

South Carolina Revolutionary Era Research

The Impact of the American Revolution on Slave Manumissions in South Carolina, 1760-1800

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That Negro slavery would exist in Carolina was never in dispute. *The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina* made it clear from the beginning that slavery would be institutionalized and slave owners could wield complete authority over their enslaved people:

"Every Freeman of Carolina shall have absolute power and authority over his Negro Slaves, of what Opinion or Religion forever."

Given this power, manumission was largely a personal decision that received relatively little public scrutiny in pre-Revolutionary South Carolina. It is reasonable to assume that slave owners followed their own consciences when deciding whether to free their enslaved people. There is scattered evidence that the existence of free Negroes predates the Revolutionary era in South Carolina. According to wills and other public documents, enslaved people could be freed for a variety of reasons, ranging from years of personal service to their owner, public service to the colony during times of crisis, exposing slave conspiracies/rebellions, or kinship based on interracial relationships. These manumissions allowed for the emergence of a small, yet identifiable group of "emancipated" Negroes. Nevertheless, according to historian John D. Duncan, private acts constituted most slave manumissions in colonial South Carolina.²

As the Free Negro population increased, however, their presence became a source of concern for colonial white South Carolinians as evidenced by various grand jury presentments and legislative measures dating back to the early part of the eighteenth century. In 1703, the colonial assembly had cautiously provided for the emancipation of trusty slaves who might kill or capture enemies of the province in battle.³ A 1708 measure extended the effective period of the 1703 law. This latter measure held that the assistance of trusty slaves could be a vital asset in times of general alarm. Indeed, the reference was to the current conflict with France. By action of the governor and assembly, slaves who

¹ John Locke. The Fundamental Constitution of Carolina. CX, page 15

² John D. Duncan, "Slave Emancipation in Colonial South Carolina, "American Chronicle, A Magazine of History 1 (1972): 64. According to Duncan, John Coker petitioned for his freedom under the 1704 law, and the legislature ruled that "the said negro man should be free . . . according to the Act." Coker's owner, John White, was paid from the public treasury.

³ Ibidem.

could prove that they had actually killed one or more of the province's enemies were to be given freedom.⁴ Fourteen years later, a much more comprehensive manumission law was enacted. This measure allowed for manumission through private acts as well as for public service, but it required all emancipated Negroes to leave the province within 12 months. Failure to do so could result in re-enslavement, unless special approval was obtained from the legislature.⁵ This growing concern over free Negroes was a reflection of the concern over the black majority population in general. **See Chart 1 below.**

Black 2,000; White 4,000 Black 149,333; White 196,255 Black 4,000 1700 1800 1708 Black 108,000; White 140,178 Black 11,828; White 6,525 1720 South Carolina Black and White Population 1780 1740 Black 80,000 Black 39,155; White 20,000 1775 1760 1771 White 70,000 Black 55,453 White 65,000 Black 81,728

Chart 1 South Carolina African American Population, 1700-1800

This concern was also glaringly evident in the geographic distribution of the African American population. **See Charts 2 and 3 below.** Clearly, the low country districts had more reasons to be concerned than the back country regions.

⁴ S.C. Statutes, 7: 349-358.

⁵ Ibid., 7: 384-385.

Chart 2South Carolina African American Population by Districts, 1761⁶

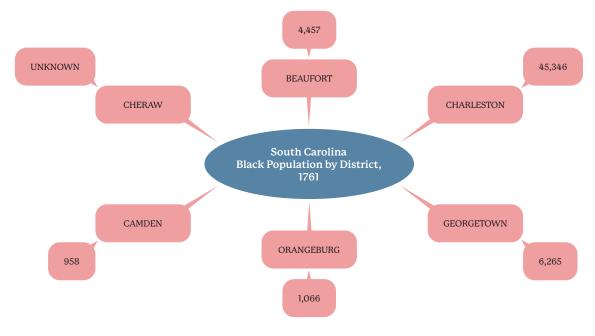
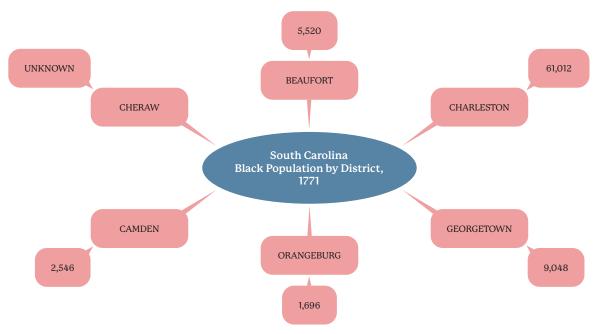


Chart 3South Carolina African American Population by Districts, 1771



⁶ Source: General Tax Receipt and Payments, 1761-1771, SCDAH.

⁷ Ibid.

The General Assembly was aware of security concerns over its black majority. In 1736, largely in response to this rapidly increasing African American population, the Assembly considered a measure that would grant freedom to any slave who helped to uncover slaves' insurrection plots. This measure never passed. However, that same year, the legislature did reduce the period during which manumitted slaves had to leave the state from 12 to six months.8 The Negro Act of 1740, which was passed mainly as a reaction to the Stono Uprising of the previous year, made no reference to manumission. However, seven years later a measure was passed, which guaranteed freedom to a slave named Arrah. Arrah, it appears, had been captured by the Spanish, interrogated, and encouraged to provide them with certain navigational information to be used in attacks along the Carolina coast. Arrah refused, however, and was sold into slavery by his captors. He miraculously managed to escape and was able to find his way back to Carolina. The legislature, eager to encourage this kind of spirit among its slaves, enacted a measure granting Arrah freedom and promising it to all other such Negroes who might meet with similar circumstances.9 The legislature also undertook the manumission of several other enslaved persons in the pre-Revolutionary period for similar exemplary acts. 10 With these few exceptions, however, the legislature made no changes in manumission laws prior to 1800, even though there was clamor to make adjustments in order to help control the free black population. In 1770, for instance, the Grand Jury presented as a grievance the "want of a law" to require "free negroes, mulattoes, and mestizos to wear some badge or other distinguishing mark" so as to prevent them from acquiring property in the Colony. In 1774, the Grand Jury restated its grievance toward the absence of modes of distinguishing free negroes from slaves. ¹² Many other Grand Jury grievances refer to "negroes and other slaves" or "people of color and negroes." There is little doubt that these were actual references to the increasing free black community.¹³ The Grand Jury's concern with "overt" criminal acts by free negroes and the judicial system responses to them have already been cited¹⁴.

As mentioned above, additional concerns were raised regarding how free Negroes would be able to sustain themselves. This was a major concern since many emancipated Negroes were aged or female. This probably accounted for the fact that oftentimes emancipated formerly enslaved persons were given allotments of land or money at the time of the granting of their freedom. Still, some slave owners were

⁸ Duncan, "Slave Emancipation in Colonial S.C.," 64; S.C. Statutes, 7: 306.

⁹ Duncan, "Slave Emancipation in Colonial S.C.," 64; S.C. Statutes, 7:419-420. According to Duncan, eight other negroes gained freedom via this law.

¹⁰ Duncan, "Slave Emancipation in Colonial S.C.," 65. For example, in 1750, Caesar, a negro "doctor," was freed for providing universal antidotes and cures. In 1754, Sampson received his freedom for a rattlesnake venom cure, and in 1761, the provincial government freed Abraham for having carried messages through Cherokee country during the French and Indian War.

¹¹ Court of General Sessions Journal, 42-43.

¹² Ibid., 270-271.

¹³ Ibid.; See also, General Assembly Grand Jury Presentments, 1798. See for example, the Charleston Grand Jury Presentment: "We present as a grievance highly dangerous to the country but particularly to the city, the influx of people of color and negroes."

¹⁴ See for example, 80-81; See also, Appendix B

uncomfortable with the possible psychological impact of having "free" Negroes in such close proximity to those still enslaved. Despite these concerns, Carolinians, in many cases, and for reasons known only to them, manumitted small numbers of their enslaved persons. Evidence of this is sprinkled through many of the probated wills, legislative papers and miscellaneous records from the period leading up to the revolutionary era in South Carolina as the following excerpts from wills suggest.

In 1729, in his last will and testament, Nathaniel Williams gave "to my Negro boy. Joseph, his freedome from all slavery from me and my heirs, Executors or assignees forever to him and his heirs forever also; also I give and bequeath to the said Joseph twenty five acres of land to him and his heirs forever, he taking his land at the SE." ¹⁵

In 1761, Archer Smith of Berkeley County owned at least 18 enslaved persons. Via his will he dispersed them among various members of his family. However, he made one noticeable exception. To his daughter Susanna, he bequeathed

"two Negro men named Sampson and Dick (lately under her deceased husband's care, but now under hers), also my four Negroes named severally Andress, Sue, Rose, and Dido, as also a mulatto girl named Flora to serve her for the space of ten years, at the expiration of which time she shall have her freedom" 16

In 1765, Sarah Edmond directed that as part of her marriage settlement:

"Belinda my wench & Phillis, a mustee wench be from the day of my death forever be manumitted & set free from all slavery and freedom whatever and that my executor & administrator do make or cause to be made a manumission or certificate of freedom whenever it shall be demanded"

Planter Charles Faucheraud of St. James Parish, Goose Creek left a rather detailed directive to his executors as it related to his soon-to-be manumitted enslaved persons:

"I give and bequeath unto my Negro woman by name Binah, her full and absolute freedom and manumission at my decease to all intents and purposes whatsoever and I do furthermore give and bequeath unto said Binah the sum of ten pounds currency to be paid her yearly out of my estate and it is my will and desire that she may have ten acres of my cleared provision lands on any part of the plantation whereon I now live and where she shall chose it provided the same be not more than a quarter of a mile from my mansion house and I will that said Binah during her natural life be allowed the privilege of cutting and carrying away on and from my adjacent wood sufficient for several buildings repairs fencing and

¹⁷ Will of Sara Edmonds, SC Will, 1670-1980 (1765)



¹⁵ South Carolina. U.S. Wills and Probate Records, 1670-1980, Year 1729

¹⁶ South Carolina. U.S. Wills and Probate Records, 1670-1980, Year 1761

planting occasion and that she be allowed provisions of my said plantation the same as she now has for and during her natural life."

Faucheraud also freed his "mulatto slave named Sally" and her girl child. To them he gave "ten acres of my cleared land...the sum of eighty-pound current money" yearly. He further ordered that their land be adjacent to that given to Bina and that his executors "build thereon a good house upon sills with two bed chambers and a hall, a brick chimney at each end the same to be lathed and plastered and sufficient locks hinges and hooks be put to the doors and windows.... the privileges of cutting and carrying away on and from my adjacent lands wood sufficient for he building." Finally, he "bequeath[ed] unto the Mulatto girl Sally, six heifers, a feather bed mattress, two pair of sheets and two pair of duffle blankets." 18

The fact that a new wave of manumissions would occur in the revolutionary era in America should not be surprising. Anti-slavery sentiment was already evident throughout the American colonies long before the American Revolution began. As early as 1688, Pennsylvania Quakers, in their Germantown Resolution organized the first American protest against slavery and stated that slavery violated Christian principles by "separating wives from their husbands and giving them to others; and some sell the children of these poor creatures to other men. Ah! doe consider well this thing, you who doe it, if you would be done at this manner?" America's first abolition society would be organized in Philadelphia in 1775. ²⁰

In 1700, prominent Massachusetts judge Samuel Sewall argued against the enslavement of Africans and the slave trade in his pamphlet, *The Selling of Joseph*. ²¹ Benjamin Franklin, who had spoken out against slavery prior to the Revolutionary period, expressed antislavery sentiment at the 1787 Constitutional Convention when he suggested that "the Creator of the World had made of one flesh, all the children of men."²²

Other American Revolutionaries, such as Alexander Hamilton, Samuel Adams and Samuel Hopkins, and some of their wives, expressed antislavery sentiments based on Enlightenment thinking. Abigail Adams, wife of future president John Adams, said in 1774 it was a contradiction that American colonists wanted freedom yet denied it to Negroes:

"I wish most sincerely there was not a Slave in the province. It always appeared a most iniquitous Scheme to me-fight ourselves for what we are daily robbing and plundering from those who have as good a right to freedom as we have."²³

- 18 Will of Charles Faucheraud, SC Will (1766)
- 19 Germantown Protest Against slavery, 1688
- 20 Abolitionist society in Philadelphia
- 21 Samuel Sewall, The Selling of Joseph
- 22 Benjamin Franklin. https://benjaminfranklinhouse.org
- 23 Abigail Adams to John Adams, September 22, 1774 Massachusetts Historical Society



In a draft of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson listed as a grievance that the king "has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the person of a distant people who never offended him; captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither."²⁴ In deference to southern delegates, this clause was stricken from the final draft.

A bill to abolish slavery in Massachusetts was introduced in 1767 but failed to pass. Vermont would abolish slavery in 1777, becoming the first American state to do so.²⁵ Massachusetts Negroes petitioned for an end to slavery in 1777 when they argued that:

"a great number of blacks detained in a state of slavery in the bowels of a free and Christian country humbly shows that your petitioners apprehend that they have in common with all other men a natural and unalienable right to that freedom which the Great Parent of the universe have bestowed equally on all mankind".²⁶

In 1778, founder of the first African American Masonic lodge, Prince Hall, along with another group of a "great number of Blacks freemen" petitioned the Massachusetts government to end slavery because they learned of the "kidnapping of three free blacks in Boston and their transport to the Caribbean to be enslaved." Due to this petition and the growing anti-slavery consensus in Massachusetts, the legislature banned the slave trade a month later.²⁷

In 1788, a group of unidentified African Americans petitioned the Connecticut legislature for "murcy and liberation" from the harshness of enslavement.²⁸

It was not unlikely that some of this anti-slavery sentiment, which embraced the liberal ideology of the Revolution, would filter into the southern colonies and have an impact on some southern slave owners. For instance, a strong anti-slavery movement was evident in Maryland, especially among Methodists, who had a significant presence in the state in the 1780s. According to Kimberly M. Nath, many Methodists believed that the American Revolution was fought for liberty and equality for all men regardless of race. However, Maryland lawmakers, in an attempt to regulate manumissions, passed a measure to limit manumission without legislative approval prior to the Revolutionary era (1756).²⁹ In addition to these occurrences, Maryland prohibited the importation of Africans in

²⁹ Kimberly Michelle Nath, Difficulties in loyalism after independence: the treatment of loyalists and nonjurors in Maryland, 1777-1784 (Thesis. University of Maryland), 22-23



²⁴ Thomas Jefferson on Declaration of Independence

²⁵ Wood, Peter (2020). "13". 1620: A Critical Response to the 1619 Project. New York: Encounter Books, 202

 $^{26 \ \} https://constitutioncenter.org/the-constitution/historic-document-library/detail/prince-hall-petition-to-the-Massachusetts-legislature$

 $^{27 \}quad https://www.masshist.org/database/transcription.cfm?transcriptDir=masshist\&transcript=lsta_4740.xml\&queryID=710$

²⁸ Anti-Slavery Petitions, African American Community during Slavery, African American Identity: Vol. I, 1500-1865, Primary Resources in U.S. History and Literature, Toolbox Library, National Humanities Center

1783. That same year, the *Maryland Gazette* denounced slavery in an editorial in which it pointed to the hypocrisy of fighting for liberty from Britain while maintaining slavery.³⁰ In 1796, in apparent reversal, the Maryland General Assembly passed new legislation that made it easier for slave owners to free their enslaved persons.

In 1782, Virginia's General Assembly allowed enslavers to free the people they held enslaved. North Carolina operated under a 1741 law that allowed manumission only for meritorious services with approval of the local county court.

Table 1 below shows evidence of antislavery sentiment in eighteenth-century America:

Table 1Anti-Slavery Sentiments in Pre-Revolutionary America and the Revolutionary United States, 1688-1800

Year	Event
1688	Germantown (PA) Resolution denouncing slavery
1700	Samuel Sewall published "The Selling of Joseph"
1758	Pennsylvania Quakers forbade their members from owning slaves or participating in the slave trade
1767	A bill to abolish slavery in Massachusetts was introduced in the legislature, but failed
1773	Slaves in Massachusetts unsuccessfully petitioned the government for their freedom
1774	Abigail Adams expressed antislavery comments in a letter to her husband John Adams
1774	Connecticut, Rhode Island and Georgia prohibited the importation of slaves
1775	Lord Dunmore, royal governor of Virginia issued a proclamation promising manumission to slaves who fought for the British, but only if the slave's owner was a Revolutionary
1776	Philadelphia Quakers forbade their members from holding slaves
1777	Delaware prohibited the importation of African slaves
1777	Vermont abolished slavery and enfranchised all adult males regardless of race
1777	New York enfranchised all free propertied men regardless of color or prior servitude
1778	Rhode Island forbade the removal of slaves from the state

30 Maryland Gazette, "Vox Africanorum," May 15, 1783



1778	John Laurens, son of Henry Laurens, called for raising a Black regiment and manumission as a reward for military service
1780	A freedom clause in Massachusetts's constitution is interpreted as an abolition of slavery
1780	Massachusetts enfranchised all men regardless of race
1782	Virginia encouraged private manumission
1783	Virginia emancipated slaves who served in the Patriot forces against the British, provided that the owner gave permission
1783	Maryland prohibited the importation of African slaves
1783	Maryland Gazette, "Vox Africanorum," published anti-slavery editorial
1784	Rhode Island and Connecticut began gradual emancipation of slaves
1784	North Carolina prohibited the importation of African slaves
1784	Thomas Jefferson proposed restriction on westward expansion of slavery, however, the measure failed
1785	New York passed a gradual emancipation law and prohibited the importation of slaves
1785	New York passed a law allowing owners to manumit slaves without posting bonds
1787	Rhode Island forbade residents from participating in the slave trade
1788	New York passed a law prohibiting the sale of slaves imported from outside the state
1788	Connecticut and Massachusetts forbade residents from participating in the slave trade
1789	The Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of Free Negroes and Others Unlawfully Held in Bondage is founded
1789	Maryland denies Quakers request to end the exportation of slaves
1792	Freetown, Sierra Leone, in West Africa is founded by 1,100 slaves who were freed by the British during the Revolutionary War
1796	Maryland liberalized its manumission law, making it easier for owners to free their slaves
1800	Congress prohibited United States citizens from exporting slaves

African Americans in some northern colonies consistently pointed to the contradiction of white Americans clamoring for freedom from England while at the same time being relegated to enslavement by those very people. Nevertheless, the number of manumissions in South Carolina, the only colony/state in the United States revolutionary era with a black majority, increased several fold during and after the War for Independence. The reasons for this spike in manumission are rather complex. On the one hand, it was simply a continuation of the pattern of freeing faithful, long-serving enslaved people or those who had rendered services to the newly independent state, as had been the case prior to the war. On the other hand, some Carolinians embraced Enlightenment rhetoric and saw slave ownership as inconsistent with it. The full impact of this increase in the number of manumissions must be measured against the general trend for the Revolutionary era. See Table 2 below.

 Table 2

 Comparative Analysis of Manumissions in Revolutionary South Carolina

Period	Yearly Average
1760-1775	12.2
1775-1783	19.5
1783-1800	43.7

Between the end of Revolutionary hostilities to the close of the eighteenth century, at least 742 enslaved persons were manumitted. Of this number, 602 were given their immediate freedom. See Table 3 below.

Table 3Slave Manumissions in South Carolina, 1783-1800

Period	Period Number of Manumissions		Willed	
1783-1800	742	602	140	

As it relates to the total African-American population, it should be noted that the increased number of manumissions that took place after the war occurred even as the state's overall black population was probably proportionally smaller than it was before and during the war. It is believed that as many as 20,000 African Americans left the state with the British or with South Carolina Loyalists. Evidence of this can be found in South Carolina colonial records which are rife with manumissions documents.

Elizabeth Akin of St. Philip's Parish provided in her will for the manumission of her enslaved persons, John Gough, Thomas and Mary, thusly:

"I will and I do hereby direct that my mulatto slave named John Gough shall remain in servitude under the direction of my Executors hereafter named until he shall have paid to one of them the sum of two hundred fifty pounds current money out of which it is my intention should be deducted any monies he may hereafter pay to myself (of which I intend to leave an exact account) And after the said sum of two hundred and fifty pounds is fully paid by him as aforesaid then it is my will that my said slave be manumitted enfranchised and made free by my executors and I do direct that they pay to him when he is freed the sum of fifty pounds current money to enable him to purchase tools that he may get his livelihood by his trade.

"I will and I do hereby direct that my slaves Thomas and his wife, Mary shall behave and demean themselves to the satisfaction of my said executors and also to the liking of my nephew John Lloyd Waring until the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and seventy five, that then on the first day of January that year both of my said slaves Thomas and Mary shall be manumitted enfranchised and made free by my said executor and it is my desire that my said slave Mary should be kept continually to wait on the person of my said nephew John Lloyd Waring until she is freed, and it is my will that when the said Thomas and Mary are made free as aforesaid, my said executors shall pay to each of them the sum of twenty pounds current money, and I do also direct that all my wearing apparel be given to my said slave Mary as soon as my will is proved."

James Akin of St. Thomas Berkeley Parish directed his executors thusly:

"I hereby emancipate and manumize my Mulatto or Mustee girl Sarah(?) & my mulatto or mustee boys Billey & Tom to all intents and purpose, to be out to such trade as they are best qualified and adapted for till they attain the state of woman and manhood in the meantime to be comfortably cloathed and fed out of the income of my estate at which period I give devise and bequeath unto each of them one thousand pounds current money of this state."³²

Akin was not unique in including these types of provisos in his bequest. Planter Joseph Ash of St Paul's Parish stated in 1790 that:

"I give and bequeath unto my four Negroes or slaves, severally named Toby (a man), Hector (a man), Tamar (a woman) and Bellah (a woman) their and each of their respective freedom and liberty from all and manner of further service or duty.

³² Will of James Akin, SC Wills, 1670-1980, Year: 1781



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³¹ Will of Elizabeth Akin, SC Wills, 1670-1980, Year 1775

He also willed that he "give and devise to the said Bella and heirs forever the following slaves viz. a Negro girl called Tenia, the daughter of a wench called Sylvia and a Negro girl called Doll, the daughter of a wench called Molly; I give and devise to my slave Colonel, a mulatto fellow, the son of Auber, his freedom when he arrives at the age of thirty years; I give and devise to my slave Bacchus the son of a wench named Murria his freedom when he arrives at the age of forty years; I give and devise to the following slaves viz. Jupiter, Isaac & Peter their freedom."³³

In the will of Ann Beresford, she stated that:

"I give and bequeath to my servant Doll in consequence of her faithful service, her freedom, provided my husband Richard Beresford has no objection, then it is my desire that she serves no other person but himself"³⁴

Mariner George Dick directed his executors to free his:

"servant" woman Jenny, a mulatto, provide her with an allowance and housing and, "pay to Jenny Dick, a free Negro who now lives with me as my servant &to whom I gave her freedom such allowance for her support from time to time, as their discretion shall think fit out of my estate during the time of her natural life, and I hereby bequeath unto her the use & occupation of my house or tenement in Chalmers Alley, now in the possession of Mr. Jonathan Clark, Silversmith, rent free during the said natural life." 35

He also his directed his executors to:

"take my son alexander Dick, son of the aforementioned Jenny Dick under their particular care & direction & maintain & support him giving him a proper & suitable education & at the age of fourteen years that they do bind him apprentice to a good carpenter & when my said son shall arrive at the age of twenty-one years & not before that they do deliver over to him all the residue of my estate both real & personal."

Mary Ellis willed that:

"I, in consideration of her service I manumit & set free to all interest & purpose whatever and in the most ample manner, my mulatto wench Leah." ³⁷

- 33 Will of Joseph Ash, SC Wills, 1670-1980, Year 1790
- 34 Will of Ann Beresford, SC Wills, 1670-1980 1795
- 35 Will of George Dick SC Wills, 1670-1980 (1773)
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Will of Mary Ellis, SC Wills, 1670-1980 (1780)



Theodore Hillard in freeing his enslaved person Frank, also ordered his executor "not to separate children under the age 14 from their parents." 38

George Snow owned at least 20 enslaved persons. Upon his death he bequeathed 17 of them to his daughter and sons. However he directed his administrator to free three of them-Thisbee, Tulip and Mindar. To Tulip, it was directed that she be given "one hundred pounds good and lawful money for the maintenance of her yearly." Nevertheless, when considering the overall size of the black population, one might see the number of manumissions as particularly small.

Closing Statement

All too often discussions of the American Revolution begin with the opening volley of 1775 or even the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Additionally, the focus is usually on actual military encounters or American and British political and military leadership. These approaches provide only cursory attention to the impact of the Revolution on the United States' social and economic development. While many scholars note the impact of eighteenth-century Enlightenment thought, most analyses fall short of discussing its impact on ordinary people. These "ordinary" people, who might not have read the scholarly writings of Enlightenment philosophers, were still influenced by its cascading effect on the general population. These liberal ideologies impacted the lives of the common men, women and the enslaved.

However, some Carolinians juxtaposed slavery and Revolutionary ideologies. While enslavement was largely an evolutionary phenomenon in the Chesapeake area, that was not the case in South Carolina. Maintaining control of its enslaved population was challenging enough. This problem was certainly further complicated by the constant increase in the size of the free black population. In 1790, the first year for which reliable data exists, free blacks numbered 1,801. The majority of these free negroes lived in or near Charleston. A decade later the free black population had increased over 76 percent to 3,185. While a significant source of this increase was natural population growth, the constant infusion of manumitted slaves into the general population had a tremendous effect on its growth. As noted above, between 1783 and 1800, no fewer than 742 slaves were given or promised freedom.

While only moderate concern was noted in the pre-Revolutionary years, anxiety about the rapidly increasing free Negroes population would be a greater source of concern for early national South Carolinians.

- 38 Will of Thomas Gaillard
- 39 Will of George Snow 1781



In 1800, prodded by the rising discontent over the unparalleled growth of the state's free black population, the legislature passed a new, more uniform manumission law. Lawmakers reasoned that "it hath been a practice for many years past . . . to emancipate" enslaved people with "bad or depraved character or from age or infirmity, incapable of gaining their livelihood by honest means." In order to prevent this in the future, the 1800 measure required would-be manumitters to appear before a justice-freeholder court with their slaves in order to undergo an assessment of the slave's character, and his or her "ability to gain a livelihood in an honest way." The legislature carefully pointed out that this measure was not intended to interfere with manumission prescribed by pre-1800 wills.⁴⁰

Aside from the legal framework, the central focus here is manumissions as an indication of attitudes toward slavery and the Negro. Several questions relative to this statement are readily identifiable. First, what was the total or estimated scope of manumission in the Revolutionary period? Second, who received freedom and why? Were they old, young, male, female, or mulattoes? Thirdly, who were the manumitters, and what consideration led them to divest themselves of such valuable property? Finally, since many free blacks were masters themselves, what role did they play in perpetuating their own numbers.

For the most part, manumissions took one of two basic forms—immediate freedom (usually accompanied by a certificate of freedom) or delayed freedom as set forth by a provision in a will. Neither method appeared closely regulated by any legal guidelines. For this reason, there appears to have been as much variation in the nature of freedom as there was in the number of slaves acquiring freedom itself. After 1800, however, emancipation of Negroes became much more difficult, as indicated by the tremendous drop in the free black population's growth rates, i.e., from 76 percent between 1790 and 1800 to approximately 30 percent between 1800 and 1810.⁴¹

While the total number of manumissions mentioned here is somewhat large, it probably is the most accurate figure available. In many cases, wills provided for freedom after the owner's death, yet only the cooperation of surviving family members or executors could guarantee that emancipation was granted. Thus, the number of manumissions found in wills may be somewhat inflated. Another problem with establishing an accurate count is duplication, since many slaves freed in wills are also found in the miscellaneous records as having received immediate freedom. This problem is more easily overcome, however, than the former reason. In using the Miscellaneous Records and

⁴¹ Bradley, "Slave Manumission in South Carolina 1820-1860," p. 118. The free black population increased from 1,801 to 3,185 from 1790 to 1800, and from 3,185 to 4,554 from 1800 to 1810.



⁴⁰ S.C. Statutes, 7:442-443; See also, John Bradley, "Slave Manumissions in South Carolina 1820-1860" (M.A. thesis, University of South Carolina), p. 11; See also, Miscellaneous Records, volume OOO:427. John Drayton freed Carlos for 100 pounds sterling. The Justice-Freeholder Court acknowledged that Carlos was "by profession a tailor and being a mulatto satisfactory proof has been given to us that the said slave is not of low character and is capable of livelihood by honest means."

legislative papers, certificates of freedom provide reasonable proof that a manumission had taken place. In many of these cases, the manumission would be the result of a will. An absence of a certificate of freedom does not, however, mean that no emancipation occurred, since, of course, the record could simply be lost. In the case of slaves freed by action of the legislature, certificates of freedom were also provided. Many of these certificates can be found in the Miscellaneous Records. Therefore, a careful check of Miscellaneous Records, legislative papers, and wills should yield one list of manumissions with duplicates being eliminated. Finally, there is always the likelihood of slaves being freed with no records for verification. Assuming that this was the case, the 1,081 manumissions included here might very well represent the most accurate figure available. See Table 3 above for a description of conditions of manumission.

Manumissions occurred for such a variety of reasons that make accurate categorization almost impossible. Aside from the few slaves freed by the government for meritorious acts under the Negro Acts, the only legal avenue to freedom was through the private actions of individual slave owners. Through these private actions, slaves received freedom because of (a) faithful service to their masters, (b) miscegenation relationships, (c) payments, and (d) anti-slavery sentiment.

Slave owners continued to justify manumissions for the same reasons they had used prior to and during the war years. Slaves who served their owners faithfully for many years were sometimes rewarded with freedom. Many South Carolinians provided for the release of their slaves in this manner when they or their slaves had reached advanced ages. Oftentimes the manumitter would grant such freedom through a will, but in some instances, they would not trust such an action to their survivors and would grant immediate freedom to the recipient slave. The case of William Burrows typified manumission as reward for service. In his last will and testament, Burrows stated that:

"in recompense of the many services rendered me by my faithful negro slave . . . I hereby fully manumise, enfranchise, and forever set free the said negro . . . from all manner of future slavery and servitude from and immediately after my decease."

David Greene freed his slave woman, Sue, in a much less eloquent fashion, but simply "because she suckled his wife in her infancy." Julian Maroney freed Thomas for his long service and "natural affection and divers good causes and consideration." 44

⁴⁴ Miscellaneous Records, Volume MMM:529.



⁴² Harriet P. and Albert Simons, "The William Burrows House of Charleston," SCHM 70 (1969):166-167. See also, Miscellaneous Records, Volumes OO:430, 582; PP:226, 654. The wills of Elizabeth Linyard, Vincent Coronna, Thomas Cordes, and John Hier represent only a fraction of the numerous wills granting manumission because of service.

⁴³ South Carolina Wills, Volume 17:726.

Many of the slaves receiving freedom for faithful service were quite old, sick, or barely capable of caring for themselves. Indeed, one of the primary objectives of the 1800 law regulating manumission was to reduce the number of old and non-self-supporting formerly enslaved people being left as burdens on society. 45 The use of such descriptive names as "Old Jack," "Old negro woman Judy," or "faithful old trusty Caesar" are an indication that in many instances the freed person had lived past their prime of life and probably could hope to live only for a short while longer. 46 Some manumitters sought to ease the strain of survival for their emancipated negroes by providing them with additional bequests. In fact, of the 1,081 negroes freed during the period of this study, 88, or 8 percent, received some additional compensation along with their freedom. Not all of these additional bequests were the result of service. It is most likely that only a small number actually were. Nevertheless, monetary rewards, special privileges, and material gifts were sometimes awarded to the slave fortunate enough to receive freedom. Hannibal, for long years of service was granted the privilege of living on any one of his master's plantations he chose, given £15 sterling annually, plus he was to be allowed a full share of one hand in the crop, to pay nothing for rent, to receive clothes and provisions "as well as be allowed to remain on the plantation" in old age and sickness.⁴⁷ Abel and his wife, Affey, received £50 yearly for the rest of their respective lives from the estate of William Haggart. 48 In 1785, Henry Livingston bequeathed his emancipated slave, Bess, £150 sterling annually, two cows, two calves, a bed and furniture, and 50 acres of land for her "many years of service" to him. 49 In order "to prevent his becoming an encumbrance to society," John Harleston requested that his freedman, Andrew, be allowed to live on any one of his plantations he chose and be paid £100 annually.⁵⁰ James Nelson, in freeing his aged slave, Abraham, further agreed "that in case of sickness or other infirmities coming to the said Abraham that I will support him through the same, and in case of my death do recommend that my estate be charged."51 Table 4 below has a fuller view of additional bequests.

⁴⁵ John D. Duncan, "Slave Emancipation in Colonial S.C.," 66.

⁴⁶ See for example, S.C. Wills, Volume 18:300.

⁴⁷ S.C. Wills, Volume 19:190.

⁴⁸ Miscellaneous Records, Volume OO:244.

⁴⁹ S.C. Wills, Volume 23:796-797. See also, Volume 25:39-40. Bryon Foskey had made provisions for Charlotte to be freed after his death and provided her with household furniture and clothes. However, Charlotte died before gaining her freedom. Foskey, therefore, left everything to her husband, Cloudy Marand, a free black. Apparently feeling some guilt, Foskey also bequeathed to Marand a negro named Derry.

⁵⁰ Ibid., Volume 19:225-226; See also Volume 16:268, 275; 12:835; 23:574, 653; 20:418; Miscellaneous Records, Volume BBBB:109

⁵¹ Miscellaneous Records, Volume UU:245.

Table 4Enslaved Persons Receiving Additional Gifts/Compensation Upon Their Manumission

Period	Number	Bequests		
		Number	%	
1760-1775	183	24	13.1	
1776-1782	156	9	5.8	
1783-1800	742	55	7.4	
	1081	88 8.1		

According to one historian, interracial intimacy figured in more manumissions than long tenures of faithful and productive service. Indeed, according to this view, a high percentage of manumitted slaves was the product of miscegenation relationships between masters and slaves. The fact is, however, that of the more than 1,000 slaves receiving freedom between 1760 and 1800, at least 234 are described as mulattoes or of mixed race. This, as Table 5 below suggests, was 22 percent of all manumissions during that period. In addition, this percentage did not change appreciably before or after the war. In many cases, masters accepted responsibility for their mulatto offspring by providing adequately for them in their wills or at the time of their receiving freedom. As in the case of service, these provisions took the forms of money, privileges, property, or special instructions for education.

Table 5Description of Manumitted Enslaved Persons in South Carolina, 1760-1800

Period/Number		Mula	ttoes	M	en	Male	Child	Woi	men	Femal	e Child
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1760-1775	183	33	18	84	45.9	19	10.4	99	54.1	12	6.6
1775-1782	156	43	27.6	60	38.5	10	6.4	96	61.5	20	12.8
1783-1800	742	158	21.3	300	40.4	132	17.8	442	59.6	133	18
TOTAL	1081	234	21.6	444	41.0	161	14.9	637	58.9	165	15.3

52 Peter Wood, Black Majority, 100.

Joseph Wigfall, for instance, left his mulatto girl, Jeaner, 60 acres of land, a cow and heifer, and instructed his executors to "see her done justice." Joseph Ash bequeathed to Bella two slaves of her own; and Elizabeth Jetmi left to her mulatto slave, William, one negro woman named Lucy, with her issue, and one negro boy, Denboe. Sue, a mulatto slave of Alexander Petre, received £100 upon gaining her freedom. So John Swint's mulatto slave, Charlotte, was bequeathed 250 acres of land near the Santee River when she was emancipated. Finally, Elizabeth Akin gave John Gough, a mulatto male, £30 to buy tools so that he might be "able to earn a livelihood."

Among the most unusual provisions of manumission papers were the many requests that the freed negro be educated. William Smith freed his two mulatto sons, James and William, and ordered his executor to see that they were "put to school and decently educated and instructed in some mechanical trade in one of the United States of America to the northward." Their education funds were to be paid directly to the boys or their heirs. Smith acknowledged that he had fathered the children by his slave woman, Phillis. James Paul Cordes requested that executors put his mulatto boy, Joe, in school at the "expense and charge" of his estate until he reached the age of 14. Afterward, Joe was to be bound out to the carpentry trade until age 21, at which time he was to be manumitted. Samuel Miller, a Charleston physician, requested that his mulatto slave, Venus, be bound to a manteau maker at age 12, taught to read, and be freed at age 14.

Many of the mulatto slaves receiving manumissions were relatively young. This would seem to further indicate some kinship-type relation. Joe, the enslaved mulatto of Samuel Palak, was freed at age 11.61 Thomas Singleton freed Dolly at age 4.62 Roger Smith freed Robert at age 7.63 Six-year-old Maria was emancipated by William Charles Wells in 1782.64 Nicholas Fanneau freed

- 55 S.C. Wills, Volume 11:308.
- 56 S.C. Wills, Volume 19:148.
- 57 Miscellaneous Records, Volume MM:7.
- 58 S.C. Wills, Volume 26:357-358.
- 59 S.C. Wills, Volume 18:204. Cordes also requested that when Joe became fourteen his executor purchase another slave to be bound to the carpentry trade with Joe. Upon reaching twenty-one, the salve was to become Joe's property.
- 60 Miscellaneous Records, Volume SS:307. See also, S.C. Wills, Volume 24:1038. Wesley Smith asked that Rose be taught some skill, schooled so as to be able to "read well the bible and write a hand to be understood." Adam Daniel provided for his charges thusly: "I do also will and order that my mulatto boy called John, son to the above named wench Molly, be put to school and educated and when at a proper age to be bound out (as my executor shall think proper) to trade as may be most beneficial for him until he attains the age of twenty-one years at which time I do will and order that my executors do pay unto the said boy John, 700 pounds currency out of the profit of my estate and further that the said boy, John, be then freed and forever discharged from slavery." Cato, another mulatto, received the same education but got £500.
- 61 Miscellaneous Records, Volume VV:373-374.
- 62 Ibid., 421.
- 63 Miscellaneous Records, Volume TT:178.
- 64 Ibid., 201.



⁵³ Miscellaneous Records, Volume QQQ:153-154. The will was nonetheless contested.

⁵⁴ S.C. Wills, Volume 23:559-710; Miscellaneous Records, Volume MM:82. Ash also gave another of his freed slaves, Colonel, two slaves; S.C. Wills, Volume 109:117. James Stobo also gave his manumitted mulatto named Betty a slave woman of her own.

Margueritte at age 7 and Mare Mate' at 9.65 And William Ogilvy freed Tonette and her two-year-old mulatto son, Billy, in 1785.66 Even when no specific age is given, the use of phrases such as "my mulatto girl," "boy" or "mulatto child" (or children) suggests that the recipient was not an adult.67

As a rare example of interracial relationships as a pretext for emancipation, the 1774 manumission of Maria, Amey and Jack stands out. When it was learned by the children of Benjamin Williamson that the three slaves mentioned above were the progeny of their father and one of his enslaved women, they drew up a four-part agreement releasing the Negroes from enslavement. Williamson's white children argued that since there was "reason to believe" that Maria, Amey, and Jack were their father's children, they were "unwilling that the said children should continue in a state of slavery ...

They therefore agreed amongst themselves that they shall be freed and discharged from slavery." 68

There is no doubt, then, that interracial intimacy was a major factor in late eighteenth-century manumissions in South Carolina.

As **Table 6** below indicates, nearly three of every 10 manumitted Blacks paid for their freedom. This is revealed by clauses in Certificates of Freedom which specified the reason for emancipation. When no payment was involved, the manumitter simply states, "for reason of service" or "good will" or "consideration." However, when a payment was made, the record clearly stated that emancipation was the result of some form of payment. Usually, the amount paid was very small, ranging from five shillings to £10. Actually, when the payment was this small, it amounted to little more than a legal fee for drawing up the necessary papers. Sometimes the emancipated slave paid this fee. In other instances, the fee was paid for him. In either instance, however, the manumitting master considered it to be a payment for freedom. When the amount of money was considerably larger, there is no doubt that it was considered to be compensation for freedom. Thus, Betty purchased her freedom from John Spied for £2,000 currency in 1778. According to Spied, it "was her own money" and his "name was only made use of for her benefit." 69 Jack purchased his freedom from William McClure for £150 sterling. Jehu Jones purchased his freedom from Christopher Rogers of Charleston for £150 sterling "in hand well and truly paid at or before the sealing and delivery of these presents and for divers other good causes and considerations me thereunto especially moving." Mary Clodner

⁶⁵ Ibid., 212, 311.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 377. Sometimes the freed slave was too young to care for himself. For instance, Magadene was a mere seven months old when William Bell freed her in 1798.

⁶⁷ See for example, Miscellaneous Records, Volume MMM:119, 282; QQQ:437.

⁶⁸ Miscellaneous Records, Volume WW:77-79. See also, WW:80. Nancy, another mulatto slave, was similarly freed when it was learned that Williamson was her father also.

⁶⁹ Miscellaneous Records, Volume RR:572.

⁷⁰ Ibid., Volume LLL:351,

⁷¹ Miscellaneous Records, Volume HHH, 442-3

released Telemagne for \$600.⁷² James purchased his freedom from Ann Yarbrough for £60 pounds sterling, paid in three payments of £20, £30, and £10.⁷³ Leander Fairchild, a rather prominent mustee butcher, purchased his freedom from Jacob Williamson in 1770. According to Williamson, Fairchild delivered to him "from time to-time monies which he had by his great care, diligence and industry in business, trade or occupation as a butcher for several years past go together and earned."⁷⁴ Sometimes, already freed blacks would purchase the freedom of family members. Such was the case of Andrew, who purchased his wife, Maria, from James Rutledge in 1800 for \$100.⁷⁵

 Table 6

 Enslaved Persons Who Purchased Their Freedom

PERIOD	TOTAL NUMBER OF MANUMISSIONS	PAYMENTS		
		Number	%	
1760-1775	183	40	21.8	
1775-1782	156	40	25.6	
1783-1800	742	230	31	
TOTALS	1081	310	28.7	

There was rarely a consensus toward slavery in South Carolina before or after the Revolutionary War. This idea has already been previously discussed. With this in mind, there is nothing shocking about the fact that sometimes slaves were emancipated because their owner held strong anti-slavery sentiments. John Francis LeHova, in emancipating Arsenne, stated that he was making her "as free as the laws of God, nature and humanity intended she should be."⁷⁶ In freeing his 16 slaves, Thomas Wadsworth felt that he was "no more than complying with the common dictates of humanity" when he "put them into that state which the common parent of mankind placed all children in which they came from His divinely benevolent hands." To safeguard their freedom, Wadsworth put them in "the special care of the Society of Friends" (Quakers) who were then settled on Bush River.⁷⁷

⁷² Ibid., Volume MMM:427.

⁷³ Ibid., Volume TT:173.

⁷⁴ Ibid., Volume OO:385.

⁷⁵ Ibid., Volume MMM:458.

⁷⁶ Ibid., Volume HHH:239.

⁷⁷ Ibid., Volume MMM:305.

This anti-slavery sentiment was probably stronger after the Revolution than before it. There were certainly more manumissions as a percentage of the black population. There is no doubt that some of the Revolutionary ideologies, such as natural rights, moved some masters to free their chattel. Erasmus Gill, for instance, prefaced his certificate of freedom by maintaining that he was "fully persuaded that freedom is the natural right of all men agreeable to the Bill of Rights Declaration upon which I conceive our present happy constitution is established." Afterward, Gill set free his four-year-old slave, William. Earlier he had freed William's mother, Sally.⁷⁸

Any attempts to generalize about masters who freed slaves must be done with caution. This is especially true since in More than one-fourth of the documents of manumission (28 percent), the manumitter's status was omitted. Nevertheless, of the 596 persons included in this study, 429 can be classified as a planter, merchant, artisan, professional or free black. Planters comprised the single largest category of manumitters. This, of course, was due to the fact that they also comprised the single largest occupational group in South Carolina.

After the war, planters continued as the largest category of manumitters, even though their number as a percentage of all manumitters declined from 30.1 percent to 27 percent. See Tables 7, 8 and 9 below. Perhaps the real explanation for this slight decline can be found in the loss by some planters of slaves who escaped to the British. Planters would be less inclined to free enslaved people when they were an already scarce commodity. Merchants represented 20 percent of all manumitters before the war, and 21 percent afterward. Merchants became increasingly less dependent on enslaved labor, especially in the sometimes economically depressed years between 1783 and 1795. Thus, it can be stated that merchants, because of the urban nature of their livelihood, were expressing greater sympathy with Revolutionary ideals. In addition, because of their firsthand exposure to the American Revolutionary movement, these urban dwellers were more exposed to liberal sentiments emanating from Europe. Artisans (carpenters, coopers, wheelwrights, etc.) and professionals (doctors, lawyers, ministers, etc.) represented relatively small portions of all manumitters. Probably due to the singular nature of their work, these occupations required few workers. Even in instances where artisans and professionals did own slaves, a closeness of sorts probably evolved which made the master more sympathetic to the enslaved person's desire for freedom. Many of the emancipators were widows—at least 8 percent of the total. As might be suspected, a significant portion of these widowed manumitters was carrying out the desires of deceased husbands. However, some made their own decision to emancipate their slaves.

⁷⁹ Included in the "other" category were mariners of which there were only four.



⁷⁸ Ibid., Volume XX:20-21.

Table 7 Socioeconomic Status of Manumitters, 1760-1775

Livelihood/Status	Number	Percentage
Planter	34	30.1
Merchant	23	20
Artisan	3	2.7
Professional	15	13.3
Free Black	8	7.1
Unknown	30	27

Table 8 Socioeconomic Status of Manumitters, 1776-1782

Livelihood/Status	Number	Percentage
Planter	32	30.5
Merchant	30	28.6
Artisan	3	3.0
Professional	17	16.2
Free Black	6	5.7
Unknown	17	16.2

Table 9Socioeconomic Status of Manumitters, 1760-1775

Livelihood/Status	Number	Percentage
Planter	104	27
Merchant	79	21
Artisan	24	6.3
Professional	33	8.6
Free Black	22	5.7
Unknown	120	31.4

Note: These figures do not include three manumitters who freed slaves within two separate time periods. They were Joseph Creighton, who freed slaves in 1769, 1781, and 1784; Richard Lambton who freed slaves in 1774 and 1777; and Patrick McDonnell, who freed slaves in 1779 and 1797.

Several slave owners demonstrated peculiar sentimentality toward their emancipated slaves. For instance, Thomas Wadsworth gave very specific directions to his executors. After making clear his bequest to his wife and mother, he stated:

"My executors are directed to sell and dispose of all my personal estate (Negroes excepted, all of whom that I may die possessed of I have emancipated and set free so that they are not to be considered or appraised as any part of my estate)And whereas I have been induced from motives of humanity to set free and emancipate, all the Negro slaves that have been entrusted to my care, or that I may die possessed of, I do hereby leave them under the special care and direction of the Society of Quakers or Friends residing on Bush River, Newberry County, in the State of South Carolina, and I do hereby give that Society full and complete authority to receive from my executor titles for as much land, as when divided and laid of by the Society, as will amount to fifty acres for each of my said slaves as aforesaid, said land, to be chosen by said Society out of any lands that shall be mine at the time of my decease.... and I do further give and bequeath to each of my said slaves so as to be emancipated as aforesaid, one good milk cow and a sow or the value thereof in other stock or farming utensils, to be delivered to them by my executors when set free, and which it is my wish might take place as soon after my death as the necessary and requisite arrangements for

that purpose can be made or at any rate within six months thereafter."80

Wadsworth also made special provisions for his slaves Silvey and Archibald:

"And I hereby give and bequeath to a mulatto free girl named Silvey and a mulatto free boy named Archibald, both of whom make part of my family at this time, the same to each of them, as I have given to my Negro slaves, as above mentioned, or the value thereof."81

In his will, John Swint "bequeath[ed] Charlotte the Mulatto girl, her freedom and her issue & two hundred & fifty acres of land between Santee & the train of four hole."82

James Akin's will stated that he:

"Emancipated and manumize my mullatto or mustee girl Suey & my mullato or mustee boys Billey & Tom to all intents and purpose, to be put out to such trades as they are best qualified and adapted for, till they attain the state of woman and manhood, in the meantime to be comfortably clothed and fed out of the income of my estate at which period I give devise and bequeath unto each of them one thousand pounds current money of this estate." 83

Free blacks comprised another clearly identifiable group of manumitters. Their proportion of all emancipators did not change significantly throughout the Revolutionary period (7.1 percent to 5.7 percent), but the nature of their grants of freedom is significant in understanding the growth and development of South Carolina's free black society. For instance, most manumissions by free blacks involved family members. Cloudy Marand freed his mulatto mustee son, Cloudy, in 1793. Bess Brown freed Bobby, her son, in 1798, and Leander Fairchild freed Nancy, his daughter and his grandson, in 1790. In some of these cases, the manumission involved a recent purchase with the intent to free. Thomas Skene purchased his daughter, Molly, from Joe Colcock and freed her. Sarah Stoutenburgh bought her daughter, Lydia, from Thomas Lord and manumitted her. At least part of the time money was an incentive to manumit. Such was certainly true in the manumission of Evans and Cato. Evans, a slave belonging to Susannah Hepburn, was freed after he paid her £75 sterling. And Cato was freed by Scipio Guignard for the sum of 37 guineas.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 252.



⁸⁰ Will of Thomas Wadsworth, September 14, 1799 Miscellaneous Records

⁸¹ Ibidem. Wadsworth also directed his executors to use part of the value of his estate to establish a "free school for poor children" living in the backcountry "for the education of their children." He further opined "that a republican form of government is the best adapted to happiness of man, it is my wish that the children so to be educated, may be well grounded in such principles."

⁸² Will of John Swint, April 27, 1781

⁸³ Will of James Akin, March 30, 1780

⁸⁴ Miscellaneous Records, Volumes CCC:264; SS:322; ZZ:255.

⁸⁵ Ibid., Volume BBB:9.

⁸⁶ Ibid., Volume CCC:448.

⁸⁷ Ibid., Volume III:34.

Manumitted blacks appeared to continue to identify with their enslaved counterparts, even beyond the obvious ties of kinship. Leander Fairchild, who had purchased his freedom in 1770, not only freed members of his family through purchases, but also allowed for the freedom of at least five other slaves. In 1786, Fairchild allowed his slave, Robin, to buy his freedom for £45 sterling. Five years later, he freed George in his will and made provisions for George to purchase the freedom of his wife and children. Sampson, who had been freed by the legislature, secured the freedom of his daughter, Juba, in 1782. Thirteen years later, Juba, in turn, manumitted her male slave, Prince. Acts of this nature probably indicate that free blacks seldom forgot their fellow blacks and actually worked to improve their lot.

Emancipation found many freedmen in a state only slightly better than enslavement. There is considerable evidence to suggest that the lot of some free blacks was perhaps little better than that of enslaved people. Though legally or technically "free," emancipated blacks were still treated as if they were slaves. They could not testify against whites in courts, nor could they sue for a redress of grievance against whites. In addition, the basic right of a trial by a jury composed of one's peers was denied free blacks since they were tried in the justice-freeholder courts. 91 A 1791 petition to the South Carolina General Assembly by several free blacks demonstrates the frustration sensed by many blacks when confronting the judicial system:

Your memorialists are deprived of the rights and privileges of citizens by not having it in their power to give testimony on oath in prosecution in behalf of the state from which cause many culprits have escaped the punishment due to their atrocious crimes, nor can they give their testimony in recovering debts due to them, or in establishing agreements made by them within the meaning of the statutes of frauds and perjuries in force in this state, except in cases where persons of color are concerned . . . they are debarred of the rights of free citizens by being subject to a trial without the benefit of a jury and prosecution by testimony of slaves without oath by which they are placed on the same footing. ⁹²

The petitioners, Thomas Cole, Peter Bassnett, and Matthew Webb further maintained that they were firmly supporting the government by "cheerfully paying their taxes" and were "ready and willing to take and subscribe to such oath of allegiance" as the Assembly would prescribe. The free negroes cautiously assured the Assembly that they "do not presume to hope that they shall be put on an equal footing with the free white citizens of the state in general." The petition was rejected, but

⁹³ Ibid.



⁸⁹ Ibid., Volume WW:340; S.C. Wills, Volume 24:975.

⁹⁰ Ibid., Volumes UU:315; FFF:289.

⁹¹ S.C. Statutes, 7:407.

⁹² Herbert Aptheker, "Eighteenth Century Petitions of South Carolina Negroes," Journal of Negro History, 31 (1946):98-99.

the complaints certainly go a long way toward demonstrating the plight of some free blacks.

Free blacks were also required to wear badges of identification when traveling, purchase licenses in order to practice certain trades, and pay an annual poll or capitation tax. The identification badges were intended to distinguish free blacks from slaves, as well as limit the movement of the former group. Free blacks who failed to properly display the identification badges could be fined £3. This law was initially suggested by the Charleston Grand Jury in 1769, but did not become law until 1783. The trade tax was probably designed to ease the competition between free blacks and whites. As early as 1760, the Charleston Grand Jury protested that negro bakers were "allowed to sell bread, cakes and many other articles which prevents poor white people from getting a livelihood by such employment." In 1795, the Charleston Grand Jury voiced the grievance of mechanics that blacks were being "allowed to carry on various handicraft trade on their own account to the great prejudice of the poor mechanics of this city." The amount of this tax varied from five to forty shillings. Given the financial strains under which many free negroes lived, there is no doubt that some were discouraged from entering certain trades because of those taxes.

The poll or capitation tax was probably the most serious economic threat to free blacks since it affected so many of them. South Carolina levied its first head tax on white males between the ages of 21 and 60 in 1737. In 1760, the tax was switched to free blacks between the ages of 10 and 60. Not only was the age range expanded, but women were also included.

The amount was 35 shillings per head annually. In 1785, the taxable group was narrowed to all free blacks between the ages of 16 and 50, and the amount was reduced to nine shillings, four pence annually. Free negroes paying any other forms of taxes were exempted. In 1787, all free blacks, regardless of other taxes paid, were required to pay the poll tax. This measure remained in effect until 1809. The amount varied from a low of two shillings, eleven pence in 1790 to a high of \$2 in 1792.

In 1791, the financial burdens of free negroes were worsened when an additional tax was levied on them. This measure added 25 cents per head to all free negroes from 1791 to 1801. The hardship to financially troubled free negroes is evidenced by the petition of twenty-three Camden blacks:

Your petitioners besides paying a tax for their lands and other taxable property are made liable and have accordingly paid the sum of two dollars per head for themselves—the same

⁹⁷ Herbert Aptheker, "South Carolina Poll Tax, 1737-1895," Journal of Negro History, 31 (1946):132-133.



⁹⁴ General Session Journal, p. 26: The Grand Jury made the same recommendation in 1770 and 1774; Ibid., 42-43; See also, Lelia Sellers, Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934), 102.

 $^{\,}$ 95 $\,$ SCG, November 1, 1760; See also, General Sessions Journal, 42-43.

⁹⁶ General Assembly Grand Jury Presentments, 1795.

sum per head for their wives—and the same per head for each of their children above sixteen years of age....

That your petitioners are generally a poor lowly people; have frequently large families to maintain; and find it exceeding difficult and distressing to support the same and answer the large demands of the public... In consequence of which they conceive their situation in life but a small remove from slavery; that they are likely to suffer continued inconvenience and disadvantages; and in the end to be reduced to poverty and want itself.⁹⁸

A similar petition was submitted shortly thereafter containing the names of 34 free blacks and 44 white supporters. It apparently mattered little, for no change in the state's tax structure regarding free blacks was made prior to 1809. Despite the obvious double standards in the law, some free blacks were able to enjoy standards of living that even exceeded those of some whites. William Roper and Thomas Cole, bricklayers, amassed small fortunes in their own right. Roper owned several slaves, some silver and a house on Meeting Street in Charleston. Cole owned three slaves and two houses. George Bedon, a carpenter, claimed an estate consisting of several houses and lots throughout Charleston. The successful enterprises of Leander Fairchild, butcher, and Joseph Creighton, hairdresser, give further testimony to the well-being of some free blacks. On the successful enterprise of some free blacks.

Many free blacks probably found maintaining themselves much easier because of gifts left to them by their former masters, especially those calling for annual payments of money. Since the law placed no restriction on education for free blacks, many masters assured the future well-being of emancipated blacks by having them trained in some trade.¹⁰²

Nevertheless, the prospect of freedom offered only a slight improvement of conditions for most blacks, in spite of the examples maintained above. Many found mere survival to be difficult. Yet, they still encountered difficulty in improving their situation because of the obvious fear that they might spread insurrectionary ideas. They were confronted with segregation in public institutions, inequality before the court, social ostracism and a lack of equal opportunity for education. 103

The few blacks who were able to make headway in the business and trade world were truly the

¹⁰³ Marina Wikramanayake, A World in Shadow, The Free Black in Antebellum South Carolina (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), 48-49.



⁹⁸ Ibid., 135.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 136.

¹⁰⁰ George Terry, "The Legal and Economic Status of Free Negroes in South Carolina 1775-1800," (Seminar paper, University of South Carolina, 1975), 13-14.

¹⁰¹ Miscellaneous Records, Volumes RR:301; SS:291; WW:340; XX:566; S.C. Wills, Volume 24:301, 975. Both Fairchild and Creighton amassed considerable estates, and both freed many of their slaves. Fairchild freed at least twenty over a five-year period, and Creighton free six slaves between 1769 and 1788.

¹⁰² Since these bequests have already been discussed above, there is no attempt to discuss them here.

exception. Even these exceptional free blacks were subjected to the same legal controls and social status of other free blacks and indeed slaves. Perhaps, John Hope Franklin's term "quasi-free" is the most appropriate description of South Carolina's free Negro population, i.e., their condition was probably only slightly better than slaves, but markedly worse than whites. 104

As **Table 10** illustrates, most manumissions occurred in the coastal parishes, particularly those closest to Charleston. It has already been shown that it was in the coastal areas that most of the enslaved population lived, so the fact that most manumissions occurred there does not come as any real surprise. Charleston, for instance, was consistently listed as the place of manumission for nearly 60 percent of all freed blacks. Since many manumitted blacks were dependent on white patrons for their livelihood, residing in Charleston or at least near town was vital. Indeed, many manumitters probably encouraged their freed slaves to seek their own well-being in Charleston. This fact probably accounts for the large number of free blacks who described themselves as butchers, tailors or seamstresses.¹⁰⁵

Table 10Slave Manumission by Parish, 1760-1800

Parish	1760-1775		1776-1782		1783-1800	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Charleston	106	57.9	103	660	432	58.0
St. Helena	10	5.4	1	.6	1	.13
St. John, Berkeley	9	4.9	2	1.3	2	.13
Christ Church	7	3.8	2	1.3	11	1.5
St. George	6	3.2	-	-	5	.6
St. James, Goose Creek	7	3.8	1	.6	13	1.8
St. Paul	4	2,1	1	.6	11	1.5
Prince William	4	2.1	-	-	4	.5

¹⁰⁴ John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), 214-241. 105 See for example, Miscellaneous Records, Volumes OOO: 427; UU: 427; WW: 340.



St. Thomas	3	1.6	3	1.9	9	1.2
St. John, Colleton	3	1.6	3	1.9	43	23.5
St. Stephen	2	1.1	1	.6	2	.26
St. Bartholomew	1	.5	1	.6	8	1.1
St. Andrew	1	15	-	-	3	.4

If manumissions are any indication, some South Carolinians demonstrated attitudes which, at least, were hostile to slavery. Some of these manumissions clearly indicated anti-slavery sentiment. Others simply demonstrated feelings of guilt, expressions of thanks for service or acknowledgment of individual ties. But for whatever the reason, the constant growth of the province's free black population complicated the problem of regulating all blacks. New measures were constantly being considered to enforce proper manumission procedure, to regulate free blacks and whites and to increase restraint on an already unruly slave population that quite often challenged the restrictions imposed on them by masters and the law.

As stated earlier. South Carolinians were not immune to the liberal ideologies that permeated Revolutionary America. Throughout the British mainland colonies, the enslavement of human beings was called into question. Many Americans embraced the liberal ideologies of the natural rights of man to be free of oppression, to the pursuit of happiness, individual freedoms, the equality of man, etc. While these "radical" concepts were more pervasive in the New England and mid-Atlantic colonies and subsequent states, their impact was certainly felt in the southern slaveholding states. Whether the significant increase in manumissions in South Carolina can be attributed Enlightenment thinking is debatable. However, these is evidence in public and private records from the period that points to the fact that it had an impact.

APPENDIX A

A Profile of the Manumitted Enslaved and the Manumitters, 1760-1800

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Abram	Male	Mulatto	William Bull, Lt. Governor	1760
Julip	Female	Mustee	George Snow, Planter	1760
Hannah	Female	Mulatto	George Snow, Planter	1760
Phillippy	Female	Unknown	Darby Pendergrass	1760
Betty	Female	Unknown	Matthew Daniel, Free Negro	1760
Matt	Male	Unknown	Matthew Daniel, Free Negro	1760
Quash	Male	Unknown	Matthew Daniel, Free Negro	1760
Betty	Female Child	Unknown	Matthew Daniel, Free Negro	1760
Betty	Female	Unknown	Isabell French	1760
Cuffy	Male	Unknown	Christopher Easton, Merchant	1760
Thomas	Male	Unknown	Elizabeth Akin, Spinster	1762
Mary	Female	Unknown	Elizabeth Akin, Spinster	1762
Betty	Female	Mulatto	Arthur Forrest	1762
York	Male	Unknown	Mary Hesket (George), Widow, Shopkeeper	1762
Courage	Male	Unknown	Mary Hesket (George), Widow, Shopkeeper	1762
Lady	Female	Unknown	Mary Hesket (George), Widow, Shopkeeper	1762

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Devonshire	Male	Unknown	Mary Hesket (George), Widow, Shopkeeper	1762
Toney	Male	Unknown	Mary Hesket (George), Widow, Shopkeeper	1762
Will	Male	Unknown	Mary Hesket (George), Widow, Shopkeeper	1762
Venture	Male	Unknown	Mary Hesket (George), Widow, Shopkeeper	1762
Jack	Male	Unknown	Mary Hesket (George), Widow, Shopkeeper	1762
Jane	Female	Child	Jane Massey (Phillip), Widow	1762
Rebecca	Female	Unknown	Josiah Higgin	1762
Rebecca's Child	Female Child	Unknown	Josiah Higgin	1762
Rebecca's Child	Male Child	Unknown	Josiah Higgin	1762
Bevis	Female	Unknown	Benjamin Steed	1762
Jeannie	Female	Unknown	Daniel Clements	1762
Nanny	Female	Unknown	John Mitchell, Free Negro	1763
John Gough	Male	Mulatto	Elizabeth Akin, Spinster	1763
Ruben	Female	Unknown	Unknown	1763
Ruth	Female	Unknown	Benjamin Smith	1763
Tom	Male	Unknown	Benjamin Smith	1763
Tom	Male Child	Unknown	Thomas Cole, Free Negro	1763
Ruth	Female	Unknown	Thomas Cole, Free Negro	1763



Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Phoebe	Female	Unknown	William Mazyck	1763
Prince	Male	Unknown	Thomas Bolton	1763
Marbury	Male	Unknown	Thomas Bolton	1763
Sary	Female	Unknown	Daniel Beale	1763
Jeany	Female	Unknown	John Lambert, Free Negro	1763
Moll	Female	Unknown	Jane Massey (Phillip)	1764
Tub	Male	Unknown	Mary Fooshe	1764
Binah	Female	Unknown	Mary Fooshe	1764
Caesar	Male	Unknown	George Norman, Planter	1764
Moll	Female	Unknown	Benjamin Howes, Painter	1764
William Phillips	Male	Mulatto	Elizabeth Jetmi(?), Widow	1764
Pat	Female	Unknown	Robert Clemmons, Planter	1764
Jack	Male	Unknown	Benjamin Guerard, Merchant	1764
Dinah	Female	Unknown	Jacob Martin, Doctor	1764
Tub	Male	Unknown	Jacob Martin, Doctor	1764
Phillis	Female	Unknown	Daniel Ross, Planter	1765
Doll	Female	Unknown	David Brown, Shipwright	1765
Jenny	Female	Unknown	George Dick, Mariner	1765
Jenny's Child	Unknown	Unknown	George Dick, Mariner	1765
Jenny's child	Unknown	Unknown	George Dick, Mariner	1765

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Adam	Male	Unknown	William G Freeman, Merchant	1765
Hercules	Male	Unknown	Sara Greenland, Widow	1765
Betty	Female	Unknown	Benjamin Clifford, Mariner	1765
Mary Ann	Female	Unknown	Silva (Thomas) Winstanley	1765
Phillis	Female	Unknown	Andrew Robertson, Free Negro	1765
Toby	Male	Unknown	Joseph Ash, Planter	1765
Hector	Male	Unknown	Joseph Ash, Planter	1765
Tamar	Female	Unknown	Joseph Ash, Planter	1765
Bellah	Female Child	Unknown	Joseph Ash, Planter	1765
Rose	Female	Unknown	Isaac Chinners, Planter	1765
Bina	Female	Unknown	Charles Faucheraud, Planter	1765
Sally	Mulatto	Unknown	Charles Faucheraud, Planter	1765
Phebe	Female	Unknown	Richard Hazzard	1765
Catherine	Female Child	Mustee	Sophia Fesch (Andrew) Widow	1765
John	Male	Unknown	Adam Daniell, Planter	1766
Mary	Female	Unknown	Adam Daniell, Planter	1766
Cato	Male	Unknown	Adam Daniell, Planter	1766
Thomas	Male	Unknown	Jullian Maroney, Joiner	1766
Isabella	Female	Unknown	John Snelling, Merchant	1767
Lucy	Female	Unknown	Elijah Harlee, Planter	1767

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Daniel	Male	Unknown	Andrew Dereaux, Planter	1767
Prince	Male	Unknown	Andrew Dereaux, Planter	1767
Judith	Female	Mestizo	Andrew Dereaux, Planter	1767
Maria	Female	Unknown	William Mazyck, Merchant	1767
Dantry	Male	Unknown	Sarah Porter, Widow	1767
Matam	Female	Unknown	Robert Clemmons, Planter	1768
Nancy	Female	Mulatto	Elizabeth Bell (William), Widow	1768
Jacob	Male Child	Unknown	Francis McCarton, Merchant	1768
Celia	Female	Mulatto	Daniel Bourget, Planter	1768
Phillis	Female Child	Mulatto	Daniel Bourget, Planter	1768
Bob	Male Child	Unknown	Daniel Bourget, Planter	1768
Billy	Male Child	Unknown	Daniel Bourget, Planter	1768
Moses	Male	Unknown	Daniel Bourget, Planter	1768
Patt	Female	Mulatto	Jonathan Drake, Planter	1768
Molly	Female	Mulatto	Jonathan Drake, Planter	1768
Phillis	Female	Unknown	Benjamin Smith, Merchant	1768
Jack	Male	Unknown	Hanna Poole	1768
Carolinas	Male	Unknown	Elizabeth Fickling (Jeremiah)	1768
Sue	Female Child	Mulatto	Alexander Pitue, Silversmith	1768
Jack Thorpe	Male	Mulatto	Richard Gough, Planter	1769

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Septuahesima(?)	Female	Unknown	Matthew Hardy, Surgeon	1769
James	Male	Unknown	Joseph Creighton, Free Negro	1769
Abil	Female	Unknown	William Hoggatt, Merchant	1770
Affey	Female	Unknown	William Hoggatt, Merchant	1770
Patrick	Male	Unknown	Catherine Craft (hildermas Widow)	1770
Leander	Male	Unknown	Jacob Williamson	1770
Peter	Male	Unknown	Elizabeth Lingard, Spinster	1770
Molly	Female	Unknown	Vincent Coronna	1770
Sophy	Female	Unknown	Jean Ferns, Widow	1770
Hagor	Female	Unknown	Josiah Tattnall	1770
Sam	Male	Unknown	John Morral	1770
Nanny	Female	Unknown	Lewis Reeve, Planter	1771
Sabinah	Female	Unknown	John Cattell, Planter	1771
Bobby Brown	Male	Unknown	Bess Brown, Free Negro	1771
Cloe	Female	Unknown	Jacob Valk, Merchant	1771
Beck	Female	Mulatto	Benjamin Mazyck, Planter	1772
Jacob	Male	Mulatto	Benjamin Mazyck, Planter	1772
Nancy	Female	Mulatto	Benjamin Mazyck, Planter	1772
Catherine	Female	Unknown	Sarah Edmonds (James), Widow (Minister)	1772
Phillis	Female	Mustee	Sarah Edmonds (James), Widow (Minister)	1772

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Joe	Male	Unknown	Anne Videau (Henry), Widow	1772
Diana	Female	Unknown	Anne Videau (Henry), Widow	1772
Sambo	Male	Unknown	John Upham	1772
Flora	Female	Unknown	Susannah Morrill	1772
Binah	Female	Unknown	Thomas Corker, Merchant	1772
Cleopatra	Female	Unknown	Phillip Meyer, Sugar Baker	1772
Jane	Female	Unknown	Peter Manigault	1772
Caesar	Male	Unknown	William Glen, Merchant	1772
Moll	Female	Mulatto	Peter Manigault	1773
Isaac	Male Child	Mulatto	Peter Manigault	1773
Venus	Female Child	Mulatto	Peter Manigault	1773
Bess	Female	Unknown	James Hederson	1773
Jerry	Male	Mestizo	Josiah Cantey, Planter	1773
Sandey	Male	Unknown	William Day, Planter	1773
Glascow	Male	Unknown	Rebecah Singleton (Benjamin), Widow (Planter)	1773
Norse	Male	Unknown	Alexander Perroneau, Merchant	1773
Joan	Female	Unknown	Alexander Perroneau, Merchant	1773
Pompey	Male	Unknown	Alexander Perroneau, Jr., Planter	1773
Butler	Male	Unknown	Benjamin Wigfall, Planter	1773
Joe Johnson	Male	Unknown	Alexander Stewart, Wine Cooper	1773



Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Fryday	Male	Unknown	George Flagg, Painter	1773
Bristol	Male	Unknown	Sabine Ellis (William) Widow (Merchant)	1773
Sarah	Female	Mestizo	John Herr, Planter	1773
Dick	Male	Unknown	John Boone, Planter	1773
Henrietta	Female	Unknown	Joseph Creighton, Free Negro	1773
Jane	Female	Unknown	Joseph Creighton, Free Negro	1773
Maria	Female	Unknown	Benjamin Williamson, Planter	1774
Amey	Female	Unknown	Benjamin Williamson, Planter	1774
Nancy	Female	Unknown	William Williamson, Planter	1774
Jack	Male	Unknown	Benjamin Williamson, Planter	1774
Somerset	Male	Unknown	Richard Capers, Planter	1774
Sarah	Female	Unknown	Richard Capers, Planter	1774
Henry	Male	Unknown	Richard Capers, Planter	1774
Clarissa	Female	Mulatto	Sarah Craft, Spinster	1774
Billy	Male	Unknown	Peter Gourdin, Planter	1774
Charleston	Male	Unknown	John McCall, Jr., Merchant	1774
Venus	Female	Unknown	John McCall, Jr. Merchant	1774
Sarach	Female	Unknown	Richard Lambton, Merchant	1774
Mary	Female	Mulatto	Richard Lambton, Merchant	1774
Samuel Edward	Male	Unknown	Edward Fenicke, Planter	1774



Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Betty	Female	Unknown	Caesar Quincy, Mariner	1774
Caesar	Male	Mestizo	James P. Cordis, Planter	1774
Joe	Male	Mulatto	James P. Cordis, Planter	1774
Judy	Female	Unknown	Robert Roper	1774
Betty	Female	Unknown	Robert Roper	1774
Jack	Male	Unknown	Robert Roper	1774
Betsey	Female	Unknown	Robert Roper	1774
London	Male	Unknown	Jonathan Fabian, Planter	1775
John Footman	Male	Unknown	Samuel Howell, Planter	1775
Phebe	Female	Unknown	Mary Snelling	1775
Tonette	Female	Mulatto	Alexander Oliphant, Factor	1775
Lewis	Male Child	Mulatto	Alexander Oliphant, Factor	1775
Billy	Male Child	Mulatto	Alexander Oliphant, Factor	1775
Sam Stootely(?)	Male Child	Mulatto	John Daves, Planter	1775
Judy	Female	Mulatto	Sir John Colleton, Planter	1775
Ben	Male	Unknown	Mary Ann Somerlyn	1775
Caesar	Male	Unknown	Mary Spencer (William), Widow	1775
Peggy Sterling	Female	Mulatto	Lydia Watson, Spinster	1775
Johnny	Male	Unknown	Vincent Frances	1775
Sally	Female	Unknown	Vincent Frances	1775

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Thomas Guillan	Male	Unknown	George Milligen, Doctor	1775
Mary	Female	Unknown	James Carson, Merchant	1775
Mara	Female	Unknown	James Carson, Merchant	1775
Press	Male Child	Unknown	James Carson, Merchant	1775
Caesar	Male	Unknown	Peter Couturier, Planter	1775
Betty	Female	Unknown	Helen Rattray (John), Widow (Lawyer)	1776
Nancy	Female	Unknown	Jacob Waldron, Pilot	1776
Grace	Female	Unknown	Jacob Waldron, Pilot	1776
Bella	Female	Unknown	Jacob Waldron, Pilot	1776
Lucy	Female	Unknown	Jacob Waldron, Pilot	1776
Sue	Female	Unknown	David Greene, Lawyer	1776
John	Male	Unknown	David Greene, Lawyer	1776
Dee	Female	Mulatto	Samuel Prioleau, Merchant	1776
Joe	Male	Unknown	John Farquharson, Pract. of Physics	1776
Sarah	Femalr	Unknown	John Farquharson, Pract. of Physics	1776
Sarah	Female	Mulatto	Francis Bremor, Merchant	1777
Mary	Female/Child	Mulatto	Francis Bremor, Merchant	1777
Charlotte	Female/Child	Mulatto	Francis Bremor, Merchant	1777
Amery	Female	Unknown	Lancelot Bland, Planter	1777
Delia	Female	Unknown	Joseph Wyatt	1777

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Jike	Female	Unknown	Ann Walter (Thomas), Widow (Botanist)	1777
Maria	Female	Unknown	Zephaniah Kingston, Merchant	1777
Maria	Female	Unknown	Charles Lorimer, Minister	1777
Tony	Female	Unknown	John Rose, Shipwright	1777
Susanna	Female/Child	Unknown	Alexander Hewat, Minister	1777
Dianna	Female	Unknown	Alexander Hewat, Minister	1777
Nelly	Female	Unknown	Richard Lambton, Merchant	1777
Sam	Male	Unknown	John Calvert/John Craft, Merchants	1777
Stephney	Male	Unknown	William Print, Atty. at Law	1777
Sylvia	Female	Unknown	William Glen, Merchant	1777
Savery	Female	Unknown	Jacob Valk, Merchant	1777
Dick	Male	Mulatto	Mary Glen (Daniel), Widow (Planter)	1777
Diana	Female	Unknown	Charles Eliot, Planter	1777
Sam	Male	Unknown	John Mouatt, Merchant	1777
Bess	Female	Unknown	Francis Bremor, Merchant	1777
Dianna	Female	Unknown	William Trusler, Butcher	1778
Scipio	Male	Unknown	Mary Boone (Tom), Widow (Planter)	1778
Charlotte	Female/Child	Mulatto	John Luich	1778
Scipio	Male	Unknown	Jacob Valk, Merchant	1778
Christian	Female	Mulatto	John Luich	1778



Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Cloe	Female	Unknown	Jacob Valk, Merchant	1778
Betty	Female	Mulatto	James Stobo, Planter	1778
Venus	Male	Unknown	Jacob Valk, Merchant	1778
Boston, Lukison	Male	Unknown	Abram Livingston	1778
Leander	Male	Unknown	Jacob Willeman, Tanner	1778
Lymus	Male	Unknown	James Keith, Mariner	1778
Alexander Scott	Male	Unknown	Edmund Head, Baronet	1778
George	Male/Child	Unknown	Edmund Head, Baronet	1778
Charlotte	Female/Child	Unknown	Edmund Head, Baronet	1778
George	Male	Mulatto	George Ogilvie, Planter	1778
Charlotte	Female	Mulatto	William Greenwood, Merchant	1778
Deana Maria	Female/Child	Mulatto	William Greenwood, Merchant	1778
Betty	Female	Unknown	John Speid	1778
Priss	Female	Unknown	Sarah Stoutenburgh, Free Black	1778
Scipio	Male/Child	Unknown	William Stokes, Merchant	1778
Sam	Male/Child	Unknown	William Stokes, Merchant	1778
Judy	Female	Unknown	John Speid	1778
Diana	Female	Unknown	William Trusler, Butcher	1778
Hannah	Female	Unknown	Jacob Valk, Merchant	1778
Venus	Female	Unknown	Christian Martin, Farmer	1778

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Tub	Female	Unknown	James Read, Planter	1778
James	Male	Unknown	Carolina Lamboll, Free Negro	1779
Celah	Female	Unknown	Thomas Sabb, Planter	1779
Adam	Male	Unknown	Thomas Sabb, Planter	1779
Hannah	Female	Unknown	Charles LeLova, Merchant	1779
Peggy	Female	Mulatto	Robert Gray, Planter	1779
Elsy Hart	Female	Unknown	Phillip Hart, Merchant	1779
Louisa	Female	Mulatto	John Smith, Merchant	1779
Peggy	Female	Unknown	John Smith, Merchant	1779
Cate	Female	Unknown	James Hunter, Merchant	1779
Chloe	Female	Unknown	Alexander Fraser, Planter	1779
Cate's child	Male/Child	Unknown	James Hunter, Merchant	1779
Sarah	Female	Unknown	Cornelius Hinton	1779
Catey	Female/Child	Unknown	Cornelius Hinton	1779
Ben	Male	Unknown	James Parsons, Planter	1779
Mars	Male	Unknown	James Parsons, Planter	1779
Harry	Male	Unknown	James Parsons, Planter	1779
Shoe	Male	Unknown	James Parsons, Planter	1779
May	Female	Unknown	James Parsons, Planter	1779
Frank	Male	Unknown	James Parsons, Planter	1779

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Jack	Male	Unknown	James Parsons, Planter	1779
Romeo	Male	Unknown	John Perroneau	1779
Janny Shaw	Female/Child	Mulatto	James Snow	1779
Barnes	Male	Unknown	John P. [?]	1779
Henrietta	Female/Child	Mulatto	John McQueen, Merchant	1779
John Wall	Male	Unknown	Patrick McDonnell, Grocer	1779
Nancy	Female	Mestizo	William Lewis, Planter	1779
Tonette	Female	Mulatto	William Ogilvie, Merchant	1780
Billy	Male/Child	Mulatto	William Ogilvie, Merchant	1780
Andrew	Male/Child	Mulatto	William Ogilvie, Merchant	1780
Henriette	Female/Child	Mulatto	William Ogilvie, Merchant	1780
Kate	Female	Unknown	William Blanger	1780
Jenny	Female	Unknown	Ruth Spines	1780
Marcus	Male	Unknown	William Burrow, Lawyer	1780
Leah	Female	Mulatto	Mary Ellis (William), Widow (Butcher)	1780
Quash	Male	Unknown	Judith Wragg, Widow	1780
Nelly	Female	Unknown	Judith Wragg, Widow	1780
Hanna	Female	Unknown	Judith Wragg, Widow	1780
Jack	Male	Unknown	Judith Wragg, Widow	1780
Kate	Female	Unknown	Judith Wragg, Widow	1780

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Rose	Female	Unknown	Judith Wragg, Widow	1780
Susey	Female	Mustee	James Akin, Planter	1780
Billey	Male/Child	Mustee	James Akin, Planter	1780
Tom	Male/Child	Mustee	James Akin, Planter	1780
Judith	Female	Unknown	John Couturier, Planter	1780
Tom	Male	Unknown	Peter Bocquet, Planter	1780
Frank	Male	Unknown	Robert Gibbs, Planter	1780
Katherine	Female	Mulatto	Alexander Wright, Planter	1780
Sarah	Female	Mulatto	Alexander Wright, Planter	1780
Jennet	Female/Child	Mulatto	Abraham Cohen, Merchant	1780
Henny	Female/Child	Mulatto	Abraham Cohen, Merchant	1780
Tulip	Female	Mustee	George Snow, Carpenter	1780
Mindar	Female	Mustee	George Snow, Carpenter	1780
Neptune	Male/Child	Unknown	John Calvert, Merchant	1781
Toy	Male	Unknown	William Struther, Planter	1781
Frank	Male	Unknown	Theodore Gaillard, Planter	1781
Ballest	Male	Mulatto	Michael T. McDonough	1781
Nanny	Female	Mustee	Catherine Wigfall (Joseph), Widow (Planter)	1781
Charlotte	Female	Mulatto	John Swint, Surgeon	1781
Andrew	Male	Unknown	John Harleston, Planter	1781



Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Scipio	Male	Unknown	Joseph Badger, Lawyer	1781
Pee	Male	Unknown	Richard Broughton	1781
John	Male	Unknown	John Colcock, Lawyer	1781
Grace	Female	Unknown	Ann Delahow, Widow (Doctor)	1781
John	Male	Mulatto	John Hopton, Merchant	1781
Betty	Female	Unknown	Christopher Gadsden, Merchant	1781
Sam	Male	Unknown	Joseph Creighton, Free Black	1781
Ned	Male	Unknown	Joseph Creighton, Free Black	1781
Jenny	Female	Unknown	Joseph Creighton, Free Black	1781
Binah	Female	Unknown	Daniel Lathan, Distiller	1781
Betty	Female	Unknown	John Miller, Merchant	1781
Dianna	Female	Mulatto	John Forbes, Merchant	1781
Juba	Female	Unknown	Old Sampson, Free Black	1782
Robert	Male	Unknown	Roger Smith, Merchant	1782
Betty	Female	Unknown	John Rutherford, Planter	1782
Phillis	Female	Unknown	Thomas Hutchinson, Planter	1782
Judy	Female/Child	Unknown	Thomas Hutchinson, Planter	1782
Nanny	Female	Unknown	Margaret Oswald, Widow	1782
Somerset	Male	Unknown	Richard Blake, Planter	1782
July	Male	Unknown	Mary Stevens (Richard), Widow (Planter)	1782

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Frank	Male	Unknown	Richard Moncrief, Planter	1782
Sarah	Female/Child	Unknown	Thomas Bourke, Merchant	1782
Myrtilla	Female	Unknown	William Mills, Tailor	1782
Claudia	Female	Unknown	John Richardson, Planter	1782
Hammond	Male	Mulatto	Alexander Oliphant, Factor	1782
Benny	Male/Child	Mulatto	Ann Delahow (John), Widow (Doctor)	1782
James	Male	Unknown	Ann Yarbrough	1782
George	Male	Unknown	Alexander McBeth, Merchant	1782
Robert	Male/Child	Mulatto	Roger Smith, Merchant	1782
Billy	Male	Unknown	Charles Goodwin, Merchant	1782
Maria	Female/Child	Mulatto	William C. Wells, Planter	1782
Coffee	Male	Unknown	James Cook, Carpenter	1782
Betty	Female	Unknown	Thomas Shattuese	1782
Lukey	Female	Mulatto	Edward Corbett	1782
Grace	Female	Unknown	William Print, Attorney	1782
Lytice	Female/Child	Unknown	William Print, Attorney	1782
Kate	Female	Unknown	Peter Hume, Free Negro	1782
Catherine	Female/Child	Unknown	Peter Hume, Free Negro	1782
Nancy	Female/Child	Mulatto	Michael Brodderick, Mariner	1782
Sophia	Female/Child	Unknown	Michael Sizer, Baker	1782



Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
George	Male/Child	Mestizo	John Lambert, Free Black	1782
John	Male	Unknown	George Cooke, Merchant	1782
Antigua	Male	Unknown	John Rutledge, Governor	1783
Antigua's Wife	Female	Unknown	John Rutledge, Governor	1783
Antigua's Child	Male/Chile	Unknown	John Rutledge, Governor	1783
Silvia	Female	Unknown	John Semple, Merchant	1783
Nancy	Female/Child	Unknown	Thomas Slater	1783
Allaney Miller	Female	Unknown	Robert McCulloch, Attorney	1783
Oka Nelly	Female	Unknown	Robert McCulloch, Attorney	1783
Quash	Male	Unknown	Carolinas, Free Black	1783
Jack	Male	Unknown	David Snow, Planter	1783
Limerick	Male	Unknown	David Snow, Planter	1783
Potener	Female	Unknown	George Simmons, Planter	1783
Abigail	Female	Mulatto	John Walker, Merchant	1783
John	Male/Child	Mulatto	John Walker, Merchant	1783
Agnes	Female/Child	Mulatto	John Walker, Merchant	1783
Maria Marte	Female/Child	Mulatto	Nicholas Fanneau	1783
Margeuitte	Female/Child	Mulatto	Nicholas Fanneau	1783
Nelly	Female	Unknown	Isabella, Free Black	1783
Sylvai	Female/Child	Unknown	Isabella, Free Black	1783

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Prince	Male	Unknown	James Jessope	1783
Flora	Female	Unknown	Alexander Oliphant, Factor	1783
Fatima	Female	Unknown	Alexander Oliphant, Factor	1783
Manina	Female/Child	Unknown	Alexander Oliphant, Factor	1783
Sally	Female	Mulatto	Alexander Oliphant, Factor	1783
Sally	Female	Unknown	Williams S. Cooke, Merchant	1783
Lucey	Female	Mulatto	Mary Singleton	1784
Nanny	Female	Unknown	Thomas Singleton, Planter	1784
Prince	Male	Unknown	Alexander Inglis, Merchant	1784
Diana	Female	Unknown	John Hume, Merchant	1784
Dinah	Female/Child	Unknown	John Hume, Merchant	1784
Dandy	Male	Unknown	Joseph Allston, Planter	1784
Hannah	Female/Child	Unknown	Joseph Allston, Planter	1784
Harry	Male/Child	Unknown	Joseph Allston, Planter	1784
Cuffy	Male/Child	Unknown	Joseph Allston, Planter	1784
Dandy	Male/Child	Unknown	Joseph Allston, Planter	1784
Nancy	Female/Child	Unknown	Joseph Allston, Planter	1784
George	Male	Unknown	John Wragg, Merchant	1784
Peggy	Female	Unknown	William Hart, Merchant	1784
Bess	Female	Unknown	Benjamin Guerrard, Lawyer	1784

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Sarah	Female	Unknown	T. Austin	1784
Michael	Female	Unknown	William Alexander	1784
Grace	Female	Unknown	Daniel Legare	1784
Hager	Female	Unknown	Daniel Legare	1784
Grace	Female	Unknown	Sarah Wigfall (Andres)	1784
Kitty	Female/Child	Mulatto	Alexander Wright, Planter	1784
Dianna	Female/Child	Mulatto	Alexander Wright, Planter	1784
John	Male/Child	Mulatto	Alexander Wright, Planter	1784
Molly	Female	Unknown	Michael Fizer, Baker	1784
Celia	Female	Mulatto	James Guillard, Baker	1784
Charles	Male	Mulatto	John B. Holmes, Merchant	1784
Summer	Male	Unknown	Thomas Jackson, Planter	1784
Frances	Male	Mulatto	Richard Monauf, Sr.	1784
Sue	Female	Unknown	Edward Rutledge, Attorney	1784
Grace	Female	Unknown	Edward Rutledge, Attorney	1784
Daphney	Female	Unknown	William Stoutenburgh	1784
Kathy Loocock	Female	Unknown	William Hopton, Merchant	1784
Cloe	Female	Unknown	Jonathan Wesberry, Carpenter	1784
Abraham	Male	Unknown	James Nelson, Warden	1784
Sue	Female	Unknown	Robert Rutledge	1784

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Peter	Male	Unknown	John Rosburgh	1784
Tobey	Male	Unknown	John Rosburgh	1784
Susannah Blair	Female	Unknown	James Rochford, Carpenter	1784
Beck	Female/Child	Mulatto	James Rochford, Carpenter	1784
Caesar	Male	Unknown	Ann Middleton (Thomas), Widow (Planter)	1784
Sam	Male	Unknown	Richard Lashington, Merchant	1784
Josey	Male	Unknown	David McKelvey	1784
Betty	Female	Unknown	Joseph Creighton, Free Black	1784
Peter	Male	Unknown	John Rantough	1784
Susanna	Female	Mulatto	James Rochford, Carpenter	1784
Toby	Male	Unknown	John Rantough	1784
Pompey	Male	Unknown	Carolina Lamboll, Free Black	1784
Sarah	Female	Unknown	Mathew Webb, Free Black	1784
Sarah's Son	Male/Child	Unknown	Mathew Webb, Free Black	1784
Abigail	Female	Unknown	John Walker, Merchant	1784
Ben	Male/Child	Mulatto	Sarah Arthor, Widow	1785
Selena	Female/Child	Unknown	John Hext, Planter	1785
Rebecca	Female	Unknown	Henry Peronneau, Merchant	1785
Rose	Female	Unknown	Jacob Benners, Merchant	1785
Charlotte	Female	Mulatto	Alexander Rose, Merchant	1785



Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
John Johnston	Male	Unknown	Richard Wall, Port Collector	1785
Nelly	Female	Unknown	George Roberts	1785
Sukey	Female	Unknown	James Hepburn	1785
Jesse Donaldson	Male	Mulatto	James Glassgow	1785
Phillis	Female	Unknown	John Hext, Planter	1785
Celana	Female/Child	Unknown	John Hext, Planter	1785
Phoebe	Female	Unknown	Richard Hazzard	1785
Bess	Female	Unknown	Henry Livingston, Planter	1785
Tom	Male	Unknown	James Harvey, Merchant	1785
Dick	Male	Unknown	Richard Lathan, Gunsmith	1786
William	Male/Child	Unknown	Emanuel Pincil, Tinman	1786
Charles	Male/Child	Unknown	Emanuel Pincil, Tinman	1786
Prince	Male	Unknown	James Milligan, Innkeeper	1786
Bess	Female/Child	Unknown	George Haig, Physician	1786
Silvia	Female	Unknown	Joshua Eden, Chairmaker	1786
Samuel	Male/Child	Unknown	Joshua Eden, Chairmaker	1786
Margaret	Female/Child	Unknown	Joshua Eden, Chairmaker	1786
Silvia	Female/Child	Unknown	Joshua Eden, Chairmaker	1786
Abraham	Male	Unknown	Peter M. Filshow	1786
Robin	Male	Unknown	Leander Fairchild, Free Black	1786

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Daniel	Male	Unknown	Edward Rutledge, Attorney	1786
Peter	Male/Child	Unknown	Ann Wood (George), Widow (Bookseller)	1786
Ciss	Female	Unknown	Ann Wood (George), Widow (Bookseller)	1786
Peggy	Female	Unknown	Henry B. Stocker, Merchant	1786
Martha	Female/Child	Unknown	Henry B. Stocker, Merchant	1786
Kate	Female/Child	Unknown	William Lee, Watchmaker	1786
Phebe	Female	Mulatto	Thaddeus M. Bridgewater, Planter	1786
Nancy	Female/Child	Mulatto	Thaddeus M. Bridgewater, Planter	1786
Frank	Male/Child	Mulatto	Thaddeus M. Bridgewater, Planter	1786
Peggy	Female/Child	Mulatto	Thaddeus M. Bridgewater, Planter	1786
Mary	Female/Child	Mulatto	Thaddeus M. Bridgewater, Planter	1786
Bob	Male/Child	Mulatto	Thaddeus M. Bridgewater, Planter	1786
Kitty	Female/Child	Mulatto	Thaddeus M. Bridgewater, Planter	1786
Ned	Male/Child	Mulatto	Thaddeus M. Bridgewater, Planter	1786
Britain	Male/Child	Mulatto	Thaddeus M. Bridgewater, Planter	1786
Tom	Male	Unknown	Solomon Kitt	1787
Sophia	Female	Unknown	Joseph Pope, Planter	1787
Martha Jackson	Female	Unknown	John Hanahan, Planter	1787
Peter	Male	Unknown	John Hanahan, Planter	1787
Rachel	Female	Unknown	John Hanahan, Planter	1787



Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
John	Male	Unknown	John Hanahan, Planter	1787
Paul	Male/Child	Unknown	John Hanahan, Planter	1787
Martha	Female/Child	Unknown	John Hanahan, Planter	1787
Mary	Female/Child	Unknown	John Hanahan, Planter	1787
Phillip	Male	Unknown	Alexander McGillivray, Planter	1787
Tom	Male/Child	Unknown	Alexander McGillivray, Planter	1787
Jimmy	Male/Child	Unknown	Alexander McGillivray, Planter	1787
Sally	Female	Unknown	Richard Peronneau, Free Black	1787
Peggy	Female/Child	Unknown	Richard Peronneau, Free Black	1787
Joe	Male	Unknown	Pompy Inglis, Free Black	1787
Gabriel	Male/Child	Mulatto	Lachlan MacIntosh, Planter	1787
Susannah	Female	Unknown	Robert Wardell	1787
Venus	Male	Unknown	Robert Wardell	1787
Rynah	Female	Unknown	Lucan J. Bennes, Merchant	1787
Sylvia	Female	Unknown	Matthew Webb, Free Black	1787
Dolly	Female/Child	Mulatto	Thomas Singleton, Planter	1787
John	Male/Child	Mulatto	Samuel Palak, Shopkeeper	1787
Likey	Female	Unknown	Claude Chouret	1787
Dinah	Female	Unknown	John Hume, Merchant	1787
Joan	Female/Child	Unknown	John Hume, Merchant	1787

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Beck	Female	Unknown	Stephen Drayton, Planter	1787
Flora	Female/Child	Unknown	Stephen Drayton, Planter	1787
Sam	Male	Unknown	Joseph Vesey	1787
Sylvia	Female	Unknown	Eliza Chalmers, Widow	1788
James	Male	Unknown	Joseph Bull, Planter	1788
Primus	Male	Unknown	Joseph Bull, Planter	1788
Tina	Female	Unknown	George Haig, Physician	1788
Betty	Female	Unknown	Nathaniel Russell, Distiller	1788
Jinny	Female	Unknown	Christopher Rogers, Taylor	1788
Andre Robertson	Male	Unknown	James [?]	1788
Sam	Male	Unknown	Joseph Creighton, Free Black	1788
Moll	Female/Child	Unknown	George Haig, Physician	1788
George	Male	Unknown	Elisha Butler, Planter	1788
Qua	Female	Unknown	Margaret Richard, Widow	1788
Ginny	Female	Unknown	Christopher Rogers, Tailor	1788
Hannah	Female	Unknown	John Vinyard, Planter	1788
Billy	Male/Child	Unknown	John Vinyard, Planter	1788
Cato	Male/Child	Unknown	John Vinyard, Planter	1788
Will	Male	Unknown	Louis Dutarque, Planter	1788
Affey	Female	Unknown	Louis Dutarque, Planter	1788

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Isaac	Male/Child	Unknown	Louis Dutarque, Planter	1788
Rose	Female/Child	Unknown	Louis Dutarque, Planter	1788
Pattery	Female/Child	Unknown	Louis Dutarque, Planter	1788
Peggy	Female	Unknown	Louis Dutarque, Planter	1788
Jimmy	Male/Child	Unknown	Louis Dutarque, Planter	1788
Polly	Female/Child	Unknown	Louis Dutarque, Planter	1788
Hugh	Male/Child	Unknown	Louis Dutarque, Planter	1788
Jacob	Male	Unknown	Louis Dutarque, Planter	1788
Sam	Male/Child	Unknown	Louis Dutarque, Planter	1788
Roa	Female	Unknown	Louis Dutarque, Planter	1788
Clauinda	Female	Unknown	Josey, Free Black	1788
Andrew Robertson	Male	Unknown	James Burns, Practitioner of Physics	1788
Adam	Male	Unknown	Elizabeth Childs	1788
Sophie	Female	Unknown	Phillip Mark	1788
Edward	Male	Unknown	Phillip Mark	1788
Daniel	Male	Unknown	Phillip Mark	1788
John	Male	Unknown	Phillip Mark	1788
Thomas	Male	Unknown	Phillip Mark	1788
Beullah	Female	Unknown	Phillip Mark	1788
Amelia	Female/Child	Mulatto	Thomas Cooke, Cabinet Maker	1788

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Cate	Male	Mulatto	William Glenn, Merchant	1788
Janet	Female/Child	Mulatto	William Glenn, Merchant	1788
Molla Congo	Female	Unknown	Joseph Manier	1788
Flora	Female	Unknown	Charles Hows	1788
Cloe	Female/Child	Unknown	Charles Hows	1788
Richard	Male	Unknown	Mary Mazyck (William), Widow (Merchant)	1788
Will	Male	Unknown	Francis Bremar, Merchant	1788
Molly	Female	Unknown	Sarah Haynes, Free Black	1788
George	Male/Child	Unknown	Sarah Haynes, Free Black	1788
Walter	Male/Child	Unknown	Sarah Haynes, Free Black	1788
Lizy	Female	Mulatto	Peter Spencer, Doctor	1789
Haiger	Female	Unknown	Theophilus Ward	1789
Tom	Male/Child	Unknown	Theophilus Ward	1789
Bella	Female/Child	Unknown	Joseph Ash, Planter	1789
Frederick	Male/Child	Mulatto	Cloudy Morand, Free Black	1789
Becky	Female	Unknown	Robert Timothy, Free Black	1789
Diana	Female/Child	Unknown	Robert Timothy, Free Black	1789
Thomas	Male/Child	Unknown	Robert Timothy, Free Black	1789
Moses Brown	Male	Unknown	Anthony Toomer	1789
Tabeth	Female	Unknown	Charles J. Lettoax	1789



Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Eliza	Female/Child	Mulatto	Isaac Nichols, Planter	1789
Affie	Female	Unknown	Peter Bremar, Lawyer	1789
James	Male/Child	Unknown	Peter Bremar, Lawyer	1789
Rebecca	Female/Child	Unknown	Peter Bremar, Lawyer	1789
William	Male/Child	Mulatto	Thomas Hall, Planter	1789
Nancy McDonald	Female	Mulatto	Duncan McRa, Merchant	1789
Billy	Male	Unknown	Martha Godin (Isaac), Widow (Planter)	1789
Dinah	Female	Unknown	John Delke, Tanner	1789
Prince	Male	Unknown	Richard Withers, Planter	1789
Sam	Male	Unknown	Stephen Ackerman	1789
Venus	Male	Unknown	Boston Lukiesin, Free Black	1789
Billy	Male	Unknown	George Flagg, Planter	1789
Zabet	?	Unknown	John Anthony	1789
Crecia	Female	Unknown	William Mapland	1790
Phillis	Female	Unknown	Peter Palmer, Planter	1790
Tomby	Male/Child	Unknown	Peter Palmer, Planter	1790
Grace	Female/Child	Unknown	Peter Palmer, Planter	1790
William	Male/Child	Unknown	Peter Palmer, Planter	1790
Beck	Female	Unknown	Peter Palmer, Planter	1790
Abigail	Female	Unknown	Sam, Free Black	1790

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Sam	Male/Child	Unknown	Sam, Free Black	1790
Rose	Female	Unknown	Sam, Free Black	1790
Abigail	Female/Child	Unknown	Sam, Free Black	1790
Joe	Male/Child	Unknown	Sam, Free Black	1790
Elizabeth	Female/Child	Unknown	Sam, Free Black	1790
Nancy	Female	Mulatto	Leander Fairchild, Free Black	1790
Leander	Male/Child	Mulatto	Leander Fairchild, Free Black	1790
Catherine	Female/Child	Mulatto	John Lewis, Minister	1790
Billy	Male/Child	Mulatto	John Ward, Planter	1790
Luck	Male	Unknown	Thomas Joy, Planter	1790
Phoebe	Female	Unknown	Thomas Lamley, Merchant	1790
Amelia	Female	Unknown	William Smith, Merchant	1790
George Bampfeld	Male	Unknown	Sarah Smith (Thomas), Widow (Planter)	1790
John	Male/Child	Unknown	Mathew Jousseaume, Shopkeeper	1790
Peter	Male/Child	Unknown	Mathew Jousseaume, Shopkeeper	1790
Moll	Female	Unknown	Daniel Wilson, Planter	1790
Phillis	Female	Unknown	Charles Beard, Merchant	1790
Nancy	Female	Unknown	Joseph Bull, Planter	1790
Jacob	Male/Child	Unknown	Joseph Bull, Planter	1790
Emie	Female	Unknown	Peter Buyk, Merchant	1790



Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
John Money	Male	Unknown	William Luyten, Merchant	1790
Eunice	Female	Unknown	Thomas O. Elliott, Planter	1790
Elizabeth	Female/Child	Mulatto	James Mackie, Cooper	1790
Bess	Female	Unknown	Sarah Holden, Widow	1790
Caesar	Male	Unknown	Christopher Peter, Planter	1790
Diana	Female	Unknown	James Wallace, Doctor	1790
Cyman	Male	Unknown	Elizabeth Blake (Daniel), Widow (Planter)	1790
Lizette	Female	Unknown	Elizabeth Blake (Daniel), Widow (Planter)	1790
Sarah	Female	Unknown	Ann Timothy (Peter), Widow (Printer)	1790
Jack	Male/Child	Unknown	Peter Tramplet, Planter	1790
Tinah	Female	Unknown	Joseph Wigfall, Planter	1790
Dianna	Female	Unknown	Edmund Bellinger, Jr., Planter	1790
Nanny	Female	Unknown	Susannah Snelling, Spinster	1790
Daniel	Female	Unknown	Susannah Snelling, Spinster	1790
Dinah	Female	Unknown	Susannah Snelling, Spinster	1790
Bella	Female	Mulatto	Joseph Ash, Planter	1790
Jupiter	Male	Unknown	Joseph Ash, Planter	1790
Isaac	Male	Unknown	Joseph Ash, Planter	1790
Peter	Male	Unknown	Joseph Ash, Planter	1790

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Colonel	Male/Child	Unknown	Joseph Ash, Planter	1790
Bacchus	Male/Child	Unknown	Joseph Ash, Planter	1790
Tinah	Female	Unknown	George Haig, Physician	1790
Sarah	Female	Unknown	John Thompson, Planter	1790
George Laurens	Male	Unknown	Henry Laurens, Planter	1790
Sue	Female	Unknown	John Roxborough	1791
Rose	Female	Unknown	Joshua Coxs	1791
Sue	Female	Unknown	Francis Moore, Drayman	1791
Cate	Female	Mulatto	Sarah Smith (Thomas), Widow (Planter)	1791
Paul	Male	Unknown	John McCall, City Treasurer	1791
Dianna	Female	Mulatto	Henry Gray, Planter	1791
Phillis	Female	Mulatto	David Campbell, Carpenter	1791
Molly	Female/Child	Unknown	Thomas Skene, Free Black	1791
Diana Steward Lamboll	Female	Unknown	Robert Timothy, Free Black	1791
Hester	Female	Mulatto	Lightfoot Harrison Davis	1791
Mary	Female/Child	Mulatto	Lightfoot Harrison Davis	1791
William	Male/Child	Mulatto	Lightfoot Harrison Davis	1791
Tynah	Female	Unknown	John Stewart	1791
Pearth	Male	Unknown	Edward Weyman, Jr., Upholsterer	1791

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Lucy	Female	Unknown	Sarah Smith (Thomas), Widow (Planter)	1791
Lizett	Female	Unknown	Henry W. Starling	1791
Huckey	Female	Unknown	Thomas Hutchinson, Jr. Planter	1791
Thomas Stewart Lamboll	Male	Unknown	Robert Timothy, Free Black	1791
George	Male	Unknown	Edward Weyman, Jr., Upholsterer	1791
Pearl	Female	Unknown	Edward Weyman, Jr., Upholsterer	1791
Charlotte	Female/Child	Mulatto	Frederick Rehm, Doctor	1791
Harriett	Female/Child	Mulatto	Frederick Rehm, Doctor	1791
Nancy	Female/Child	Mulatto	Frederick Rehm, Doctor	1791
Diana	Female	Unknown	John Van Morginhoff, Planter	1791
Daniel	Male	Unknown	Alexander Garden, Doctor	1791
Servant	Male	Unknown	Alexander Garden, Doctor	1791
Servant	Female	Unknown	Alexander Garden, Doctor	1791
Servant	Female	Unknown	Alexander Garden, Doctor	1791
George	Male	Unknown	Leander Fairchild, Free Black	1791
Aubah	Female	Unknown	Frances Pearce, Widow	1791
Linda	Female	Unknown	Frances Pearce, Widow	1791
Jenny	Female	Unknown	Frances Pearce, Widow	1791
Will	Male	Unknown	Frances Pearce, Widow	1791
Pompey	Male	Unknown	Ann Graeme, Widow	1791



Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Charlotte	Female	Unknown	Brian Foskey, Pilot	1791
Sam	Male	Unknown	Thomas Lewis, Sr., Planter	1791
Simon	Female	Unknown	Thomas Lewis, Sr., Planter	1791
Sukey	Female	Unknown	Thomas Lewis, Sr., Planter	1791
Simon	Male	Unknown	Thomas Lewis, Sr., Planter	1791
Seela	Female	Unknown	Thomas Lewis, Sr., Planter	1791
Siberina	Female	Unknown	Stephen Townsends, Planter	1791
Tomboy	Male/Child	Unknown	Stephen Townsends, Planter	1791
Phillis	Female/Child	Unknown	Stephen Townsends, Planter	1791
Hagar	Female	Unknown	Theophilus Ward	1791
Abby	Female/Child	Mulatto	William A. Deas, Lawyer	1792
Daniel	Male/Child	Mulatto	William A. Deas, Lawyer	1792
Ann	Female	Mulatto	Thomas H. McCalla, Practitioner of Physics	1792
Daniel (Moses)	Male	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1792
London	Male	Unknown	Susanna Wilkinson, Spinster	1792
London's wife	Female	Unknown	Susanna Wilkinson, Spinster	1792
Moll	Female	Unknown	John Postell, Planter	1792
Ben	Male/Child	Unknown	John Postell, Planter	1792
Clarinda	Female	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1792
Bella	Female	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1792



Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Dido	Male	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1792
Hagar	Female	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1792
Robert	Male/Child	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1792
Joe	Male/Child	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1792
Peter	Male/Child	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1792
Phillis	Female	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1792
Dinah	Female	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1792
Hannah	Female	Mulatto	John B. Irving, Physician	1792
John	Male/Child	Mulatto	John B. Irving, Physician	1792
James	Male/Child	Mulatto	John B. Irving, Physician	1792
Matilda	Female/Child	Mulatto	Francis Bremar, Merchant	1792
Mary	Female	Mulatto	Anthony Montain	1792
Felix	Male/Child	Mulatto	Anthony Montain	1792
Vincent	Male/Child	Mulatto	Anthony Montain	1792
Jackey	Male	Unknown	John C. Ball, Planter	1792
Rose	Female	Mulatto	William Smith, Merchant	1792
Nanny	Female	Unknown	Richard W. Sullivan, Planter	1792
Hazzard	Male	Unknown	Rebecca Stewart, Spinster	1792
Bill	Male/Child	Unknown	John Milhous, Jr., Millwright	1792
Nanny	Female/Child	Unknown	John Milhous, Jr., Millwright	1792

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
John	Male/Child	Unknown	John Milhous, Jr., Millwright	1792
Cate	Female/Child	Unknown	John Milhous, Jr., Millwright	1792
Adam	Male/Child	Unknown	John Milhous, Jr., Millwright	1792
Charles	Male/Child	Unknown	John Milhous, Jr., Millwright	1792
Jenny	Female	Unknown	John Milhous, Jr., Millwright	1792
Jacky	Male	Unknown	John Milhous, Jr., Millwright	1792
Syphax	Male	Unknown	John Milhous, Jr., Millwright	1792
Situs	Male/Child	Unknown	John Milhous, Jr., Millwright	1792
Flora	Female	Unknown	Alexander Fotheringham, Doctor	1792
Elias	Male/Child	Unknown	Alexander Fotheringham, Doctor	1792
Angellique	Female	Unknown	Monsieur Vitry	1792
Knellar Thomas	Male	Unknown	Hannah Drayton	1793
Benjamin	Male	Unknown	Mary Shuler, Widow	1793
Rhodia	Female	Unknown	Mary Shuler, Widow	1793
Betty	Female	Unknown	Mathew Pitt, Free Black	1793
Billy	Male/Child	Mulatto	William Smith, Merchant	1793
James	Male/Child	Mulatto	William Smith, Merchant	1793
Samuel	Male	Unknown	Susanna Moore	1793
Judy	Female	Unknown	Emanuel Pincel, Tinman	1793
Betty	Female	Unknown	Benjamin Moodie, Merchant	1793

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Betty	Female	Mulatto	John Bellinger, Planter	1793
Betty's infant	Unknown	Mulatto	John Bellinger, Planter	1793
Leo	Male	Unknown	Dennis LaGorgue	1793
Diana	Female	Unknown	Roger Smith	1793
Betty	Female/Child	Unknown	Roger Smith	1793
Hagor	Female/Child	Unknown	Roger Smith	1793
John	Male/Child	Unknown	Roger Smith	1793
Robert	Male/Child	Unknown	Roger Smith	1793
Isaac Watson	Male/Child	Mulatto	Isaac Watson, Shopkeeper	1793
William Watson	Male/Child	Mulatto	Isaac Watson, Shopkeeper	1793
Hercules	Male	Unknown	Peter B. Mathews, Butcher	1793
Sophia	Female	Unknown	Andrew [K]nights, Carpenter	1793
Deborah	Female	Unknown	Edward Haskell	1793
Joe	Male	Unknown	Jonathan Jackson, Minister	1793
Margaret	Female/Child	Mulatto	William Hassell Gibbes	1793
Judith	Female	Unknown	John Armstrong, Planter	1793
William	Male/Child	Unknown	John Armstrong, Planter	1793
Dolly	Female/Child	Unknown	John Armstrong, Planter	1793
Sally	Female/Child	Unknown	John Armstrong, Planter	1793
Cloudy	Male/Child	Mulatto	Cloudy Morand, Free Black	1793

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Patience	Female/Child	Unknown	Stewart Lamboll, Butcher (Free Black)	1793
Lydia	Female/Child	Mulatto	Sarah Stoughtenbourgh, Free Black	1793
Colia	Female	Unknown	Peter Taylor, Planter	1793
Beck	Female	Mulatto	Thomas English	1793
Messanda	Female	Unknown	Thomas Young, Attorney	1793
Bellow	Female	Unknown	Michael Durr	1793
William	Male	Unknown	Hannah Bull (William), Widow (Lt. Governor)	1793
Leanora	Female	Unknown	Hannah Bull (William), Widow (Lt. Governor)	1793
Hamlet	Male	Mulatto	Hannah Bull (William), Widow (Lt. Governor)	1793
Violet	Female	Unknown	Hannah Bull (William), Widow (Lt. Governor)	1793
Billy	Male	Unknown	Hannah Bull (William), Widow (Lt. Governor)	1793
Dick	Male/Child	Unknown	Hannah Bull (William), Widow (Lt. Governor)	1793
Judy	Female	Unknown	Hannah Bull (William), Widow (Lt. Governor)	1793
Caesar Vernon	Male	Unknown	Ebenezer Sherman	1793
Hector	Male	Unknown	Ann Graemes, Widow	1793
Hagar	Female	Unknown	Ann Graemes, Widow	1793
Peter	Male/Child	Unknown	Ann Graemes, Widow	1793



Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Priscilla	Female/Child	Unknown	Ann Graemes, Widow	1793
James	Male	Unknown	Ann Graemes, Widow	1793
Caroline	Female/Child	Unknown	Ann Graemes, Widow	1793
Pierce	Male/Child	Unknown	John W. Feviolloley	1793
William Jackson	Male	Unknown	Thomas Moore, Planter	1793
Dinah	Female	Unknown	Jean Slann (Joseph), Widow (Planter)	1793
Tim	Male	Unknown	Jean Slann (Joseph), Widow (Planter)	1793
Samson	Male	Unknown	Mary M. Crimbull (Paul), Widow (Planter)	1794
Nancy	Female	Unknown	Thomas Skirviny, Free Black	1794
Jenny	Female/Child	Unknown	Thomas Skirviny, Free Black	1794
Harry	Male/Child	Mulatto	John Bellinger, Planter	1794
Tabitha	Female/Child	Mulatto	Francis Bremar, Merchant	1794
Romeo	Male	Unknown	Benjamin Moodie, Merchant	1794
Maria	Female/Child	Unknown	Judith Fuller (Whitmarsh), Widow (Planter)	1794
Alexander	Male/Child	Unknown	Judith Fuller (Whitmarsh), Widow (Planter)	1794
Billy	Male/Child	Unknown	Judith Fuller (Whitmarsh), Widow (Planter)	1794
Chloe	Female	Unknown	Benjamin Pendergrass	1794
Sally Leach	Female	Mulatto	William Luyton, Merchant	1794
Harriet	Female/Child	Mulatto	William Luyton, Merchant	1794

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Mary	Female/Child	Mulatto	William Luyton, Merchant	1794
Jemima	Female	Unknown	Frantz Jacob Foltz, Merchant	1794
Martha (Patty)	Female/Child	Mulatto	John Couie, Merchant	1794
Joseph Deze	Male	Unknown	William Newton	1794
Samuel	Male/Child	Mulatto	Benjamin Roades	1794
Moses	Male	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1794
Rachel	Female	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1794
Esther	Female/Child	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1794
Charles Fuller	Male	Unknown	Edward Wayman, Upholsterer	1794
Sylvia	Female	Unknown	Amable Landry	1794
George	Male/Child	Unknown	Sarah Smith, Widow	1794
Frances	Female/Child	Unknown	Sarah Smith, Widow	1794
George	Male	Unknown	Matthew Pippin, Merchant	1794
Hagar	Female	Unknown	John Webb/Thomas Doughty, Merchants	1794
Kate	Female/Child	Unknown	John Webb/Thomas Doughty, Merchants	1794
Betty	Female	Unknown	James B. Wright, Planter	1794
Hannah	Female	Unknown	Mary St. John (Miller), Widow (Planter)	1794
Child	Male/Child	Unknown	Mary St. John (Miller), Widow (Planter)	1794

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Child	Female/Child	Unknown	Mary St. John (Miller), Widow (Planter)	1794
Hanniball	Female	Unknown	Thomas Drearington, Planter	1794
Peggy	Female/Child	Mulatto	Thomas Drearington, Planter	1794
Isaac	Male	Unknown	Thomas Mell, Planter	1794
Ned	Male	Unknown	Charles Cantey, Planter	1794
Robin	Male	Unknown	Mary McAlister (Archibald), Widow	1794
Sue	Female/Child	Unknown	William Spoon, Planter	1794
Lettice	Female/Child	Unknown	Mary Baker (Richard), Widow (Planter)	1794
Pender	Male	Unknown	James Edwards, Planter	1794
Jenney	Female/Child	Unknown	James Edwards, Planter	1794
Sally	Female/Child	Unknown	James Edwards, Planter	1794
Mariette	Female	Unknown	[?] Laparte	1794
Betty	Female	Unknown	James Wright, Merchant	1794
Carolina	Male	Unknown	Thomas Lamboll, Free Black	1794
Darius	Male/Child	Unknown	Thomas Lamboll, Free Black	1794
Ned	Male/Child	Unknown	Thomas Lamboll, Free Black	1794
Hannah	Female/Child	Mulatto	John Lewis, Minister	1794
Robert	Male/Child	Mulatto	John Lewis, Minister	1794
Sylvia	Female/Child	Unknown	David Bourdon, Limner	1795
Sally	Female/Child	Unknown	Thomas Martin, Planter	1795



Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Celeste	Female	Unknown	Jean Joseph Saurine	1795
Nancy	Female	Mulatto	George Mathews	1795
Lanette	Female	Mulatto	Andrew Ballon, Hairdresser	1795
Prince	Male	Unknown	Joba, Free Black	1795
Eve	Female	Unknown	John Johnson, Wharfinger	1795
Sally	Female/Child	Unknown	John Johnson, Wharfinger	1795
George	Male/Child	Unknown	John Johnson, Wharfinger	1795
Lucy	Female/Child	Unknown	John Johnson, Wharfinger	1795
Jim	Male	Unknown	John McDowell, Merchant	1795
Rose	Female	Unknown	Thomas Jones, Planter	1795
Lukey	Female	Unknown	James McDowell, Shopkeeper	1795
Priscilla	Female	Unknown	Edward Creighton, Free Black	1795
Sally	Female	Unknown	John Rutledge, Lawyer	1795
Mary	Female/Child	Unknown	John Rutledge, Lawyer	1795
Aberdeen	Female	Unknown	George Forrest, Merchant	1795
Hector	Male	Unknown	John Webb, Merchant	1795
Priscilla	Female	Unknown	John Webb, Merchant	1795
Caroline	Female/Child	Unknown	John Webb, Merchant	1795
Joseph	Male/Child	Unknown	John Webb, Merchant	1795
William	Male	Unknown	Carol Daily, Doctor of Physics	1795

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Charles	Male	Unknown	Carol Daily, Doctor of Physics	1795
Hannah	Female	Unknown	William Fullwood	1795
Hester	Male/Child	Unknown	William Fullwood	1795
Rose	Female/Child	Unknown	William Fullwood	1795
London	Male/Child	Unknown	William Fullwood	1795
Jack	Male	Unknown	Ulrich Friend, Baker	1795
Cloe	Female	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1795
Dick	Male	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1795
Jice (?)	Male	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1795
Hails	Male	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1795
Chloe	Female	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1795
Hails	Male/Child	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1795
Rosetta	Female/Child	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1795
Dick	Male	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1795
Sue	Female	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1795
Mariana	Female	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1795
Rosanna	Female/Child	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1795
Fortain	Male	Unknown	James Courtonne, Jeweler	1795
Doll	Female	Unknown	Ann Beresford (Richard), Widow (Planter)	1795
Hanniball	Female	Unknown	Ann Beresford (Richard), Widow (Planter)	1795

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Carter	Male	Unknown	Ann Beresford (Richard), Widow (Planter)	1795
Phillis	Female	Unknown	Ann Beresford (Richard), Widow (Planter)	1795
Myrtilla	Female	Unknown	Ann Beresford (Richard), Widow (Planter)	1795
Venus	Male/Child	Mulatto	Samuel Miller, Doctor	1795
James	Male/Child	Unknown	William Smith, Planter	1795
William	Male/Child	Unknown	William Smith, Planter	1795
Phillis	Female	Unknown	William Smith, Planter	1795
Flora	Female	Unknown	Phillip Hart, Planter	1795
Judy	Female	Mulatto	Alexander Fotheringham, Doctor	1795
Sally	Female	Unknown	Daniel Dryas, Carpenter	1795
Dinor	Female	Unknown	Frederick Prasher	1795
Jacques	Male	Unknown	Etienne D. Eindiere, Planter	1795
Marie Noel	Female	Unknown	Etienne D. Eindiere, Planter	1795
Child	Male/Child	Unknown	Etienne D. Eindiere, Planter	1795
Sibb	Male	Mulatto	Jacob Bond, Jr., Planter	1795
Beck	Female	Mulatto	Jacob Bond, Jr., Planter	1795
Jacob	Male/Child	Mulatto	Jacob Bond, Jr., Planter	1795
John	Male/Child	Mulatto	Jacob Bond, Jr., Planter	1795
Stanhope	Male/Child	Mulatto	Jacob Bond, Jr., Planter	1795

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Rosalie	Female	Unknown	J. H. Salvage	1795
Theresa	Female	Unknown	Mary Watson	1796
Robert Batters	Male	Unknown	Thomas Waring	1796
Gainey	Male	Unknown	Wardell Hampton	1796
Jacob	Male/Child	Unknown	Wade Hampton, Planter	1796
William	Male	Mulatto	Edward Fenwick, Planter	1796
Eve	Female	Mulatto	William Wheeler, Planter	1796
Ann	Female/Child	Mulatto	William Wheeler, Planter	1796
Doll	Female	Unknown	Christian Boomer	1796
Arenne	Female	Unknown	John F. Lettova	1796
Sarette	Female	Unknown	Andrew Ballon, Hairdresser	1796
Sylvia	Female	Mulatto	Rachel Cow (Daniel), Widow (Apothecary)	1796
Dido	Female	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1796
Sam	Male/Child	Unknown	Charles Hill, Planter	1796
William	Male/Child	Unknown	Charles Hill, Planter	1796
Mary Ann	Female/Child	Unknown	Charles Hill, Planter	1796
Phillip	Male	Mulatto	John R. Stevenson, Planter	1796
Francais	Male/Child	Unknown	Claude Decot	1796
Hagar	Female	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1796
Ishmael	Female	Unknown	William Greenwood, Merchant	1796



Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Sarah	Female	Mulatto	John Parker, Planter	1796
Alexander	Male	Unknown	Benjamin Waterhouse	1796
Fanny	Female	Mulatto	Mathew Shults, Grocer	1796
Mary	Female/Child	Mulatto	Mathew Shults, Grocer	1796
Daphne	Female	Unknown	Eliza Lesesne (Isaac), Planter	1796
Betty	Female	Unknown	George Forrest, Merchant	1796
Betty Bishop	Female	Mulatto	George Mathews	1796
Nancy	Female/Child	Mulatto	George Mathews	1796
Jeener	Female/Child	Mulatto	George Mathews	1796
Nancy	Female	Unknown	Elias Gomes	1796
Sam	Male	Unknown	Rachel Cow (Daniel), Widow (Apothecary)	1796
Lydia	Female	Unknown	Nathaniel B. Neal, Merchant	1796
Harriet	Female/Child	Unknown	Nathaniel B. Neal, Merchant	1796
William	Male	Unknown	Edward Fenwick, Planter	1796
Eve	Female	Unknown	William Wheeler, Planter	1796
Ann	Female/Child	Unknown	William Wheeler, Planter	1796
Eve	Female/Child	Unknown	William Wheeler, Planter	1796
Alexander Beards	Male	Unknown	Benjamin Waterhouse	1796
Amey	Female	Unknown	Charles Hill, Planter	1796
Amy	Female/Child	Unknown	Charles Hill, Planter	1796

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Rose	Female	Unknown	Matthew Pitt, Free Black	1796
Phoebe	Female/Child	Unknown	Matthew Pitt, Free Black	1796
Lettice	Female	Mulatto	James Houlton	1796
James	Male/Child	Mulatto	James Houlton	1796
Clarissa	Female	Unknown	William McKinnon, Planter	1796
Charlotte	Female	Unknown	Jacob Henry	1796
Eliza	Female	Unknown	Jacob Henry	1796
Maria	Female	Unknown	Alexander James, Merchant	1796
Mary	Female	Unknown	John C. Morton, Tavern Keeper	1796
Pompey	Male	Unknown	Thomas Ross, Mariner	1796
Katey	Female	Unknown	George Selby, Merchant	1796
Flower	Female	Unknown	Charles Filbin, Planter	1796
Amminter	Female/Child	Unknown	Charles Filbin, Planter	1796
Mary	Female/Child	Unknown	Charles Filbin, Planter	1796
Sarah	Female	Unknown	Mary Watson	1796
Francis Wall	Female	Unknown	Patrick McDonell, Grocer	1797
William	Male	Unknown	Samuel Johnes, Shopkeeper	1797
Sarah	Female	Unknown	Thomas Wadsworth, Planter	1797
Liz	Female	Unknown	Thomas Wadsworth, Planter	1797
Carolina	Male/Child	Unknown	Thomas Wadsworth, Planter	1797

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Cloe	Female/Child	Unknown	Thomas Wadsworth, Planter	1797
Phillis	Female/Child	Unknown	Thomas Wadsworth, Planter	1797
Sarah	Female	Unknown	Thomas Wadsworth, Planter	1797
Tom	Male/Child	Unknown	Thomas Wadsworth, Planter	1797
Hanna	Female/Child	Unknown	Thomas Wadsworth, Planter	1797
Jenny	Female	Unknown	Thomas Wadsworth, Planter	1797
Driss	Male/Child	Unknown	Thomas Wadsworth, Planter	1797
Luce	Male/Child	Unknown	Thomas Wadsworth, Planter	1797
Bess	Female	Unknown	Thomas Wadsworth, Planter	1797
Phillis	Female	Unknown	Thomas Wadsworth, Planter	1797
Liz	Female	Unknown	Thomas Wadsworth, Planter	1797
Carlise	Female	Unknown	Thomas Wadsworth, Planter	1797
Cato	Male	Unknown	Thomas Wadsworth, Planter	1797
Mike	Male	Unknown	Thomas Wadsworth, Planter	1797
Jingo	Male	Unknown	Thomas Wadsworth, Planter	1797
Jenny	Female	Unknown	Edward Weyman, Upholsterer	1797
Dido	Male	Unknown	Edgar Wells, Merchant	1797
Billy	Male/Child	Unknown	John Oxindine, Carpenter	1797
Туе	Male	Unknown	Andrew Charles, Merchant	1797
Molly	Female	Mulatto	Benjamin Daniel	1797

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
John	Male/Child	Mulatto	John Hamilton, Planter	1797
Tom	Male/Child	Mulatto	John Hamilton, Planter	1797
Alexander	Male	Mulatto	Jane Creighton, Free Black	1797
Eleanore	Female	Unknown	Theodore Glauson	1797
Anon	Male	Mulatto	Samuel Johnes, Shopkeeper	1797
Kate	Female/Child	Mulatto	Samuel Johnes, Shopkeeper	1797
Martha	Female/Child	Mulatto	Samuel Johnes, Shopkeeper	1797
John	Male/Child	Mulatto	Samuel Johnes, Shopkeeper	1797
Samuel	Male/Child	Mulatto	Samuel Johnes, Shopkeeper	1797
William	Male/Child	Mulatto	Samuel Johnes, Shopkeeper	1797
Nancy	Female/Child	Mestizo	Isaac Perry, Planter	1797
Peggy	Female	Unknown	Benjamin Pepson, Merchant	1797
Louisa	Female/Child	Unknown	Benjamin Pepson, Merchant	1797
Dumba	Female	Unknown	Alexander Inglis, Merchant	1797
James	Male/Child	Unknown	James Miller	1797
Rentey	Male	Unknown	John J. Himely	1797
Creesy	Female	Unknown	John Bostick, Planter	1797
Nancy	Female	Unknown	Benjamin P. William, Planter	1797
Mingo	Male	Unknown	Abram Hadson	1797
Frank	Male	Unknown	Daniel Campbell	1797

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Sarah	Female	Unknown	Mary Miller (Robert), Widow (Planter)	1797
Sylvia	Female	Unknown	James Charles	1797
Deb	Female	Unknown	Peter Madden	1797
Ned	Male	Mulatto	Sarah Mullins, Widow	1797
Abraham	Male	Unknown	John Davidson, Librarian	1797
Sam	Male/Child	Mulatto	William Bell, Planter	1797
Desiree	Female	Mulatto	Jean B. Marsenal, Planter	1797
Marie Francesa	Female/Child	Mulatto	Jean B. Marsenal, Planter	1797
Jean Baptiste	Male/Child	Mulatto	Jean B. Marsenal, Planter	1797
Marie Louisa	Female/Child	Mulatto	Jean B. Marsenal, Planter	1797
Marie Adelaide	Female/Child	Mulatto	Jean B. Marsenal, Planter	1797
Rachel	Female	Unknown	Thomas Smith, Planter	1797
Hannah	Female	Unknown	John Hanscome, Carpenter	1797
Phillip Emmanuel	Male	Mulatto	Jean M. Savery	1797
Marie Louisa	Female	Unknown	Pierre C. de Fourier, Planter	1797
Simon	Male	Mulatto	Francis Saltus, Merchant	1797
Evans	Male	Unknown	Susannah Hepburn, Free Black	1797
Zemire	Female	Mulatto	Maria Chateau-Bland	1798
Grace	Female	Unknown	Joseph Winn, Jr., Merchant	1798
Dolly	Female	Unknown	William Morgan, Merchant	1798



Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Jehu Jones	Male	Mulatto	Christopher Rogers, Merchant	1798
Kate	Female/Child	Mulatto	Benjamin Hicks, Planter	1798
Beck	Female	Unknown	Elizabeth Godfrey (John), Widow (Planter)	1798
Kate	Female	Unknown	John Bull, Planter	1798
Suzette	Female	Mulatto	Anne M. Frere	1798
Mary Frances	Female	Unknown	Lewis Moret, Confectioner	1798
Mary Molly	Female/Child	Unknown	Lewis Moret, Confectioner	1798
Sona Alena	Female/Child	Unknown	Lewis Moret, Confectioner	1798
Manor	Female	Mulatto	Maria Chateau-Bland	1798
Catey	Female	Unknown	Joseph Stanyarne, Planter	1798
Patty	Female/Child	Unknown	Joseph Stanyarne, Planter	1798
Isaac	Male/Child	Unknown	Joseph Stanyarne, Planter	1798
Francois	Male	Unknown	Jean C. Jorfeux	1798
Nan	Female	Unknown	James Finlay, Grocer	1798
Dinah	Female	Unknown	Joseph Darrell, Merchant	1798
Nancy	Female/Child	Unknown	Joseph Darrell, Merchant	1798
Hannah	Female	Unknown	Elizabeth Steedman (James), Widow (Carpenter)	1798
Dinah	Female	Mustee	John V. Morginhoff, Planter	1798
Primus	Male	Unknown	Luke Swain, Pilot	1798
Agatha	Female	Unknown	Lewis J. Baptiste Grand	1798

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
Sainte	Female	Unknown	Lewis J. Baptiste Grand	1798
Dinah	Female	Unknown	Martha Cox, Spinster	1798
James	Male	Unknown	Edward Gardner	1798
Sue	Female	Unknown	John Fenwick, Free Black	1798
Jenny	Female	Mulatto	Joseph Tobias, Merchant	1798
Marie Louisa	Female	Mulatto	Cloudy Morand, Free Black	1798
Francois	Male/Child	Mulatto	Cloudy Morand, Free Black	1798
Rose	Female	Mulatto	William Bell, Planter	1798
Magdalene	Female/Child	Mulatto	William Bell, Planter	1798
Phillis	Female	Unknown	Elias Porter	1798
Benjamin	MaleChild	Unknown	Elias Porter	1798
Hagor	Female	Unknown	Stewart Lamball, Free Black	1799
Lydia	Female	Unknown	John Lewis, Minister	1799
Mary	Female/Child	Mulatto	John Lewis, Minister	1799
Ann	Female/Child	Mulatto	John Lewis, Minister	1799
Caty	Female	Unknown	Joseph W. Holman, Planter	1799
Rachel	Female/Child	Unknown	Joseph W. Holman, Planter	1799
Fortune	Female	Unknown	Elizabeth Garrett	1799
Pompey	Male	Unknown	Joseph Quimly	1799
Telemagne	Male	Unknown	Mary Codner	1799

Name of Manumitted	Gender	Physical Description	Manumitter	Year
John Richard	Male/Child	Unknown	Esther Dickinson	1799
Tom	Male/Child	Unknown	James Barron	1799
Rebecca	Female	Unknown	Jacob Abraham	1799
Alicia Gregorie	Female/Child	Unknown	James Gregorie, Merchant	1799
James	Male/Child	Mulatto	James L. Ransier	1800
Sarah	Female/Child	Mulatto	James Graves, Planter	1800
Diana	Female/Child	Mulatto	James Graves, Planter	1800
William	Male	Unknown	Joshua Eden	1800
Dick	Male	Unknown	Edward Wilkinson, Planter	1800
Rob	Male	Mulatto	Joseph Wigfall, Planter	1800

APPENDIX B

Lesson Plans

Fourth Grade

Title	Revolutionary Ideology and Its Impact
Lesson Author	Larry Watson
Grade Level	4
Lesson Length/Time	2 days
Overview	Development and Sustainment of a State and Nation — The Development and Sustainment of a State and Nation theme encourages the study of national and state political identities and perspectives. National and state political identities and perspectives are based on the founding principles contained in documents such as the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Federalist Papers. These perspectives serve as the basis of both debate and compromise over the course of the nation's history. Interaction Among People — The Interaction Among People theme encourages the study of cultural interactions, economic development and societal differences, which resulted in distinct perspectives within the regions of both the United States and South Carolina. Over time, these exchanges have caused both unity and division.
Theme(s)/Concept(s) Which overarching course theme(s) will guide this lesson?	The New Nation (Standard 2): Demonstrate an understanding of the identity of a new nation, including the state of South Carolina, between 1730-1800. Enduring Understanding: Colonial revolt against British regulations and restrictions resulted in the creation of the United States as an independent nation comprised of individual states. Following the American Revolution, Americans developed a new form of government that both embodied and contradicted many of the ideals for which they had fought and unified the new nation.

Standard(s)

What 2019 South Carolina Social Studies College- and Career-Ready Standards (SCSSCCR) are the focus for this lesson?

South Carolina Career and College Ready Standards:

4.1.CX Contextualize the experience of Africans, Europeans and Native Americans in South Carolina. This indicator was developed to promote inquiry into how South Carolina developed as a result of the relationship among various ethnic, political and religious groups.

4.2.CO Compare the roles of marginalized groups during the American Revolution. This indicator was designed to encourage inquiry into the economic, political and social roles of colonial groups, to include free and enslaved people of African descent, Native Americans and women, during the Revolutionary period.

4.2.CC Explain the continuities and changes in natural rights as seen from the French and Indian War to the creation of the Bill of Rights. This indicator was developed to encourage inquiry into how Americans understood and enumerated natural rights from the period of salutary neglect through the American Revolution and into the first decade of the republic.

Deconstructed Skill(s)

Indicator:

E: Identify, source and utilize different forms of evidence, including primary and secondary sources.

Expression:

To demonstrate their ability to use evidence in the study of history, students should:

- Distinguish the differences between primary and secondary sources.
- Utilize primary and secondary sources to gather information and make connections.
- Identify how point of view, bias and purpose allow for further understanding of a primary source.
- Evaluate secondary sources for accuracy and validity.

Lesson Purpose/Learning Objective(s) aligned to the 2019 SCSSCCR Standards

What will the students know and be able to do by the end of this lesson?

Are the Learning Objectives SMART?

- Specific
- **M**easurable
- **A**ttainable
- Relevant
- Timely

By the end of the lesson, students will have:

- 1. Activated their background knowledge of the ideological basis for the American Revolution by discussing key figures of the Enlightenment in Europe and the American colonies.
- 2. Assess motives and causes for the manumission of some enslaved people through the study of wills and legislative documents.

Setting the Purpose and Activating Strategy

How does the strategy grab students' attention and activate their learning?

What will students do to make connections to prior knowledge?

Students will listen to a brief audio documentary on the coming of independence.

Students will be divided into small group of 3-4 persons. Each group will list 2-3 Revolutionary concepts and discuss them among themselves. Students will read the petition of Massachusetts Negroes and discuss their impression of Revolutionary ideology.

Each group will develop a list of concepts for sharing with the full class.

Instructional Sequence

Describe the steps of the lesson including all required academic and classroom materials.

Are the materials for this lesson ageappropriate? Do the materials explore a variety of perspectives?

Does the rigor of the lesson meet the depth of the standards?

How are the skills identified in the standard(s) being used in the lesson?

Does the lesson allow for collaborative and/or independent practice?

Are there formative assessment opportunities throughout the lesson?

1. Primary Source Analysis:

Using distributed wills and/or legislative documents, students will identify the following:

- · Names of the manumitters.
- · Occupation of the manumitters.
- · Names of the manumitted enslaved persons.
- · Age (or description of age) if given.
- · Gender of the manumitted.
- · Reason for manumission, if given.
- Any information the students deem important to understanding the manumission process.

2. Peer Tutoring:

Students should share their details with their partners and the class.



3. Direct Instruction:

Selected reading: **The African American Odyssey**. Darlene Clark Hine, William C. Hine, and Stanley Harrold.

Section 4.2 The Declaration of Independence and African Americans

Section 4.2.1 The Impact of the Enlightenment

Section 4.2.2 African Americans in the Revolutionary Debate

4. Primary Sources:

- SC Wills, 1760-1800.
- "A Petition for Freedom," Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, 5th ser., Vol 3 (Boston, 1877), 436-437.
- A Biography of America, Audiotape, Annenberg Media, Disc 1, Section 4-The Coming of Independence.
- Incorporate some technology (PPT, Prezi, documentary clips, music, etc.).

5. Secondary Sources:

- Darlene Clark Hine, William C. Hine and Stanley Harrold, The African American Odyssey
- · Sestercentennial Comic Book.

6. Vocabulary and Key Concepts

- Ideology
- Natural Rights
- · "Revolution"
- · Will
- Manumission
- Certificate of Freedom

Differentiation and Extension

How can the information gained from formative assessments throughout the lesson be used to differentiate and/or extend student learning?

<u>Differentiation:</u> Students can imagine how enslaved persons might view manumissions.

Extension: Students can use information gained from class interaction to create a visual profile of the manumitter and the manumitted.

Assessment/Product

What will students **do, say, make or write** to show evidence of their learning and demonstrate mastery?

Does the rigor of the assessment or product match the depth of the content and skill in the standard(s)?

Each student will compile a list of 2-3 elements of Revolutionary ideology.

Each student will identify the names and specific description of 4-5 manumitted persons.

Each student will provide 2-3 reasons for the manumission of an enslaved person.

These assignments will be used to assess the student's mastery of the use of evidence in the study of history.

Lesson Reflection/Closure

Consider summarizing strategies that allow:

- teachers to check for understanding to inform future instruction.
- students to reflect on and organize their learning.
- students to draw conclusions and make meaningful connections.

Students will reflect on the overall nature of slavery and its effect on the enslaved and the enslaver.

Students will reflect on the ideological contradiction of some Americans to own enslaved persons while wanting freedom from England.

For follow-up closure, have students share their reflections to the full class.

Additional questions to consider when planning:

- Does the lesson incorporate historically significant individuals?
- Does the lesson plan include student engagement opportunities?
- Does the lesson provide opportunities for students to:
 - » explore multiple perspectives?
 - » authenticate and corroborate sources?
 - » develop and answer their own or teacher-created inquiry questions?
- Are there opportunities to enhance the lesson with a multidisciplinary approach?

Eighth Grade

Title	Revolutionary Ideology and Its Impact
Lesson Author	Larry Watson
Grade Level	8
Lesson Length/Time	2-3 days
Overview	Cultural Interactions – The Cultural Interactions theme encourages the study of how cultural exchanges have played a pivotal role in the foundation and shaping of society. These interactions have shaped the mosaic of South Carolina and the United States
Theme(s)/Concept(s)	Revolution and Identity (Standard 2):
Which overarching course theme(s) will guide this lesson?	Demonstrate an understanding of how South Carolinians and Americans created a revolutionary form of government during the period of 1757-1815.
	Enduring Understanding:
	Political and economic developments underscored how the colonists in British North America had become uniquely American, prompting the development of a new nation. Drawing on their experience under British rule, the founding generation created a government with shared powers between state and federal institutions.
Standard(s)	South Carolina Career and College Ready Standards:
What 2019 South Carolina Social Studies College- and Career-Ready Standards (SCSSCCR) are the focus for this lesson?	8.2.CX Contextualize the roles of various groups of South Carolinians as the colonies moved toward becoming an independent nation. This indicator was developed to encourage inquiry into the motivations of colonists during the American Revolution and the progression of conflict and failed compromise that ultimately led to revolution.
	8.2.E Utilize a variety of primary and secondary sources to analyze multiple perspectives on the development of democracy in South Carolina and the United States.

Grade 8 Historical Thinking Skills:

Development and Sustainment of a State and Nation - The Development and Sustainment of a State and Nation theme encourages the study of national and state political identities and perspectives. National and state political identities and perspectives are based on the founding principles contained in documents such as the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Federalist Papers. These perspectives serve as the basis of both debate and compromise over the course of the nation's history. Economic, Settlement and Territorial Expansions – The Economic, Settlement and Territorial Expansions theme encourages the study of changing economic, social and political ideas within the United States and South Carolina. These expansions led to controversy, compromise, extension of boundaries and the economic change from mercantilism to capitalism. Interaction Among People - The Interaction Among People theme encourages the study of cultural interactions, economic development and societal differences, which resulted in distinct perspectives within the regions of both the United States and South Carolina. Over time, these exchanges have caused both unity and division. Physical Geography and Natural Resources – The Physical Geography and Natural Resources theme encourages the study of the migration of humans to different regions and how geography influenced their way of life in a new place. As North America and South Carolina were settled, changes in economic, political, environmental, and societal conditions occurred over time and in different locations.

Deconstructed Skill(s)

Indicator:

E: Identify, source, and utilize different forms of evidence, including primary and secondary sources.

Expression:

To demonstrate their ability to use evidence in the study of history, students should:

- Distinguish the differences between primary and secondary sources.
- Utilize primary and secondary sources to gather information and make connections.
- Identify how point of view, bias, and purpose allow for further understanding of a primary source.
- Evaluate secondary sources for accuracy and validity.

Lesson Purpose/Learning Objective(s) aligned to the 2019 SCSSCCR Standards

What will the students know and be able to do by the end of this lesson?

Are the Learning Objectives SMART?

- Specific
- **M**easurable
- Attainable
- Relevant
- Timely

By the end of the lesson, students will have:

- 1. Activated their background knowledge of the ideological basis for the American Revolution by discussing key figures of the Enlightenment in Europe and the American colonies.
- 2. Assess motives and causes for the manumission of some enslaved people through the study of wills and legislative documents.

Setting the Purpose and Activating Strategy

How does the strategy grab students' attention and activate their learning?

What will students do to make connections to prior knowledge?

Students will listen to a brief audio documentary on the coming of independence.

Students will be divided into small group of 3-4 persons. Each group will list 2-3 Revolutionary concepts and discuss them among themselves. Students will read the petition of Massachusetts Negroes and discuss their impression of Revolutionary ideology.

Each group will develop a list of concepts for sharing with the full class.

Instructional Sequence

Describe the steps of the lesson including all required academic and classroom materials.

Are the materials for this lesson ageappropriate? Do the materials explore a variety of perspectives?

Does the rigor of the lesson meet the depth of the standards?

How are the skills identified in the standard(s) being used in the lesson?

Does the lesson allow for collaborative and/or independent practice?

Are there formative assessment opportunities throughout the lesson?

1. Primary Source Analysis:

Using distributed wills and/or legislative documents, students will identify the following:

- · Names of the manumitters.
- · Occupation of the manumitters.
- Names of the manumitted enslaved persons.
- Age (or description of age) if given.
- · Gender of the manumitted.
- · Reason for manumission, if given.
- Any information the students deem important to understanding the manumission process.

2. Peer Tutoring:

Students should share their details with their partners and the class.

3. Direct Instruction:

Selected reading: **The African American Odyssey**. Darlene Clark Hine, William C. Hine, and Stanley Harrold.

Section 4.2	The Declaration of Independence and
	African Americans

Section 4.2.1 The Impact of the Enlightenment

Section 4.2.2 African Americans in the Revolutionary
Debate

Section 4.3 The Black Enlightenment

Section 4.4 African Americans in the War for Independence

Section 4.4.2 Black Patriots

Section 4.5.1 The Revolutionary Impact

Section 4.5.2 The Revolutionary Promise

4. Primary Sources:

- SC Wills, 1760-1800.
- "A Petition for Freedom," Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, 5th ser., Vol 3 (Boston, 1877), 436-437.
- A Biography of America, Audiotape, Annenberg Media, Disc 1, Section 4-The Coming of Independence.
- Incorporate some technology (PPT, Prezi, documentary clips, music, etc.).

5. Secondary Sources:

- Darlene Clark Hine, William C. Hine and Stanley Harrold, The African American Odyssey
- Quintana, Ryan, Making A Slave State, Political Development in Early South Carolina.
- · Sestercentennial Comic Book.
- John Morant, The Impact of the Great Awakening, in Roy Finkenbine, Sources of the African American Past, 17-19

6. Vocabulary and Key Concepts

- Ideology
- · Natural Rights
- · "Revolution"
- Will
- Manumission
- Certificate of Freedom

Differentiation and Extension

How can the information gained from formative assessments throughout the lesson be used to differentiate and/or extend student learning?

<u>Differentiation:</u> Students can imagine how enslaved persons might view manumissions.

Extension: Students can use information gained from class interaction to create a visual profile of the manumitter and the manumitted.

Assessment/Product

What will students do, say, make, or write to show evidence of their learning and demonstrate mastery?

Does the rigor of the assessment or product match the depth of the content and skill in the standard(s)?

Each student will compile a list of 4-5 elements of Revolutionary ideology and demonstrate an example of each.

Each student will identify the names and specific description of 6-8 manumitted persons.

Each student will provide 4-5 reasons for the manumission of an enslaved person.

These assignments will be used to assess the student's mastery of the use of evidence in the study of history.

Lesson Reflection/Closure

Consider summarizing strategies that allow:

- teachers to check for understanding to inform future instruction.
- students to reflect on and organize their learning.
- students to draw conclusions and make meaningful connections.

Students will reflect on the overall nature of slavery and its effect on the enslaved and the enslaver.

Students will reflect on the ideological contradiction of some Americans to own enslaved persons while wanting freedom from England.

For follow-up closure, have students share their reflections to the full class.

Additional questions to consider when planning:

- Does the lesson incorporate historically significant individuals?
- Does the lesson plan include student engagement opportunities?
- Does the lesson provide opportunities for students to:
 - » explore multiple perspectives?
 - » authenticate and corroborate sources?
 - » develop and answer their own or teacher-created inquiry questions?
- Are there opportunities to enhance the lesson with a multidisciplinary approach?



United States History and Constitution (Grades 9-12)

Title	
Lesson Author	Larry Watson
Grade Level	USHC
Lesson Length/Time	2-3 days
Overview	American Culture and Identity – The American Culture and Identity theme encourages the study of various cultural groups, movements and the development of distinct ideologies, including American exceptionalism, throughout periods of American history. Additionally, cultural movements and political ideologies impacted national politics, foreign policies and societal development.
	Founding Principles and Political Institutions – The Founding Principles and Political Institutions theme encourages the study of core American political values and institutions, founding documents, essential political processes and constitutional debates. Founding South Carolina Social Studies College- and Career-Ready Standards Page 88 principles, expressed in seminal documents, served as the basis of unity, debates and compromises over time.
	Natural Rights and Social Development – The Natural Rights and Social Development theme encourages the study of fundamental American values such as inalienable human rights, social reform movements, social legislation and the relevant documents. American social values were shaped over time as evidenced in social reform and the resulting legislation. Initiatives undertaken in order to secure the rights and the blessings of liberty to disenfranchised groups will also be explored.
Theme(s)/Concept(s)	Foundations of American Republicanism (Standard 1)
Which overarching course theme(s) will guide this lesson?	Demonstrate an understanding of the influence of the Atlantic World on the regional and national development of republicanism and federalism from 1607–1815.

Enduring Understanding:

The economic attachment to the Atlantic nurtured the gradual cultural separation of the British North American colonies from the rest of the British Empire in the 17th century. The North American colonies united politically during the late 18th century and this ultimately resulted in a proud American Republic which utilized Enlightenment ideals to realize a complete constitutional revolution by 1815.

Standard(s)

What 2019 South Carolina Social Studies College- and Career-Ready Standards (SCSSCCR) are the focus for this lesson? **USHC.1.CX** Contextualize significant republican developments within North America related to its connection to the Atlantic World.

This indicator was developed to encourage inquiry into events in North America and Europe that sparked ideas of republicanism in the British colonies. This indicator was developed to encourage inquiry into how republican ideals helped some citizens, though marginalized groups still sought better opportunities and treatment.

USHC.1. E Utilize primary and secondary sources to investigate the impact of the Atlantic influence in the regional and national development of Republicanism and Federalism.

Deconstructed Skill(s)

Indicator:

Identify, interpret and utilize different forms of evidence, including primary and secondary sources, used in an inquiry-based study of history.

Expression:

To demonstrate their ability to use evidence in the study of history, students should:

- Use historical thinking skills to weigh primary sources and identify point of view, including the effect of the author's position, group affiliation or specific beliefs.
- Discern similarities and differences among multiple points of view.
- Utilize multiple points of view to construct a historical argument.

Lesson Purpose/Learning Objective(s) aligned to the 2019 SCSSCCR Standards

What will the students know and be able to do by the end of this lesson?

Are the Learning Objectives SMART?

- Specific
- **M**easurable
- **A**ttainable
- Relevant
- Timely

By the end of the lesson, students will have:

- 1. Activated their background knowledge of the ideological basis for the American Revolution by discussing key figures of the Enlightenment in Europe and the American colonies.
- 2. Assess motives and causes for the manumission of some enslaved people through the study of wills and legislative documents.

Setting the Purpose and Activating Strategy

How does the strategy grab students' attention and activate their learning?

What will students do to make connections to prior knowledge?

This lesson should be activated by drawing upon students' prior knowledge from Grades 4, Standard 2 and Grade 6, Standard 4, Indicator 6.4.CO. Compare the political revolutions which resulted from the Enlightenment This indicator was developed to encourage inquiry into how the expansion of individual rights led to a period of political revolutions around the world from 1760–1820.

The teacher should re-introduce students to the ideas of the Enlightenment, i. e. natural rights of man, right to self-government, pursuit of happiness, right to freedom, etc. The following activator questions might be posed:

- 1. "Do you see any contradictions between Americans wanting freedom from England, yet denying freedom to their enslaved people?
- "What reason might a slaveowner give for freeing any of his enslaved persons?
 Students will listen to a brief audio documentary on the coming of independence.
- 3. What conditions did free African Americans encounter in South Carolina's slave society?

Students will be divided into small groups of 3-4 persons. Each group will list 5-6 revolutionary concepts and discuss them among themselves. Students will read the petitions of African Americans from the Revolutionary era and discuss their impression of Revolutionary ideology.

Each group will develop a list of concepts for sharing with the full class.

Instructional Sequence

Describe the steps of the lesson including all required academic and classroom materials.

Are the materials for this lesson ageappropriate? Do the materials explore a variety of perspectives?

Does the rigor of the lesson meet the depth of the standards?

How are the skills identified in the standard(s) being used in the lesson?

Does the lesson allow for collaborative and/or independent practice?

Are there formative assessment opportunities throughout the lesson?

1. Primary Source Analysis:

Using distributed wills and/or legislative documents, students will identify the following:

- · Names of the manumitters.
- · Occupation of the manumitters.
- Names of the manumitted enslaved persons.
- · Age (or description of age) if given.
- · Gender of the manumitted.
- · Reason for manumission, if given.
- Any information the students deem important to understanding the manumission process.

2. Peer Tutoring:

Section 4.2.1

Students should share their details with their partners and the class.

3. Direct Instruction:

Selected reading: **The African American Odyssey**. Darlene Clark Hine, William C. Hine and Stanley Harrold.

The Impact of the Enlightenment

Section 4.2	The Declaration of Independence
	and African Americans

Section 4.2.2 African Americans in the

Revolutionary Debate
Section 4.3 The Black Enlightenment

Section 4.4 African Americans in the War

for Independence

Section 4.4.2 Black Patriots

Section 4.5.1 The Revolutionary Impact

Section 4.5.2 The Revolutionary Promise

4. Primary Sources:

- SC Wills, 1760-1800.
- "A Petition for Freedom," Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, 5th ser., Vol 3 (Boston, 1877), 436-437.
- A Biography of America, Audiotape, Annenberg Media, Disc 1, Section 4-The Coming of Independence.
- Incorporate some technology (PPT, Prezi, documentary clips, music, etc.).

5. Secondary Sources:

- Darlene Clark Hine, William C. Hine and Stanley Harrold, The African American Odyssey
- Quintana, Ryan, Making A Slave State, Political Development in Early South Carolina.
- · Sestercentennial Comic Book.
- John Morant, The Impact of the Great Awakening, in Roy Finkenbine, Sources of the African American Past, 17-19

6. Vocabulary and Key Concepts

- Ideology
- · Natural Rights
- · "Revolution"
- · Will
- Probate
- Manumission
- · Certificate of Freedom
- · Capitation Tax

Differentiation and Extension

How can the information gained from formative assessments throughout the lesson be used to differentiate and/or extend student learning?

<u>Differentiation:</u> Students can imagine how enslaved persons might view manumissions.

Extension: Students can use information gained from class interaction to create a visual profile of the manumitter and the manumitted.

<u>Differentiation:</u> Students can inquire into why certain enslaved persons were freed and others were not.

Extension: Students can raise questions about how newly manumitted slaves might have survived as free people.

Assessment/Product

What will students do, say, make, or write to show evidence of their learning and demonstrate mastery?

Does the rigor of the assessment or product match the depth of the content and skill in the standard(s)?

Each student will compile a list of 4-5 elements of Revolutionary ideology and demonstrate an example of each.

Each student will identify the names and specific description of 4-5 manumitted persons.

Each student will provide 2-3 reasons for the manumission of an enslaved person.

These assignments will be used to assess the student's mastery of the use of evidence in the study of history.

Students will compile a list of African Americans who fought on the American Patriots' side.

Students will write a short essay (30-50 words) discussing one (1) element of Revolutionary ideology.

Students will provide a written description of 5 manumitted slaves. The teacher will ensure that distributed primary sources provide enough details to respond to this question.

Lesson Reflection/Closure

Consider summarizing strategies that allow:

- teachers to check for understanding to inform future instruction.
- students to reflect on and organize their learning.
- students to draw conclusions and make meaningful connections.

Students will reflect on the overall nature of slavery and its effect on the enslaved and the enslaver.

Students will reflect on the ideological contradiction of some Americans to own enslaved persons while wanting freedom from England.

For follow up closure, have students share their reflection to the full class.

Students will reflect on the experience of manumitted and non-manumitted slaves in Revolutionary South Carolina. How did they differ? How were they similar? What was the gender/age makeup of manumitted slaves?

For follow up closure, have students share their reflection on the question listed above.

Additional questions to consider when planning:

- Does the lesson incorporate historically significant individuals?
- Does the lesson plan include student engagement opportunities?
- Does the lesson provide opportunities for students to:
 - » explore multiple perspectives?
 - » authenticate and corroborate sources?
 - » develop and answer their own or teacher-created inquiry questions?
- Are there opportunities to enhance the lesson with a multidisciplinary approach? Given their value, why would a slaveowner free his or her slave(s)?
- Did Enlightenment ideology affect decision making relative to manumission?
- · Did manumitters provide for their manumitted slaves?
- What form(s) did this provision take?
- Does the use of wills and other primary sources facilitate depth of understanding relative manumission?

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