to escape slavery.[53] After inflicting "several outrages" near the ferry, the group cut away a chained canoe at the Sunbury wharf and made their escape northward.[54]

Resistance in the low country represented a formative process which involved a tension between what the enslaved thought and what they lived. Runaway slave advertisements and oral narratives provide a window for examining the thought and aspirations of enslaved Africans. In this context, the act of

running away marked the establishment of a dialectical relationship with the environment in which captive Africans lived. Between the 1730s and 1805, 816 men and 182 women were runaway slaves in Georgia low country.[55] An examination of 270 advertisements for runaway slaves, reveal that 126 advertisers designated fugitive Africans by nationality and included detailed descriptions of country markings.[56] Sydney, a young woman whose country marks were evident on her breast and arms, and who spoke "no English," took flight from the home of Elizabeth Anderson, well dressed with a cloth gown and coat.[57] Like many other new Africans, Sydney was unfamiliar with the environment in which she lived. She perceived a successful flight from the oppression of bondage in the city and deftly concealed her country marks and her identity as a fugitive as she moved through the city of Savannah. Similarly, "a stout young negroe [sic] fellow named Africa," who was well known in and about the city of Savannah, retained a consciousness of his African origins as he fled his enslavement and never relinquished re-gaining his freedom.[58]

The belief that the enslaved could transcend their physical oppression by returning to Africa symbolized a reversed transatlantic migration to escape an abhorrent reality.[59] Oral narratives of flight back to Africa preserved as intergenerational narratives within transatlantic communities, underscoring the persistence of Africa in the consciousness of the enslaved. Illustrative of this was Ryna Johnson; a persistent memory of her as an enslaved woman on Hopeton plantation in the Altamaha district (as well as several others in the St. Simons Island and Sapelo Island communities), was the legend of Butler's Island Africans who, resentful of the overseer's lash, flew back to Africa.[60] The narratives of Prince Sneed, Serina Hall, and Solomon Gibson, whose ancestors labored on St. Catherines Island, also revealed a parallel flight migration to Africa. The metaphor of returning to Africa expressed a determination to dream of and hope for a better life literally and symbolically beyond their present situation in slavery. The historical re-envisioning of returning to Africa remained a persistent theme in the consciousness of African Americans who lived within the Georgia-South Carolina low country continuum. Phyllis Green, a former slave in Charleston, South Carolina, described a similar event that took place on James Island in which Africans who refused to submit to the "seasoning" process feigned accommodation, and began their flight back to Africa. These oft-repeated oral narratives were represented as actual lived experiences, underscoring several forms of resistance such as refusing to assimilate, plotting return back to Africa, pretending to accommodate, and flying home to freedom.[61]

In a similar vein, oral narratives of freedom through death provided the theoretical underpinnings for an alternate conception of historical reality. On

St. Simons Island, newly purchased captive Africans (sold to John Couper and Thomas Spalding by the Savannah firm of Mein and Mackey), endured a second "voyage through death" down the coast from Savannah in 1803. Their confinement below deck created the conditions which led to a revolt against the crew and Couper's overseer. Landing near the marshlands, the Igbos began singing and wading through the waters of the Altamaha River, where twelve drowned in an attempt to reverse their forced migration.[62]

The historical memory of the descendants of enslaved African Americans provides an important window in which to examine their traditions in the discourse and cultural logics of the slavery era. The emergence of a dissident subculture within transatlantic communities embodied by a complex system of traditions represented the second form of resistance along the South Carolina-Georgia continuum. The traditions developed by low country African Americans emerged as a central component in their ontological praxis. The communitarian character of the slaves' traditions provides salient insights into how enslaved men and women understood and communicated their experiences and struggles through their use of language. Their symbolic and metaphorical traditions provide crystalline insights into the ways in which they transformed their experiences into images that tell their stories of both oppression and liberation.[63] In this context, spirituals from the low country, interpreted as oral texts, reveal the intertextuality of the lived experiences of enslaved men and women through artistic expression. Dublin Scribben, an African born slave in Liberty County, fused English with his native language to express both the oppression of the Middle Passage and the symbolic rebirth of the individual in the slave song "Freewillum" [Freewill]. The ocean served as a metaphor for rebirth and freedom (reproduced without phonetic exaggeration):

> Going home to see the ocean religion told New Jerusalem I bring good news, a-tatta-ho! My soul seen the ocean.[64]

Similarly, expressions of freedom through death represented the ultimate conception of freedom from physical bondage. In Liberty County, Abraham Scriven expressed profound grief upon being sold and separated from his wife, children, and parents. He vowed to meet in heaven if he could not rejoin them in this world.[65]

Both the First and Second Great Awakenings shaped the extent to which Africans embraced Christianity. Although the process of conversion varied according to the local environment and African ethnicities, Christianity appealed to low country enslaved Africans for two principal reasons. First, Christian customs, rituals, and beliefs paralleled West African religious beliefs. This was true of the sacrament of baptism, which conformed to their beliefs about bodies of

water which they regarded as sacred, and the African circle dance they performed known as the "ring shout" at funerals.[66] Christianity's "life after death" concept also meant that the enslaved would eventually join their ancestors in Africa.[67] West African religious thoughts and practices shaped their lives even after their conversion to Christianity. As in other U.S. and New World enslaved communities, they syncretized elements of Christianity with their sacred beliefs and traditions and in doing so, informed the contours of American religious culture.[68] In this context, African traditional religions adhered to a form of monotheism.

According to John Mbiti, within the African ontology, there was always a Supreme Creator. In Akan, the creator was *Onyame*; in Bantu—*Nzambi*, Mende—*Ngewo*, and in Gola—*Daya*. Second in the hierarchy were spirits capable of appearing within the world as living guardians. Men, animals, and objects constituted the penultimate forces in the African cosmology.[69] Creation stories, Supreme Being, spirits, and priest-healers were central to African religions and enslaved Africans found similar features in Christianity that intensified conversion.[70] The demographic figures for Darien Baptist Church in McIntosh County near Sapelo Island reveal that a significant number of enslaved Africans (943), attended services by 1860.[71] Similarly, in Liberty County, enslaved African Americans such as Lucy, who converted to Christianity while a slave of Reverend Charles C. Jones, embraced Christianity because it nurtured and kept alive the promise of equality and freedom and thus had both a liberatory and political meaning.[72]

Within low country communities, slave preachers risked their lives to preach a message of liberation and resistance. Preacher George received a threat of 500 lashes from his master if he continued to preach subversive messages to slaves. George disregarded his master's threat and continued to preach. After the discovery of George's activities, he was forced to flee across the Savannah River. He was captured after hiding in a nearby barn and burned alive with an assembly of slaves forced to travel twenty miles to the Greenville town square to watch what Moses Roper, a former slave and abolitionist, described as a "horrid spectacle."[73] Attending unsupervised religious slave meetings led to the imposition of severe forms of punishment. Enslaved men and women risked punishment and death if they undermined the power of the planter and the system of slavery. Tom Bucknie, a slave in Chatham County, received 150 lashes, "washed with brine," for attending religious meetings.[74] Bucknie continued to "attend the meetings and pray for his master," despite repeated threats and severe whippings.[75] As the nineteenth century progressed, planters became increasingly concerned with controlling the religious expression of their captive population.

The number of Christian converts among the slave population increased rapidly. It was a result of their desire to embrace an Africanized version of Christianity, and of a post 1830 campaign within the "militant South" to use religion as a means of social control. By 1860, 4,727 free and enslaved African Americans belonged to the African and Colored Baptist churches in low country Georgia.[76] As Africanized Christianity (which interlocked African traditional and Christian religious beliefs) emerged, Islam in the low country underwent a transformation. This transformation interlocked Christian and Islamic identities as evidenced by the practices of a peripatetic preacher belonging to Sapelo Island's First African Baptist Church in 1866, "Preacher Little." The countenances of Preacher Little and other low country African Americans who were described as "tall, lean and resembling Arab sheiks," epitomized this fusion.[77]

Conclusion

Within transatlantic communities, enslaved Africans expressed a unique political will to resist enslavement and maintain dignity. Their dislocation reinforced the tragedy of the slave trade and simultaneously fostered cultural resistance to enslavement, which began during the Middle Passage and continued upon arrival in Georgia. The cross-current of events that promoted the acquisition of rice and grain coast slaves transformed the landscape of low country Georgia. As enslaved Africans altered the physical environment, African socio-cultural practices such as kinship, religion, and cultural processes transformed New World slavery. They kept a collective memory of West Africa, which survived across the Middle Passage and created a distinct African identity shaped by the North Atlantic.

The varied discourses of slave resistance illustrate that enslaved men and women created alternate geographies for themselves in low country Georgia. Enslaved Africans brought their bodies, their minds, and their cultures to the Americas, and employed all three to address conflicting ideas of slavery and freedom. They carved out marginal spaces within slavery to engage in strategic resistance, and established alliances based upon ethnicity, occupation, kinship, and mutual oppression to contest their bondage. In several cases, women, who lingered furthest from the center of organizing and planning strategic resistance, emerged as leaders of planned escapes. Slave insubordination crystallized into open defiance as they sought to gain individual and collective freedom by challenging the fissures within slavery. During this critical period, enslaved men and women reimagined, reformulated, and transformed the legal contexts in which they lived.[78] They carried their blackness and many aspects of their culture from their original home in West Africa to Low Country Georgia where they became the first core of the African Diaspora.

Notes

1. *Savannah Georgia Gazzette,* November 19, 1766, i. Georgia Writers Project, Rosanna Williams, Tatemville and Ophelia Baker, Sandfly, Ga. in *Drums and Shadows: Survival Stories Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes* (Athens, GA., rept. 1986), 71 and 91.

2. Anthony Balcomb, "The Power of Narrative: Constituting Reality through Storytelling," in *Orality, Memory, and the Past: Listening to the Voices of Black Clergy under Colonization and Apartheid,* ed., Philippe Denis (Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, 2001), 49–53.

3. Daniel Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana University Press, c1981); Judith Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas,* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2001); Edda Fields-Black, *Deep Roots: Rice Farmers in West Africa and the African Diaspora* (Bloomington, IN., 2008).

4. Gervase Phillips, "Slave Resistance in the Antebellum South," *History Review* (December 2007): 34–35.

5. *U.S. Population Census, 1790, 1830, 1860; The Transatlantic Slave Trade Voyages Database,* accessible at www.slavevoyages.org, see entries 41892 *Tentativa,* 1817; 41893, *Politena,* 1817; 41895 *Sirena* 1817; 41896, *Antelope,* 1820; 4974, *Wanderer,* 1858; Record Group 21 (hereinafter cited as RG 21) Records of the District Courts of the United States, *Tentativa, Politena, Sirena, Antelope,* Box 22, 23, 26, 28, National Archives and Records Administration (hereinafter cited as NARA), Southeast Region, Atlanta, Georgia; W.E.B. DuBois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870,* Appendix D (New York: 1970).

6. Gwen McKee, ed., *A Guide to the Georgia Coast* (Georgia Conservancy, 1993), Chapter. 1; Michael Mann, *Sources of Social Power* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), Chap. 2; Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African American, 1650–1800* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2004), 118.

7. Sam B. Hilliard, "Antebellum Tidewater Rice Culture in South Carolina and Georgia," in *European Settlement and Development in North America: Essays on Geographical Change in Honour and Memory of Andrew Hill Clark,* ed., James R. Gibson (Toronto, Canada: Dawson Publishing, 1978), 97–104.

8. Inward Slave Manifests, Savannah, Bureau of Customs, Record Group 36 (hereinafter cited as RG 36), NARA, Washington, D.C.; Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade,* Vol. 4 (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1930), 612–663.

9. *Georgia Gazette,* April 13, 1768, John Stirk; *Georgia Gazette,* July 13, 1774, James Read; *Georgia Gazette,* March 29, 1775, James Mossman in Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements,* 29, 53, 62; *The Transatlantic Slave Trade Voyages Database,* accessible at www.slavevoyages.org.

10. First hand accounts of the Middle Passage by Africans are scant. Narratives by Olaudah Equiano and Mary Prince are the best known. Additional voices are accessible at http://www.awesomestories.com/history/slave_voices_ch1.htm.

11. Dimmock Charlton, in John Blassingame, *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews, and Autobiographies* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 325–338, note 11. According to Charlton, he "was born in a country called Kissee." The Kissi lived in Guinea and were ethnologically and culturally related to the Malinke.

Maria Diedrich, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Carl Pederson, eds. *Black Imagination and the Middle Passage* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1999), 5–10. See also Bailey, *African Voices of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2005).

12. Inward Slave Manifests, Savannah, Bureau of Customs, RG 36, NARA, Washington, D.C.; Donnan, *Documents,* 612–663. Donnan provides regional documentation which includes listings of slave vessels, merchant or agent's name, owner of vessel, and where the vessel was built. Shipbuilding emerged as a significant industry in Savannah with West Indian linkages.

13. Inward Slave Manifests, Savannah, Bureau of Customs, RG 36, NARA, Washington, D.C.; Donnan, *Documents,* 612–663.

14. Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade,* Vol. 4, 612–663.

15. Inward Slave Manifests, Savannah, Bureau of Customs, RG 36, NARA, Washington, D.C.; Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade,* Vol. 4, 612–663; *The Transatlantic Slave Trade Voyages Database,* accessible at www.slavevoyages.org, see entries for Georgia.

16. *Georgia Gazette,* July 27, 1768 in Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements,* 31; Allen D. Candler and Lucian Lamar Knight eds., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* vol. 18 (New York: 1970): 792–794; *The Transatlantic Slave Trade Voyages Database,* accessible at www.slavevoyages.org, see entries for Georgia; Darold D. Wax, "New Negroes Are Always in Demand," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (Summer 1984): 209.

17. Françoise Charras, "Robert Hayden's and Kamau Brathwaite's Poetic Renderings of the Middle Passage in Comparative Perspective," in Maria Diedrich, Henry Louis Gates, and Carl Pederson, *Black Imagination and the Middle Passage* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1999), 57–68.

18. Françoise Charras, "Robert Hayden's and Kamau Brathwaite's Poetic Renderings of the Middle Passage in Comparative Perspective," 57–68. For a discussion of slave insurrections see Eric Robert Taylor, *If We Must Die: Shipboard Insurrections in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2006).

19. *Georgia Gazette,* July 13, 1774, James Read in Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements,* 53; Donnan, *Documents,* 612–663; Lempster, James, Peter, Fanny, and Silvia successfully ran away from James Read's plantation. *The Transatlantic Slave Trade Voyages Database,* accessible at www.slavevoyages.org, see entries for Georgia.

20. Boubacar Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 61–80; Philip Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), 177; See also Walter Rodney, *History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545–1800* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970). According to Selwyn H. H. Carrington, figures from the British National Archives put this figure at 104,000. Other figures quote 47,500. Carrington, *The Sugar Industry and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1775–1810.*

21. Walter Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast,* 112, 244–55; Becker, "La Sénégambie dans la Traite atlantique du XVIIIe siècle," 63–103; W.E.B. DuBois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2002), 46–48; Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade,* 49, 79. See also, J.E. Inikori and Stanley Engerman, eds. *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1992), Chap. 1–3.

22. Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade,* Chap. 5; Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transfor-*

mations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 59.

23. Curtin, *Economic Change*, 54–55, 180.

24. Ibid.

25. Boubacar Barry, *Le Royaume du Waalo, 1659–1859: Le Sénégal avant la conquête*, 190; Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 81–112; Inikori, "Underpopulation in Nineteenth Century West Africa: The Role of the Export Slave Trade," 25–308. Establishing concrete demographic patterns for Waalo, Kajor, and Baol in the late eighteenth century is problematic since records are incomplete or non-existent for this period. However, the accounts of French and English officials who resided in the coastal regions combined with the extant studies of the slave trade's impact on Senegambia provide a partial reconstruction of the population. See Pelletan, *Mémoire sur la colonie française du Sénégal avec quelques considérations historiques et politiques sur la traite des Nègres*, 14.

26. Charles Becker and Victor Martin, "Kayor and Baol: Senegalese Kingdoms and the Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century," in J.E. Inikori, ed., *Forced Migration: The Impact of the Export Slave Trade on African Societies* (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1992), 119; Stephanie Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 103.

27. *Letters of Joseph Clay, Merchant of Savannah, 1776–1798* (Georgia Historical Society, Collections VIII), 187; Aland D. Candler and Lucian Lamar Knight, eds. *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, Vol. 22 (Atlanta, Ga: Franklin Printing, 1904–1916), 420, 465; Wax, "New Negroes Are Always in Demand: The Slave Trade in Eighteenth Century Georgia," 207.

28. Carolina Underwood, Family No. 136, "Sapelo Island Families," Genealogical Source Book, copy provided by Dr. Carolyn Douse, Sapelo Island Historical and Genealogical Society (SICARS), Sapelo Island, Georgia; David K. Northrup, *Trade Without Rulers, Precolonial Economic Development in South-eastern Nigeria* (Clarendon, UK: Clarendon Press, 1978). Carolina and Hannah Underwood were both listed on the 1870 Census of McIntosh County as being 95 years old and born in Guinea. Their descendants recounted their Ibo origins and Carolina's capture by slavers as a small boy.

29. Becker and Martin, "Kayor and Baol," 101–102; Curtin, *Economic Change*, 187. Juula traders established a network which brought captive Africans from the interior; Rodney, "African Slavery and Other Forms of Social Oppression on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Context of the Atlantic Slave Trade," in Inikori, *Forced Migration*, 61–68.

30. A.G. Laing, *Travels in the Timanee, Kooranko, and Soolima Countries* (London: John Murray, 1825), 221; Charlotte Quinn, *Mandingo Kingdoms of the Senegambia: Traditionalism, Islam, and European Expansion*, (Evanston, IL., 1972) 9–22.

31. John Atkins, *A Voyage to Guinea, Brazil, and the West Indies* (1735; reprint, London, Taylor & Francis, 1970), 49. William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea* (London: Routledge, 1705; reprint 1967), 359. Atkins observed that a peck of rice yielded above forty bushels which suggests a high level of output.

32. Fields-Black, *Deep Roots: Rice Farmers in West Africa and the Africa Diaspora*, 107–133; Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas*, 28. See Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicities and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina;* For a discussion of the emergence of rice culture in South Carolina, see Peter Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1974).

33. 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* 112 (December 2007): 1335–43.

34. *The Transatlantic Slave Trade Voyages Database*, accessible at www.slavevoyages.org.

35. Additionally, evidence of the desirability of securing specific Africans from the Rice and Grain Coast is revealed in advertisements from Georgia's colonial newspaper, the *Georgia Gazette*. These announcements, which appeared with frequency throughout Georgia's involvement in the transatlantic slave trade, provided planters, who were establishing and expanding rice plantations, with relevant information concerning the origin and ethnicity of captive Africans. *Georgia Gazette*, 1765–1771; *Royal Georgia Gazette*, 1779–1782; *Gazette of the State of Georgia*, 1783–1788; *Georgia Gazette*, 1788–1790.

36. Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, "Africa and Africans in African Diaspora: The Uses of Relational Databases," *American Historical Review* 115 (February 2010):139; Walter Hawthorne, "From 'Black Rice' to 'Brown': Rethinking the History of Risiculture in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Atlantic," *American Historical Review* 115 (February 2010): 154.

37. Hall, Africa and Africans in African Diaspora, 142; Hawthorne, "From 'Black Rice' to 'Brown': Rethinking the History of Risiculture in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Atlantic," 155; *Georgia Gazette, 1765–1771.*

38. Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas*; Edda Fields-Black, *Deep* Roots: *Rice Farmers in West Africa and the Africa Diaspora* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008).

39. Account Book of Stephen Habersham, Grove Plantation Near Savannah, June 1858–July 11, 1864, M432, Roll 89, Georgia Historical Society, (hereinafter cited as GHS), Savannah, Georgia; James Postell, "Kelvin Grove Plantation Book, 1853," Margaret Davis Cate Collection, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries; Berry, "'She Do a Heap of Work:' Female Slave Labor on Glynn County Rice and Cotton Plantations," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 82 No. 4 (Winter 1998): 707–734.

40. Interview with Dr. Benjamin Lewis, February 3, 2001, Savannah, Georgia. Dr. Lewis is the grandson of Sapelo Island resident Katie Brown, who is featured in the Georgia Writer's Project, *Drums and Shadows: Survival Stories Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes;* and Parrish, *Slave Songs in the Georgia Sea Islands* (Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press, 1992). Born during slavery, Mrs. Brown cultivated rice on Sapelo Island, as did previous generations of women. Dr. Lewis described rice as his grandmother's "money crop."

41. Inward Slave Manifests, Savannah, RG 36, NARA, Washington, D.C.; Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade*, Vol. 4, 612–663.

42. Hazzard, *St. Simon's Island Georgia, Brunswick, and Vicinity* (c. 1825; reprint, Belmont, MA: Oak Hill Press, 1974).

43. McKee, ed., *A Guide to the Georgia Coast*; Kenneth K. Krakow, *Georgia Place Names* (Macon, Ga: Winship Press, 1975), 120, 199–200.

44. Balcomb, "The Power of Narrative: Constituting Reality through Storytelling," 49–53. Narratives have been central to the study of slavery. See, for example, William F. Andrews, *To Tell a Free Story: The First Century of Afro-American Autobiography, 1760–1865* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

45. *Georgia Gazette*, December 10, 1789, David Leion [*sic*]; Ben and Nancy were 25 years old. Nancy was blind In her right eye; see the case of Betty, *Georgia Gazette*, Decem-

ber 22, 1788, Benjamin Gobert; the case of Patra, Mary, and Judy, *Georgia Gazette*, January 29, 1789, J.M. Delarocque; the case of Patty and Daniel, *Georgia Gazette*, May 21, 1789, Peter Henry Morel, in Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements*, 161–62, 172.

46. *Georgia Gazette*, May 21, 1789, Peter Henry Morel in Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements*, 166.

47. Michael Mullin, *Africa in America: Slave Acculturation and Resistance in the American South and British Caribbean, 1736–1831* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 290.

48. *Georgia Gazette*, April 12, 1764, Thomas Cater in Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements, 5.*

49. *Georgia Gazette*, May 10, 1764, Alexander Wylly in Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements, 6.*

50. Mullin, *Africa in America*, 290.

51. *Georgia Gazette*, August 16, 1764, Johnson and Wylly in Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements*, 7.

52. *Georgia Gazette*, February 7, 1765, Alexander Wylly; *Georgia Gazette*, July 18, 1765, Alexander Wylly, in Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements*, 10, 14.

53. *Georgia Gazette*, July 2, 1766, Mark Carr in Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements*, 17.

54. Ibid.

55. Mullin, 289.

56. Ibid., Appendix II, 289.

57. *Georgia Gazette*, March 7, 1765, Elizabeth Anderson in Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements*, 10.

58. *Georgia Gazette*, November 15, 1764, Jemima Love in Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements*, 8.

59. Karen B. Bell, "Narratives of Freedom: Communities of Resistance in Low Country Georgia, 1798–1898," Ph.D. Dissertation, Howard University, 2008, 58.

60. Cuffy Wilson, Currytown, Savannah; Floyd White, St. Simons Island; Ryna Johnson, St. Simons Island, in Georgia Writer's Project, *Drums and Shadows: Survival Stories Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes*, 32, 169, 175–77, 184.

61. Cuffy Wilson, Currytown, Savannah; Floyd White, St. Simons Island; Ryna Johnson, St. Simons Island, in Georgia Writer's Project, *Drums and Shadows: Survival Stories Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes.*

62. Prince Sneed, White Bluff; Serina Hall, White Bluff; Bruurs [*sic*] Butler, Grimballs Point; Floyd White, St. Simons Island, in Georgia Writer's Project, *Drums and Shadows: Survival Stories Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes*, 79, 81, 99, 185; George P. Rawick, *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, Supplement 1*, Vol. 11 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977), 179; William Mein to Pierce Butler, May 24, 1803, Butler Family Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Bell, *Major Butler's Legacy: Five Generations of a Slave Holding Family* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 132; Robert Hayden, "Middle Passage," 444–446. Although the Georgia state legislature banned the slave trade in 1798, ten years before the national ban in 1808, an active illegal slave trade persisted until 1858.

63. Will Coleman, "Coming through 'Ligion': Metaphor in Non-Christian and Christian Experiences with the Sprit(s) in African American Slave Narratives," in *Cut Loose Your Stammering Tongue*, ed., Hopkins and C.L. Cummings, 66–67.

64. Lydia Parrish, *Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands* (Athens, GA: 1992) 45–46. See, W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge, MA: First Harvard University Press, 1997), which discusses the significance of rivers and bodies of water as sources of spiritual power in the cosmology of Africans.

65. Abream [*sic*] Scriven to Dinah Jones, September 19, 1858, Savannah, in Starobin ed., *Blacks in Bondage: The Letters of American Slaves* (New York: M. Wiener, 1974), 58.

66. Art Rosenbaum, *Shout Because You're Free: The African American Ring Shout Tradition in Coastal Georgia* (Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press, 1998).

67. John Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion* (London: Heinemann, 1991), 116–124.

68. Josephine Stephens, Harris Neck; Charles Hunter, St. Simons Island; Lawrence Baker, Darien in Georgia Writer's Project, *Drums and Shadows: Survival Stories Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes*, 127, 155–56; 177; Bailey, *God, Dr. Buzzard, and the Bolito Man: A Saltwater Geechee Talks About Life on Sapelo Island* (New York: Doubleday, 2000), Chapter Sixteen; Sylvia Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

69. Mbiti, 35.

70. Ibid.

71. Mechal Sobel, *Trabel'in On: The Slaves Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998) 314–331.

72. Lucy to Charles C. Jones, December 30, 1850, in John W. Blassingame, *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews, and Autobiographies* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1977) 90–91; Andrew to Rev. Charles C. Jones, Sept. 10, 1852, Maybank, in Starobin, *Blacks in Bondage: The Letters of American Slaves*, 52. Andrew's daughter, Dinah, joined the Baptist church established for slaves in Sunbury. For a discussion of the intersection of religion and the informal African American economy see, Wood, *Women's Work, Men's Work, The Informal Slave Economies of Low Country Georgia* (Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 160–176.

73. Moses Roper to Thomas Price, London, June 27, 1836 in Blassingame, *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews, and Autobiographies*, 23.

74. *Liberator*, February 4, 1837; Blassingame, *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews, and Autobiographies*, 124–25.

75. Ibid., 25.

76. Sobel, *Trabel'in On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith*, 314–331. For a discussion of slave missions in the Baptist church, see Janet Duitsman Cornelius, *Slave Missions and the Baptist Church in the Antebellum South* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1999).

77. Parrish, *Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands*, 158; Michael Gomez, "Muslims in Early America," *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (November 1994), 708–709.

78. Lauren DuBois and Julius Scott, *Origins of the Black Atlantic: Rewriting Histories* (New York: Routledge Press, 2009), 1–5.